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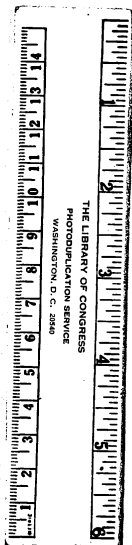
T H E  
**T U R K I S H**  
**H I S T O R Y .**

W I T H  
Sir PAUL RYCAUT's CONTINUATION.

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THE  
**TURKISH**  
**HISTORY.**

WITH  
Sir PAUL RICAUT'S CONTINUATION.

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*Sold by T. Bassett at the George near St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street.*

THE  
**TURKISH**  
*ET* **HISTORY,**  
 FROM THE  
 ORIGINAL of that NATION,  
 To the GROWTH of the  
**Ottoman Empire:**  
 WITH THE  
 LIVES and CONQUESTS  
 OF THEIR  
**Princes and Emperors.**

By RICHARD KNOLLES, sometime Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford.

WITH A  
**CONTINUATION**

To this Present Year. MDCLXXXVII.

Whereunto is added

The Present State of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

By Sir PAUL RYCAUT, late Consul of Smyrna.

The Sixth EDITION, with the Effigies of all the Kings and Emperors. Newly Engraven at large upon Copper.

The First Volume.

L O N D O N,  
 Printed for Tho. Bassett, at the George near St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. MDCLXXXVII.

## The AUTHOR to the READER.

**T**HE long and still declining state of the Christian Commonwealth, with the utter ruin and subversion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious Kingdoms and Provinces of the Christians, never to be sufficiently lamented, might, with the due consideration thereof, worthily move even a right stony heart to rub: but therewith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done unto the blessed Name of our Saviour Christ Jesus, the desolation of his Church here militant upon Earth, the dreadful danger daily threatened unto the poor remainder thereof, the millions of Souls cast headlong into eternal Destruction, the infinit number of woful Christians (whose grievous groanings under the heavy yoke of Infidelity no tongue is able to express) with the carelessness of the Great for the redress thereof, might give just cause unto any good Christian to sit down, and with the heavy Prophet to say, as he did of Jerusalem, O how hath the Lord darkened the Daughter of Sion in his wrath! and cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his wrath! All which miseries (with many others so great as greater there can none be) the Prince of darkness and Author of all mischief hath by the persecuting Princes of all Ages, and ancient Hereticks his Ministers, labored from time to time to bring upon the Church of God, to the obscuring of his blessed Name, and utter subversion of his most sacred Word; but yet by none, no not by them all together so much prevailed, as by the false Prophet Mahomet, born in an unhappy hour, to the great destruction of Mankind: whose most gross and blasphemous Doctrine first sanctified by himself in Arabia; and so by him obtruded upon the World, and afterwards by the Sarafin Caliphes (his seduced Successors) with greater Forces maintained, was by them, together with their Empire, dispersed over a great part of the face of the Earth, to the unspeakable ruin and destruction of the Christian Religion and State: especially in Asia and Africk, with some good part of Europe also. But the unity of this great Mahometan Monarchy being once dissolved, and it divided into many Kingdoms, and so after the manner of worldly things drawing unto the fatal period of it self, in process of time became of far less force than before, and so less dreadful unto the Christian Princes of the West, by whom these Sarafins were again expelled out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spain, which they yet held within the remembrance of our Fathers, until that by their Victorious Forces, they were thence at length happily removed also, after that they had possessed the same above the space of 700 Years. In this declination of the Sarafins, the first Champions of the Mahometan Superstition (who though they had left much, yet held they many Kingdoms both in Asia and Africk, taken for the most part from the Christians) arise the Turks, an obscure and base People, before scarce known unto the World, yet fierce and courageous, who by their Valour first aspired unto the Kingdom of Persia, with divers other large Provinces: from whence they were about 170 Years after again expelled by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themselves into the lesser Asia: where taking the benefit of the discord of the Christian Princes of the East, and the carelessness of the Christians in general, they in some good measure repaired their former losses again, and maintained the state of a Kingdom at Iconium in Cilicia (now of them called Caramania) holding in their subjection the greatest part of that fruitful Country, still seeking to gain from the Christians what they had before left unto the Tartars. But this Kingdom of the Turks declining also, by the dismembring of the same, there stepped up among the Turks in Bythinia, one Osman or Othoman, of the Oguzian Tribe or Family, a Man of great spirit and valour, who by little and little growing up amongst the rest of his Countrymen, and other the effeminate Christians on that side of Asia, at last, like another Romulus, took upon him the Name of a Sultan or King, and is right worthily accounted the first Founder of the mighty Empire of the Turks; which continued, by many descents, directly in the Line of himself, even unto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the World, and holding in subjection many great and mighty Kingdoms in Asia, Europe, and Africk, is grown to that height of pride, as that it threatneth destruction unto the rest of the Kingdoms of the Earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it self. In the greatness whereof is swallowed up both the Name and Empire of the Sarafins, the glorious Empire of the Greeks, the renowned Kingdoms of Macedonia, Peloponnesus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Judea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungary, as also of the Persian Kingdom, and all those Churches and Places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted) and in brief, so much of Christendom as far exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this present if you consider the beginning, progress, and perpetual felicity of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this World nothing more admirable and strange; if the greatness and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent and glorious; if the Power and Strength thereof, nothing more Dreadful or Dangerous: Which wondering at nothing but at the Beauty of it self, and drunk with the pleasant Wine of perpetual felicity, holdeth all the rest of the World in Scorn, thundering out nothing still but Blood and War, with a full persuasion in time to Rule over all, prefixing unto it self no other limits than the uttermost bounds of the Earth, from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same. The causes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the most part are shut up in the Counsels of the Great, as that for me to seek after them, were great Folly: Yet amongst the rest, some others there be, so pregnant and manifest, as that the blind World taketh thereof, as it were a general Knowledge, and may therefore without Offence of the Wiser sort (as I hope) even in these our nice Days be lightly touched. Whereof the first and greatest, is the Just and Secret Judgement of the Almighty, who in Justice delivereth into the Hands of these mercileless Miscreants, Nation after Nation, and Kingdom unto Kingdom, as unto the most terrible Executioners of his dreadful Wrath, to be punished for their Sins: Others in the mean while, no less Sinful than they; in his Mercy enjoying the benefit of a longer time, calling them unto Repentance. Then, the uncertainty of Worldly things, which is subject to perpetual Change, cannot long stay in one State; but as the Sea is with the Wind, so are they in like sort tossed up and down with the continual

Lamen, Je-  
seny Cap.  
59.

Granada in  
Spain was  
recovered  
from the  
Sarafins by  
Ferdinand  
in 1491.

The Causes  
of the  
Greatness  
of the  
Turkish  
Empire.

## To the Reader.

continual Surges and Waves of alteration and change; so that being once grown to their height, they there lay not long, but fall again as fast as ever they rise, and so in time come to nothing: As we see the greatest Monarchies that ever yet were upon Earth have done, their course being run; over whom Time now Triumpheth, as no doubt at length it shall over this so great a Monarchy also, when it shall not then live by Fame, as the others now do. Next to these Causes from above, (without Offence be it said) is the small care the Christian Princes, especially those that dwell further off, have had of the common State of the Christian Commonwealth, whereof even the very Greatest are to account themselves but as the principal Members of one and the same Body; and have, or ought to have, as sharp a feeling one of another's Harms, as hath the head of the Wounds due unto the feet, or rather as if it were done unto themselves: Instead of which Christian Compassion and Unity, they have ever, and even yet at this time, are so divided amongst themselves, with endless Quarrels, partly for Questions of Religion, (never by the Sword to be determined) partly for Matters touching their own proper State and Sovereignty, and with such distrust and implacable Hatred, that they never could as yet (although it hath been long wished) join their common Forces against the common Enemy: But turning their Weapons one upon another, (the more to be lamented) have from time to time Weakened themselves, and Opened a way for him to Devour them one after another: Whereas with their combined Forces (the greedy Enemies greiveth Terror) they might long since not only have repressed his Fury, and abated his Pride; but with small Danger and much Glory, (God favouring their so Honourable Attempts) have again Recovered from him most of those famous Christian Kingdoms, which he by Force, against all Right holdeth at this Day, in most miserable Subjection and Thralldom: Many Millions of the poor Oppressed Christians, in the mean time out of the Furnace of Tribulation, in the Anguish of their Souls crying in vain unto their Christian Brethren for relief. By Civil discord the Noble Country of Græcia Perished, when as the Father rising against the Son, and the Son against the Father, and Brother against Brother, they to the mutual Destruction of themselves called the Turk, who like a greedy Lyon lurking in his Den, lay in wait for them all. So Perished the Kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia and Epirus, with the famous Island of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betray'd as it were by the Christian Princes, their Neighbours, by whom they might have easily been relieved. So the most Flourishing and Strong Kingdom of Hungary, (in the Relicks whereof, the Fortune of the Turkish Empire hath longer stuck, than in the Conquest of any other Kingdom; by it attempted whatsoever) divided in it self by the Ambition of Princes, and Civil discord, the Weaker still calling unto his Aid, the mighty Power of the Turk, is long since for the most part become to him a Prey; the poor remainders thereof, being at this Day hardly Defended by the Forces of the Christian Emperor, and of the Princes his Confederates; seldom times meeting together with such Cheerfulness or Expedition, as the Necessity of so great a Matter requireth. Unto which so great a Cause of the common decay, may be added the evil Choice of our Souldiers employed in these Wars, who taken up hand over head, out of the promiscuous common People, are for the most part Untrained men, serving rather for shew, and the filling up of Number, than for Use; and in no respect to be compared with the Turks Janizaries, and other his most expert Souldiers, continually even from their Youth Exercised in feats of Arms. Not to speak in the mean time of the want of the Ancient Marital Discipline, the wholefome preservative of most Pious Armies, which breedeth in the Proud Enemy a Contempt of the Christian Forces, with a full persuasion of himself, that he is not by such Disordered and Weak means to be withstood. But to come near unto the Causes of the Turks greatness, and more proper unto themselves, as not depending of the imprudent Carelessness, Weakness, Discord, and Imperfections of others: First, in them is to be Noted an ardent and infinite Desire of Sovereignty, wherewith they have long since promised unto themselves the Monarchy of the whole World, a quick motive to their so hangy Designs: Then, such a rare Unity and Agreement amongst them, as well in the manner of their Religion, (if it be so to be called) as in matters concerning their State; (especially in all their Enterprises, to be taken in hand for the augmenting their Empire) as that thereof they call themselves Ummi, that is to say, Men of one Mind, or at Peace amongst themselves; so as it is not to be marvelled, if thereby they grow Strong themselves, and Dreadful to others: Joy unto this their Courage, conceived by the wonderful Success of their perpetual Fortune, their unbleed Vigilancy in taking the advantage of every Occasion, for the enlarging of their Monarchy; their Frugality and Temperateness in their Diet, and other manner of Living, their careful observing of their Ancient Military Discipline, their Cheerful and almost Incredible Obedience unto their Princes and Sultans; such, as in that point no Nation in the World was to be worthily compared unto them. All great Causes why their Empire hath so mightily encreased, and so long continued. Wherunto may be added the too strongest Sinews of every well Governed Commonwealth; Reward propounded to the Good, and Punishment threatened unto the Offender; where the prize is for Virtue and Honour set up, and the way laid open for every common Person, he he never so meanly Born, to aspire unto the greatest Honours and Preferments both of the Court and of the Field, yea even unto the nearest Affinity of the Great Sultan himself; if his Valour or other Worth shall so Deserve: When as on the contrary part, the Dishonour or cowardice is no expell from the same Sovereign Power, nothing but Disgrace, Death, and Torture. And yet these great ends, so contented by such Commendable and Lawful means, still to extend or establish their far spreading Empire, if that point once come in question, they stick not in their Divisive Policy to break and infringe the Laws both of Nations and Nature. Their Leagues, grounded upon the Law of Nations, be they with never so Strong Capitulations concluded, or Solemnity of Oath confirmed, have with them no longer Force than standeth with their own Profit, serving indeed but as Snares to intangle other Princes in, until they have singled out him whom they purpose to Devour; the rest fast bound by their Leagues, still looking on, as if their own turn should never come; yet with no more assistance of their Safety by their Leagues, than had the other whom they see Perish before their faces. As for the kind Law of Nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the Father most unnaturally to embrace his Hands in the Blood of his own Children? And the Brother to become the Bloody Executioner of his own Brother? A common matter among the Othoman Emperors. All which most Execrable and Inhumane Murders, they cover with the pretended safety of their State, as thereby freed from the fear of all aspiring Competitors, (the greatest

torment

## To the Reader.

torment of the Mighty) and by the Preservation of the Integrity of their Empire, which they thereby keep whole and entire unto themselves, and so deliver it as it were by Hand from one to another, in no part dismembered or impaired. By these and such like means is this Barbarous Empire (of almost nothing) grown to that height of Majesty and Power, as that it hath in Contempt all the rest; being it self not Inferiour in Greatness and Strength, unto the greatest Monarchies that ever yet were upon the face of the Earth, the Roman Empire only excepted. Which how far it shall yet further spread, none knoweth, but he that holdeth in his Hand all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and with his Word boundeth the raging of the Sea, so that it cannot further pass. Moved with the Greatness and Glory, of this so Mighty and Dreadful Empire, grown for the most part out of the Ruin of the Christian Commonwealth, with the utter Subversion of many great and Flourishing Kingdoms, and Woful fall of many more, Right Pious and Mighty Princes, not without Grief to be remembered; I long since (as many others have) entered into the heavy Consideration thereof, purposing so to have contented my self with a light View of that which might well be for ever of all good Christians Lamented, but hardly or never Remedied; until that afterward: led with a more earnest Desire to know the Strange and Fatal Mutations by this Barbarous Nation in former time brought upon a great part of the World, as also so much as I might, to see so great a Terror of the present time, and on what Terms it standeth with the rest, I had with long Search and much Labour, mixt with some Pleasure and mine own reasonable Contentment, passed through the whole Melancholy Course of their Tragical History: Yet without purpose ever to have commended the same or any part thereof, unto the Remembrance of Posterity, as deeming it an Argument of too high a reach, and fitter for some more happy Wit, better furnished with such helps both of Nature and Art, as are of necessity requisite for the Undertaking of so great a Charge, than was my self, of many Thousands the Meane. Being not unmindful also of that which the Poet (keeping decorum) saith in like case, though far less matter, of himself:

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, Cithibus aurem  
Vellit, & admonuit: Pastorem Titere pingues  
Pascere oportet oves, deductum ducere carnem.

When I did Sing of Mighty Kings, or else of bloody War,  
Apollo pluckt me by the Ear, and said I went too far:  
Beside: a Shepherd Titurus, his fadings for to feed,  
And for to fit his Rural Song unto his slender Reed.

Besides that, so many Difficulties even at the first presented themselves unto my View, as to overcome the same, if I should take the Labour in hand, seemed to me almost impossible: For beside the Sea and World of matter I was to pass through, (requiring both great Labour and Time) full of the most rare Example, both of the better and worse Fortune, in Men of all sorts and conditions, yielding more Pleasure unto the Reader, than Facility to the Writer; I saw not any (among so many as had taken this Argument in hand) whom I might as a sure Guide or Load-star, long follow in the Course of this so great a History: Many Right Worthy, and Learned Men (whose Memory my Soul honoureth) contenting themselves, to have with their Learned Pens enrolled in the Records of never dying Fame; some, one great Expedition or Action, some another, as in their times they fell out; yea, the Turkish Histories and Chronicles themselves (from whom the greatest light, for the continuation of the History, was in reason to have been expected) being in the Declaration of their own Affairs, (according to their Barbarous manner) so sparing and short, as that they may of right be accounted rather short rude Notes, than just Histories, rather pointing Things out, than declaring the same, and that with such Obscurity, by changing the ancient and usual Names, as well of whole Kingdoms, Countries, and Provinces, as of Cities, Towns, Rivers, Mountains and other Places; yea and oftentimes Men themselves into other Strange and Barbarous Names of their own devising; in such sort as might well stay an intensive Reader, and deprive him of the Pleasure, together with the Profit he might otherwise expect by the Reading thereof; whereunto to give Order, Perspicuity and Light, would require no small Travail and Pain: Not to speak in the mean time of the diversity of Reports in the Course of the whole History, such as is oftentimes most hard, if not altogether impossible to Reconcile. Notwithstanding all which Difficulties, with many others more proper unto my self, having with long Labour and diligent Search, passed through the Course of the whole History, and so in some reasonable sort satisfied my self therein, I thought it not amiss, as well for the Worthiness of the matter, as for the Zeal I bear to the Christian Commonwealth, and for the satisfying also of some others my good Friends very desirous of the same, to make proof if out of the dispersed Works of many Right Worthy Men, I could set down one orderly and continue History of this so Mighty an Empire, with the Great and Fatal mutation, or rather Subversion of many Right Strong and Flourishing Kingdoms and States, (the proper Work of mighty Empires, still encreasing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchy hath already daunted a great part of the World, being so many and so strange, as that more or more wonderful were not ever to be seen in any of the greatest Monarchies of antient Time or Memory; and so together, and as it were under one View, and at one Shew; to lay open unto the Christian Reader, what I was glad to seek for out of the confused Labours of many: A Work so Long and Labourious, as might well have deterred a Right Regulate and Constant Mind from the undertaking thereof, being as yet to my Knowledge not undergone or performed by any: Wherein, among such Variety, or more truly to say, contrariety of Writers, I did content my self, as a blind man led by his Guide, happily of no better sight than himself, to tread the steps of that or that the Learned and Faithful Works of many, according to my simple Judgment, to make Choice of that was most probable, still supplying with the perfection of the better, what I found wanting or defective in the Weaker, and in the propounding unto my self no other Mark to aim at, than the very Truth of the History; as that which is it Writing of self of Power to give Life unto the Dead Letter, and to cover the Faults escaped in the homely Penning, or in compiling

Of the Order of the Author's Preceding, in the Writing of this History.

compiling thereof. Which the better to perform, I Collected so much of the History as possibly I could, out of the Writings of such as were themselves present, and as it were Eye-witnesses of the greatest part of that they Write, and so as of all others best able, most like also to have left unto us the very Truth. Such is the greatest part of so much of the History of the Greek Empire, as I have (for the better Understanding, of the rising of the Turks in this History set down) gathered out of the Doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all Writing such Things as they themselves saw, or were for most part in their time, and near unto them done. Such are the Wonderful and almost Incredible Wars between old Anurath the Second, and his Foster-Child the Fortunate Prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called Scanderberg, and by that wayward Tyrant at his Death, together with his Kingdom, delivered, as it were, by Inheritance, unto his Son, the Great and Cruel Sultan Mahomet, all Written by Marinus Barletius, himself an Epirot, and in all those troublesome Times then living in Scodra, a City of the Venetians joying upon Epirus. Such is the Woful Captivity of the Imperial City of Constantinople, with the miserable Death of the Greek Emperor Constantinus Palologus, and the Fatal Ruine of the Greek Empire, Written by Leonardus Chienfis, Archbishop of Mytilene, being himself then present, and there taken Prisoner. Such is the Lamentable History of the Rhodes, taken for most out of J. Fontanus his Three Books de bello Rhodio, a Learned Man then present, and in great Credit with Villiers the great Master, at such time as that famous Island, after it had by him and the other Worthy Knights of the Order, been most wonderfully of long Defended, was to the great rath of Christendom taken by the Great Sultan Solymán. Such is the most Tragical History of Bajazet, Solymán's youngest Son, Collected out of the notable Epistles of Augerius Busbequius, Legations Turcicae, he himself then lying Ambassador for the Empiror Ferdinand at Constantinople, and present in Solymán's Camp, at such time as he himself in Person, went over with his Army into Asia, to Countenance his eldest Son Selymus, who Succeeded him in the Empire, against his Valiant younger Brother Bajazet, and beside well acquainted with the Great Bajazet, Achmet, Rustan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the History following. Such is also the History of the taking of the ancient City of Tripolis in Barbary, from the Knights of Malta, by Sinan the proud Bassa, Written by Nicholas Nicholy, Lord of Arfeuille, present at the same time with the Lord of Aramont, then Ambassador for the French King unto Solymán. So might I say also of the miserable spoil of the Fruitful and Pleasant Islands of the Mediterranean, made by Luitz Bassa, Solymán his Brother in Law, and Great Admiral, with the submitting of the Island of Naxos, to the Turks Obedience, Written by John Crispe, at that time Duke of the same Island. And so likewise of diverse other parts of the History, too long to rehearse. But forasmuch as every Great and Famous Action, had not the Fortune to have in it a Caesar, such as both could and would commend unto Posterity, by Writing that, whereof they might truly say, They were themselves a great part, many Right Excellent Generals contenting themselves with the Honor of the Field, and their Glory there Won, leaving the Honourable Fame thereof to be by others reported, for lack of such most certain Authors, or rather (as I before said) Eye-witnesses, I gathered so much as I could of what remained, out of the Works of such as being themselves Men of Great Place, and well acquainted with the Great and Worthy Personages of their time, might from their Mouths, as from certain Oracles, Report the undoubted Truth of many most Famous Exploits done both by themselves and others: As might Pau. Jovius from the mouth of Muleassif King of Tunes, from Vastius the Great General, from Auria the Prince of Memphis, Charles the Emperor his Admiral, and such others: Or, else out of the Writings of such as were themselves great Travellers into the Turks Dominions, and withal, diligent observers of their Affairs and State, as were the Physicians Pantaleon, Minadoic, and Leunclavius, (of all others a most curious Searcher of their Antiquities and Histories) unto which great Clerks, and some others of that Learned Profession, we may Worthily attribute the greatest Light and Certainty of that is Reported, of a great part of the Turkish Affairs. But these in the Course, of so long a History failing also (as by conferring that which is hereafter Written, together with their Histories, is easily to be perceived) to perfect that I had taken in Hand, I took my refuge unto the Writings of such other Learned and Credible Authors, as of whose Integrity and Faithfulness, the World hath not to my Knowledge at any time yet doubted: That, for these few late Years, I was glad out of the German and Italian Writers in their own Language, in part to borrow the Knowledge of these late Affairs: As also from the credible and certain Report, of some such Honourable minded Gentlemen of our own Country, as have either for their Honors sake served in these late Wars in Hungary, or upon some other Occasions, spent some good times in Travelling into the Turks Dominions; but especially unto the Imperial City of Constantinople, the chief Seat of the Turkish Empire, and Place of the Great Turks abode: Amongst whom, I cannot but deservedly remember my kind Friend and Cousin Mr. Rog. Howe, unto whose discreet and curious Observations, during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I justly account my self for many things beholden. In which Course of my Proceedings, if the Reader find not himself so fully satisfied, as he could desire, I would be glad, by him my self, to be better informed; as being no less desirous to learn the Truth, of that I know not, than willing to impart to others, that little which I know.

So Wishing thee all Happiness, I bid thee farewell.

Sandwich, A.M.:  
M<sup>o</sup>. 1612.

R. KNOLLES.

# The General HISTORY OF THE TURKS,

Before the Rising of the

Othoman Family,

With all the Noble EXPEDITIONS of the Christian  
Princes against them.

**T**HE glorious Empire of the Turks, the present Terror of the World, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderful or strange, than the poor beginning of it self, so small and obscure, as that it is not well known unto ourselves, or agreed upon even among the best Writers of their Histories, from whence this barbarous Nation, that now so triumpheth over the best part of the World, first crept out or took their beginning. Some (after the manner of most Nations) derive them from the Trojans, but thereunto by the affinity of the words *Turci* and *Turci*, supposing (but with what probably I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks to have been made of the corruption of the word *Turci*, the common name of the Trojans: as also for that the Turks have of long time inhabited the lesser A S I A, wherein in the ancient and most famous City of TROY sometime stood. No great reason in my deeming; yet give the Authors thereof leave therewith to please themselves, as well as some others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probability at all; and that with such earnestness, as if they could not elsewhere have found any so honorable Ancestors. Other some report them to have first come out of PERSIA, and of Iwot not what City there to have taken their name: neither want there some which affirm them to have taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea, and some out of SYRIA, with many other far fetched devices concerning the beginning and name of this people; all serving to no better purpose, than to shew the uncertainty thereof. Among others, Philip of MORNAY the noble and learned Frenchman, in his worthy Work concerning the crossness of the Christian Religion, seemeth (and that with such good reason) to derive the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Jews, namely from the Ten Tribes, which were by Salmanafer King of ASSIRIA in the time of Ozi King of ISRAEL,

carried away into Captivity, and by him confined into MEDIA, and the other unpeopled Countries of the North: whose going thither is not unaptly described by *Eldras*, where among the great hords of the Tartars, in the farthest part of the World Northward, even at this day are found some, that still retain the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon* and *Naphthali*, a certain argument of their descent: whereunto also the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, signifying in the Syrian-Tongue, remnants or leavings; and the word *Turk*, a word of disgrace, signifying in Hebrew, banished men, seemeth might well to agree. Besides that, in the Northern Countries of RUSSIA, SARMATIA, and LYTUANIA, are found greater store of the Jewish Nation, than elsewhere, and so nearer unto the Tartarians fill the more: whereunto *Jo. Laurenceus* the most curious Searcher out of the Turks Antiquities and Monuments, addeth as a farther Conjecture of the descent of those barbarous Northern people from the Jews, that in his travel through LIVONIA into LYTHUANIA in the Country near unto the Metropolitain City of RIGA, he found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in Language from the other Country-people of the Curons and Estons, no less barbarous than themselves; who had always in their mouths as a perpetual lamentation, which they with doleful moans daily repeated abroad in the fields, *Fera, Fera, Mafco Lon*: whereby they were thought to lament over JERUSALEM and DAMASCO, as forgetful of all other things in their ancient Country, after so many worlds of years, and in a desolate place so far distant thence. And *Munster* in his Description of LIVONIA, repeating the like words, reports, That this rude people being demanded What they meant by these words so often and so lamentably by them without cause uttered: answered, That they knew no more, than that they had been so of long taught by their Ancestors But to leave these Opinions concerning their

2 King. 17  
4 Edit. 131Jo. Leunclavius  
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graphic lib  
2.

beginning, so divers and uncertain, and to follow greater probabilities: as concerning the place from whence they came, it is upon better ground thought by divers others, and those of the best Historians. That this barbarous Nation which hath of late brought such fatal mutations upon so great a part, not of Christendom only, but even of the whole World, took their first beginning out of the bare and cold Country of SCYTHIA: induced thereunto both by the Authority of the greatest Cosmographers, as by most apparent reasons. *Pomponius Mela* the Describer of the World, reckoning up the people near unto the great River TANAIIS (the boulder of EUROPE from ASIA Eastward) amongst others maketh mention of the Turks, in these words, *Geloni utriusq. Hyemum habitant, Justa Thyrsageta Turcae, quibus Hyemum occupant, aluntur, canendo. Tum continus rupibus late operta & desertis regio ad Arymphos usque permittitur.*

The Geloni inhabit a City of Wood, and fore by the Thyrgives and Turks possess the vast Forests, and live by hunting. Then, a rough and desert Country, with continual Rocks, is facetiously extended even as far as unto the Arymphians. *Pliny* also in like manner reckoning up the Nations about the Fens of MÆOTIS, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, faith, *Deinde, Euzaeas, Cotiae, Cicimiani, Messeniani, Cofcoboci, Choatra, Zige, Dandari, Tullagete, Turca, usque ad silitudines salustio convallibus artemis, ultra quae Arymphi qui Arphici perierunt montes:* Next unto them live the Euzaeas, Cotae, Cicimiani, Messeniani, Cofcoboci, Choatra, Zige, Dandari, the Thullagets and Turks, unto the deserts rough with woody Valleys: beyond whom are the Arymphians, which border upon the Riphian mountains. And *Ptolemy* in the Description of SARMATIA ASIATICA, maketh mention of the Turki, whom many learned men suppose to have been the same Nation with the Turks. Unto which ancient Testimonies of reverend Antiquity, add the manners and conditions of the Turks, their ancient attire, their gestures, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, so well agreeing with the Scythians; and a man shall find matter enough sufficient to persuade him in reason, that the Turks have undoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythies; whom they in many things resemble, and with whom of all other Nations they best agree.

Now it hath been no less doubted also, among the Writers of the Turks Histories, at what time, and for what causes the Turks (to the trouble of the World) left their natural Seats in the cold Country of SCYTHIA, to seek themselves in other more pleasant and temperate Countries more Southerly, than it had been of their Original beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report them, enforced with a general want, to have forsaken their native Country, and followed their better Fortune, in the year of our Lord, 755, with whom also *Seguinus* agreeeth in the cause of their departure, but not in the time or place, when or whereby they departed: for they (as he saith) issued out of their dwelling places in the year of Grace, 844, by the Straits of the Mountain CAUCASUS: whereas the other with greater probability suppose them to have come forth by the Caspian Straits: which the Turks also (as *Sabellicus* affirm of themselves, their Ancestors (as they say) being by their Neighbors driven out of the Caspian Mountains. Some others there be that report them to have forsaken their native Country, neither enforced thereunto by necessity, or the power of

others; but for their valor sent for the Sultan of PERSIA, to aid him in his Wars: unadvisedly supposing that to have been the cause of their flight, which indeed happened long time after, as in the process of this History shall appear. But whatsoever the assured causes of want, or of the enemies power, might induce them unto, a greater power no doubt it was that stirred them up, even the hand of the Almighty, who being the Author of all Kingdoms upon Earth, as well those which he hath appointed as Scourges wherewith to punish the World, as others more blessed, will have his work perfectly full of Divine Majesty, to appear in the stirring of them up from right small beginnings, in the increasing and establishing of their greatness and power, to the astonishment of the World; and in the ruin and destruction of them again, the course of their appointed time once run. As for the difference of the time of their coming forth, before remembered, it may reasonably be referred to the divers emotions of that people, who being not under the command of any one, but of their divers Governors, as the manner of that people was, are not to be thought to have come forth all at once, either for one cause; but at divers times, some sooner, some later, and that for divers causes. This people thus stirred up, and by the Caspian Ports passing thorough the Georgian Country, then called IBERIA, near unto the Caspian Sea, first settled upon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with so strong hand, that it is by their society yet holden at this day, and of them called TURCOMANIA; of all other the most true Progeny of the ancient Turks. In which great Country they of long under their divers Leaders, in the manner of their living most resembling their Ancestors, roamed up and down with their Families and herds of Cattel, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their Country men, without any certain places of abode, yet at great Unity among themselves, as is not having much to lole, or wherefore to strive.

### The first Kingdom of the Turks erected in Persia by Tangrolipix, Chieftain of the Selzucian Family: with the success thereof.

His wandering and unregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus first seated in ARMENIA, long time there lived in that wide Country, after their rude and wonted manner, (from which the Turcoman Nation their Posterity in that place, even at this day, as we said, much differeth not) and not only notably defended the Country, thus by them at the first possessed, but still increasing farther and farther, and gaining by other mens hands, became at length dreadful unto their Neighbour, and of some time also farther off; whereunto the effeminate cowardliness of those delicate people of ASIA, with whom they had to do, gave no less furtherance than their own valor; being nevertheless an hardly rough people, though not much skilful or trained up in the feats of War.

The Fame of these Turks, together with their fortune, thus daily increasing, and the mighty Empire of the Saracens as it declined, which under their Chieftains, the Successors of the false Prophet Mahomet, having in less than the space

Armenia, now called Turcomania, the first seat of the Turks, their first coming out of Scythia.

Togru, afterwards called Tangrolipix, first to aid the Persian Sultan.

of two hundred years overpread not only the greatest part of ASIA and AFRICK, even unto GADES and the Pillars of Hercules; but also passing over that strait, had overwhelmed almost all SPAIN; and not there staying, but passing the Pyrene, had pierced even into the heart of France, and diverse other parts of Christendom, as namely ITALY, SICILY, the famous Island of the RHODES, with many others of the MEDITERRANEAN: now divided in it self, and rent into many Kingdoms, turned their victorious arms from the Christians, upon one another, to the mutual destruction of themselves and their Empire. Amongst other the Sarafin Sultans, which forgetting their Obedience to their great Caliph, took upon them the Sovereignty of Government (which admitteth no partner) was one Mahomet Sultan of PERSIA, a right great Prince, who hardly beset on the one side with the Indians, and on the other with the Caliph of BABYLON his mortal Enemy, prayed Aid of the Turks his Neighbours, who were now come even to the side of ARAXIS, the bounds of his Empire: unto which his request the Turks easily granted, in hope thereby to find a way for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and so sent him 3000 hardy men under the leading of one Togru Macule, the Son of Mikail a valiant Captain, and chief of the Selzucian Tribe or Family; whom the Greeks commonly call Tangrolipix, and some others, Selduck, or Sadeck, names (as I suppose) corrupted of the great Family whereof he was descended. By the aid of this Tangrolipix (for now we will call him, as by the name most used) Mahomet the Persian Sultan overcame Pajafiri the Caliph of BABYLON, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkish Archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks desiring to return home, requested of the Sultan leave to depart, and with a safe convoy to be conducted unto the river ARAXIS, and there to have the passage of that swift river opened unto them, which was by the Persians strongly kept by two Castles built upon each end of the bridge, whereby the River was to be passed. But Mahomet loath to forgo such necessary men, by whom he had obtained to great a Victory, and purposing to employ them further in his Service against the Indians, would by no means hearken unto their request; but seeming therewith to be discontented, commanded them to speak no more thereof, threatening them violence if they should more presume to talk of their departure. The Turks therefore doubtful of their estate, and fearing further danger, secretly withdrew themselves unto the desert of CARAVONITIS: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field against so many millions of the Saracens, lived the many months, by continual Incursions and Raids which they made out of the desert Forest into the Countries adjoining: wherewith Mahomet greatly indignant, sent out an Army of twenty thousand men under the Conduct of ten of his best Captains, against them: who for want of water and other necessities, desiring to enter the Forest, encamped themselves on the side of the Forest, there to confute what course to take. But Tangrolipix, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the covert of the Woods and Mountains, understanding of the coming of his Enemies, and of the manner of their lying, thought it best upon the sudden to light to set upon the Saracens and Persians: if so happily he might overthrow them by policy, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battel. Upon which resolu-

tion having travelled two days long march in the desert, the third day at night he suddenly set upon his Enemies, lying negligently in their Trenches, and by his unexpected coming brought such a fear upon them, that they without longer stay betook themselves to flight, every man dusting for himself, without regard of others. This Victory he happily gained, and Tangrolipix now (beyond his hope) thoroughly furnished with Armor, Horfes, and abundance of all things needful for the Wars, kept the Woods and Forests no longer as a Thief or Out-law, but showed himself in the open field, where daily repaired unto him numbers of Rogues and Vagabonds seeking after spoil; with many other desperate Villains, who for fear of punishment were glad of such a Refuge: so that in a short space his Army was grown to be fifty thousand strong; and so much the stronger, for that they had nothing to trust unto more than the valour of themselves. Whilst Tangrolipix thus increased, Mahomet enraged with the overthrow of his Army, in his fury caused all those ten Captains which had the leading thereof, to have their eyes plucked out; threatening also to attire all the Souldiers that fled out of the battel, in Womens apparel, and so disgraced to carry them about as Cowards; and withal raised a great Army to the suppressing of the Turks. All things being now in readiness, he set forward; when by the way the Souldiers whom he had to threatened to disgrace, suddenly fell to the Enemy: with which coming Tangrolipix greatly encouraged and strengthened, resolved to give the Sultan battel. And so boldly coming on, met with him at ISPAHAN a City of PERSIA, where was fought betwixt them a most terrible battel, with wonderful slaughter on both sides. In the heat of which battel, Mahomet unadvisedly riding to and fro to encourage his Souldiers, killing with his horse, brake his Neck: upon which much more both the Armies coming to agreement, by common consent proclaimed Tangrolipix Sultan in his stead, and so made him King of PERSIA, and of all the other large Dominions unto that Kingdom belonging.

This was the first Kingdom of the Turks, begun by the good Fortune of Tangrolipix, about 214 years after their coming out of SCYTHIA, in the year also of our Lord, 1030. Constantinus Monomachus then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the Reign of Romanus Argirus, Constantine his Predecessor, Tangrolipix by rare Fortune thus of a mean Captain became King of PERSIA; forthwith commanded the Garrison which kept the bridge over the River ARAXIS, to be removed, and so free passage to be given unto the Turks his Country-men, at their pleasure to come over: who in great numbers repaired into PERSIA, where they were by the new Sultan well provided for, and by little and little promoted unto the greatest Dignities of that Kingdom; the Persians and Saracens, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, being by these new come Guests now kept under, and as it were trodden under foot. Together with this Kingdom, the Turks received the Mahometan Superstition, the which they before not much abhorred, as men using Circumcision: So that hard it is to say whether Nation lost more; the Persians and Saracens by the loss of so great a Kingdom; or the Turks, by embracing so great a Vanity.

Tangrolipix with his Turks thus possessed of the Kingdom of PERSIA, beheld not himself there, with long content, but made War upon his Neighbour Princes, especially against Pajafiri the Caliph

Scythia, the native Country of the Turks, Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. ult.

Plin. fecundus, lib. 6. c. 27.

The great agreement betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

When and for what causes the Turks left their native Country, to seek themselves in other more pleasant and temperate Countries more Southerly, than it had been of their Original beginning. Blondus and Platina report them, enforced with a general want, to have forsaken their native Country, and followed their better Fortune, in the year of our Lord, 755, with whom also Seguinus agreeeth in the cause of their departure, but not in the time or place, when or whereby they departed: for they (as he saith) issued out of their dwelling places in the year of Grace, 844, by the Straits of the Mountain CAUCASUS: whereas the other with greater probability suppose them to have come forth by the Caspian Straits: which the Turks also (as Sabellicus affirm of themselves, their Ancestors (as they say) being by their Neighbors driven out of the Caspian Mountains. Some others there be that report them to have forsaken their native Country, neither enforced thereunto by necessity, or the power of

844.

Sabellicus, Encead. lib. 4.

Mahomet the Persian Sultan, amongst his kindred, with any Army, he sent Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by force of the soldiers, made Sultan of Persia.

Tangrolipix, first Sultan of the Turks.

When the Turks first embraced the Mahometan Superstition.

such Honours were bestowed upon him, not of the Emperors meet; Bounty, but as the due Rewards of his worthy Deeds. Notwithstanding after the death of the Emperor, sick of his Fathers disface, and swelling with the weight of Ambition, fought by secret means to have aspired into the Empire: whereof the Emperress having intelligence, caused him to be apprehended and brought in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was found guilty of the foul Trespass, and so coming to the great Sear again, to receive the heavy Sentence of death. In which woful plight, uttering as a man out of hope, and now itany forlorn, he called all the beholders with a forwofull compassion, to beseech that he was a man of exceeding strength, so was he of incomparable feature and beauty, adorned with many rare qualities and virtues unanswerable thereunto: wherewith the Emperress moved with the rett, or pierced with a secret good liking, is hard to say, reversed the Sentence of Condemnation ready to have been executed upon him, and gave him Pardon. And shortly after he came to the Court, first for him as he was going into the City, to his native Country, and made him General of all her Forces, with a full resollution in her self to marry him, and to make him Emperor, if he might by any means get the Writing from never matting and him so compelled. For the compassing wherof, he entered into a device full of feminine policy, with one of her Eunuchs, whom he purposed to use as her pander for the circumventing of the Patriarch. This crafty Eunuch instructed by his Mistress, caused the Patriarch *Tammar Xiphilinus*, a man both, for his age and integrity of life much honoured; told him in great secrecy, that the Emperress had in her self a great good liking to a young Gentleman, a Nephew of his called *Barda* (then a Gallant of the Court) as that she could be content to take him to her Husband, and to make him Emperor; if he might by his Holiness be perswaded that she might with safe confidence do it, and by him to be discharged of the rash Oath she had unadvisedly taken, never to marry again, wherof he had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwise a Contemner of worldly honours, yet moved with so great a Preferrment of his Nephew, promised the Eunuch to do therein whatsoever the Emperress had desired, which he accordingly performing, caused the sending for the Senators one by one; till whole good of the matter chiefly rested, he with much gravity propounded unto them the dangerous estate of the Commonwealth; with the Troubles daily increasing, and the continual fear of foreign Enemies, not to be remedied by the weak hand of a Woman, or the authority of a young Child, but requiring (as he said) the valiant courage of a great worthy Man. After that, he began to find great fault with the rash Oath which the Emperress had taken a little before the death of her Husband, never to marry; and uttely condemning that as contrary to the Word of God, and unjustly exacted of her, he caused to satiate the jealous humour of the Emperress her late Husband, that for any good of the Commonwealth, he in fine perswaded them, that the unlawful Oath might be revoked, and the Emperress set at liberty: at her pleasure, by their good liking to make choice of such a man for her Husband, as might better undertake to manage affairs of the Empire, more at her own pleasure, than to tender a Lady and three young Children. The great



*The Turks  
discomfited  
by Dioge-  
nes the  
Emperor.*

part of the Senate thus persuaded by the Patriarch, and the rest with Gifts and Promises overcame by the Emperors, the Patriarch delivered up to her the Writing the so much defired, and discharged her of her Oath; whereupon the forthwith calling unto her whom she caused to be proclaimed Emperor. Now though *Eudokia* after the manner of a Woman, to have had her Husband (whom the even from the bottom of di pair had exalted to the highest Type of Honour) in all things Loyal and Placant: whereunto he was bound by his Oath, yet she was far otherwise minded (being a man of a proud nature, and haughty spirit) became weary of such Obsequence, and began by little and little to take away day more and more upon him. And for that the Imperial Provinces in the East, were in some part lost, and the rest in no small danger; he and she did not think fit to leave the Government, and to new himself an Emperor indeed, nor as the Servant of the Emperress, left the Court, and passed over into ASIA, although it were without a small Army and evil appointed: for why, it was no case matter for him to furnish out his Army with all things necessary, which by the means of his Father's great Wealth, and Power, the great danger and dishonour of the Empire were utterly neglected. Nevertheless the Turkish Sultan, who at the same time with a great Power invaded the Provinces of the Empire, hearing of his coming, and that he was a man of greater valour than his self, thought he might grapple with him; retired himself, and drew off his Army, first sending one party thence into the South part of ASIA, and the other into the North part, which spoiled all the Country before them: as they went, and suddenly surprising the City of NEOCESARIA, sacked it, and so laded themselves with Spoil, and returned again. But the Emperress understanding thereof, sent forth a messenger grievously therewith, drawing out certain bands and companies of the best and most ready Soldiers in his Army, and with them coasting along the Country to get betwixt the Turks and home, refused therein such expectation, that he was upon the point of returning back, and so suddenly charging them, brought such confusion among them, that they berook themselves to their heels, leaving behind them for haift, their Baggage and Carriages, with all the Prisoners and Booty they had before taken at NEOCESARIA, and in their late Expedition: yet was there no greatness of Victory, because the Turkish Army, being now wearied with long travel, were not able far to follow the chase. From thence taking his way unto SIRIA, he sent part of his Army to MELITENA, and carried himself from ALEPPO, a great booty both of men and treasure. At which time also the City of HIE-RODOLPHUS, a strong walled Town, lying but shortly after built a strong Castle. But while he there stayed, news was brought unto him, that the other part of his Army which he had sent away, was overthrowen by the Turks; for the relief of whom, he rose with all haift and marched towards them: but being in number far inferior to them, he was forced to retire, as he lay encamped; insoford much so, that it was thought almost impossible for him to have escaped. At which time also the Governor of ALEPPO traitorously revolted from him, and joyined his Forces with the Enemy, making good his offering, but affluently to have been taken him. But while he thus was doing nothing but of a most glorious Victory, and was in mind dividing the Spoil, the Emperress without

much as the founding of a Trumpet, suddenly  
iffing out of his Trenches, where they lay  
though he durst fo have done ; and reſolutely  
charging them home, put them to flight, and  
had of them a notable Victory, had he through  
divers Towns he ſame. After that, having taken  
in *CILICIA*, and there all about him *ADRI*  
in *CILICIA*, and there all about him the  
Country bilied his Army, becauſe of the ap  
proach of Winter, and fo returned himſelf to  
**CONSTANTINOPE**. The next  
year, ſome Turks, according to their man  
ner, hearing that the Emperor had ſent a  
much harm about *NEOCEſARIA* the  
of the Emperor adverted, went thither with  
his Army, and quickly reſpecting their fury, took  
his Journey to the River *EUPHRATES*,  
where leaving part of his Army with *Philaretus*  
for beſieging part of the Frontiers, he himſelf  
retired Northward into *C*.  
But after his departure, the Turks ſetting upon  
*Philaretus*, put him to flight with his Garriſons  
and taking the ſpoil of the Frontiers, entered into  
*APADOCIA*, waiting all as they went :  
where being coming into *CILICIA*, ſacked  
ed **ICONIUM** and *CILICIA*, ſacked  
Whereof the Emperor underſtanding at *SE*  
*BASTIA*, made towards them : but hearing  
by the way that they had ranſacked the City,  
and were for fear of his coming already retired,  
he ſent *Antonius* Governor of *ANTIOCH*,  
with part of his Army to *ANTIOCHIA*,  
to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But the  
the plains of *THARSUS* were before di  
ſtreſſed by the Armenians, and fript of all their  
rich Prey : and hearing farther of the approach  
of the Emperors Power, fled by night and  
fled into the Mountains, and ſo ſcaring, and  
having now well quietted choſe Provinces,  
the year fiſt, returned choſe Provinces to  
**CONSTANTINOPE**. But after his de  
parture, the Turks again invading the frontier  
Provinces, he ſent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant young  
man, to ſtand againſt them : who fo prevailed,  
that the Emperor ſent him ſome ſtrength,  
from him a great part of his Army, and ſent  
him with a ſmall Power into *SIRIA*. But  
as he was upon the way, he was by the Turks  
entreated near unto *SEBASTIA*, and there  
he ſent part of his Army being at the ſame  
time ſtricken with the ſcurvy, and ſo  
The Emperor troubled, made great preparation to  
go himſelf in Perſon againſt his Enemies; who en  
couraged with the former Victory, ceaſed not  
to fortify his Territories. In the mean time by  
his ſudden coming *Manuel Comnenus* home, toge  
ther with the ſcurvy, and ſo ſcaring, and  
fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled unto  
the Emperor with his Priſoner, of whom he was  
nonſcantly entertained. All things now in a  
readineſs, for go great an Expedition as the Em  
peror had in Perſon purpoſed, he ſet forward :  
and ſo travel having paſſed *CEſAREA*, he incamped  
at *MEPEGA*: where for ſevere execution done  
upon certain mutinous Soldiers, one of the  
Legions of his Army roſe in mutiny againſt him :  
whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with  
the reſt of his Army, which he  
threatened to turn againſt him, if he  
to forget their duty. After that, removing to  
*THEODOSOPO*lis, he divided his  
Army, and ſent *Rufius* one of his beſt Captains,  
with one part thereof againſt *Chliar*, and another  
part he ſent to beſiege *MANTZICERTS*,  
himſelf he went with being  
strength. The Turks in *MANTZICERTS* finding

Diogenes  
great  
army  
against  
Turks.

Alexander the  
Sultan  
sendeth Em-  
bassadors  
unto Dio-  
genes for  
peace.

finding themselves not able long to hold out fall to composition, and yielded the City. But shortly after, the Soldiers left there in Garrison for the keeping thereof, going out to seek for forage, were by the Turks suddenly oppressed with a great number of their Forces, who, perceiving that the Emperor understanding, sent thither some of his *Bryennius* to relieve the City; who encountering with the Turks, and finding himself too weak, sent unto the Emperor for aid: who not knowing the strength of the Enemies, blamed him of cowardise, yet sent unto him *Nicomedes Bagladius* with this Army; who joyning his Forces with the *Bryennius*, and giving the Turks battle, came to flight. But following to fast upon them by their Trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great halt after, he had his horse slain under him, and so on foot heavily laden with armor, and not able to shift for himself, was there taken and carried to the Sultan; who, perceiving his condition, and oftentimes questioning with him concerning the Emperor, and shewing him his own Power, examined him also of the Empire.

*Tangrologis* was now dead, and the Sultan now in the field against the Emperor, was *Assau* his Son, a man of great wisdom and discretion, who considering the doubtful event of battle, sent Embassadors unto the Emperor to inform him of peace. But he (perswaded by some of his Nobles) refused to receive them. The Sultan for peace, proceeded but by means of a small party, and so the Emperor, by a small army, and distrust he had in his own Power, or else to gain time until some greater strength came, he sent a small regard of the Embassadors or their Messengers, but proudly willed them to tell their Masters That if he were desirous of Peace, he should send him word by some great Prelate, or Ambassador, if he came, he would receive him. The Sultan, when he saw this, he lay encamped, for him to lose ground, without other answer, commanded them away. Now had the Emperor (as is before said) sent away part of his Army by *Rufinus* against *Chitana*, whom he sent now for in half again: but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan, by the post of *Amos*, *Marchmont*, one of his Captains was reformed for his rashness, and sent him to the Roman Frontiers, leaving the Emperor destitute of his help. At which time also a Company of the Scythians which served in the Emperor's Camp, revolted unto the Turks; but without some resolution, that the rest of their Fellowes might follow, he sent them away, and he himself, nevertheless, the Emperor presuming of his strength as he had, or carried headlong with his own Fortune, resolved to give the Turks battle, and therefore putting his men in Order, set upon them. Who somewhat troubled with the Emperor's sudden a resolution, as being yet in former doubt, and not being prepared themselves in order of battle, received the Enemies' assault, still giving a little ground, as men not greatly desirous either to fight or to fly. This fight continuing long, and the day now declining, the Emperor doubting left the Sultan should find part of his Army to assault his Camp (from which he was now drawn somewhat far, and he had left the rest of his Army in the field) he retired to be founded, and so began orderly to retire himself with them that were about him, which others afar off in the battle beholding, and supposing him to have fled, began themselves to fly, aiming. Of which so shameful flight and rout, the great *Andronicus*, King of *Tolen*, Duke, the late *Emperor's* Brother, and his other Nobles, great *Cesar*, the Wife of his Son, scarcely avoided, at the Honour of *Digenes* was the cause for he commanding a great part of the Army

John Du-  
cas a nota-  
ble Traitor  
cause of the  
flight of the  
Emperors  
Army,

[illegible]

the Emperor taken by the Turks.

Eudocia  
the Empr  
disposed b  
the Tray  
John D  
cas, Pie  
lus, and  
others.



Army: by whom *Diogenes*, with his Friends and Followers, were overthrown and discomfited. *Diogenes* himself flying to the City of A D A N A, was there hardly besieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yield himself, upon condition, that he should resign the Empire, and so for ever after to lead a private life. For whose safety, certain of the chief of the Clergy sent of purpose from *Michael* the Emperor, gave their Faith: *Diogenes* all armed in black, yielded himself to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to C O T A I, then the Metropolitane City of P H R I G I A, there to expect what further Order should be taken from him from the Court: during which time he fell sick, being (as many supposed) secretly poisoned. But whilst he there lay languishing, a heavier doom came from the young Emperor, That he should have his Eyes put out: which was forthwith in most cruel manner done; the Clergy-men that had before for his safety gaged their Faith, crying out in vain against so horrible a cruelty. Thus deprived of his sight, he was conveyed into the Island of P R O T A, where his Eyes for lack of looking up, purrified and Worms breeding in them, with such an odious smell as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in short time after died, when he had reigned three years, eight months. All which misery was thought to have happened unto him through the malice of *Cesar*, without the knowledge of the young Emperor.

*Asan* hearing of the miserable end of the late Emperor *Diogenes*, was therewith much grieved, and the more, for that the League which he had to his good content so lately made with him, was thereby come to nought: wherefore in revenge thereof, he was great Power invaded the Imperial Province; not for spoil only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the same. Against whom, *Michael* the Emperor sent *Isaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant, with a great Army: who meeting with the Turks, and joining battle, was by them overthrown with all his Army, and taken Prisoner; and glad afterwards for a great sum of money to redeem himself. After which overthrow, the Emperor sent his Uncle *Cesar* with another Army against them, who was by *Rufinus*, that had before revolted from the Emperor, overthrown at the River S A N G A R I U S, and taken Prisoner; whom he for all that, shortly after set at liberty again, and joining with him against the Turks, were both together by them discomfited and taken Prisoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cesar* by the Emperor, and *Rufinus* by his Wife. This *Rufinus* was a notable Traytor, who joining with the Turks, did what he would in the Provinces of the Empire in the offer ASIA: for the repressing of whom, the Emperor sent *Alexius Comnenus*, a young man, but very politic and courageous; who secretly practising with the Turks that were great with *Rufinus*, had him at last by them for a sum of money betrayed into their Power: who forthwith sent him to C O N S T A N T I N O P L E to the Emperor, by whom he was imprisoned, but afterwards set at liberty and employed against *Ishmus* and his Brother, then up in Rebellion against the Emperor.

But to come nearer to the Turkish Affairs. *Culul-Mufes*, who with his Cousin *Melch* and others, were for the recovery of their Cousin sent into A R A B I A, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the Reign of *Asan*, returned: and as the envious Competitors of his Kingdom, having raised a great Power of their Friends

and Partakers, were now ready to have tried the matter with him by plain battle. Against whom also, the Sultan on the other side had brought into the field his whole Forces, and was now likewise ready to have encountered them near unto the City of E R E S. But whilst the Turks thus divided, flood ready to destroy themselves, the Caliph of B A B Y L O N (from whom though the Turks had taken all Temporal Sovereignty, yet in matters of Religion still held him in great reverence and esteem, as his great Bishop, and the Successor of their great Prophet) considering that nothing could be more dangerous to his Sect and Religion, than that civil dissension, the late confusion and utter ruin of the Sarafin Empire, and Authority of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in these new States, now the chief stay of the Mahometan Superstition: setting aside all Pontifical Formality, whereby he was bound not to go out of his own house, came with all speed, even as the Armies were now ready to join battle, and thrusting himself into the midst betwixt them, and with the reverence of his Person, what with his eloquent persuasion, wrought so much, and prevailed to lay down both Parties, that they were content to lay down their Weapons, and to stand to his Order and Judgment: which was, That *Asan* the Sultan should still enjoy his Kingdom and Territories, whole and entire unto himself, as he did: and that *Culul-Mufes* and his Sons, should be him, and to inherit the Kingdoms of the Constantinopolitan Empire, should there of subdue for such as they could unto themselves, and to be thereof accounted the only Lords and Governors: which Order as it was unto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometan Superstition, very wholesome and commodious, so was it unto the Christians, for the weal and Religion most dangerous and hurtful, as in process of time by proof it appeared. For by this mean, in short time after, *Culul-Mufes* with his Cousins and Sons subdued all M E D I A, with a great part of A R M E N I A, C A P A D O C I A, P O N T U S, and B Y T H I N I A, and so a great part of the lesser A S I A. By the aid of this *Culul-Mufes*, and the favour of the Soldiers, *Nicephorus Botaniates* aspiring unto the Empire of C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, displaced his Matter, the Emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had reigned six years and fix months, and in the habit of a Monk thrust him into an Abbey; which *Urtur* by the just Judgment of God, was at length required even with the same measure, and in like manner served by *Comnenus*; who thrusting him out, succeeded himself in the Empire. Much it was that this *Culul-Mufes*, with his Sons and Kinsmen did for the enlarging of the Turkish Empire, by the help of the great Persian Sultan, whose Forces, together with their own, in divers Countries conquered by these worthy Leaders his high Kinsmen, and doing great matters, gave occasion for themselves to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names such as are by some ancient Writers, and others of later time also reported; but unto the Turks themselves by those names, either for Sultans, unknown. Out of these great Commanders, all born of the Selucian Family, hath *Atinmus*, and others following his report, derived their *Dogri*, *Aspaltemus*, *Melch*, and *Belch*, whom they suppose to have orderly succeeded *Ezad*, otherwise called *Tangulix* the first Founder, and to have done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themselves, and the relation of the Greeks, it appears plainly,

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ens of  
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*Asan*, (more truly called *As-han*, that is to say, the White King) to have been the Son of *Tangulix*, and to have succeeded him in the Empire: and that by him the Emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aspaltemus* as they vainly imagine. As for *Aspaltemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not any thing of his doings, it seemeth to have been a name corrupted of *Aspam Salarius*, the Brother of *Tangulix* and *Aburmus*, and not his Sons Son as they would have it. In like manner *Melch* also, who hath been forged of *Melch* the Son of *Habram*, *Tangulix* his Brother, and not of *Aspaltemus*, as some without any good ground report. Whom they finding to have been all great Men in the Selucian Family, with some others also, have both corrupted their names, and given them an imaginary Sovereignty and succession in the Turks first Empire, such as befitte that the Turks themselves acknowledge not, is easily to be refuted out of the Histories of the Greeks, who had with them fill much to do. Wherefore leaving those supposed Princes of the Turks, with their imaginary names, and doings, unto the Authors thereof following more carefully, to return again to the course of our History. *Asan* the Sultan at the same time that he had by the mediation of the Caliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his Cousin *Culul-Mufes*; to increase the Honour of his Nation and his own, with his high Kinsmen *Aburmus* and *Melch*, two of his most faithful and Government of D A M A S C O and A L E P P O, with that part of S Y R I A which joyneth unto them, of purpose that way to increase upon the Egyptian Caliph, who then had under his Jurisdiction, all, as far as L A O D I C E A, and S Y R I A, yet not with so large Privilege as had *Culul-Mufes*, unto whom and his Posterity he had yielded the absolute Honour of a Sultan or King, over such Countries and Provinces as they should win from the Christians: but unto these others his Kinsmen, he gave the Government of the aforesaid Cities of D A M A S C O and A L E P P O, in the Frontiers of his Dominion in S Y R I A conditionally that they should still remain his Vassals, and hold of him as of their Sovereign, whatsoever they had, who nevertheless in short time mightily prevailed upon the Egyptian, still incensing the Turkish Territory with the loss of the Sarafins, whose name together with their Empire, was now by the Turks almost quite driven out of A S I A.

But these proud Branches of the Turkish Empire, thus over-spreading the lesser A S I A, with the greatest part of S Y R I A, were in short time after by the Mercy of God, and the valour of the most Christian and most Religious Princes of the West, cut shorter, and brought again into some better Order. The full discourse whereof, worthy eternal Memory, by others inrolled in the ancient Records of Fame, I purpose not at large to follow, but in brief to touch, for the orderly continuation of the present History, halting to the doings of this are to make a longer stay, as more pertinent unto the dangerous estate of the present time.

It is furnished that whilst *Culul-Mufes* and his Sons, supposed to have orderly succeeded *Ezad*, thus mightily prevailed against the Christians in the lesser A S I A on the one side, and *Melch* with his Cousin against the Egyptian Caliph in S Y R I A on the other side: that one *Peter* a French Hermit, moved with a devout

zeal, according to the manner of that time, went to visit the Sepulchre of our Saviour, with the other holy Places at J E R U S A L E M; who coming into S Y R I A, then for the most part noted by the Turks and Sarafins, diligently observed by the way as he travelled, the Manners and Fashions of these barbarous Nations, their Government, their Cities, their Power and Strength, but above all, the grievous Miseries of the poor oppressed Christians, that there lived in most miserable thralldom among them, without hope of release: all which he in the habit of a poor Pilgrim, at liberty free in view, in the midst of these Miscreants, being without a little low hard-favoured Fellow, and therefore in these more to be contemned than feared: yet under such simple and homely Feature lay unregarded a most subtle sharp and piercing wit, fraught with discretion and sound judgment, fill applying to some use what he saw in his long and painful travel most curiously observed. He cometh to J E R U S A L E M, and performing his devoutness there, saw the grievous misery of the poor devout Christians, to great and heavy, as that greater or more intolerable could none be, wheresoever not a little grieved, he entered into a deep discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarch and Abbot of the Monastery of the Christians (there before built by certain Italian Merchants) and with the Master of the Hospitallars, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatsoever else he required. After much grave Conference, it was at length agreed upon amongst them, that the Patriarch and the grand Master, should in their own, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their Letters unto the Pope and the other Christian Princes, concerning their Miseries; and to crave their Aid for the Recovery of those holy places out of the hands of those cruel Infidels; of which Letters the devout Hermit promised himself to be the trusty Carrier, and of their Petitions the most careful Solicitor. Whereupon the Patriarch and grand Master, in the name of the poor oppressed Christians wrote their Letters unto this effect:

We the Citizens of the holy City, and Countrymen of Christ Jesus, daily suffer those things which Simon the King suffered but once, in the last day of his mortality. We are daily buffeted, scourged, and pierced: every day some of us are branded, beheaded, or crucified. We would fly from City to City, unto the remotest parts of the Earth, and remove out of the middle of that Land where our Saviour wrought our Redemption, to lead a poor exile and vagrant life: were it not impious to leave the Land (sacred with the Birth, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour) without Inhabitant, and Priests: and that there should still lack such as would endure Death and Martyrdoms (as such as would inflict the same) and that there should not be such which would as willingly die for Christ, as we do. So long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer: yet was there a time when as our Ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselves or their Posterity. And now perhaps the Turkish Kingdoms of the West live likewise without the least suspicion of fear: but let them be moved by our example and Testimony. The strength of the Turks is daily increased, and ours diminished: The continual gaining of new Kingdoms greiveth them courage: They have already devoured the whole World, in hope. The Forces of the Turks are stronger and stronger than the Forces of the Sarafins, their Policies deeper than the Attempts of the desperate, their Endeavours greater, and their Successors more numerous.

The description  
of Peter the  
hermit.

The Letters  
of Simon  
the Patriarch  
of Jerusalem,  
and of the  
other Christians  
to the Pope,  
with the  
other Christian  
Princes, in  
the behalf  
of the oppressed  
Christians, is  
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fortunater. They have the Sarafins attempted both Rome and Rome; they have besieged Constantinople, and have wasted not only the sea coasts of Italy, but even the heart of the Land also. Then why should the kingdoms of the West presume themselves to stand in safety out of the peril, when as the chief fortresses of the world have been so endangered? What may the rest of Christendom promise unto it self, seeing that Jerusalem (the seat and spectacle of the Christian Religion) hath been besieged, taken, sacked, rased and triumphed upon? Seeing that of the Christian profession remain but the poor and weak reliques, in comparison of the ancient whole body's? This Land, which is daily besprinkled with our blood, yea the blood it self crieth out for revenge: And we your most humble suplicants, prosecute at your feet, call upon the help, aid, mercy, faith, and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates Christians our in name and profession only, but in heart, faith, and spirit.

Before the tempest thunder, before the lightning fall upon you, avert from you and your children the storm hanging over your heads: defend us your poor suplicants, deliver your religion from most wicked and accursed slavery. You shall in so doing deserve immortal fame, and God shall reward you so great a salary in this world with terrestrial Kingdoms, and in the world to come with eternal bliss, whose sacred inheritance you shall have defended from the rage of hell.

With these Letters, and plenty of other fecter instructions, the devout Hermit returning into Italy, and coming to Rome, delivered his Letters unto Urban the second of that name, then Pope, with a full discourse of the miseries of the Christians under the Turkish Thralldom, which he had seen at Jerusalem and other places as he travelled; requesting his holy care the redress thereof: with whom he so prevailed, that shortly after, he calling a Council at Clermont in France, among other things, propounded the misery of the poor oppressed Christians at Jerusalem, as an especial matter to be considered of. And having caused the aforesaid Letters to be read unto him and the other Christian Princes, to be openly read in the Council, wherunto three hundred and ten Bishops were then out of divers parts of Christendom assembled, with the Embassadors of all Countries, much moved the whole Assembly to compassion: at which time also the Hermit (whose flowing Eloquence fully counteracted what wanted in his feature,) standing up in the midst of the Council, delivered his message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heavy groanings and tears: which as they could not be in Letters expressed, so were they not hardly by the religious Hermit (as by him who having but lately seen both the misery of the men, and desolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the grief thereof) so lively represented, as that it moved the whole Assembly with the like sympathy of heaviness and grief.

Which the Pope perceiving, took thereupon occasion to utter into a large discourse concerning that matter, with many effectual reasons perswading the Fathers and Princes there present, of the necessity of so religious a War to be taken in hand, for the deliverance of their oppressed Brethren out of the Thralldom of the Infidels; and now as well with their present Decrees, as afterwards as they should come into their Countries, by all means to further the same. Which notable persuasion, with the heavy complaint of the Hermit, and the equity of the cause, so much moved the whole Council,

and the rest there present, that they all as men inspired with one Spirit, declared their consent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*. God will it, God will it: it which words so often uttered by way of applause, were in the great and most sacred expedition following, much stirred of the devout Christians, as the fortunate signal of their cheerful forwardness, even in their most dangerous enterprises. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be believed (but that the ancient Histories bear witness of the like) how far in one day fourscore thousand Infidels decreed war was by flying Fame dispelled.

The Council dissolved, and the reverend Fathers returning every man home into his own Country, it pleased God by their effectual persuasions to work with the rest of the Christian Princes, and people in general, that in all Countries and Provinces in Christendom, were shortly to be seen men of all sorts in great number, with red Crosses on their breasts (the cognifiance of that sacred expedition) ready of themselves to spend both life and goods for the defence of the Christian Religion, and recovery of the Holy Land. The number of whom is of divers diversely reported; but of most supposed to have been three hundred thousand fighting men: Of whom the chief Commanders were, *Godfrey Duke of Lorraine*, with his two Brethren, *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable House of *Buillon*; *Hugh* firmated the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earls of *Flanders*; *Robert Duke of Normandy*, *William* the Conquerors Son; *Stephen de Valois* Earl of *Chartres*; *Ademar* Bishop of *Podie*, the Popes Legate; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbered amongst the least, as chief Author of this most famous expedition: unto whom many other honourable Princes joined themselves, as partakers of their travels, though not with like charge.

The first that set forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter* *Sansavein* a noble Gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with forty thousand more; who both travelling through *Germany*, *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, were glad offensives, especially in the further part of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, to open themselves a way with the sword; and so with much labour, and no less loss, came at length to *Constantinople*: where they were not greatly welcome unto the Emperor *Alexius* *Comnenus*; who guilty unto himself of the unlawful means whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus* his predecessor, had that expedition of the Christians into the East, in distrust, as purposed against himself, until that fully resolved to the contrary, by the Hermit and others; and that a far greater power was coming after, for the invasion of the Turks, and recovery of the Holy Land; he was content to relieve them now weary of their long travel; and after ward to make room for them that were to come, shipped them over the strait of *Bosphorus* into *Asia*; who marching forward into *Bithynia*, encamped their Army in the Country not far from the City of *Nice*. In the mean time *Godfrey* with his Brethren, and divers other Princes that had joynted themselves unto him, with the Germans and *Lorraines*, and the greatest part of the Army, followed after the same way that the Hermit had taken before him. At which time also *Hugh* the French Kings Brother, which the Legate, the two *Roberts* (the one Duke of *Normandy*, and the other Earl of *Flanders*) and the rest of the French

Commanders,

Commanders, passing over the Mountains into Italy, came to Rome, with a wonderful great Army: where taking their leave of the Pope, because they would be less troublesome unto the Cities and Countries wherby they were to pass, they divided their great Army into three parts; wherof the one part went to *Brundisium*, and the other to *Bary*, and the third to *Hydruntum*, unto whom also *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of *Apulia*, joynted with twelve thousand good soldiers that followed him. From these three Ports the Christian Army departing, and crossing the *Adriatick*, arrived in safety at *Diracchium*, and night thereabout upon the coast of *Dalmatia*: from whence they travelled by land through *Macedonia*, to *Constantinople*; where they met with *Duke Godfrey* and the rest of the Army: whom also at the first, *Alexius* the Emperor is reported to have but coldly entertained, as jealous of his own estate; until that better perswaded of their demeanors and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich Presents sent unto him by these strange Princes, he joynted with them in league; wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of this expedition should furnish them with new supplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatsoever else they might want: in regard wherof, the Princes on the other side, promised to restore unto the Empire, what Provinces, what Countries, or Cities they should happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Sarafins, the City of *Jerusalem* only excepted: which agreement was afterward on the suspicious Emperor's part but feebly performed. Nevertheless this league so made, he granted the passages, and transported them over the strait into *Asia*: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperor *Alexius* and his Father, would not come to *Constantinople*, but marching with his Army through the upper *Myfia* and *Thracia*, came sooner than any man thought, unto the straight of *Hellepontus*, and so passed.

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their Army, lien two months in the Country about *Nice*, expecting the coming of the rest of the Christian Princes: for why, they thought it not good before their coming to attempt any thing against the Enemy, whom they knew to lie not far off very strong. But the common Soldiers weary of so long lying, and nought doing, and pinchd with some wants; and withal disliking of *Gualter* their chief Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whose integrity and holiness they had a greater opinion, than of his prowess and direction) rose up in mutiny, and displacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymond* a valiant German Captain, for their General: by whose conduct they took *Exergum*, a Town of purpose forsaken of the Turks. For they long before understanding what a tempest of war was growing upon them, and that *Europe*, fought by all means to cut off their that were already come over, as the forerunners of a greater Army following; and therefore had left them this Town, as a bait to train them out of their Trenches. And after that the Christians were thus possessed of the Town, having laid certain strong ambushes, they drew out certain herds of Cattle the more to allure them: all which certain companies of the Christians brought in without any loss, the Turks left winking thereat. With which booty the Christians encouraged, went out three thousand of them to take in a little Town not far off; who were met by the Turks cut off and slain every Mother Son as they were about to have divided the Spoil.

Which overthrow reported into the Town, discouraged even the chief Commanders of the Army, so that they resolved no more to try the fortune of the field, before the coming of their friends. Nevertheless the common Soldiers condemning them of cowardice, chose them a new General, one *Godfrey* *Buill*, whom they now requested not, but enforced to go out to revenge the death of their fellows. Which their rashness not long after turned to their own destruction: for ten thousand of them going out of *Exergum*, to forage the Country, were by the Turks intrapped, and almost all slain, except some few, which by speedy flight escaped. The Turks prosecuting their victory, laid hard siege to them in the Town also, until they had partly with famine, and partly with the sword consumed the most part of them. The Hermit with the poor remainder of his Army took his refuge to *Cintie*, a Town not far off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much ado he defended himself until the coming of *Duke Godfrey* and the rest of the Princes.

*Cintie* *Musli* the Sultan was now dead, having left unto his Son *Sultan Selwyn* many large Countries and Provinces, altogether gained from the Christians in *Asia*, whom he held in great subjection and thralldom. This warlike Prince having discomfited and almost brought to nought the Hermit's forces, was no less desirous for the withholding of the great Army following; which now being come into *Bithynia*, and lying before *Nicomedia*, removing thence, laid siege to the City of *Nice*, called in ancient times *Antigonis*, of *Antigonis*, the Son of *Philip* that built it; and afterwards *Nicea*, of *Nicea* the Wife of *King Lyfymachus*. In this City dwelt many devout Greeks, Christians; but in such thralldom unto the Turks, that they could do no day anything for the delivery of themselves. This siege endured longer than the Christian Princes had at the first supposed: who although they to the uttermost of their power forced the City on three sides, yet it was still notably defended, new supplies still coming from the Turks by the Lake of *Alcanus* joyning upon the other side of the City. But after that the Christians, possessed of the Lake, began on that side also to lay hardly unto the City, the Turks discouraged, and seeing themselves bett round with their enemies, yielded up the City the fifth of *July*, in the year 1097, after it had been fifty days besieged. But whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege, the Turks assailed that quarter of the Camp where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulsed, and with great loss enforced to retire unto the Mountains. In this City, amongst the rest of the Turks, was taken *Selwyn* wife, with two of her Children, whom the Princes sent prisoners to *Constantinople*. This City so won, was according to the agreement before made, restored unto *Alexius* the Emperor, whose Fleet had in that siege done good service, by taking the Lake from the Turks.

The City of *Nice* thus won, the Christian Princes removing thence with their Army, and marching through the Country, came the fourth day after unto a River which watered many rich pastures: where as they were about to have incamped, for the commodiousness of the place, and refreshing of the Army, suddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now busie in casting up his trenches, That the Turks with a great Army were ready even at hand to charge him. For *Selwyn* having raised a great power of his own, and aided by the Sultan

of Persia his kinsman, was now come with an Army of 60000 strong to give the Christians battle: of whose army and conduct, left the fortifying of his Trenches, and putting his Soldiers in array, set forward to meet him; sending word to the rest of the Princes that lay a far off, to be ready as occasion should require, to relieve him. These two Armies conducted by their most valiant Champions, meeting together, joyous at most fierce and terrible battle, where in short space the Turks lay slain upon heaps; in such fort that they served the Christians instead of Bulwarks. But whilst *Bohemund* thus prevailed in the battle, certain of the Turks horsemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemund's* Camp (not as then altogether fortified, and but disorderly manned) where among the Women, and other weak persons there left, they raised a great tumult and outcry, to the great appalling of them that were fighting in the battle: which *Bohemund* perceiving, withdrew himself with certain companies into the Camp, from whence he with great slaughter repulsed the Enemy. But returning again into the battle, he found there a great election: for his Soldiers whom before he had left as it were in possession of a most glorious victory, were now so hardly laid on by the Turks, as that they were ready to have turned their backs and fled. Nevertheless by his coming in, the battle was notably restored, and but returning again to the full, when the Enemy perceiving how much the assailing of the Camp had troubled the Christians in battle, sent out certain Troops of Horsemen again to assault the same; and had not failed undoubtedly to have taken it, being as afore said not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings Brother come in person, to make relief, who coming in with 30000 Horsemen, after he had relieved the Camp, entering directly into the battle, was notably encountered by a Squadron of fresh Soldiers of the Turks, by them of purpose reserved for such event. There began a battle more terrible than the first, with most doubtful victory: But at the length the Turks weary of the long and cruel fight, and seeing most of their fellows slain, began by little and little to give ground, and to retired into the Mountains, which were not far off. In this lattel, which continued a great part of the day, were slain of the Turks 40000, and of the Christians about the same next morning *Bohemund*, with the French Kings Brother, came again into the field, in such order as if they should presently have given or received battle; where after they had stayed a great while, and saw no Enemy to appear, they fell to the honest burial of their dead; which were easily known by the Turks, by the red crosses upon their garments, the cognizance of their sacred warfare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his Army, notably discomfited his loss, giving it out that he had got the victory: yet by the way as he went he burnt up the Country Villages, and destroyed or carried away whatsoever he thought might stand the Christians in any stead, if they should further follow after him, leaving nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victory, *Bohemund* and the Christian Princes, without resistance marching through the hot and dry Countries of the lesser *Asia*, came to *Antiochia* a City of *Syria*, which they took with small labour: and to marching unto *Iconium* the principal City of *Cilicia*, near unto the Mountain *Taurus*, were there also of the Citizens courteously received, where they stayed certain days for the refreshing of the Army. From thence they set forward toward *Heraclea*, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be assembled.

But they together with the garrison Soldiers, upon the approach of the victorious Army, did the Christians forsook the City, and the Citizens being Christians (as they were yet generally in all the Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, but in great subjection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel masters the Turkish garrisons, came forth, and meeting the Princes, gladly yielded themselves with their City unto them, as unto their deliverers. Here the Christian Princes fully instructed of the great fear and desperation of the Turks, who now in no place durst abide their coming; for the more speedily taking in of those Countries but lately oppressed by the Turks, divided their Army into two parts, leaving the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in *Cilicia*, for the full subduing thereof, (who in short time took the Cities of *Tarsetus*, *Edessa*, and *Mamissa*, with all the rest of the Country, the Turks not daring any where to abide their coming;) the other part of the Army in the mean time entering into the lesser *Armenia*, took the fame from the Turks, which the Princes gave to one *Palmarus* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great service. From whence they took their way into *Capadocia*, which they also subdued, driving out the Turks in every place, and took the Cities of *Caesarea* and *Socor*, where they stayed a few days for the refreshing of the Army: with like success they passed through the rest of the Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, of late possessed by the Turks, still chasing them out before them, and setting at liberty the poor oppressed Christians of those Countries. Whereof *Solyman* (craving aid of *Axan* the Persian Sultan his cousin) grievously complained by his Letters to *Axan*, directed in this manner: *The famous City of Nice with the Country of Romania, which was by your aid and power have gotten from the kingdom of the Greeks, and of your bounty possessed, the Christians of the kingdom of France have again taken from us. Thus was the late erected Kingdom of the Turks in the lesser Asia, by these valiant Christian Champions again brought low, and they glad to retire themselves further off into the Mountains and more Eastern Countries, until this heat was overpast; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled state of the Greek Empire (afterwards rent in sunder by ambition and civil discord, the ruin of the greatest Monarchs) recovered not only their former state, but became also dreadful unto the Greek Emperors themselves; upon whom they daily gained in one corner or other, still maintaining the honour of their estate until the rising of the Ottoman Family, as in the process of this History shall, God willing, be declared.*

These victorious Princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortal praise, to have thus driven the Turks out of the lesser *Asia*, and recovered so many Countries; bound themselves, as well the Princes as the common Soldiers, by solemn oath, never to return again into their Countries, until they had accomplished that sacred War with the conquest of the Holy City. So mounting together the high mountain *Taurus*, and defending thence as into another world, they came to the City *Mareffa*, which they took without resistance, the Turks there in garrison being by night before for fear fled; where the Christians for the refreshing of themselves certain days staid. In the mean time *Robert* Earl of *Flanders* with a thousand men at arms, was sent out to give summons unto a City called *Artafia*, about fifteen miles distant from *Antioch*: when as the Citizens beholding the Ensigns of the Christians, suddenly

A great  
battle  
fought  
between  
the  
Turks  
and  
the  
Christi-  
ans.

Solyman  
flies.

Antioch  
is yielded  
to the  
Turks.

Heraclea  
yielded.

Solyman  
in Syria  
begins  
the  
Christi-  
ans.

The de-  
fection  
of the fa-  
mous City  
of Antioch.

The Chri-  
stians bind  
themselves  
by oath,  
never to  
return to  
their  
own  
Country  
until they  
have taken  
the Holy  
City.

suddenly took up Arms against the Turks there in Garrison, which had of long holden them in Subjection, and prevailing upon them, flow them every Mothers Son: whose heads they presented unto the Earl, and received him into their City. The Turks to revenge the death of their Friends, and to recover again the City before the coming of the rest of the Army, sent out about 10000 men out of *Antioch*; for this there was assembled a great Power of them to have hindered the further proceedings of the Christians: and being come near to *Artafia*, they sent before certain fragling Companies, of purpose to draw the new come Christians out of the City, lying in the mean time in ambush with the rest, of purpose to innap them. With these fragling Companies the Flemings falling out, lustily encountered, and easily put them to flight, the Turks indeed flying of purpose to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in ambush. After whom the Flemings eagerly following, were before they were aware enclosed round with their Enemies, and there had undoubtedly perished, had not the Citizens (being Christians) presently sallied out and right worthily relieved them.

Shortly after, the Christian Princes marching forward with their Army, were encountered by the Turk at the River *Orontes*, who there thought to have laid their further passage: with whom *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who had the Leading of the Vantguard, had a hard conflict, until that the Turks, discouraged with the fight of the Army still coming on, forsook the bridge, and betook themselves to flight. So the Christians passing the River, came and encamped with their Army before the famous City of *Antioch*, that one and twentieth day of October, in the year 1097, the Governor whereof under the Persian Sultan was one *Cassianus*, (of some also honoured with the name of a King) who at the coming of the Christians, had with him in the City even thousand Horsemen, and twenty thousand Foot of the Turks, with great store of Victuals, and all manner of other Provisions necessary for the defence thereof. This City, called in ancient time *Epiphane*, or *Epphane*, and of the Hebrews, *Bethlatha*, sometime the Seat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the Metropolitane City of *Syria*, having under it an hundred and thirty Bishops, (famous for many things, and amongst others, for that it was the Seat of the blessed Apostle *St. Peter*, and first place wherein the Professors of the Christian Religion took the name of Christians) is situate upon the River *Orontes*, about twelve miles from the Sea, and was then strongly fortified both by Nature and Art, being compassed about with a double Wall; the uttermost whereof was of hard stone, and the other of brick, with 460 Towers in the same, and an impregnable Castle at the East end thereof, whereto was joining a deep Lake, coming out of the great River, which entered the South side of the City. Round about this strong City (one of the most assured Refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Christian Princes encamped, except on that side which being defended with the high broken Mountains, is not there to be besieged. Upon whom the Turks out of the City, during the time of the siege made many a fierce and desperate fall, being still by the Christians most valiantly repulsed: especially at the bridge which the Christians had made of Boats for their commodious passage too and fro over the River. In this fort was the siege continued until the beginning of February, with many a bloody skirmish. At

which time such abundance of Rain fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie dry in; and the scarcity of Victuals grew so great in the Camp, that many (horrible it is to say) to assuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their slain Enemies. In these extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea their horses also perished for want of meat, so that in the whole Camp were scarcely left two thousand horses fit for use, the rest being either all dead, or brought so low, as that they were altogether unserviceable. These miseries daily increasing, divers men of great account, whom no terror of the Enemy could have dismayed; began secretly to withdraw themselves out of the Camp, with purpose to have flown home; among whom were *Peter* the Hermit, Author of this War, and *Tancred* the Nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by this way, and brought back with the rest as Fugitives, were sharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings Brother, as Cowards, and Traytors to their Brethren and fellow Soldiers, and to induce to take a new Oath for their Fidelity and Perseverance. *Bohemund* in the mean time going to *Artafia* a Town not far off, by good Fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in Garrison; who after their usual manner falling out to have cut off the Forragers of the Christians, were now themselves caught tary: whereby the Country for a time was more open for the distressed Christians Soldiers to seek abroad for relief. But this liberty so lately gained lasted not long, when news was brought unto the Camp, that the Turks in great number, out of the Provinces about *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, were coming unto the relief of their besieged Friends in *Antioch*. Whereupon the Christians trusting to their own strength, and the strength of the place wherein they were encamped, lay still, and at their coming to encountered them, that they slew 2000 of them, and put the rest to flight. In which conflict the Christians got great store of Provision and Victuals which the Turks had thought to have put into the City. The heads of the slain Turks the Christians set upon stakes before the City, to the more terror of the Defendants. This overthrow of the Turks, wherein *Cassianus* had lost his eldest son, with others of his best Captains, so daunted the besieged, that they requested a Truce for a time of the Christian Princes, which granted, they of the City came oftentimes into the Camp, and they of the Camp likewise into the City; *Cassianus* still expecting relief from the Persian Sultan. Whilst the Christian Princes were thus busy in *Asia*, the Venetians with a great Fleet of two hundred Gallies scouring the Seas, under the conduct of *Henry* *Imperator* the Bishop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes son, meeting with the Gallies of *Pisa* at the *Rhodes*, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherein the Venetians having the upper hand, took eighteen of their Gallies, and in them five thousand Soldiers, whom they feign to be marked with the red cross, the cognizance of the sacred War, they presently set at liberty, together with the Gallies, detaining only thirty of the better sort as Hostages. After that, the Venetians sailing into *Ionis*, took the City of *Smyrna*, and spoiled all along the coasts of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*, before far abandoned by the Turks.

The Truce before taken between the Turks and the Christians at the siege of *Antioch*, being in short time after broken by the death of one *Vello* a Frenchman, slain by the Turks; the War was again begun, and the City more hardly laid unto

unto than before. At which time the Governor, who in the time of this long siege, which had continued nine months, had lost most part of his best Souldiers, was glad for the defence of so great a City, to use the Service of divers Christians, then dwelling in the City. Among whom was one *Pyrrhus*, a Citizen of great Reputation, unto whom he had committed the guarding of a Tower, called the two Towers, afterwards St. George's Tower. This *Pyrrhus* had secret Intelligence with *Behemund* Prince of *Tarentum*, with whom he agreed to give him there entrance into the City, upon condition, that he should of the other Christian Princes procure the Government of the City to himself; and that he with the rest of the Christian Citizens in the City might be at his hands well used: which thing being easily obtained, all things agreed upon, *Behemund* with his Souldiers were by night by *Pyrrhus* let into the City, who made way for the rest of the Army to enter. The City thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the Castle, the rest were put to the Sword, Man, Woman, and Child; and among them also many of the Christians, the furious Souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but small store of Victuals. *Callianus* the late Governor flying out of the City, gave himself up to the Christians, driving through the Mountains, fell into the hands of the Christian Armenians, who lately thrust out of *Jerusalem*, were fled thither for Refuge, by whom he was there slain. In the City were slain about ten thousand persons. Thus was the famous City of *Antioch*, which the Turks had long before by Famine taken from the Christians, again recovered the third day of June, in the year of our Lord God, 1098. The poor oppressed Christians in *Jerusalem* hearing of this so notable a Victory, gave free Thanks unto God therefore, and began to lift up their heads in hope that their Delivery was now at hand. Of this Victory, the Princes of the Army by speedy Messengers and Letters certified their Friends in all Countries, so that in short time, the same thereof had filled a great part of the World. Among others, *Behemund* Prince of *Tarentum*, unto whom this was delivered, sent the joyful News thereof unto *Roger*, his Brother Prince of *Apulia*; whose Letters as the most certain Witnesses of the History before reported, I thought it not amiss here to set down.

*I suppose you to have understood by the Letters of your Son Tunc, both of the great loss of our men, and the battles which we have of late with our great Glory fought. But concerning the Truce, and the proceeding of the whole Affair, I had rather you should be certified by my Letters, than the Letters of others. King Callianus had required a time of Truce: during which, our Souldiers had from Recurve into the City without danger, until that by the death of Vollo a Frenchman, slain by the Enemy, the Truce was broken. But whilst it yet seemed an hard matter to win the City, one Pyrrhus a Citizen of Antioch, of great Authority and much devoted unto me, had Conference with me concerning the yielding up of the City, yet upon condition, That the Government thereof should be committed to me, in whom he had reposed an especial Trust. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great Commanders of the Army, and easily obtained that the Government of the City was by their general consent allotted unto me. So our Army entering by a Gate opened by Pyrrhus, took the City. Within the few day after, the Town Arcutum was by us assaulted, but not without some loss and danger to our Person, by reason of a wound I there received. I assure you much of the*

*valor of your Son Tancered, of whom I and the whole Army make such account and reckoning, as is to be made of a most valiant and valiant General. Farewell. From Antioch.*

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of *Antioch*, *Corbanus* (the Persian Sultan his Lieutenant) with a great Army besieged *Edessa*, with purpose after the taking thereof, to have retaken the City of *Antioch*. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of purpose with a strong Garrison for the defence thereof; the Turk fearing in the mean time to lose *Antioch*, the safest Refuge of the Turks in all those parts, rose with his Army, and set forward against the Christians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sandulcius*, *Callianus* his Son, but lately fled from *Antioch*, by whom he understood of the loss of the City, and by what means the same was most like again to be recovered: upon which hope, *Corbanus* with his mighty Army kept on his way, with a full resolution to set all upon the fortune of a battle. Whose coming much troubled the Christians: for that although they were possessed of the City, yet was the Castle still holden by the Turks. Nevertheless leaving the Earl of *Tobias* in the City, with a competent Power for the keeping in of them in the City, they took the field with the whole strength of the Army, and in order of battle expected the coming of their Enemies; who courageously coming on, as men before resolved to fight, joined with them a most terrible and bloody battle. Neither were they in the City in the mean time idle, for that the Turks in the Castle having received in unto them certain Supplies from *Corbanus*, sallied out upon them that were left for the safeguard of the City, and had with them a cruel conflict. Thus both within the City and without, was to be seen a most dreadful sight of resolute men, with great slaughter on both sides: yet after long fight and much effusion of blood, the fortune of the Christians prevailing, the Turks began to give ground, and afterwards besook themselves to plain flight, whom the Christians hardly pursuing, made of them a wonderful slaughter. In this battle were slain of the Turks above an hundred thousand, and of the Christians about four thousand two hundred. There was also taken a great Prey; for besides Horses and other Beasts for burden, were taken also five thousand Camels with their lading. The next day, being the 25th of June, the Castle was by the Turks now despairing of relief yielded up unto the Christians.

*Antioch* thus taken, Hugh the French Kings Brother, affirmed the Great, was sent from the rest of the Princes to *Constantinople*, to have delivered the City unto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guilty in confidence of his own foul dealing with them, unto whom he had sent no relief at all during the long and hard siege of *Antioch*; neither performed any thing of that he had further promised, and therefore knowing himself hated of them; had in distrust to grant an offer of the Princes, to evil deferred, and therefore refused to accept thereof. Whereupon *Behemund* by the general consent of the whole Army was chosen Prince, or (as some call him) King of *Antioch*.

After this long siege and want of Victuals, ensued a great Plague in the Army of the Christians, the Autumn following, whereof is reported fifty thousand men have died, and amongst them many of great Account. But the mortality ceasing, the Christians in November following,

*Edessa is taken by the Turks.*

*Corbanus the Sultan's Lieutenant, with a great Army comes to relieve the City of Antioch.*

*The exceeding joy of the Christians upon the first delivery of the holy City.*

following, by force took *Rugia* and *Albaria*, two Cities about two days journey from *Antioch*; where difficult attaining hereto, *Behemund* and *Raimund* who of all others only envied at his Preference unto the Principality of *Antioch*: *Behemund* for the common cause sake, gave way unto his Adversary, and retired with his Souldiers back again to *Antioch*: after whom followed the Duke *Godefroy*, and the Earl of *Flanders* with their Regiments. The rest of the Princes withdrew some at *Rugia*, some at *Albaria*, from whence *Raimund* made sundry light Expeditions further into the Enemies Country: but the Spring approaching, the Christian Princes with all their Power took the field again. *Behemund* with them remained with him, departing from *Antioch*, besieged *Tortosa*. Raimund in the mean time with the rest, besieging the City of *Tripoli*; who became much more insolent than before, by reason of some fortunate Raids he had made upon the Enemies the last Winter, ceased not still to malign *Behemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to have divided the whole Power of the Christians, and to have turned their weapons upon themselves; which *Behemund* well considering, rose with his Army; and because he would not with his presence trouble the proceeding of the religious War, retired himself to *Antioch*. After whose departure, *Godefroy* and the Earl of *Flanders* took *Gabala*, a City about twelve miles from *Ladicea*, and from thence returned again to the siege of *Tortosa*, whether *Raimund* came also with his Army, having before driven the Governor of *Tripoli* to such compulsion as pleased himself, and to furnish him with things as he wanted. Thus was *Tortosa* hardly on the sides besieged by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turks, that after three months hard siege, the Christians were glad to depart thence; and marching along the Sea-side, spoiled the Country about *Sidon*. But so far as that City was not easily to be won, they left it, and encamped before *Ybemaia*, which they also passed by; the Governor thereof sending them out Victuals, with such other things as they wanted; and upon Summons given, promising to yield the City after they had once won the City of *Jerusalem*. From thence they came to *Cesarea* in *Galilee*, where they solemnly kept the Feast of *Whitsunday*; and so to *Rama*, which they found for fear forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from *Rama*, and drawing near to *Jerusalem*, they in the Vanguard of the Army, upon the first deyrifying of the Holy City, gave for joy divers great Shouts and Outcries, which with the like applauses of the whole Army was joyfully and redoubled, as if there were they would have rent the very Mountains, and pierced the highest Heavens. There might a man have seen the devout passions of these worthy and zealous Christians, uttered in brief divers manners: some with their Eyes and Hands cast up towards Heaven, called aloud upon the name and help of Christ Jesus; some, prostrate upon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the World sometime walked; others joyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then first beheld: in brief, every man in some sort expressed the joy he had conceived of the fight of the Holy City, as the end of their long travel.

This most ancient and famous City, so much renowned in holy Writ, is situate in an hilly Country; not walled with any River or fresh Springs, nor other famous Cities for moat or parbe; neither yet was it well feared for Wood or Future

ground: but what wanted in these, and such other benefits of Nature, was by the extraordinary blessings of the most High so supplied, as that the Jews there dwelling, so long as they kept the Ordinances of the Lord, were as well as the people in the World fully afforded of most happy and fortunate. Yet in those to blessed times, was this City for the sin of the people oftentimes delivered into the Enemies hand, and the glory thereof defaced; as well appeareth by the whole course of the History of Scripture, as also by the ancient and approved Histories, as well of the Jews themselves, as others. Nevertheless it rose again (though not in like glory as before in the time of King *David*, *Salomon*, and the other next succeeding Kings) and so was still re-peopled by the Jews, until that at last according to the foretelling of our Saviour Christ, it was with a great, and of all others most lamentable destruction, utterly razed and destroyed by the Romans, under the leading of *Vespasian* the Emperor, and his noble Son *Titus*, forty years after our Saviour his precious Death and Passion. Since which time, it was never until this day again repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Jews; but lying buried in the ruins of it self, all the Reign of *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, until the time of the great Emperor *Julius Adrianus*, it was again by him re-edified about the year 136, and after the name of him called *Adria*, who together with the name changed also in some part of the ancient history of the City. For whereas before it was situated upon the steep rising of an hill, in such sort that towards the East and the South it overlooked the whole ground, having only the Temple and the Castle called *Antonia*, in the highest part of the City; *Adrian* translated the whole City unto the very top of the hill, so that the place where our blessed Saviour suffered his most bitter Passion, with the Sepulchre wherein he was also laid, and from whence he in Glory rose again, before without the City, were then inclosed within the Walls thereof, as they are at this day to be seen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in process of time this new built City recovered again the ancient name of *Jerusalem*, whereby it hath ever since, and is at this day yet known. This City so re-edified, the Emperor gave unto the Jews, whom he afterwards thrust out again for Robert-Rebellion, and gave it to the Christians to inhabit; over whom, *Mark*, first Bishop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But so far as the Roman Emperors were at that time altogether Idolaters and Persecutors of the poor Christians, the Church also at *Jerusalem*, with others, endured sundry and many grievous Persecutions under the Emperors *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, *Severus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocletianus*, and *Maxentius*, until that at length *Constantine* the Great, converted unto the Faith of Christ about the year of Grace 320, suppressing the Pagan Idolatry, gave general Peace to the afflicted Church: whereby the Christian Church at *Jerusalem*, for the space of three hundred years after, flourished happily under the Greek Emperors, until the time of the Emperor *Phocas*; who having most cruelly slain the good Emperor *Maurice* with his Children, and so possessed himself of the Empire, gave occasion thereby unto *Chrysos* the Persian King, in revenge of the death of *Maurice* his Father in law, with all his Power to invade *Syria*: who as a tempest bearing down all before him, took also by force the City of *Jerusalem*, having that year, which was about the year Six hundred and ten, slain almost an hundred thousand Christians. But *Phocas* the Usurper being by them of his Guard

*Jerusalem re-edified by the great Emperor Julius Adrianus.*  
*A brand of the State of Jerusalem at the Holy City of Jerusalem from the destruction thereof, under Vespasian the Emperor, and Titus his son, until it was again recovered out of the hands of the Jews by Godfrey of Bullion, the first Bishop of the Gentiles there.*

most cruelly slain, and *Heracles* succeeding in his head, *Chofroe* was by him again driven out of *Syria*, and the Holy City again recovered, about the year 644. In these great Wars against the Persians, *Heracles* had used the help of the Arabians, called *Semir*, a warlike people of *Arabia Deserta*, altogether given to the Spoil: who, the Wars now ended, expecting to have received their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without all reason rejected by them that should have paid them, with very foul and contumacious words: as, that there was not money enough to pay the Christian Soldiers of the Latines and the Greeks, much less those vile dogs (whom they so called, for that they had but a little before received the damnable Doctrine of the false Prophet *Mahomet*, the great Seducer of the World, who even in that time flourished.) Upon which discontentment by their return revolted from the Empire, and joynt themselves unto their great Prophet, and so afterwards unto the Caliphs his Successors, extending his Doctrine, together with his Sovereignty, to the utmost of their power: and that with so good success, that in short time they had overrun all *Aegypt*, *Syria*, the Land of *Arabia*, and taken the Holy City. With these (the Disciples of *Mahomet* and his Successors, the Sarafins, for so now they would be called) the Greek Emperors ensuing had for certain years divers conflicts, with diverse fortune, for the possession of *Syria*. But at length wearied out, and by them overcome, they left the Land of *Arabia* wholly to their Devotion. Hereby it came to pass, that the Sarafins for the space of 370 years following held these Countries, with many others in great Subjection, oppressing still the poor Christians in *Jerusalem* with most grievous Tributes and exactions: unto whom they yet left a third part of the City for them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and Mount *Sion*: nor for any devotion, either unto them, or those places, but for that it yielded them a great profit by the recourse of devout Christians travelling thither: reserving in the mean time unto themselves, the other two parts of the City, with the Temple of *Solomon*, before redified by the Christians. Now whilst the Sarafins thus triumph in the East, and not in the East only, but over a great part of the West also; contenting themselves with such Tributes as they had imposed upon the subdued Nations and Countries; up start the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruel people; who first breaking into *Asia* (as is before declared) and by rare fortune affixing unto the Kingdom of *Persia*, subdued the Countries of *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, with the greatest part of the lesser *Asia*, and *Judea*, together with the Holy City: who both there and in all other places, held the poor oppressed Christians in such Subjection and Thraldom, as that the former government of the Sarafins seemed the affliction of this to have been but light and ease. Neither was there any end or relaxe of these so great miseries to have been expected, had not God in mercy by the weak means of a poor Hermit, stirred up these most worthy Princes of the West to take up Arms in their defence, who having with their victorious Armies recovered the afflicted *Asia*, with a great part of *Syria*, were now come unto this Holy City.

*Jerusalem* being by the Christians, who had before this time been in possession of it, recovered, the Christians with their good fortune of all things necessary for the holding out of a long Siege. The Christians with their

Army approaching the City, encamped before it on the North; for that toward the East, and the South, it was not well to be besieged, by reason of the broken Rocks and Mountains. Next unto the City lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germans and Lorrains: near unto him lay the Earl of *Flanders*, and *Robert* the Norman: before the West gate lay *Tancred* and the Earl of *Thoulouze*: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both absent; the one at *Antioch*, the other at *Edessa*. The Christians thus strongly encamped, the fifth day after gave unto the City a fierce assault, with such cheerfulness, as that it was easily supposed, it might have been even then won, had they not sufficiently furnished with scaling ladders: for want whereof, they were glad to give over the assault and retire. But within a few days after, having supplied that defect, and provided all things necessary, they came on again affix, and with all their power gave unto the City a most terrible assault, wherein was on both sides great valour, policy, and cunning, with much slaughter, until that at length the Christians weary of the long Fight, and in that hot Country, and most fervent time of the year, fainting for lack of Water, were glad again to forsake the assault, and to retire into their Trenches: only the Walls of *Sion* yielded them water, and that not sufficient for the whole Camp; the rest of the Wells which were but few, being before by the Enemy either filled up, or else poisoned.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, a Fleet of the Genowais arrived at *Sidon*, which time also the Fleet of the Egyptian Sultans lay at *Affalon*, to have brought relief to the besieged. Turks in *Jerusalem*, whereof the Genowais understanding, and knowing themselves too weak to encounter them at Sea, took all such things out of their Ships as they thought good, and so sinking them, marched by Land toward the Camp. There was amongst these Genowais divers Engineers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of Engines fit for the besieging of Cities; by whose device, a great moving Tower was framed of timber and thick plaques, covered over with raw Hides, to save the same from fire; out of which the Christians might in safety greatly annoy the Defendants. This Tower being by night brought close to the Wall, served the Christians instead of a most fire fortress in the assault the next day; where whilst they strive with warlike Valour and doubtful Victory on both sides, from morning until midday, by chance the wind favouring the Christians, carried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to have burnt the Tower, with such violence, that the Christians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the Tower, gained the top of the Wall; which was first footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, and his Brother *Engelw*, with their followers: the Engines of the Duke there first set up, to the great encouraging of the Christians, who now pressing in on every side, like a violent River that had broken over the Banks, bare down all before them. All were slain that came to hand, Men, Women, and Children, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition: the Slaughter was great, the Engines of lamentable, all the Streets were filled with blood and the bodies of the dead, Death triumphing in every place. Yet in this confusion, a wonderful number of the better sort of the Turks, retiring to *Solomon* Temple, there to do their last Devotion, made there a great and terrible Fight, armed with despair of any thing; and the victorious Christians no less disdainful; after the winning

The Duke of the Genowais came to the Siege.

A most cruel and bloody Fight, between the Christians and the Turks in the Temple of Solomon.

winning of the City, to find there so great resistance. In this desperate conflict, fought with wonderful obstinacy of mind, many fell on both sides: but the Christians came on so fiercely, with desire of blood, that breaking into the Temple, the foremost of them were by the press of them that followed after, violently thrust upon the weapons of their Enemies, and so miserably slain. Neither did the Turks thus oppressed, give it out with invincible courage, nor at the gates of the Temple only, but even in the midst thereof, where was to be seen great heats, both of the Victors, and the vanquished; slain infamously together. All the Pavement of the Temple swam with blood, in such sort, that a man could not set his foot, but either upon some dead man, or over the shoes in blood: Yet for all that, the obstinate Enemy still held the Vaults and top of the Temple, when as the darkness of the night came so fast on, that the Christians were glad to make an end of the Slaughter, and to sound a Retreat. The next day (for Proclamation was made, for mercy to be shewed unto all Turks as should lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the upper part of the Temple, came down and yielded themselves. Thus was the City of *Jerusalem* with great bloodshed, but far greater honour, recovered by the worthy Christians, in the year 1099, after it had been in the hands of the Infidels above four hundred years.

1099.

The next day after, having buried the dead, and cleansed the City, they gave thanks to God with great Prayers and great rejoicing. The poor Christians before oppressed, now overcome with unexpected joy, welcomed their victorious Brethren with great joy and praise; and the Soldiers embracing one another, sparing to speak of themselves, freely commended each others valour. Eight days after, the Princes of the Army meeting together, began to consult about the choice of their King; among whom was no such difference, as might well shew which was to be preferred before the others. And although every one of them for prowess and desert, seemed worthy of so great an honour, yet by the general consent of all, it was given to *Robert Duke of Normandy*; who about the same time hearing of the death of the Conqueror his Father, and more in love with his Fathers new gotten Kingdom in *England*, in hope thereof, refused the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, then offered unto him; which at his return he found possessed by *William Rufus* his younger Brother, and so in hope of a better, refusing the worse, upon the matter lost both.

After whose departure, *Godfrey of Bullion Duke of Lorraine* (whose Ensign was first displayed upon the Walls) was by the general consent both of the Princes and the Army, saluted King: He was a great Soldier, and indeed with many Heroic Virtues, brought up in the Court of the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration he refused to be crowned with a Crown of Gold: saying, That it became not a Christian man there to wear a Crown of Gold, where Christ the Son of God had for the Salvation of mankind, sometime worn a Crown of Thorns. Of these the greatest part of these proceedings of the Christians, from the time of their departure from *Antioch*, until the winning of the Holy City, *Godfrey* by Letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth:

*Godfrey of Bullion, to Bohemund King of Antioch, Greeting.*

After long travel, having first taken certain Towns, we came to *Jerusalem*; which City is environed with high Hills, without Rivers or Fountains, excepting only that of *Solomon*, and that very little one. In it are many Cisterns, wherein water is kept, both in the City and the Country thereabout. On the East, the Arabians, the Moabites, and Ammonites. On the South, the Idumaeans, Egyptians and Philistines: Whoward along the Sea-coast, lie the Cities of *Ptolemais*, *Tyrus*, and *Tripolis*; and Northward, *Tiberias*, *Caesarea*, *Philipp*, with the Country *Decapolis* and *Damafco*. In the assault of the City, I first gained that part of the Wall that fell to my lot to assault, and commanded *Baldwin* to enter the City, who having slain certain Companies of the Enemies, broke open one of the Gates for the Christians to enter. *Raymond* had the City of *David*, with much rich Spoil yielded unto him. But when we came unto the Temple of *Solomon*, there we had a great conflict, with so great Slaughter of the Enemy, that our men stood in blood above the ankles: The night approaching, we could not take the upper part of the Temple, which the next day we yielded, the Turks pitifully crying out for mercy: and so the City of *Jerusalem* was by us taken, the fifteenth of July, in the year of our Redemption 1099, thirty nine days after the beginning of the Siege, four hundred and nine years since the hands of the Sarafins in time of *Heracles* the Emperor of the Persians, the Princes with one consent saluted me (against my Will) King of *Jerusalem*; who although I fear to take upon me so great a Kingdom, yet I will to my devot, that they shall easily know me for a Christian King, and well deserving of the Universal Faith's love love me as you do, and so farewell. From *Jerusalem*.

Whilst these things were in doing at *Jerusalem*, such a multitude of the Turks and Sarafins their all as one) were assembled at *Affalon* (a City about five and twenty miles from *Jerusalem*) to revenge the injuries they had before received, as had not before met together in all the time of this sacred War. Against whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) assembled the whole Forces of the Christians in those Countries, and leaving a strong Garrison in the new won City, set forward; and meeting with them, joynt a most dreadful and cruel battle; wherein (as most report) were slain of the Infidels an hundred thousand men, and the rest put to flight. The Spoil there taken, far exceeded all that the Christians had before taken in this long Expedition. *Godfrey* after so great a Victory, returning to *Jerusalem*, gave unto the Princes returned either to their Charge, as did *Bohemund* to *Antioch*, *Baldwin* to *Edessa*, *Tancred* into *Galilee*, whereof he was created Prince; or else having now performed the uttermost of their Vows, returned with honour into their own Countries. This was of all others the most honourable Expedition; that ever the Christians took in hand against the Infidels, and with the greatest resolution performed; for the most part, by such voluntary men, as moved with a devout Zeal to their immortal praise, spared neither nor living in defence of the Christian Faith and Religion; all Man worthy eternal Fame and Memory. Nor long after ensued a great Pestilence (the ready attendant of long war and want) whereof infinite numbers of People died, and

As he had died thereof, and taken the Spoil.

*Godfrey of Bullion* first slain.

and among the rest *Godfrey*, the first Christian King of *Jerusalem*, never to be sufficiently commended. Who with the general lamentation of all good Christians, was honourably buried in the Church of the Sepulchre of our Saviour, on the Mount *Calvary*, where our Saviour suffered his Passion; in which the Christian Kings succeeding him were also afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of *July*, the third year of our Lord, 1100, when he had yet scarce reigned a full year. Whose Tomb is yet at this day there to be seen, with an honourable Inscription thereupon.

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Christians made choice of *Baldwin* his Brother, Count of *Edessa*, who leaving his former Government, *Baldwin* furnished *Burgundy*, his near Kinsman, came to *Jerusalem* honourably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on *Christmas-day* with all Solemnity crowned King, in the year 1101. He aided by the Venetians and Genoways at Sea, and by *Bohemund* King of *Antioch* by Land, took from the Infidels the City of *Cesarea*, *Stretton*, standing upon the Sea-side, and overthrew certain Companies of the Egyptian Sultans at *Rama*. But understanding that the Christian Princes of the West were coming to his aid with a new Power, he glad thereof, went to meet them, and safely conducted them to *Jerusalem* along the Sea-coast, by the Cities of *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Ptolemais*, all yet holden by the Enemy. At which time the Turks at *Affalon* having received great aid from the Arabians and Egyptians, invaded the Country about *Rama*, where betwixt them and the Christians was fought a most cruel battle, wherein the Christians received a most notable overthrow, many of their great Commanders being there slain; and among the rest, *Stephen* Earl of *Chartres*, (but lately returned home from the former Expedition, and now come back again) and *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy* and *Tholous*: yea, the King himself hardly escaped the Enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to *Joppa*, after it had been constantly before reported him to have been in that battle also slain. Who having there in haste repaired his Army, came again speedily upon his Enemies, fearing as then nothing left; and overthrew them with such a slaughter, as that they had small cause to rejoice of their former Victory. Neither were the rest of the Christian Princes in the other parts of *Syria* and *Palestine*, in the mean time idle, but fought by all means to enlarge their Territories.

*Tancred* Prince of *Galilee* having raised a great Power, took *Asparus* the Metropolitane City of *Celestria*, and after much toil won also the City of *Laodicea*. *Baldwin* also the Governor of *Edessa*, besieging the City of *Carraus*, had brought the besieged Turks to such extremity, that they were about to have yielded the City; when suddenly he was set upon by a great number of the Turks sent from the Persian Sultan for the relief of the besieged; and being there overthrown, was himself there taken, with *Benedict* the Bishop, and one *Jocelin* his Kinsman: who after five years Captivity, found means with the Turk that had taken them, to release themselves, to the great offence of the Persian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

King *Baldwin* after the late Victory, lived for a season at some good rest in *Jerusalem*, unmolested of his Enemies: but knowing his greatest safety among such War-like people, to consist in Arms, he upon this sudden raised the whole strength of his Kingdom, and laid siege to *Ptolemais*, otherwise called *Aca*, a City of *Phoenicia*,

standing upon the rivage of the Sea; where he found such resistance, that he was glad to raise his siege and depart, having done nothing more than spoiled the pleasant places about the City. By the way in his return back again it fortuned him to meet with certain Companies of the Enemies Adventurers, by whom he was in a Skirmish mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the Wound was by his Surgeons healed up, yet was the cure thereof so great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithstanding the former repulse, the next year encouraged by the coming of the *Genoa* Fleet, laid hard siege again to *Ptolemais* both by Sea and Land, which after twenty days siege was by Composition yielded unto him.

Shortly after, the Governor of *Alappa*, with certain other of the Turks great Captains in those Quarters, having joined their Forces together, and so invaded the Country about *Antioch*, were by *Tancred* (whose *Bohemund* at his departure unto *Italy* had left Governor of that City) notably encountered and put to flight. At which time also the Chahilph of *Egypt* sending great Forces both by Sea and Land against the King of *Jerusalem*, was in both places discomfited, at Land by the Christians, and at Sea by *Tempest*.

*Bohemund* in the mean time, with a great Army of voluntary men and others (wherein he is reported to have had five thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot) returning towards the Holy Land, in revenge of many Injuries done by *Alexius* the Emperor, unto the Soldiers of this sacred War, contrary to his Faith and Promise to them before given; by the way landed his men in *Epirus*, and grievously spoiled the Country about *Durracium*, part of the Emperors Dominion. Neither made he an end of spoiling, until he had enforced the Emperor for redress of so great harms, to make peace with him, and again by solemn Oath to promise all security and kindness unto all such Christian Soldiers as should have occasion to travel too or fro through his Countries, during the time of this Religious War. After which agreement he put to Sea again, and so returned for *Jerusalem*; but whilst he layed at *Antioch*, he shortly after there died in the year 1108, leaving the Principality thereof unto his young Son *Bohemund* a Child, under the tuition of his Nephew *Tancred*.

Yet were the Cities of *Berytus*, *Sidon*, and *Tyre*, along the Sea-coast, in the Enemies possession; for the gaining whereof *Baldwin* the King raised a great Army, and so came and laid siege to *Berytus*, which after many sharp Assaults he at length won, the 23 day of *April*, in the year 1111, and put to Sword most part of them that he found therein. The same year also he, assisted by a Fleet sent unto him out of *Norway*, besieged the City of *Sidon*; where the Citizens (seeing themselves now beset both by Sea and Land) at length yielded unto him by composition the 19th day of *December*. After which Victory he dismissed the Fleet, and returned himself in Triumph to *Jerusalem*. Now of all the famous Cities along the Sea-coast of *Phoenicia* and *Palestine*, from *Laodicea* to *Affalon*, was only the City of *Tyre* that remained in the Enemies hands; which City *Baldwin* also hardly besieged; nevertheless it was so well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it by the space of four months, he was glad to rise with his Army as before.

It fortuned that within two years after, the Turks with a mighty Army sent from the Persian Sultan,

King  
Baldwin  
mortally  
wounded.

Ptolemais  
won by  
King Bal-  
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Baldwin  
Burgundy  
choosing  
King of  
Jerusalem.

1118.

Sultan, invaded the Country of *Celestria*, where spoiling all before them as they went, they came and incamped upon the Sea-coast near unto *Tyberias*. Against whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole strength of his Kingdom; with whom also *Tancred* (who now reigned in *Antioch*, the young *Bohemund* being dead) with the Count of *Tripoli*, and the rest of the Christian Princes, joined their Forces; who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the Enemy, being in number far more than they. *Mendius*, General of the Turks Army (for so I find him called) understanding of their approach, sent out certain Companies of his Men to skirmish with them; against whom the Christians also sent out others, who encountering them, easily put them to flight, being before commanded so to do, of purpose to draw the Christians into the danger of a great strength, lying in ambush to intrap them; which according to the Turks desire fell out. For the Christians fiercely pursuing the flying Enemy, fell into the ambush, and so before they were well aware, were beset on every side with their Enemies; unto the rescue of whom other Companies of Christians coming in, and others likewise from the Turks, both the great Armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joynted a most fierce and terrible battle, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the multitude of the Turks prevailing, the Christians were put to the worse, and so glad to fly; after whom the fierce Enemy hardly followed, not without great slaughter. In which flight the King himself hardly escaped, with *Ardolph* the Patriarch. Whilst *Baldwin* was thus buffed abroad, the Turks and Sarafins from *Affalon* came and besieged *Jerusalem*, being then but weakly manned; but hearing of the Kings coming, and that the Army of the Christians daily increased with new Supplies out of the West by Sea, they retired home again, having burnt certain store-houses full of Corn, and spoiled such things as were subject to their fury.

Long it were to recount all the hard Conflicts and Combats this King had with the Sarafins and Turks, which for brevity I pass over, contented to have briefly touched the greatest. In the last year of his Reign, having for certain years before lived in some reasonable Peace, he made an Expedition unto *Egypt*, where he with much difficulty won *Pharamia*, a strong City upon the Sea-coast, which he joynted unto his own Kingdom. After that, he went to the Mouth of the River *Nilus*, and with great admiration learned the nature of that strange River; and having therein taken abundance of Fish, returned into the City, and there with the same feasted himself with his Friends. But after dinner he began to feel the grief of old Wood, and growing thereof sicker and sicker, returned with his Army toward *Jerusalem*, where by the way near unto a City called *Laris*, he died (to the great grief of all the Christians) in the year 1118. His dead body being brought back unto *Jerusalem*, was there Royally buried, near unto his Brother *Godfrey*, after he had reigned eighteen years, whose Sepulchre is yet there also to be seen, fast by the Sepulchre of his Brother.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Christians with one consent made choice of his Cousin *Baldwin*, surnamed *Burgundy*, Governor of *Edessa*, who by the name of *Baldwin* the Second, was the second of *April*, in the year 1118, solemnly Crowned King of *Jerusalem*. He was of stature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, having his Hair thin and

yellow, his Beard mingled with some gray hairs hanging down to his breast; his colour fresh and lively for one of his years. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no less redoubted of his Enemies, than beloved of his Subjects, who had in him repined great hope both for the defence and enlarging of their new gained Kingdom. Against him the same Summer the Chahilph of *Egypt*, aided by the King of *Damascus* and the Turks, in revenge of the loss he had in the Expedition the year before received, raised a great Power to invade him both by Sea and Land. Against whom *Baldwin* also opposed himself with his whole strength, and so came and incamped within the sight of his Enemies. In which force, when both Armies had lien the one facing the other by the space of three months, they both rose; the Christians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Christians, and so retired without any notable thing doing.

This year died *Alexius* the Greek Emperor, who even from the beginning of this Sacred War secretly repined at the good success of the Christians in *Syria*; although his Empire were thereby greatly enlarged; after whom succeeded *Calo James* his Son, who all the time of his Reign reignd worthily defended his Territories in the latter *Asia*, against the invasion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greatest Princes of the Turks in the latter *Asia*, with the King of *Damascus*, and *Debeis* King of *Arabia*, joining their Forces together, with a great Army invading the Country about *Antioch*, came and incamped not far from *Antioch*, against whom *Roger* Prince of *Antioch*, not expecting the coming of *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes his Confederates, but presuming of his own strength, went forth with greater courage than discretion, whereunto his Success was unfavorable; for in countering with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battle overthrown, wherein himself was slain, with most part of his Army. Of which so great a slaughter, the place wherein this battle was fought was afterward called *The field of blood*. But whilst the Turks after so great a Victory, carelessly and at pleasure room up and down the Country, *Baldwin* setting upon them, overthrew them with a great slaughter, and so put them to flight. After this Victory gained by the Christians the fourteenth of *August* in the year 1120, King *Baldwin* in great Triumph entered into *Antioch*, and so joynted that Principality unto his own Kingdom.

The year following, the Turks with another Army invaded the same Country again; for repelling of whom, whilst *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes were making their Preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great Commander suddenly died of an Apoplexy, upon whose death they retired without any further harm doing. Nevertheless the next Spring, the King of *Damascus*, aided by the Arabians, entered again with a great Power into the Country about *Antioch*, and there did some harm; for the Antiochians now destitute of their own Prince, and *Baldwin* not being able to hinder their Proceeding) being far off, and otherwise busied at *Jerusalem*, were much more subject unto the inroads of their Enemies (still at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their own fill present amongst them. But *Baldwin* advertised thereof, was making toward them with a mighty Army, no sooner than they had thought it could have been possible. Of whose approach the Turks understanding, retired again out of the Country: after

D 2 whom



whom the King thinking it not good to make further pursuit, turned a little out of the way and took *Garaze*, one of the strongest Castles of the Kings of *Damafco*, built but a year before, which because it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he raised down to the ground.

*Baldwin* notwithstanding that he had many times thus honourably repulsed his Enemies, wisely considering how he was on the one side befet with the Turks, and on the other side with the Sarafins (which yet reigned in *Egypt*, the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good thereby to crave aid of the Christian Princes of *Europe*, and to that purpose had sent his Embassadors unto divers of them, but especially unto the Venetians, whom of all others he thought fittest at his need to yield him relief by Sea. It fortuned in the mean time, that *Balac* the Persian Sultan with a great Army of the Turks invaded the Country about *Antioch*, whereof *Baldwin* understanding (although he certainly knew he should ere long receive Aid from the other Christian Princes his Friends, but especially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reason have protracted the War until their coming, yet being therewith much moved, or else his destiny so requiring) raised forth Forces as he had of his own, and without longer staying for his Friends, with greater courage than good speed set forward; and so joining battle with the Enemy, was therein overthrown, with the greatest part of his Army, and himself taken Prisoner in the fight, with certain other of his best Commanders; who all together were carried away Captives unto *Carras*.

Upon the report of this overthrow, and taking of the King, the Chalioph of *Egypt* on the other side took occasion with all his Power to invade the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and having in himself purposed the utter ruine thereof, beside the great Army which he sent thither by Land (which lay incamped not far from *Alcalon*) he put to Sea an huge Fleet also of 700 Sail, for the distressing of the Sea-Towns, which he well knew were not otherwise to be won. This Fleet of the Sarafin Kings (for *Egypt* with the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Morocco* were yet in possession of the Sarafins) arriving at *Toppa*, there put ashore their Land Forces, and hardly besieged the Town both by Sea and Land. But whilst they thus lay in great hope to have won the Town, *Dominicus Michael* Duke of *Venice*, fitted up by *Calawan* then Bishop of *Rome*, was come to *Cyprus* with a Fleet of two hundred Sail, for the Relief of the Christians in *Syria* and the Holy Land; and hearing of the distress of *Toppa*, nothing dismayed with the number of the Enemies Fleet, halted thither, and came so suddenly upon them, that he had (as some report) overthrown them, before they could put themselves in order, or be in readiness to fight; or as some others say, after a great and doubtful fight, having sunk or taken a great number of them, and put the rest to flight, he obtained of them a most glorious Victory. With like good Fortune also were the Sarafins overthrown in a notable battle at Land, near unto *Alcalon*, by the Lord *Emphase*, unto whom the defence of the Kingdom was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after so great a Victory died.

*Toppa* relieved (as is aforesaid) the Duke of *Venice* travelled by Land to *Jerusalem*, where he was honourably received by *Guarimond* the Patriarch, and the Consecration before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, upon the same conditions solemnly again renewed.

The Sarafins thus notably discomfited both by Sea and Land, and the City of *Jerusalem* thereby a little encouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came, and the first of *March* laid Siege unto the ancient and strong City of *Tyre*: which they having befet both by Sea and Land, gave thereunto many a sharp assault; which the Turks as Men fighting for their Lives and Wives, right valiantly repulsed. In which for the Siege was continued longer than the Christians had at the first thought should have needed; yet at length after four Months siege, the Turks fore weakened with often assaults, and hardly pinched with want of Food, all their force being spent, yielded the City by composition. This was the City of *Tyre*, the most famous Port of *Phoenicia* yielded unto the Christians the nine and twentieth of *June*, in the year 1124. The third part of this City was given to the Venetians, according to the Composition made betwixt them and the Kings of *Jerusalem*. That of all such Cities as were by their help won from the Infidels in *Syria*, they should have a third part, with one freer, and free Traffike in all the rest of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* set at liberty for the Ransome of an hundred thousand Ducats, after he had been eighteen months Prisoner among the Turks.

The Duke of *Venice* having now spent almost three years in this Sacred Expedition, and well confirmed the state of the Christians in *Syria*, returning home, by the way took the Islands of *Claus*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Mitylen*, and *Andrus*, with the City of *Adalon* in *Peloponnesus* all places belonging unto the Greek Empire. Which he did in revenge of the Injuries done by the Emperor in the time of his absence, who envying at the success of the Christians in *Syria*, as had his Father *Alexius* before him, had in the absence of the Duke infested the Territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now justly required, with the loss of a good part of his own.

*Baldwin* also not unmindful of the Injuries unto him before done by the Turks, in requital thereof, invaded the Country about *Damafco*, and there in three notable battles overthrew the King, and spoiled the Country; wherein he took to great a Prey, that therewith he redeemed his Daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliverance left in Hothage with the Turks for the payment of his Ransome. He also overthrew the Sarafins at *Alcalon*, who aided by the Chalioph of *Egypt*, hadundry times invaded the Country about *Jerusalem*. And so having well repressed his Enemies, for a space lived in peace.

Not long after, *Hugh Pagani* first Master of the Templars (an Order of Knights first begun in the Reign of this *Baldwin*) before sent to crave Aid of the Christian Princes of the West, against the Turks and Sarafins, returned with a great number of zealous Christians, ready to lay down their Lives for defence of the Christian Faith and Religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes of *Syria* joining their Forces, set forward and besieged *Damafco*, the Regal Seat of the Turks in those quarters. But whilst the strength of this City, with the valour of the Defendants, and contagiousness of the Air, that the Christians (the Heavens as it were then fighting against them) were glad to raise their Siege in vain again, and so to retire.

Whilst things thus passed in *Syria*, *Fulk* Count of *Tours*, *Magnus* Duke of *Armenia*, and almost of threecore years, having as he thought best disposed of his things at home, had for devotion sake taken upon him an expedition into the Holy Land. In the time of which his preparations, Embassadors came unto him from King *Baldwin*, offering him in Marriage *Melinda* (or as some call her, *Margaret*) his eldest Daughter, with the Succession of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* in dowry, if he should survive the King; and in the mean time to content himself with the Cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*: of which offer he accepted, and so held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three years after, that the King fell dangerously sick, and feeling his death draw near, having laid aside all Regal Dignity, caused himself to be removed out of his own Palace, unto the Patriarchs house, which was nearer unto the Temple of the Sepulchre: and there calling unto him *Fulk* the Count, his Son-in-Law, with his Daughter and his Son *Baldwin*, then but two years old, in the presence of the Patriarch, and divers other Princes and great Commanders, commended unto them the Government and Defence of the Kingdom, appointing *Fulk* to succeed him. And taking unto himself the habit and Profession of a Monk (if he should have longer lived) presently after gave up the ghost the two and twentieth day of *August*, in the year 1131, whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteen years, and was solemnly buried in the Temple upon Mount *Calvary*, with the other two Kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin*, his Predecessors.

The Kings Funeral ended, the Princes of the Kingdom with one accord made choice of *Fulk* the old Count, Earl of *Anjou*, for their King; who the 16 day of *September*, was with all solemnity by *William* the Patriarch crowned in *Jerusalem*. This man in the beginning of his Reignt besides his troubles abroad, was also vext with domesticall and intestine discord. *Pontius* Count of *Triopolis*, seeking by force of Arms to have rent the Dukedom of *Antioch* from the Kingdom: and *Hugh* Count of *Toppa*, for fear of due punishment for his Treason, joining himself with the Sarafins of *Alcalon*, and so with them infesting the Territories of *Jerusalem*, to the great hurt of the Christian State, and advantage of the Infidels. Which troublesome broyles were yet afterwards by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarch and other Princes (who seeing the danger thereof like to ensue, had interposed themselves) well again appeased. Vengeance yet nevertheless fell following both the aforesaid Traitors: *Pontius* being shortly after slain by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Besides these domesticall troubles, the Turks also invaded the Country about *Antioch*, where they were by the sudden coming of the King overthrown, with the loss of their Tents and exceeding great Riches. And that nothing might be wanting unto the disquicing of the State of that new erected Kingdom, not long after, *John* the Constantinopolitan Emperor, (together with the Empire, Inheritor also of his Fathers malice, against the proceeding of the Christians in *Syria*) with a puissant Army passing through the lesser *Asia*, and by the way taking by force *Tarbus* the Metropolitane City of *Cilicia*, with the whole Province thereunto belonging, came and besieged *Antioch*; which *Fulk* but a little before had, together with *Confiance* the Daughter and Heir of the late Duke of *Triopolis*, for that purpose sent out of *France*. But in this so dangerous state of that Christian Kingdom, the other zealous Christian Princes interposed themselves

as Mediators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the fame to belong unto his Empire) and *Raymond* that was in possession thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, that *Raymond* for the present submitting himself unto the Emperor, should from thenceforth hold his Dukedom of him as of his Lord and Sovereign; upon which agreement the Emperor returned unto *Jerusalem*, where he wintered, and so afterwards unto *Constantinople*.

Much about the same time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes, invading the Country about *Triopolis*, besieged the Castle of *Mont-Ferrand*, unto the relief whereof *Fulk* coming with his Army, was by the Succession of the Count, and the safeguard of his life, glad to take the refuge of the Castle, the Count himself being in that barrel taken Prisoner. After which Victory, the Turks laid harder Siege unto the Castle than before; the besieged in the mean time being no less pinched within with Famine, than pinched without by the Enemy. In this the Kings hard distress, the other Princes having raised the whole power of the Kingdom, were coming to his relief; whereof the Turk understanding, offered of himself to give them all leave freely to depart, and to let the Count at liberty, so that they would deliver unto him the Castle; of which his offer they gladly accepting, yielded up the strong Hold, and so departed. The King by the way meeting with the Army, thanked his Friends for their forwardness, and so returned to *Jerusalem*.

About four years after, *John* the Constantinopolitan Emperor with a great Army came again into *Syria*, with purpose to have united the famous City of *Antioch* unto his Empire, and so to have made a way into the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, wherewith he had now a good while longed. But coming thither in hope to have found the Cilicians and Syrians ready to have received him, he was deceived of his expectation, being shut out by the Latines, and not suffered to enter but upon his Oath, and that with some few of his followers; and so after due reverence done unto him, quietly to depart without any stir or innovation in the City. In revenge of which disgrace, at his departure he gave the Suburbs of the City as a prey to his greedy Soldiers, pretending the same to be done for want of Victuals; who made havock of whatsoever came to hand, not sparing the very Fruit Trees, but cutting them down to dress their meat withall. Having thus under colour of necessity reversed the disgrace received, he returned into *Cilicia*, and there wintered: where one day for his sport hunting of the wild Boar, and having wounded him with his Boar-Spear, the wild beast therewith enraged, and with all his force bearing forward upon the weapon, forced the Emperors hand backward upon the point of a poynted Arrow that was hanging in a quiver at his back, and so was therewith lightly wounded. Nevertheless as light as the wound was, such was the strength of the Poyson, that the grief thereof still increasing, and his hand and Arm more and more swelling, there was no remedie to be found; but that his Arm must be cut off, which dilapidate and uncertain cure he abhorring, in the extremity of his pain oftentimes pleasantly saying, That the Greek Empire was not to be governed with one hand, overcome with the strength of the Poyson, died. In whole place succeeded his youngest Son *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two Elder Sons being both dead, his sitting forth unto this so unhappy an expedition.

It fortuned about this time also, that the Kingdom

The death of Baldwin, with the infestation, the invasions of Jerusalem.

1131.

Cato Joannes the Greek Emperor, new settled in his seat to have furnished the City of Antioch.

The death of Cato Joannes the Greek Emperor.

Toppa besieged by the Sarafins.

Tyre besieged by the Christians.

Kingdom of *Jerusalem* being now at peace, that *Fulk* the King, with the Queen his Wife, lying at the City of *Ptolemais* in the time of Autumn, it pleased the Queen for her disport to walk out of the City unto certain pleasant Fountains thereof by the side of the Country.

The Kings would needs also, with certain of his Courtiers; where by the way it chanced that certain Boys running along the field, put up an Hare that was fitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horseback galloped again, with notable outcry and hollowing. Amongst the rest, the King and Queen, who were following, forcing his horse to the uttermost of his power, in the midst of his course fell, together with his horse foundering under him; and in falling, chanced to fall his head under the horse, with whose weight, and the hardness of his saddle, he was so crushed, that his Brains came out both at his mouth and ears; and he lay thus for some time up for dead, and with great heaviness being carried back, he yet breathing lay speechless three days, and so died the thirteenth of *November*, in the year of Grace 1142. His dead body afterwards brought to *Jerusalem*, was there with great magnificence, and the general lamentation of all the Nobles, buried with the other Kings his Predecessors.

Now had the late King left behind him two Sons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen years, and *Amlicr* about the age of seven. Of the Elder of these two, the Christian Princes made choice, and he was crowned King of *Baldwin* the first. He came together with *Amlicr*'s Mother. Partner with him in the Kingdom, upon *Christmas* day with him the solemnity crowned King of *Jerusalem*, in the year 1142. About which time, *Sanguin* the Turk, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Rasme*, the King of *Armenia*, and *Alpharagius*, the King of *Bagdad*, came and with a great power befieged *Eyssa*, the Count being at the same time absent; and did so much, that at length he took the City by undermining of it, where the bloody Turk executed his rage, and slew the Count, and all the Christians in the City. By the loss of this famous City, to large a Territory fell again into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbishopsricks were thereby drawn from the Church of *Antioch*, which were *Armenia*, *Armenia*, and *Armenia*. The next year, the Turk waked after befieged *Colagenar*, another strong Town of the Christians: Was one night drinking liberally with his Friends, he was by one of them in his drunkenness flabbed, and so slain, and the City taken, in whose head *Rasme* his Son succeeded.

*Baldwin*, in the first year of his Reign, recovered from the Turks the Cattle of *Sobal*, a strong hold beyond *Jordan*, which he notably fortified, for the defence of that side of his Kingdom against the incursions of the Turks. But the next year undertaking an expedition against the King of *Damasco*, he was by *Noradin* the Turk, the Kings Son-in-Law, so hardly befer in his return, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his Army escaped his hands.

The Report of the loss of *Edessa* with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being bruited through all parts of Christendom, greatly moved the Christian Princes of the West. Whom *Eugenius* the Third, then Bishop of *Rome*, ceased not both by himself and by his Legates to stir up to take that sacred War in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in every Province of Christendom preparation was made for the relief of the distressed Christians in *Syria*. Of all others, *Conrade* the Third then Emperor of *Germany*, was most forward,

who aided the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of Voluntary Men out of all parts of Christendom, had raised a most puissant Army, and therewith set forward on this glorious Expedition. Of this his devout purpose he had made manifest manner to the Greek Emperor, through whose Countries he was passing, craving that he might by his good Favour fo do, and for his Money to be relieved with Victuals, and other such things as he should have need of for himself or his people; promising in most ample manner to requite them, without any harm doing unto the Emperor or his Subjects. All which the Greek Emperor, commending his zeal, seemed in most large terms willingly to concede unto. Nevertheless he inwardly repined thereat, withholding no but succour to the Christians in this so honourable Expedition, but he would not trust himself, as by the sequel of his doings well might be seen. For *Conrade* with his populous Army, indeed a terror unto the Greeks, entering into the Frontiers of the Constantinopolitan Empire, found all things in their friendly (for why, *Emanuel* had been so far from giving command, that good force of Victuals and all other things should be ready) at all places to be fold as the Army was to pass; but they were not far come into the Country, but that in the tail of the Army fill followed certain strong Companies of the Greeks, to keep the Souldiers from stragling from their Ensigns, and to prevent the Army from being cut off, by cutting them short, as they took them at advantage. And fill the further that they travelled, the more it was to be seen in the countenances of the discontented Greeks, how unwelcome Guests they were. Yet still on they went through the Countreys of the Christian Friends, little differing from open Enemies, until they came to *Adrianople*; in departing from whence, such discord rose between them that were in the Rearward of the Army, and the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to have come to plain battel, had not the false broils, by the discretion of some of the Souldiers, been happily prevented. And so following on they came to *Adrianople*, and in following days after to the Plain called *Cherobachi*, through which the River *Malar* hath his course; which in Summer being almost dry, in Winter or any other great downfall of Water, rised suddenly overflowing, and so the Army was forced to march through it; that then it seemeth no more a River, but a flood, and swelling with the Wind, is not to be passed over but by great Boats. This River then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great rain that then fell, in such abundance, as if the Flood-river of *Libanus* had been opened, so overflowed the places whereto they were come, that they could not abide thereat, the violence of the Water were carried away not only many Weapons, Saddels, Garments, and such other the Souldiers necessities, but even the Horses and Mules, with their burthens; yea, and great numbers of armed men, were so much lost, that it was almost memorable thing to behold. Many valiant Men there fell without Fight, and died, no men killing them to be tall, helped nor; neither did valour stand them in any stead; they perished like hay, and were carried away like chaff, with such furious and violent winds, that the way flew is, verily said. That the wrath of God beareth witness, that in such a suddain inundation had overwhelmed all, that happy was he who could make shift for himself, without regarding any another. This misfortune sore troubled the Emperor with his whole Army. Nevertheless, the Water being again fallen, and all put in to good order, as in such a confusion

Conrad  
the Em-  
peror not  
suffered  
enter in  
Constan-  
tinople.

fusion was possible, he marched on to the Imperial City; which the suspicious and malicious Greek had before notably fortified and so strongly manned with armed Men glittering upon the Walls, in such fort as if it should have presently been assaulted.

Comrade approaching the City, was not suffered to enter, but perfwaded by the Greek Emperor forthwith to tranſport his Army over the Straiteſs, with promiſe to ſupple his wants with whatſoever he ſhould require; which was done with ſuch ſpeed, that he and his Army had been ſoon ſet on their march, but only to have them thinned; yet, in which ſervice the Greeks ſpared no labour, or kind of Vexell, that might ſerve to tranſport them. The Greek Emperor in the mean time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that paſſed, until that they wearied with the multitude, ceaſed ſending any more, and then began to diſcover the treachery of the Greeks, and then began the covert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to appear. For, beſides, that they truſting upon his promiſes, had brought little or no Proviſions over with them, the Country People by his appointment brought nothing unto them to ſell, as before; and they of the Towns and Cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, ſo that ſcarce being able to ſubſiſt, they began to ſtreame rare, for which they would ſtill receive their Money by Ropes caſt down from the Walls, and then deliver them what they pleaſed therefor, yea, and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practices, not beſeeching Chriſtians, the miſchievous Greeks, to payſon the Soldiers, mingled Lime with the Meal which they ſold for their ſubſiſtence; and ſo that the hungry Soldiers greedily feeding, died. Where the Greek Emperor were privy thereto, or no, is not certainly known; but certain it is, that he cauſed counterfeit Money to be coined, of purpoſe to deceive them; and in brief, there was no kind of miſchief to be practiſed againſt them, which he himſelf might not, or ſeem not to be ready to deviſe. And ſo that the Greek Emperor ſatisfied by this fo unfortunate an expedition, might for ever be afraid to take the like in hand again. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deviſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turks themſelves, concerning the ſtrength of the Army, plotting unto them the means how they might be able to ſurprize them, when they came to night that ſome part thereof was by Pamphlo, a Captain of the Turks, overthrowen near *Babitis*, and many ſlain. But attempting to have done the like unto that part of the Army that paſſed through *Phrygia*, they were themſelves overtaken in their own device, and were ſlain with a great ſlaughter. After which, the Turks made great ſtories to ſlay Chriſtians further paſſage, kept the River *Meander*, encamping upon the farther Bank of that winding River, with a moſt huge Army. There theſe worthy Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but their Patience, that the Grecian Leſions that had before ſo long followed them, ſhould not be able to do them any hurt, whoſe ſufferings, were not to them become a Proſperity. The Emperor coming unto the River ſide, there was neither Bridge nor Boat to paſs over, and finding the great Army of the Turks on the other ſide, ready to give him battle if he ſhould attempt the River, with their Archers ſtanding upon every Bank ſide; he retired a little out of the danger, and ſent ſome of his ſouldiers, who commanded his Souldiers to reſreſh themſelves and their Horſes that night, and to be ready againſt the next morning to joya battle with

their Enemies they were so far come to seek for. Little rest served him that night; early in the morning before day he arose, and arming himself, led his whole Army in order of batle; as did also the Enemy on the other side of the River, with their Battalions orderly placed, and their Archers upon the Bank side, ready to give the first Charge on the Christians, if they should adventure to come over. Both Armies thus standing in readiness, the order in fight of the other, and nothing but the winding River betwixt them, the Emperor before resolved to fight, with cheerful Countenance and Speech encouraged his Men as followeth.

That this expedition was of us taken in hand, for Christ his sake, and for the glory of God, and not of flesh or man; you know right well, fellow Soldiers. For, for the cause of Christ having contemned a pleasant life at home, we have voluntarily separated from our dear and dearest Friends, and from our dear Country, and foreign Countries; we are exposed unto dangers, and unto hunger, and unto cold, with cold, we languish with heat: we are exposed unto our bed, the heaven our covering: and although we are noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling over Nations; yet swear we always our garments as necessary bonds, and are with them and our armour loaded, as was the weighty garments of Christ. Poor, parchured with thirst, chained, and beaten with the rods of Soldiers. But these Barbarians (divided from us by this River) to be the Enemies of the cross of Christ, whom we of long have desired to encounter withal, in whose land (as David saith) we have vowed to wash our selves: Who is there that knoweth not that he is altogether bloody and will not with open eyes, let me open mine eyes, if we may ascend straight way unto Heaven, (For neither is God so strict, that he knoweth not the cause of this our journey, or will not in recompence give unto us the immortal Cities, and shady dwellings of Paradise, which heaving forsaken our own dwellings, have chose rather for his sake than for their lives) if we call to remembrance what things they have done, and what things they do, for us, against our Friends and Countrymen, if we remember what grievous tortures they inflict upon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compassion of their innocent blood, unworthily still stand now courageously, and fight valiantly, and let us now say, or terror damn us. Let these Barbarians, who by their hands, and by their tongues, and by their craft and infruiter dash excel their false Prophet and Seducers, authors of their vaine impiety; so much are we superiours unto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy Camp, and an army gathered by the power of God, let us not cowardly lose our selves, or let our dear Christ be shamefully to adventure our lives, for Christ's sake, let us bravely to adventure our lives. For Christ's sake, let us not lose our right; it is that we for him should die also? Unto this so honourable Expedition let us also give an honorable end; Let us fight in Christs name, with a most assured hope of an easy Victory. For none of them (I shall) shall be able to abide our force, but they shall give us the victory, by their flight. But if we shall die (which God forbid, that we should be an honorable place of our burial, where/ever we shall for Christ fall. Let the Persian Archer for Christ his sake, strike me, I will die in assured hope, and with that Arrow, as with a Chariot, I will come my day, I will be so me deaver than if I should be slain in a bold and valiant manner, and I will say unto thee, I will be so me deaver than if I should be slain in a bold. Now at length let us take revenge upon them, with whose impure Feet our Kinsmen and Christian Brethren trodden down, are gone into that common Sanctuary, in which Christ our Saviour, Equal and Affiance to his Father, is become a Companion of the Dead. We are they mighty men, we have braved down our Swords, which stand about the lively and shining



The Turks  
overthrown  
by the  
Christians  
with a  
wonderful  
slaughter.

Nicetas  
Chonlates  
Annali  
primo re-  
um a Ma-  
nuele  
Comneno  
Imperato-  
re gestar.  
fol. 139.

Iconium  
in vain be-  
sieged by  
the Chri-  
stians.

After this too great a Victory, the Chriftians without reluctance came to *Iscunium*, the chief Seat of the Turkish Kings in the lesser *Afia*, where they hardly besieged. Nevertheless, such was the strength of the City, being strongly fortified both by Nature and Art, together with the valour of the Defendants, that lying there long, they little prevailed, pressed in the mean time with greater extremities and wants in the Camp, than were the besieged in the City; whereupon they resolved to fetch a Mortality, people daily without number dying in the Camp; and the Emperor was glad to raise his siege, and to return into his Country. The chief cause as well of this great Mortality, as of the overthrow of so noble an Action, most men ascribe unto the malice of the Greeks; who not without the privy of their Emperor (as it was commonly bruited) mingled Lime with the Meal which they brought to sell

II46a

The honorable Expedition of Lewis the French King, by the malice of the Greeks, and envy of other Christian Princes of Syria frustrated and brought to naught.

About the same time also (or as some write, even at the same time together with the Emperor) Lewis the French King, the Eighth of that name, took upon him the Expedition for the relief of the Greeks in the East; and who, being forward with all the Chivalry of France, and accompanied with divers other great Princes, with a right puissant Army came to *Constantinople*, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperor honourably received, with all the outward shews of feigned courtesy and civility. But when he came to the Straits, and landed in *Asia*, he found nothing answerable to that the dissembling Greek had before most largely promised. And to distress him the more, was by false Guides before conducted to a place, which he found to be the most desolate and barren Countries, where he saw the way a wonderful number of his Soldiers perished of hunger and thirst; many of them also fell off in the straits and difficult passages, and were devoured by the very beasts which he met. He was thus distressed, till the malicious Emperor for that purpose. Yet after many dangers passed, and his Army fore wasted, he came

**Damasco**  
*in vain be*  
*sieged by*  
**Lewis the**  
**French**  
**King.**

1147.

Pancada  
taken and  
sacked by  
the Turks.

**Pancada**  
*again re-  
paired by  
the Christi-  
ans.*

Now had the state of the Christians in *Syria*, for certain years after the afore said Expeditions, refted in good peace; when *Noradin* the Turk (moved with some injuries done by the Christians unto the Turks and Arabians, who by the leave of King *Baldwin* dwelt in the Forest of *Jerusalem*) did send a befieged *Tamada*, a City of the Christians thither, and desired the Christians in the City, now brought unto great extremity, made a most deperate Sally, and hap with the Turks a sharp and cruel fight; but oppressed with the multitude, and enforced to retire, they were so hardly purified, that the Turks together with them entered the City, and put to Sword all the Christians that were therein. And the greater part of the Citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themselves into the Castle, which was of great strength, and there stood upon their guard. Of whose distress, with the taking of the City, *Baldwin* hearing, raised a great Army, and so fet forward to relieve them. But when he was within view of the City, and of his own strength, after he had taken the spoil of what he could, fet fire on the City, and so departed. The Citizens thus delivered, repaired again the Walls of the City, the Kings Power still defending them. *Noradin* with his Power all the while lying close in the Woods not far from the City, waited for a better good opportunity to take the Christians, and so forthwith shortly after fell out according to his own desire; for the King doubting no such matter, but supposing him to have been quite gone, having at his return sent away all his Footmen, followed after himself, accompanied only with his Horsemen, they all not very strong; but as he was passing by a River, *Noradin* was suddenly fet upon by *Noradin* and the Turks, and after a sharp Conflict overthrowen the King himself with some few hardly escaped to *Sapher*, a Town there by; most part of his Nobility being there either slain or taken Prisoners; amongst the rest, *Bertrand*, of *Blanchepois*, Master of the Templars, and some others of great Name, fell at that time into the Enemies hands, and so were carried away Prisoners.

After this Victory, *Noradin* strengthened with new Supplies from *Damasco*, came again and be-

Many a day did *Jehulaim*, with the Turks had this young King afterwards, during the fortunate time of his Reign; wherein that troublesome Kingdom happily flourished amidst the Micro-rents; all which to recount, were long and tedious; among other things, it is worth the remembrance that *Moradin* the Turk, then King of *Damafca*, besieging the Castle, then belonging to the Kingdom of *Tersulaim*, was at a fit battle by *Baldwin* overthrownd and put to flight, with the loss of the greatest part of his Army. King *Baldwin* was before married *Emmale*, daughter to the Emperors Neece; and now the same Emperor by his second Marriage, had his Embassadors, requested that *Trifles* might again in marriage one of the Kings Nine Kingwomen. Unto whom the King, after mature deliberation having concerning the matter, offered the eldest, an honourable Lady, the Sister of the Countess, who the Emperor refused; and afterward by the consent of the Countess, made choice of *Mary* the Daughter of *Raimund*, Prince of *Antioch* lately dead. Which the Count of *Tripolis* taking in civil part, in revenge thereof, by certain Men of War whom he put to Sea, gave the distressed Frontiers of the Emperors Kingdoms, the Count of *Tripolis* a sore smart. In consequence of this Marriage was solemnizing, the King made his abode at *Antioch*, at which time he fortified the Castle of *Pontifer* upon the River *Orante*, against the Incurfions of the Enemies. But lying there, he was poysoned by his wonted manner, to prevent fickleness, the Countess of *Wine* took Physick of *Barac* a Jew, the Count of *Tripolis* being Christian. After the taking whereof, he fell presently into the Bloody-Flux, and afterward into a Consumption; whereby it was verily fuppofed, that he was poysoned by the Jew; and the rather, because the Countess of *Wine* the same Medicine that was left, being given to a Dame, who died in short time died. The King thus languishing in pain, to change the Air, removed first to *Tripolis*, and afterward to *Berytus*, where he departed this troublesome life, to live with his Sacred Christ, his bliss for ever. His dead Body was afterwards with great Pomp and Pomp, conveyed to *Tersulaim*, and there solemnly interred by the body of his Father. He departed the 12th of February, in the year of Grace, 1163, when he had reigned 21 years. He was a man so gracious, that not only his Friends, but even his Enemies themselves (as it is reported) lamented his death. Infomuch that *Antioch* the Emperor *mefo*, his Intimate Enemy, being invited by some of his Captains to invade his Kingdom at such time as his Funerals were in solemnizing, refused to do so, answering, That compaffion and regard was to be had of the just sorrow of the Citizens, who were mourning for the loss of such a King, the like was hardly again to be found in the World.

But leaving the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, with  
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the greater part of *Servia*, thus victoriously gained from the Infidels; let us for the orderly continuation of our History, again return to see the proceedings of the Turks at the same time in the lesser *Asia* also; wherein they yet held the State of a Kingdom, though not so great as before the coming of the Princes of the West into those Countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *Godfrey* and the other Christian Princes had much to do as they passed into *Syria*) as is aforesaid, one *Mahomet* succeeded him; against whom *Adrianus*, Sultan of *Iconium*, at that time the two Infidels (professing both one Superstition) became Friends, and joining their Forces, overthrew the Emperor with his whole Army, as he lay at the siege of *Iconium*, at which time he himself with much ado escaped by flight. *Mahomet* afterwards having got into his hands the whole Kingdom of the Turks, at the time of his death divided the same among his three Sons; unto *Circassian* his eldest Son he gave *Iconium* his chief City, with the Towns and Provinces subject thereunto: unto *Jaguphan* his other Son (or rather as some will have it, his Son in law) he allotted the Kingdom of the fruitful Country of *Cappadocia*, and the Plains adjoining; but unto *Dadane* his other Son (or Son in law) he gave the great Cities of *Cæsarea* and *Sebastia*, with the large Countries thereabouts, all sometime a part of the Greek Empire, but then the portions of the Turks. Long it was not after this division of the Kingdom, but that these Brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetful of the bonds both of Love and Nature, fell at discord among themselves; the Sultan seeking the destruction of *Jaguphan*, and he likewise of him, and that not by secret means, but even by open force of Arms. *Emmanuel* the Greek Emperor in the mean time whilst the destruction of them both, heartily rejoicing thereat, and by his Embassadors secretly animating the one against the other, yet in open shew more favouring of the part of *Jaguphan* than of the Sultan, by whose Aid he obtained against him many notable and bloody Victories; inso much that the Sultan weary of the Quarrel, was glad not only by his Embassadors to seek the Emperors favour, but even in person himself to go and meet him, as he came with his Army out of *Syria*, and so to accompany him unto *Constantinople*, where he was together with the Emperor most honourably received, with all the signs of Joy and Triumph that could possibly be devised. The Emperor no less rejoicing to be sued unto by so great a Prince, than did the Sultan at his so honourable entertainment.

Among other quaint devices of many, for the solemnizing of so great a Triumph, there was an active Turk who had openly given it out, That against an appointed time he would from the top of an high Tower in the Tilt-yard fly by the space of a furlong; the report whereof had filled the City with a wonderful expectation of so strange a feat. The time prefixed came, and the people without number assembled, the Turk according to his promise, upon the top of an high Tower shewed himself, girt in a long and large white Garment, gathered into many pleats and foldings, made of purpose for the gathering of the Wind; wherewith the

foolish man had vainly perfwaded himself to have hovered in the Air, as do Birds upon their Wings, or to have guided himself as are Ships with their Sails. Standing thus hovering a great while, as ready to take his flight; the beholders still laughing, and crying out, Fly, Fly, fly, how long shall we expect thy flight? The Emperor in the mean time still disdaining him from so desperate an Attempt; and the Sultan betwixt fear and hope hanging in doubtful suspense what might happen to his Countryman. The Turk, after he had a great while hovered with his Arms abroad, (the latter to have gathered this wind, as Birds do with their Wings) and long deluded the expectation of the Beholders, at length finding the Wind fit, as he thought, for his purpose, committed himself with his vain hope unto the Air; but in stead of mounting aloft, this foolish *Isaurus* came tumbling down with great violence, that he brake his Neck, his Arms, his Legs, with almost all the bones of his Body. This foolish flight of the Turk gave such occasion of sport and laughter unto the vulgar people (always ready to scoff and jest at such ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending upon the Sultan could not walk in the streets undisturbed; the Artificers in their frolic shaking their Arms, with their Tools in their Hands, as did the Turk, and still crying out, Fly Turk, fly; whereof the Emperor hearing, although he could not chafe but thereat smile himself, as not ignorant of the scoffs and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in favour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieved therewith, he commanded such their Infidelity to be restrained.

The Solemnity of the Triumph overpassed (which by an ominous Earthquake at the same time happening was somewhat obscured) the Emperor to shew his Wealth, and to gratify the Princes, gave unto him many rich and Royal Presents, with such a Mass of Treasure, as that he much wondered thereat. In requital whereof, and in token of his Thankfulness, he again honoured the Emperor with the name of his Father, and terming himself by the name of his Son, promised to restore unto him the City of *Sebastia*, with the Territory thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadane* his Inheritance. Nevertheless all this was nothing else but meer dissimulation, as afterward by proof appeared; for returning home, he thrust *Dadane* indeed out of *Sebastia*, which he spoiled; with the Country thereabout; but forgetful of his promise, kept it wholly to himself; and by force took also from him the City of *Cæsarea*, with the Country of *Amasia*, by him before but lately possessed. In like manner he bent his Forces also upon *Jaguphan* his other Brother, who in the very preparation of those Wars died; by whose untimely death the City of *Ancyra*, with all his Dominions in *Cappadocia*, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now possessed of all his Fathers Kingdom, and swelling with Pride, forgetting all former courtesies, invaded the Emperors Territories, and took from him the City of *Laudicea* in *Pergia*, where he did great harm, as also in the Country thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or else carrying them away with him Captives. For the repeating of which Outrages, the Emperor with a strong Army passed over into *Asia*, and there in the Frontiers of his Territories fortified *Dorileum* against the Incursions of the Turk. In performance whereof, he, to the example and stirring up of others, carried the first Basket of stones himself upon his shoulders; and used such further diligence, that in short time the City was compassed about with strong Walls and deep Ditches,

maugre

which he himself  
between the  
the Emperor  
and the Sultan.

maugre the Turks, who ceased not with continual Alarms and Skirmishes to have hindered the Work. With like care, and for like purpose he also fortified *Sebasteum*, another strong Hold; and leaving in either place a strong Garrison, returned again to *Constantinople*. Nevertheless the Turks ceased not with continual Inroads to do what harms they might upon the Frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with so good Success as before, being many times cut off by the Garrisons of the late fortified Towns; which he still increasing, caused the Emperor to expostulate with the Sultan, as with an unthankful man, and forgetful of so great kindness before done unto him, as the establishment of him in his Kingdom came unto; who with no less vehemency upbraided him again with Inconstancy and breach of Promise, as well for fortifying the aforesaid Places, contrary to the League betwixt them, as for that having promised much more, he had thereof performed nothing. Thus unkindly still growing upon every trifles (as it commonly falleth out among men of great Spirit, and jealous of their own Honours) it was daily expected, when the matter should fall out into open and bloody War; both of their being men of great valour; and apt to revenge the least Injury to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to manage his Wars by his pollicie and expert Captains; whereas the Emperor being of an hotter nature, and a courageous above measure, commonly in all his great Expeditions adventured his own Person, without respect what danger might there issue unto himself or his State. Long it was not but that the Emperor, fully resolved to be revenged of so many wrongs done unto him and his Subjects by the Turks, raised the whole Power of his Empire, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, in such sort as if he had thereof purposed, not only to have raised to the ground *Iconium* the Regal Seat of the Turkish Sultan, but even utterly to have destroyed the whole Nation of the Turks. Thus with a most puissant and populous Army, well appointed of all things necessary, he passed over into *Asia*, and so in good Order marching through *Phrygia*, *Laudicea*, *Cleonia*, (called in ancient time *Pallia*) *St. Archangel*, *Lampæ*, *Calenae*, (where the head of the great and famous River *Maander* riseth, wherewith the River *Marisus* falleth) and from thence to *Chonia*, he with ease and ease won a wide Road, passed by *Myriophallon*, an old ruinous Castle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the event in short time after it proved. And albeit that he marched very circumspectly, still intrenching his Army in every place where he lodged; yet could he make but small speed, by reason of the multitude of his Carriages, and of the late people that followed the same. The Turks in the mean while often times shewing themselves in Troops, and in places of advantage skirmishing sometime with one part of the Army, and sometime with another, but never daring to adventure the fortune of a full battel; yet by such means were the Victuals unadvisedly drinking, fell into many grievous Difficulties, especially the Flux, and the Cholera, in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although he had in readiness a right puissant Army of his own, and had procured great Aid from the Persian Sultan his Kinsman and chief Supporter; yet fearing the doubtful event of War,

and loath to adventure his whole Estate upon the fortune of a battel, fought by his Embassadors sent for that purpose, to come to some peace with the Emperor, and that upon such honourable Conditions, as by the wiser fore were thought not to be at any hand refused; which large offers, the Sultan as desirous of Peace, made unto him not once, but again and again; which the Emperor nevertheless (rejoicing great confidence in his own Power, and prick forward by the Gallants of the Court, better acquainted with the brave Triumphs of Peace, than the hard Wars of the Turks) readily refused, and so dismissing the Embassadors, scornfully would them to tell their Master, That he would give him answer unto his Requests under the Walls of *Iconium*. Which caused the Sultan, now out of all hope of any Reconciliation to be made betwixt the Emperor and him, with all his Power to take the Straits of *Zulricea*, whereby the Army of the Christians, departing from *Myriophallon*, must of necessity pass. The entrance into these Straits was by a long Valley, on either side inclosed with high Mountains, which towards the North rising and falling according as the Hills gave leave, opened into divers large Valleys, which by little and little growing again straiter and straiter, with high and craggy Rocks hanging over on either side, and almost touching one another, gave unto the painful Traveller a most hard and difficult passage.

Into this so dangerous a Valley the Emperor, not fearing the Enemies force, desperately entered with his Army, having neither provided for the clearing of the Passages, or safety of his Carriages, in no other order than as if he had marched through the Plain and Champaign Country, although it were before told him (that which he shortly after, but too late saw) that the Enemy had from long possessed both the Straits and Mountains, to hinder his farther passage. The Vanguard of his Army was conducted by *Tolin* and *Andronicus* the Sons of *Angelus Constantine*, accompanied with *Macrodemus Constantine* and *Lapardus Andronicus*; in the right Wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors Brother in law; and in the left the *Maurozomes Theodorus*; after them followed the Drudges and Scallions, with an infinite number of Carters and other base people, attending upon the Carriages, with the Baggage of the whole Army; next unto these came the Emperor with the main Battel, consisting of the most part of right valiant and worthy Soldiers; the Rearward was shut up by *Andronicus Constantianus*, with a number of most resolute men. They were not far entered into these Straits, but that the Turks from the Mountains and broken Cliffs showed themselves on every side, delivering their deadly throw from the upper ground, upon the Christians below, as thick as hail; nevertheless the Sons of *Angelus*, with *Macrodemus* and *Lapardus*, and the Vanguard, casting themselves into a three-square battel in form of a wedge, with their Targets in manner of a Penthouse cast clost together over their heads, and their Archers on every side lustily following their foes among the thickest of their Enemies, by plain force drove them out of the Straits they had before possessed, and caused them to retire farther off into the Mountains, and so having made themselves way, with little or no loss passed those dangerous Straits; until that at length having reached the top of the Hill very commodious for their purpose, as the safe Road, they there stayed, and presently encamped themselves. And haply with like good fortune might the rest of the Army have passed also, had they in like order, and with like courage presently followed

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after;

Tifford  
among the  
Turks in the  
Asia.

Malut the  
Sultan divided  
his Kingdom  
among his three  
Sons.

Another  
foolish Isaurus.  
Nicetas  
Chonates, rerum  
imper.  
Manuel  
Comnenus,  
gestar. ll.  
3. fol. 141.

A river  
of the  
East  
Taurus.

after; but failing to do so, and troubled with the multitude of their Carriages, which could not possibly make any way through those strait and rough passages, (the whole troubled themselves one with another, as also the whole Army) they were from the upper ground miserably overwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkish Archers, whose Arrows fell as thick upon them from the Mountains, as if it had been a perpetual Tempest or shower of Hail, to the great disordering and difmayning of the whole Army; which the Turks quickly perceiving, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came down from the Mountains, where they had before hovered over the heads of the Christians, and forcibly entering the plain ground, and coming to baldwin blows, first overthrew the right Wing; where Baldwin himself seeking to restore his disordered Companies, and to stay the fury of the Enemy (now raging in the blood of the Christians) with a Troop of valiant Horsemen breaking into the thicket of them, as became a worthy Captain, was there compassed in with the multitude of his Enemies, and slain, together with all his Followers, and the greatest part of the whole Wing by him commanded. With this Victory the Turks were so encouraged, that coming down with all their Power, they stopped all the ways whereby the Christians were to pass, who as men couped up in those dangerous straits, were not able either to defend themselves, or to hold one another; but inclosed as Deer in a toyl, and one rubbing another, were the cause both of the destruction of themselves and others. For by reason of the straitsness of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behind in the rearward, come forward to relieve the one the other, as need required; the Carriages also which were many, and in the middle of the Army, serving them to no other purpose, than to be hurt by themselves. There were the Beasts that served for burden, together with the Soldiers, overwhelmed with the Turks shot, the Vallies lay full of dead Bodies, the Rivers ran mingled with the blood of Men and Beasts, in such terrible manner as is not by word to be expressed. For the Christians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in those straits slain like sheep; if any courage or spark of valour were by any shewed against the Enemy, fighting at so great advantage, it was but lost, serving to little or no purpose. And to increase their miseries, the Turks in form shewed upon the point of a Lance the head of *Andronicus Batusca*, the Emperors Nephew, who coming with an Army out of *Paphlagonia*, and *Heraclea Pontica*, against the Turks of *Amasia*, was now by the way by them overthrown and slain. The report whereof, confirmed by the sight of his head, and the consideration of the desperate danger to which the whole Army presently stood, to troubled the Emperor, that he was at his wits end; and with dry tears (if it may be so said) diffembling his inward grief, as one out of comfort, took doubtful which way to turn himself. For the Turks having suffered the Vantage to pass, with all their Power charged the Emperors main battal, as his chief strength, nothing doubting, but that having once overthrown it, they should easily and at pleasure overthrow the rest. Oftentimes had the Emperor attempted to have driven the Enemy out of those straits, and so to have opened a way for his Army to be all in safety, but the Power of the Turks still increasing, and they at great advantage notably maintaining the passages before them taken. Nevertheless seeing no less danger in staying still, than in going forward, he with a

few of his best Souldiers, armed with despair, and resolved to die, (unto which kind of men nothing is terrible) set forward directly upon his Enemies, willing the rest with like resolution every man to make for himself the best shift he could. And so with many wounds and bloody blows both given and received, he by plain force and might of Hand brake through the thicket of his Enemies, and so escaped out of those straits as out of a trap; but yet not without many wounds received in his Person, and himself so wearied that he was not able to lift up his Helmet, being beaten close to his head, and in his Target were found sticking thirty of the Turks Arrows, or thereabouts, the manifest tokens of his danger. The other Legions seeking to follow the Emperor, (for other way they had none) were on every side hardly assailed by the Turks, and infinite numbers of them slain, beside many others that perished in those straits, overtorn and trodden to death by their own Fellows. Yea such as had the fortune to escape out of one of these perilous straits, were forthwith slain in the next; for this dangerous a passage through the Mountains, was divided (as is aforesaid) into seven Vallies, which giving fair and broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew fill straiter and straiter, all which straits the Turks had before strongly possessed. At which time also, the more to increase the terror of the day, the light hand raised with the feet of the Men and Horses, was with the violence of a most tempestuous Wind which then blew, carried so forcibly and thick that both the Armies grappling together, as if it had been in the darkness of the night, killed whomsoever they met withal, without respect of Friend or Foe; by which error many were even of their own Friends slain. In every place great heaps of Turks lying together, the Christians, and with them great number of Horses and other Beasts for carriage; so that those Vallies where this bloody Conflict was, seemed to be nothing else but a large burying-place of the Turks and Christians with their Horses; but the greater number was of the Christians that perished, and they not altogether of the common sort, but even of the bravest Captains, and the Emperors nearest Kinsmen. The violence of the Wind ceasing, and the day clearing up, there was of all others to be seen (a most woful Spectacle) men yet alive, some wounded, some whole, covered some to the middle, some to the neck, with dead Carcasses, in such sort as that they were not able with any struggling to get out; who with their hands cast up towards Heaven, with rueful Voices cried out for help to such as passed by; but all in vain, for every man possessed with the common fear, and by their danger measuring their own, assisted by their without compassion, as more careful of their own safety, leaving them yet living, as men to be numbed among the dead.

The Emperor himself as a man now almost spent, being got out of the danger, found a while to breathe himself under the shadow of a wild Pear Tree, without any Page or Man to attend him, whom a poor Common Souldier espied, and moved with compassion, came unto him, and offering him the best Service he could, helped him up with his Helmet, and buckled up his Armour, which before hung dangling here and there about him: when in the mean while a Turk coming in upon him, had taken his Horse by the bridle, in hope to have led him away Prisoner; whom for all that, the Emperor as weary as he was, with the truncheon of his broken Lance, which he had yet in his hand, thruck down to the ground, and

*A most notable Spectacle.*

*The Emperor in danger to have been taken, luckily defended himself.*

*Baldwin slain.*

*The misery of the Christians by the Turks, included in the straits.*

*The Emperors great popularity.*

*The desperate resolution of the Emperor.*

and so cleared himself of him. Presently after came also another sort of the stragling Turks, ready also to have rested upon him, and to have taken him Prisoner; of whom he flew out with the aforesaid horsemen's Staff, and with his Sword thruck off the head of another of them, and so kept them off, until that by the coming in of ten of his own Souldiers he was relieved. Departing thence with purpose to have joynted himself unto the Legions that were gone before in the Vauward, he had not gone far, but that he was troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heaps of the dead bodies that lay in his way; yet at last, having with much labour and more danger passed the Straights, and a River running thereby, being glad in many places to ride over the dead bodies of his own people, and some of his own Souldiers now resorting unto him, he there saw *John Cracazene*, a noble and right valiant Gentleman that had married his Niece, fighting alone against a great number of the Turks, to be compassed in and slain; whom he was no way able to relieve. Which Turks also seeing him pass by, followed after him, as after a most rich Prey, in hope to have either presently taken or slain him; whom nevertheless he (encouraging the small Company he had about him) notably repulsed, and so sometime marching forward, and again as occasion required making a stand, came at length long looked for, but most welcome, unto the Legions that were gone before; nor so sorry for their own hard estate, as careful of his danger.

But before he could come to those his Legions, he ready to faint for thirst, commanded water to be brought unto him out of the River that ran by the fast by; which after he had tasted, and by the unpleasant taste thereof perceived the fame to be infected, he fetching a deep sigh, *Oh how unfortunately have I tasted Christian Blood!* whereunto an audacious and malapert Souldier there present, and more bitter than the cruel time it self, replied, *Emperor, thou didst not now, thou didst not now, I say, first, but long since, and oftenest thou drink the blood of the Christians; even until thou wast drunk again, at such time as thou didst with most grievous exaction vex and devour thy poor Subjects.* Which reproachful Speech the Emperor put up in silence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he also forbore the same railing Companion, at such a time as he seeing his Treasures hardly best, and in danger to be taken by the Turks, to animate his Souldiers, willed them to do what they could to rescue the fame, and to take it for their labour: *This Treasure (said this impatient Fellow) should before have been given to thy Souldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recovered but with great danger and bloodshed; and therefore if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldst be accounted, and as the present case requires, valiantly charge the Turks (now ready to carry it away) thy self, and so recover them will gain good booty.* Whereunto the Emperor answered no more but, *Good words, Souldier, and so put it up, as did David the railings of Shimei.* Shortly after the coming of the Emperor unto those Legions of his Vanguard (the only remainder of his Army that was left whole and unbroken) came also *Andronicus Comnenophanus*, who had the leading of the Rearward, with divers other of great place, who had by good fortune escaped the fury of the Turks. The miseries of that day (not well to be expressed) being ended by the coming on of the night, the Christians fast in the Camp, oppressed with a general heaviness, leaning their heads on their Elbows, and considering the present danger wherein they

were, scarcely accounted themselves among the living; the Turks in the mean time to increase their fear, all the night running about the Camp, and crying aloud unto such of their Countrymen in the Camp, as had abjured their Religion, or for other respects had taken part with the Imperator, that they should that night get them out of the Camp, whereas otherwise if they stayed unto the morning, they should be all but lost men. In this so great an extremity the Emperor nor knowing what to do, came together his chief Commanders, declared unto them the desperate danger they were in, together with his resolution: which was, secretly himself to fly, and to leave the rest, every man to make what shift he could for himself. Which his base determination, so foul as fowler could not be, they all wondering at, and by chance overheard by one of the Common Souldiers that stood without the Tent, the same Souldier fetching a deep sigh, in desperation there of cried out with a loud voice, *What means the Emperor? And so turning himself unto him, said, on of a drear night be that hath thrust us into this desolate common and straight way, and cast us into destruction? And half as it were in a mortar included us in these Rocks, and Mountains, ready as it were to overthrow us! What had we to do with this vast of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into these mischievous and rough Straights? What can we particularly complain of the Barbarians, which in these execrable windings and straight ways thou imposedst upon us? Was it not thou that broughtst us hither? And wilt thou now, as Sheep appointed to the slaughter, thy self betray us? With which so forth a reprehension the Emperor thoroughly peirc'd, changed his former determination for flight, resolving now to stand by it, whatsoever happened. But what should he now do, beset with his Enemies still ready to devour him? Help he saw none, either in himself, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and despair. In this extremity, all mans help now failing, it pleased the most Mighty (which chastified and health again, which frisketh, and yet giveth life, and suffereth not the staff of the sinners always to rage into the portion of the Just) with merciful eye to look down upon these distressed men, and with an unwanted kind of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood in dread of the Emperor, and now having him as it were in his power, was overcome with his misery; or as in times past he by *Husai* overthrew the council of *Achmetoph*, and changed the mind of *Abulston* to follow such advice as should bring him the destruction; so then also he turned the mind of the Turkish Sultan, that (perforated by certain of the chief men about him, who in times of peace had used to receive great Gifts and Presents from the Emperor) he of his own accord by his Embassadors offered Peace unto the Emperor, before that he in so great distress sued unto him for any; and that upon the self same conditions they had made their League before. The Turks in the mean time ignorant of the Sultans resolution, early in the morning were ready to assault the Emperors Camp, in hope at once to have overthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry still riding about it, came so nigh, that with their Arrows they flew divers of the Christians within their own Trenches; against whom the Emperor sent out *John the Son of Constaninus Angelus*, and after him, *Macrodonas Constaninus*, but to little or no purpose. In the mean time came one *Gabra*, a man of greatest reputation among the Turks, Embassador from the Sultan;*

*The fearful resolution of the Emperor.*

*A sharp rebuke of the Emperor.*

*On of a drear night be that hath thrust us into this desolate common and straight way, and cast us into destruction?*

*And half as it were in a mortar included us in these Rocks, and Mountains, ready as it were to overthrow us!*

*What had we to do with this vast of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into these mischievous and rough Straights?*

*What can we particularly complain of the Barbarians, which in these execrable windings and straight ways thou imposedst upon us?*

*Was it not thou that broughtst us hither? And wilt thou now, as Sheep appointed to the slaughter, thy self betray us?*

*With which so forth a reprehension the Emperor thoroughly peirc'd, changed his former determination for flight, resolving now to stand by it, whatsoever happened.*

*But what should he now do, beset with his Enemies still ready to devour him? Help he saw none, either in himself, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and despair.*

*In this extremity, all mans help now failing, it pleased the most Mighty (which chastified and health again, which frisketh, and yet giveth life, and suffereth not the staff of the sinners always to rage into the portion of the Just) with merciful eye to look down upon these distressed men,*

*and with an unwanted kind of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood in dread of the Emperor, and now having him as it were in his power, was overcome with his misery; or as in times past he by Husai overthrew the council of Achmetoph, and changed the mind of Abulston to follow such advice as should bring him the destruction; so then also he turned the mind of the Turkish Sultan, that (perforated by certain of the chief men about him, who in times of peace had used to receive great Gifts and Presents from the Emperor) he of his own accord by his Embassadors offered Peace unto the Emperor, before that he in so great distress sued unto him for any; and that upon the self same conditions they had made their League before.*

*The Turks in the mean time ignorant of the Sultans resolution, early in the morning were ready to assault the Emperors Camp, in hope at once to have overthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry still riding about it, came so nigh, that with their Arrows they flew divers of the Christians within their own Trenches; against whom the Emperor sent out John the Son of Constaninus Angelus, and after him, Macrodonas Constaninus, but to little or no purpose.*

*In the mean time came one Gabra, a man of greatest reputation among the Turks, Embassador from the Sultan;*

*by*

by whose commandment the Turks ceased further to assault the Camp. This *Gabrus* coming unto the Emperors, and as the Emperors of the Barbarians honouring him with reverence down even to the ground; first presented him with a goodly Horse, whose furniture was all of Silver, as if it had been for triumph, and a rare two edged Sword. Afterwards falling into a large discourse concerning a Peace to be made, and with many kind words, he began to appease the Emperors heaviness conceived of his late loss; he among other pleasant conceits then uttered, seeing the Emperor in a rich Robe of yellow over his Armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for War, as ominous, and portending evil luck; whereat the Emperor a little smiling, gave it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiving the Horse and Sword sent him from the Sultan, signed the Peace. Amongst other conditions of the Peace (which the dangerousness of the time suffered not the Emperor curiously to examine) one was, That *Dorileum* and *Sabulum*, before by him fortified, and the ground of this unfortunate War, should be again refaid. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the Emperor delivered of a great fear, purposed another way to return home, to avoid the sight of the Slain: yet was he by his Guides, even of purpose as it was thought, led back the same way, to behold with his eyes those miserable fountains of the Slain, which could not with any tears be sufficiently lamented; for the Straights were made plain, the Vallies were raised into Hills, and the Forests lay covered with the Carcasses of the Slain; no man passed by, but with heaviness and grief, calling by name upon their Friends and Familiars there lost. Having again passed those doleful Straights, the Turks were again in the tail of the Army; for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himself to have suffered his Enemies to so escape out of his hand, had given leave to such as would, to pursue them, but followed not himself with his whole Power, as before; for most of the better sort of his Soldiers loaded with the Spoil, were now returned home. Yet those that followed after the Army, saw many, especially such as were weak or wounded, and so unable to follow the rest; although the Emperor to help the matter, had for the refreshing of them, sent out some of his Captains and Souldiers in the Rearward. Being come to *Chonos*, and now out of fear of his Enemies, he gave unto every one of his hurt Souldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their Countries; and coming to *Philadelphias*, there staid for the refreshing of himself after his great misfortunes. In his return he raised *Sabulum*, according to his promise, but not *Dorileum*; whereof the Sultan by his Embassadors complaining; he answered, That what he had promised, enforced thereunto by necessity, he greatly forced not to perform. In revenge whereof, the Sultan sent out one of his most valiant Captains, called *Atropack*, with a good Souldiers chosen out of his whole Army, with straight charge to waste and destroy all the Emperors Provinces and Towns even unto the Sea-side, without sparing Man, Woman, or Child; and in token thereof, to bring with him some of the Sea-Water, and as some of the Sea-Sand: who according to his Charge spoiled *Phrygia*, with the Cities along the River *Mander*, even unto the Sea-side; and so returning with a rich Prey, by the way spoyled what before he had left untouched. But in passing the River *Maender*, when he feared least, he fell into the hands of *John Batacas* the Emperors Nephew, and of

*Ducas Constantine* a most valiant Captain; of purpose sent against him by the Emperor with a great Power; where he was slain, and taken together with all his Army, and the rich prey he had taken, all again recovered. Many other hard conflicts passed after this, betwixt the Emperors and the Turks, the one continually seeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fell out much worth the remembrance, I for brevity willingly pass over. Of them only I left troubles did *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, when he had by the space of eight and thirty years worthily governed that great Empire, having in the time of his sickness but a little before his death taken upon him the habit of a Monk, in token he had forsaken the World. All the time of his Reign he was no less jealous of the Christian Princes of the West, than of the Turks in the East; and therefore ever dealt with them unkindly. In time of War he was so laborious, as if he had never taken felicity but in pain; and again in Peace to give over to his pleasure, as if he had never thought of any thing else. After whose death the Turkish Sultan, without resistance invading the Frontiers of the Empire, took *Sesepolis*, with divers Towns thereabout in *Phrigia*, and long besieged the famous City of *Atalia*, and so daily encroached more and more upon the Provinces of the Empire, joyning the same unto his own: which was no great matter for him to do, the Greek Empire being then no better governed than was the Chariot of the Sun (as the Poets feign) by *Phaeton*, far unfit for so great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwise called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a Child of about twelve years old, succeeding his grave Father in the Empire, after the manner of Children altogether following his pleasure; his Mother with his Fathers Kinsmen and Friends, who above all things ought to have had an especial care of his Education, neglecting the old Emperors trust in them repofed, followed also their own Delights, without the regard of the Ruine of the Commonwealth. Some enamoured with the Beauty of the young Emperess, gave themselves all to bravery, and the courting of her; other some in great authority, with no less desire in the mean time, with the common Treasures filled their private Coffers; and a third sort there was (of all the rest most dangerous) who neither respecting their sensual pleasure, nor the heaping up of wealth, looked not so low, aiming at the very Empire it self. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all least regarded. Among the third sort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the Cousin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughty and troublesome Spirit, whom he the said Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aspiring, most part of the time of his Reign kept in prison, or else in Exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for fear of raising new troubles, confined to live far off from the Court; who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the Factions in Court, of the Childishness of the young Emperor *Alexius*, given wholly to his Sports; and the great men put in trust to have seen to his bringing up, and to the Government of the Empire, some like Bees to fly abroad into the Country, seeking after Money; as the Bees do for Honey, some others in the mean time like Hogs, lying still and fattening themselves with great and gainful Offices, wallowing in all Excess and Pleasure, to have no regard of the Honour or Profit of the Commonwealth; thought it now a fit time (in such disorder of the State) for him to aspire unto the Empire after which he had all

Atropack  
with all  
his Army  
sleut.

Ambition  
covered  
with the  
veil of the  
common-  
weal.

Andronicus  
disappears  
from  
Osmun  
the  
Constantinople.

his life-time longed. That he was generally beloved of the Constantinopolitans, yea, and of some of the Nobility also, he doubted not; for then he had long before by his popular behavior gained, together with the distrust of the late Emperor, jealous of his Estate; which as it cost him his Liberty, so mislaid it not much but that it had cost him his Life also; but now that he had dead, wanted nothing more than some fair colour for the shadowing of his foul purpose. Among many and slight divers things by him thought upon, he was at length the Out of Obedience which he had given to the Emperor *Emanuel* and slain his Son, (which Oath he had delivered unto him in Writing) That if he should see, hear or understand of any thing dangerous or hurtful to their Honor, Empire, or Persons, he should forthwith betray it, and to the utmost of his power withstand it; which words (not so to have been wrested) as he felt serving for his purpose, he took first occasion to work upon. And as he was a stout and imperious man, thereupon writ divers Letters unto the young Emperor his Cousin, unto *Theodossius* the Patriarch, and other such as he knew well affected unto the late Emperor *Emanuel*; where he amended in the present Government, he seemed most to complain of the immoderate power and authority of *Alexius*, then President of the Council; who in great favour with the young Emperor, and more in ward with the Emperess his Mother than was supposed to them, with her honour, ruled all things at his pleasure, informally, as if nothing done by any the great Officers of the Empire, or by the Emperor himself was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was grown unto such an excessive pride, having all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as upon the venomous Basilisk, look upon him. Of which his so execrable and insolent power *Andronicus* by his Letters now greatly complained, moved thereunto (as he would have it believed) with the care he had of the young Emperors safety, which could not (as he said) long stand with the others so great power, which he therefore (as in duty bound) wished to be abridged; as in aggravating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiarity with the Emperess; which first muttered in Court, afterwards flew (as he said) throughout the whole World. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the Person of the Emperor, and Dishonour of the State, he forthwith as one in confidence bound, with great Gravity and Eloquence (being a very learned man) both in open Speech and Writing most earnestly desired: and thereby so wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful Counsellor to the State, a thing much to have been wished. Wherefore leaving *Osmun*, the place whereunto he was by the Emperor *Emanuel* in a fort banished, travelling towards *Constantinople*, he gave it out in every place where he came, what he had sworn, and what he would for his Oaths sake do: unto whom men desirous of the change of the State, and such as gave credit unto the report long before given out, That he at length should become Emperor, flockt in great numbers, as Birds about an Owl, to see him, and with vain praises to chattering about him. In this sort he came as far as *Paphlagonia*; in every place honourably received, as if he had been a deliverer of his Country from long God. And in the Imperial City he was not longed for of the Vulgar People only, as their Light and Load-Star, but divers of the Nobility

also by secret Messengers and Letters, perswaded him to hasten his coming, and to take upon him the Government; assuring him, that there would be none to resist him, or to oppose themselves against his shadow, but all ready to receive him; especially *Mary* the young Emperors Sister by the Fathers side, and her Husband *Cesar* (who being a Woman of great spirit, and grieving much to see her Fathers Empire made void, unto *Alexius* the President, and the Emperess her Step-Mother, whom she naturally hated) had raised a great and dangerous tumult in the City against them both, which was not without much bloodshed appeased; and now ceased not by often and most earnest Letters (to her own destruction and her Husbands, as it afterwards fell out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to hasten his coming; who by Letters and Messengers daily coming unto him from the Court still more and more encouraged, leaving behind him the Country of *Paphlagonia*, came to *Heraclaea* in *Pontus*, and thill on towards the Imperial City, with great cunning and dissimulation winning the hearts of the People as he went. For who was so fit to be heard, whom his sweet words and abundant tears flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentiful Fountains down by his hoary Cheeks, might not have moved? All that he did or desired, was (as he said) for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawn unto him a wonderful number of the rude Country People by the way as he came. But coming unto *Bythinia*, he was by *John Ducas* Governour of the State, and so to *Nicomedia* as an Enemy to the great City of *Nice*, thrust out also. Nevertheless, passing by those Cities, he held still on his way, until at length he was near unto a Castell called *Chanae*, encountered by *Andronicus Angelus*, sent with a great power against him, by the great President *Alexius*; who otherwise as an effeminate man, given over to his pleasure, spending the greatest part of the night in rioting by candle light, and most part of the day in his bed, with curtains close drawn as if it had been night; yet doubtful now of the coming of his Enemy, left nothing undone which he thought might help for the assuring of his State. Many of the Nobility of whom he stood in doubt, he gained unto him by means of the Emperors Mother; who by her rare Beauty, sweet Words, and gracious Behaviour, as with a Line drew all men to her. Other some he overcame with Gifts and great sums of Money, whereof he now made no spare; And so wrought the matter, that no man of any account or mark went over to *Andronicus*. Who nevertheless with such followers as he had, joyning battel with *Angelus* (sent against him, as is before said) overthrow him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great displeasure and without reason, called *Angelus* (now dead) unto him for an account for the Money delivered unto him for the assuring of the Charges of that unfortunate War; who seeing his misfortune to be taken as if he had framed it himself, and of purpose betrayed the Army committed to his charge; by the Counsel of his six Sons, being all men of great Valour and great spirit, first took the refuge of his own house; but finding that was in no safety, with his Wife and his said Sons (two of which came afterwards to be Emperors) presently fled over the Straight to *Andronicus*; who seeing of him coming towards him, is reported to have used this Text of Scripture, *Behold I will send mine Angel before thy face, to prepare thy way*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the Prestige of his good Successor.

The Emper-  
or returns.

The Emper-  
or allegor-  
ically per-  
forms what  
he had pro-  
mised to  
his Subjects.

Andronicus  
encamped  
in field  
near  
Constantinople.

Wherefore encouraged with the coming of these Noblemen his Kinsmen, he without longer stay marched directly unto the Sea-side, and there a little above Chalcedon encamped almost eight or nine miles from Constantinople, causing many great fires (more than needed) to be made in his Army, to make it seem unto them of the City greater than indeed it was; and with the light thereof to keep the Citizens in suspense, with the doubtless expectation of some great matter to ensue. Wherein he was not without deceits, for they having him now as it were in fight, leaving their work, ran some to the Sea-side, some up to the Hills and high Towers to behold his Army a far off, willing with their friendly looks, it had been possible, to have drawn him over the Straight into the City. *Alexius* knowing himself not able by Land to encounter with so strong an Enemy, (for now home which on foot could not go over to *Andronicus*, were secretly in heart already with him; otherwise thought themselves sufficiently to show their fidelity to the Emperor, if finding fill at home, they should take part with neither, for to have filled heads and aspiring minds, for the furtherance of their desires, taught the common people both to say and think) thought it best by Sea to avert the present danger; and therefore commanded all the Emperors Gallies (being before rigged up and ready) to be throngly manned and put to Sea, for the lessening of *Andronicus* and the Straight of *Bosphorus*, that *Andronicus* should not that way pass. Now had he determined to have made especial choice of some assured Friend of his own to be General of this Fleet, as he had done of the Captains and Masters, being all of his own Kinsmen and Domestical Servants, but as he was about to have done, *Constance* (surnamed the great Captain) opposed himself against it, challenging that place as due to himself before all others; so that overcome by his Authority (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to dispute) he was glad to commit the charge and trust of the whole Fleet unto him, as General. Thus having (as he thought) made the Sea sure, he sent over unto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with Letters and other Instructions, whereof the effect was, To command him forthwith in peace to return to the place from whence he came, and not farther to trouble the State; promising him in so doing, the Emperors Favour, with many great Honours and Preferments to be afterwards bestowed upon him; which otherwise might turn to his utter destruction. Which Letters *Xiphilinus* having delivered, and done his Message, is reported to have secretly advised *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpose, and not in any case to yield to that which was of him required: whereupon *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly rejected the graces offered, and willed the Messenger to tell them that sent him, that if they would have him to the place from whence he came, they should first displace the proud President *Alexius*; and call him to an account for the Villanies he had done; then the Emperors Mother they should deprive of her honours, and shut her up as a Nun into some Cloyster; there to learn to amend her life, and of all that the Emperor according to his Fathers Will, should take upon himself the Government, and not be overtopped by others, by whose too much Authority, his Majesty and Honour was (as he said) too much impaired. But within a few days after, *Constance*, the great Captain and General, carried over all the Gallies to *Andronicus*, leaving nothing but their names for the President

Xiphilinus  
sent  
over to  
Andronicus,  
desiring  
him  
faithfully  
to do  
his  
message.

The proud  
answer of  
Andronicus.

Constance  
replied  
to  
Andronicus.

in his Rolls to look upon, whose revolt above all other things encouraged *Andronicus*, and cast *Alexius* even into the bottom of despair. For now *Andronicus* his Friends flocked together in the City, not secretly as before, but openly in all places; and such as wist a change in the State, impudently footing at *Alexius*, passed over the Straight to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where having filled their Eyes with beholding of his goodly Person, his chearful Countenance, and reverent Age; and their Ears with his sweet words and great Promises, returned home merry and joyful, as if they had been in some terrestrial Paradise, filling the City with his praises. After that, *Andronicus* his two Sons, *Tobin* and *Mamuel*, with divers others, whom the President had cast in prison, were for a liberty, and of his chief Favourites laid fast in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the President himself, with all his Friends and Faction in the Court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the Guard; a right strange alteration. But about midnight, *Alexius* himself was secretly conveyed out of the Court to the Patriarchs House, and there kept with a stronger guard than before. A wonderful change and worth marking, a man so honourably born, but yesterday in greatest honour, attended upon with many thousands, all at his command, having the power to spill or save; to day in bonds, in disgrace, in misery and despair, and not so much as a Page to wait upon him. Which he taking very grievously, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not suffer him to sleep or take any rest. Of whose misery, the Patriarch taking pity (although he had of him very evil deserved) yet cheered him up with comfortable words, persuading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with such speeches as fitted not his present state, to provoke his Keepers to use him evilly. Within a few days after early in the Morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs House, and set upon a very little bad Jade, and so with a ragged clout put upon the top of a Reed in manner of an Ensign, carried before him in derision, was brought to the Sea-side, and there cast into a little Boat, was so brought to *Andronicus*, by whose commandment, with the general consent of the Nobility, he for his evil Government shortly after had his Eyes put out. This was the miserable end of the immoderate power, or rather of the insolent Sovereignty of *Alexius*; who, had he with more moderation and vigilancy governed, might both have kept *Andronicus* out of the City, and himself from so great misery; having at his command all the Emperors Treasures, his Gallies, with most part of the strength of the Empire. Now came the Noblemen over space to *Andronicus*; the last that came, was the reverend Patriarch *Theodosius*, with the chief of the Clergy; of whose approach, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his Tent to meet him, and falling down (as great as he was) flat at his Horles feet, and in a while after arising again, kissed the Patriarchs foot, calling him the Emperors Saviour, the Lover of Virtue, the Defender of the Truth; and comparing him with the famous Father *Tobin Chrysostome*, omitted not any honourable Title he could possibly devise to give him. But the devout Patriarch, that had never seen *Andronicus* before, having now well viewed him, and marked his stern Countenance, his sullen Nature, his crafty and dissembling Manners, his exceeding Statue, being almost ten foot high, his stately Gait, his proud Looks, his continual Severity, and melancholy Silence, he did never think that to their own destruction had called such a man

*Alexius* in  
disgrace.

*Alexius* and  
his  
Friends  
expected.

A strange  
alteration.

*Alexius*  
brought  
to  
Andronicus,  
with  
his  
eyes  
put out.

The meeting  
of the  
Patriarch  
and  
Andronicus.

Andronicus  
seated  
upon  
his  
Government.

man in, said, *Hitherto I have heard, but now I have also seen, and plainly know*, and fetching a deep sigh, adjoynded therunto that saying of the Prophet *David*; *As we have heard so have we also seen*. In which words, he covertly quipped the dissembling meeting and sublimation of *Andronicus*; and withal called to remembrance the words of the Emperor *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times painted forth *Andronicus* unto the Patriarchs, if he would most lively have represented him unto his view.

Andronicus  
seated  
upon  
his  
Government.

All things in the City and in the Palace fit in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two Sons, and leave given unto the Emperors Friends to come over unto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himself departing from *Damalus*, in a Galley crossed the Strait, oftentimes by the way merrily singing that saying of the heavenly Psalmist; *Return my Soul into thy rest, because the Lord hath done well unto thee, having delivered my life from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling*. The Emperor with his Mother *Xene*, then lay not in the Palace at Constantinople, but at another Princely House of his in the Country near unto *Philopaton*, as *Andronicus* had appointed; whither *Andronicus* first went, and coming unto his presence, most humbly prostrate before him, with sobbing and tears, as his decent manner was, kissed his feet. As for the Emperor his Mother, he lightly saluted her, and as it were but for fashion sake, not dissembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare against her. And so without longer stay went unto his Tent provided for him not far off; round about which, all the great Noblemen had pitched their Tents also, flocking unto him as Chickens seek for Refuge under the Hens wings. Having there stayed with the Emperor a good while, he was desirous to go unto the Imperial City, and to see the late Emperor *Emanuel* his Cousins grave. Where entering into the Monastery of our Lady, where he was buried, and coming to his Tomb, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainly out. So that divers of the standers by, ignorant of his dissembling nature, by way of admiration said; *O what a wonderful thing is this! O how he loved the Emperor, his Cousin, although his fierce and cruel Persecutor!* And when one of his standers would have pulled him from the Tomb, saying, *Thou hast had sorrow for him enough*; he would not be removed, but requested them to suffer him yet a little to tarry by the Tomb, for that he had something in secret to say unto the dead; and so with his hands cast up and clofe together, as if he had prayed, and his eyes fast fixed upon the Tomb, he moved his lips, and secretly said something, but what, no man could tell. Some said it was some charm or incantation. But others more pleasantly conceived, said, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph over the late Emperor *Emanuel*, and revel with his ghost, with which of the dead was awake, but by the sounding of the last Trump. And now will I be revenged of thy Poverty, and I will justify myself as a Lion with a fat Prey; and take sharp Revenge of all the Wrongs thou hast done me, when I have once possessed my self of thy Royal City.

After this the Emperor's lately Houses, but staying in no place long, he disposed of all Matters of State, according to his own

pleasure. Unto the young Emperor he allowed Hunting, and other his vain delights, with Keepers joyous unto him, to watch not only his going in and out, but also that no man should talk with him of any matter of Importance; for all the Government of the State he took unto himself; not for that he wist so well thereunto, above others, but so to drive from the Court all them of the contrary Faction to himself, that were able to do any thing, and to restore born some Sway. The Soldiers, whose help he had used in aspiring to the Government, he rewarded with great bounty; at all their Offices and Preferments he bestowed either upon his own Children, or other his great Favorites; divers of the Nobility whom he liked best, were by him in short time driven into exile; some were by him deprived of their fight, and some others cast into prison, not knowing any cause why, more than that they were by him secretly condemned, for that they were of the Nobility, or had done some good Service for the State, or exiled for their Perjurance, or some other thing that grieved *Andronicus*, or else for the spark of some old displeasure which yet lay hid as fire raked up in the ashes. So that the State of that time began to grow most miserable; and the treachery even of men nearest in blood, seeking the destruction one of another, far to serve their own turns, or to gratify *Andronicus*, most horrible; and not only one Brother betrayed another, but even the Father his Son, and the Son his Father, if *Andronicus* would have it so. Some accused their nearest Kinsmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more favoured *Alexius* the young Emperor, then, a great offence. Yea, such was the mischief of the time, that many in accusing others, were themselves accused, and charging others of Treason against *Andronicus*, were themselves charged by them whom they accused, and so clapt up both together in one prison. Neither were they of the Nobility only, which were Enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withal, but even some of his great Favorites and Followers also; for some whom but yesterday he had used most kindly, and enrolled among his best Friends, upon them to day he frowned and tyrannized most cruelly; so that you might have seen the same man the same to day crowned and beheaded, to be graced and disgraced; insumuch that the wiser folk deemed *Andronicus* his praifings, the beginning of a mares disgrace; his bounty, his undoing; and his kindness, his death. The first that talked of his Tyranny, was *Mary* the Daughter of *Emanuel* the Emperor, who for the hate she bore to *Alexius* the late President, and the Emperors her Mother in law had (as is aforesaid) above all others, with for his coming; but was now by one *Pererignonites* (sometime an Eunuch of her Fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, having in his aspiring mind polluted the utter destruction of the Emperor's Possession) cunningly poisoned; as was her Husband *Cesar*, who lived not long after her, poisoned also (as was supposed) with the same Cup that his Wife was. Now among others of the late Emperors House, none had ever stood more in his lights, than had the fair Empress *Xene*, the young Emperors Mother, who now he caused not more bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuse, as an utter Enemy both to the Emperor and the State, making as if he would leave all, and again depart, if he were not removed from the Emperor her Son; and by his cunning so incensed the glodly detested vulgar people against her, that they came flocking to *Theodosius* the good Patriarch

Andronicus  
in disgrace.

A miserable  
State of  
a weak  
Government.

Mary the  
Daughter  
of Emanuel  
the Emperor  
hath been  
poisoned.  
Cesar  
poisoned.  
Andronicus.

The good  
Patriarch

arch, ready to tear him out of his Cloaths, if he confessed not to the removing of the Empress, as *Andronicus* had desired. So a Council being called of such his Favorites and others, as were not like indifferently to hear her Cause, but affuredly to condemn her, the Guiltless Empress after many things fallily laid to her Charge, was accused of Treason; that she should by her Letters have solicited *Bela* King of *Hungary*, her Brother in law, to invade *Brantzaba* and *Beldigade*, two strong places belonging to the Empire. Whereupon she was condemned, and shamefully cast into a most filthy Prison near unto the Monastery of *St. Diomedes*. Amongst other Noblemen called into this wicked Council, were *Leo Monisteris*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicus*, and *Confantius Paternus*; who not yet altogether devoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their Opinions concerning the Empress, said, They would be glad first to know, Whether that Council against his Mother, were called by the Emperors consent or not? With which Speech, *Andronicus* pierced to the heart, as with a Sword, in great rage thrust up and said, These are they which encouraged the wicked President to all his Villanies, lay hands upon them. Whereupon they of his Guard in threatening manner shook their Weapons and Swords at them, as if they would even presently have slain them; and the common people, casting them by their Cloaks as they came out, pulling them some one way, some another, were so fierce upon them, as that they had much ado to escape out of their hands with life. Now lay the fair Empress (but the other day one of the greatest Princesses of the East, and honoured of all her Subjects) in grief, misery and despair, forced even of her hair Kept every hour expecting the deadly blow of the Hangman. Yet was not the cruelty of *Andronicus* against her, any thing affwaged, but grieving that the yet breathed, shortly after assembled the former Council, the Ministers of his Wrath, demanding of them, What punishment was by Law appointed for such as betrayed any Town or Province of the Empire? whereunto answer being given in Writing, That it was by the Law, death; he could no longer hold, but that he must in great cheer break out against the poor Empress, as if it had been the case that had done it; and thereupon the wicked Counsellors crying out with one voice, That she was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed; by and by without longer stay, a damned Writing was subscribed by the young Emperor her Son, as if it had been with the blood of his own Mother, whereby she was (I abhor to write it) most unworthily condemned to die. The same appeared to be this most horrible and cruel Execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldest Son, and *Georgius Augustus*, his near Kinsman; who both did maid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the Emperors Command, said plainly, that they never before confessed to the death of the Empress, but had clear hands of her innocent offence, and therefore would now much less see her innocent Body dismembered in their fight. At which unexpected answer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his Fingers oftentimes plucked himself by the hoary Beard, and with burning eyes casting sometime up his head, and sometime down, lighted at his own most miserable tyrannical estate, fretting inwardly, that they which were nearest unto him, whom he thought he might even with a beck have commanded to have done any mischief, abhorring his cruelty, should refuse to do the thing he so much desired to have done; yet repressing his anger for a while,

within a few days after, he again commanded her to be strangled; which was accordingly done by *Confantius Tryphicus*, and *Perperionis* the ungracious Eunuch; by whose help he had before poisoned *Mary* the Emperors Daughter, with *Cesar* her Husband, as is before declared. Thus perished this great Empress, cruelly strangled in prison, by these two wicked men, the merciless Executioners of *Andronicus* his Wrath. Her dead Body lately adorned with all the Graces of Nature, even to the admiration of the Beholders, was without more ado secretly raked up in the Sand fast by the Sea-side; a poor Sepulchre for so great a Person.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durst thus cruelly deal with the young Emperors own Mother, and nearest Friends? yet was all covered under the pretence of the common good, and safety of the State and Empire. And the more to shadow *Andronicus* his secret purposes, as not proceeding of any private or hidden malice, or aspiring humor, from which he of all men would seem most free; and the more to manifest his Devotion and Loyalty to the young Emperor his Cousin, he was the only Perwarder unto the rest of the Nobility, to have him solemnly Crowned (which as yet by reason of his tender Age he was not); and at the time of his Coronation, with his own hands supported him up, as he was (after the manner of the Solenities) carried unto the great Church, and so back again; the Crocodiles rears fill plentifully running down his aged face, as if it had been for exceeding joy; which many of the meaner sort beholding, and deeming thereof the best, highly commended his kindness, accounting the young Emperor thrice happy, in so grave a Governor and faithful Counselor; who in love and kind affection towards him, seemed not inferior to his natural Father; so cunningly had he under the Veil of Piety, shadowed his most execrable Treachery; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted most loving and kind. But hidden Treason, he it never so well dissembled, must at length shew it self. So *Andronicus* having got into his Power both the Emperor and the Empire, and the chief Friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or else driven into exile, thought it now high time for himself to aspire unto that high Sovereignty, after which he had so many years longed. Wherefore calling together a Council of his Flatterers and Favorites, whom he had for such purpose promoted unto the highest Places of State (all or the most part of the grave Counsellors and friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being now displaced, or otherwise taken out of the way) he at a man only careful of the common good, declared unto them the dangerous State of the Empire, by reason of a Rebellion raised in *Byzania* at *Nice*, by *Isaac Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacenus*; and another at *Prusa*, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their grave advice for the suppressing thereof; who for ignorance of their Lords purpose (as thereof before sufficiently instructed) answered with one consent, That of such great Mischief there would be no end, except he were joined in Fellowship of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his Gravity and deep Wisdom to supply what wanted for the good Government of the State in the young Emperor his Cousin. At which speech the flatterers (being in number many, and for the most part the Followers of *Andronicus* his Flatterers) gave a great shout, and as if it had been already granted, with an Applause cried out, *Long live Alexius* and *Andronicus* the Greek Emperors; and that with such a vehemency, as if they would therewith have

The unjust death of the Empress.

These the Empress accused of Treason, and condemned.

Dangerous to break the truth to a Tyrant.

A wicked Council.

The life of Andronicus, as in aspiring to the Empire.

Elk mala res multos dominari; unicus epus Rex Dominusque.

An evil thing it is to be ruled by many; One King and one Lord, if there be any.

And that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Lark. So by the general consent that wicked Assembly (unworthily the name of a grave Council) the choice was made, That *Alexius* should (as a man unfit to Govern the State) be deprived of all Imperial Dignity, and commanded to live a private life. Which dishonourable Decree of the Conspirators was yet scarcely published, but that another more cruel came out of the same Forge. That he should forthwith be put to death, as one unworthy longer to live. For the execution of which horrible a Sentence

*Stephanus Hagiochristophorites* (one of the chief Ministers of *Andronicus* his Villanies, and by him promoted even unto the highest Degrees of the Honours of the Court) with *Confantius Tryphicus*, and one *Theodorus Badirinus*, Captain of the *Tornentors*, were sent out; who entering his Chamber by night, without compassion of his tender age, or regard of his Honour or Innocency, cruelly strangled him with a Bow string; which detestable murder so performed, *Andronicus* shortly after coming in, spurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his Father, the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a baseborn and injurious man; and at his Mother, as a common Whore. The dead was forthwith truck off from this miserable Carcase (the mirror of Honours unfaithful) and left for the monstrous Tyrant to feed his eyes upon; the body wrapped up in Lead, was in a Boat carried to Sea by *Jo. Camaterius*, and *Theodorus Clamatus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble Favorites; who with great joy and glad return with the same Boat to the Court, as if they had done some notable Exploit. But long continued not the joy of the Mischievous, Vengeance still following them at the heels as it did the two, who not long after, with the rest that conspired the innocent Emperors death, all or most part of them came to shameful or miserable ends. Thus perished *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet full fifteen years old, in the third year of his Reign; which time he lived more like a Servant than an Emperor, first under the command of his Mother, and afterwards of the Tyrant which brought him to his end.

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made young again, as should seem, by his new gained Honours? for shortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French Kings Daughter (as some report) before betrothed to young *Alexius*; a tender and most beautiful Lady, not yet full eleven years old, an untimely Match for three score and ten. And in some sort as it were to purge himself and his Partakers of the shameful murder by them committed, and to stop the mouths of the people, he by much flattery and large promises procured of the Bishops a general Absolution which they had before given unto the Emperor *Emanuel*, and *Alexius* his Son. Which obtained for a while had the same Bishops in great Honour, and shortly after in greater Contempt, as men forgetful of their Duties and Calling. After that he gave himself wholly unto the establishing of his Estate, never reckoning himself thereof assured, so long as he saw any of the Nobility or famous Captains alive that favoured *Emanuel* the late Emperor *Alexius* his Son; of whom some he secretly poisoned, as *Mary* the Empress *Emanuel* Daughter,

Alexius deprived of the Empire.

Alexius condemned.

The Emperors cruelty strangled.

An unequal Marriage.

Andronicus forbids by threat to establish his Estate.

rant the very Heavens. The brut thereof flying abroad into the City, forthwith you might have seen every floor and corner of the City full of the vulgar people, with some also of better sort swarming together like Bees, and founding the Praises of *Andronicus* (who now was come out of his House into the Court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long live the Emperors Alexius* and *Andronicus*. With which loud acclamations and the least signs of many good men, (for all were not mad of that frenzy) the young Emperor awaked, and seeing the Court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them saluted his Fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it best to yield unto the time, and to with the rest flattening the old Tyrant, welcomed him full free as his will, by the name of his Friend and Companion in the Empire; which he now in dissembling manner feigning unwilling to take upon him, and refusing the place offered, was by the rout of his flattering Favorites enforced to his own great contentment, to yield to their request; some of them with both their hands carrying him up, until they had all were against his will placed him in the Imperial Seat, prepared for him fall by the young Emperor; others in the mean time no less busied in pulling off his private Attire, and putting upon him the Imperial Robes.

The next day, when this Participation of the Empire should be published, and they both proclaimed Emperors, the name of *Alexius* was set before the name of *Alexius*; whereof his Favorites (though some others interpreted it otherwise) gave this reason, That it fitted not with the Majesty of the Empire, that the name of a Boy should be set before the name of so reverend, grave, wise, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus*, his Companion in the Empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great Temple to be Crowned, then first began to shew to the people a cheerful Countenance, and setting aside his stern Look, after his long devotion done, filled the vain people heads with many large Promises of a more happy form of Government than before. All which proved nothing but more dissimulation and deep deceit, that cheerfulness of Countenance and Speech serving but for a while to cover his inward, secret, and most inhumane Cruelty. And the more to deceive the World, the Ceremonies of his Coronation past, at such time as he stood for Confirmation and Confirmation of all, receive the sacred and dreadful Mystry, the pledge of our Redemption, not without due reverence to be named, much left with impure hands touched; after he had received the Bread, and taken the Cup in his hand, he with most devout Countenance framed of purpose to deceive, and his eyes cast up to Heaven, as if his Soul had there already been (the fairest Match of Hypocrisy) fore by those dreadful Mysteries, and most deeply protested in the hearing of the people standing by, that he had taken upon him the Fellowship of the Empire for no other end or purpose but to assist *Alexius* his Cousin in the Government, and to strengthen his Power; whereas his secret meaning was nothing less, as shortly after appeared. For after a few days spent in feigned Devotions for the prosperous beginning of his Empire, he forthwith turned his mind unto other Designs. And having above all things purposed the death of the young Emperor, he called together them of the Council, his own Creatures and corrupt Ministers of his Wickedness, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that saying of the

Poet,



with her Husband *Cefar*; some for light occasions he deprived of their light, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the Sons of that noble Captain *John Comnenus*; *Andronicus Lapidus*, whose good Service he had oftentimes used; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuel's* base Son; some he hanged, as *Leo Synglus*, *Martin Laganus*, with divers others; some he burnt, as *Mamali*, one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chief Secretaries; all men of great Honour and place. For colour whereof he pretended himself to be sorry for them, deeply protesting, that they died by the feverity of the Law, not by his will, and the just doom of the Judges, whereas he was himself (as he said) to give place; and that with tears plentifully running down his aged Cheeks as if he had been the most sorrowful man alive. O deep diffimulation, and Crocodiles tears, by nature ordained to express the heaviness of the heart, flowing from the eyes as showers of rain out of the Clouds, in good men the most certain signs of greatest grief, and surest testimonies of inward torment; but in *Andronicus* you are not so, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promise not to the distressed pity or compassion, but death and destruction: how many men's eyes have you put out; how many have you drowned; how many have you devoured? Most of the Nobility that favoured the late Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his Son, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, struck such a fear into the rest, that for safeguard of their lives they betook themselves to flight: some one way, some another, never thinking themselves in safety so long as they were within the greedy Tyrants reach; whereof shortly after ensued no small Troubles, to the shaking of the State of the whole Empire. *Isaac Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuel's* high Kinsman, took his Refuge into *Cyprus*, and kept it till to himself. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuel's* Brother, Son fled into *Silicia*, and there first up William King of that Island, against *Andronicus*, who with a great Army landed at *Dyrrachium*, took the City, and so from thence without resistance passing through the heart of *Macedonia*, spoiling the Country before him as he went, met his Fleet at *Thessalonica*, which famous City he also took by force, and most miserably spoiled it, with all the Country thereabout, so that he brought a great fear upon the Imperial City itself. Unto which so great evils *Andronicus* (intangled with domestic Troubles, and not knowing whom to trust) was not able to give remedy, although he flew he had (to no purpose) sent out certain of his most trusty Ministers with force as he could well spare. For the Majesty of his Authority growing still less and less, and the number of his Enemies both at home and abroad daily increasing, and the favour of the unconfront people (who now began to speak hardly of him) declining, he uncertain which way to turn himself, rested wholly upon Tyranny, proscribing in his fear, not only the Friends of such as were fled, and whom he distrusted, but sometimes whole Families together, yea and that for light occasions, sometime those who were his best Favorites, whose Service he had many times used in the execution of his Cruelty; so that now no day passed wherein he did not put to death, imprison, or torture one great Man or other. Whereby it happened that the Imperial City was filled with sorrow and heaviness, every man hanging the head, and with silence covering his inward grief; nor without danger to have been then uttered. Among many others appointed to this slaughter, was one *Isaac Angelus* a man of great Nobility, whom *Hagioriphorites* (the chief Minister of *Andronicus* his Tyranny,

Exceeding Cruelty.

and for the same by him highly promoted) suspecting, as one that bare no good will to the Emperor (cause enough of death) came to his house to apprehend him; and finding him at home, after a few hot words commanded him to follow him; whereas the Nobleman making some stay, and abhorring the very sight of the Wretch, as unto him ominous and fatal, *Hagioriphorites* himself began to lay hands on him, reviling his Followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his house by the hair of his head, unto the Prison by him appointed. For they, touched with the Honour of the Man, moved with pity, forced him not, but stood still as beholders. *Isaac* seeing himself thus beset, and no way now left for him to escape, resolving rather there presently to die, than shortly after to be murdered in Prison, drew his Sword as the rest were laying hands upon him, and at the first blow cleaved the wicked head of *Hagioriphorites* down to his shoulders; and so leaving him wallowing in his own blood, and like a desperate man laying about him amongst the rest, made himself way through the midst of them. And so imbued with blood, with his bloody Sword yet in his hand, running through the midst of the City, told the people what he had done, and crying unto them for help in defence of his Innocency, fled into the great Temple, there to take the Refuge of the Sanctuary; where he had not long fast (in the place where the guilty flyer thither for Refuge used to sit, and confessing their Offence, crave Pardon of such as go in and out) but that the Temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of all parts of the City, come to see the Nobleman, come to behold what should become of him; for all men thought that he would before Sun-set (notwithstanding the reverence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, and put to some shameful death. Thither came also *John Ducas*, *Isaac's* Uncle, and his Son *Isaaco* increase the tumult; nor for that they were anything guilty of the death of *Hagioriphorites*, but for that they had before become Sureties unto the suspicious Tyrant, for their Kinsman *Isaac*, and he likewise for them; by whose trespass they well knew themselves now brought into no less danger than if they had been Abettors thereunto. And beside them also, many other there were, which doubting of their own estate, and fearing the like might happen to themselves, picked forward with hard Speeches, the common people flocking thither, instantly requesting them to fly there, and to stand by them now at their need, being so injuriously wronged; whose piteous complaints moved many to take part with them. At which time also, no man yet coming from the Emperor (being as then out of the City) to repress the Sedition, nor any of the Nobility opposing themselves, no Friend of *Andronicus*, appearing, none of his bloody Ministers or Officers shewing themselves, nor any that do much as speak a good word in his behalf, or in dislike of the tumult, the boldness of the feditious people increased, every man in a great liberty saying what he list, and after their rage more and more encouraging another. So spent *Isaac* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but still expecting the deadly stroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating so prevailed, that divers of the Assembly shutting the Church doors, and bringing Light into the Church, stayed there with him all night; and by their example caused some others to fly also. The next morning by break of day were all the Citizens flock again unto the Temple, cursing the Tyrant to the Devil, as the common Enemy

The people must repress him.

of mankind, wishing unto him a shameful death, and the honour of the Empire unto *Isaac*. At that time by fortune, or rather God so appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the City at his Palace of *Meladinn*, on the East side of *Propontis*, where he was by nine a clock at night certified of the death of *Hagioriphorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night fired he not, neither did any thing more, but by those Letters advised the people to pacify themselves, and not by foolish Rebellion to cast themselves into further danger. In the Morning *Andronicus* his Favorites began to shew themselves, and to do what they might to have appeased the tumultuous Multitude: yea and presently after came *Andronicus* himself, landed with his Imperial Gally at the great Palace in the City, but with the enraged People nought prevailed either the persuasions of the one, or report of the presence of the other; for they all, as upon a signal given, and as men inspired with one spirit, or stirred up with the same fury, flocked together into the Temple of *S. Sophia*, one encouraging another, and scoffing at such as stood by as idle lookers on, without Weapons in their hands, reviling them and calling them rotten Limbs that had no feeling of the common harm. After that, they broke open the Prisons and set at liberty the Prisoners, as first instruments to increase the Tumult, were not all notable Offenders of the Dregs of the People, but many of them born of good Houses, and for some light Fault; or inconsiderate Word (whereof every man was in those times bound to give an account) or for some Friends Offence against *Andronicus*, there laid fast. These of all others most animated the people, in this sort, as they which before fear of the danger did but softly murmur to themselves against *Andronicus*, did now openly join with the rest of the base feditious. Then might you have seen some with their Swords and Targets, some also in their Armour, but the greatest part armed with Clubs and Staves, and other such like rude Weapons, Arms of Fury, hastily taken in their Shops as by chance they came first to hand, running forth in every place. By this Assembly of the most furious and promiscuous People was *Isaac* hoisted up, and with a general applause saluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sixtons of the Church, with a ladder took down *Constantine* the Great his Crown of Gold, (which for a Monument hung over the holy Altar) and set it on *Isaac's* Head; which he at the first seemed unwilling to wear, nor for that he was not desirous enough of the Empire, but for that he feared the extreme danger of the matter, and thought those things that were then done to be but as it were a sick mans dream, like enough straightway to vanish; beside that, he feared in doing the more to exasperate *Andronicus*. Which his Uncle *John Ducas* (as is said before, standing by him) perceiving, plucking off his Cap, and shewing his old bald Head, requested the People, That if his Nephew did refuse it, they would set it upon his; whereunto they with a great outcry answered, That they would no more yield their obedience to an old bald Man, as having received many harms from the hoary hairs of old *Andronicus*; and therefore for his sake hated, every old Man, more fit for *Charon's* Boat, and his Coffin, than for an Empire, and especially if he had a forked Beard, and bald Head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Isaac* by the tumultuous Multitude invested in the Empire; and so royally received upon one of the Emperors Horles, richly furnished with a Saddle and Trappings of Gold, which they had by chance

gotten, was by them brought from the Temple unto the Court, and *Rafael Comnenus* the Patriarch waiting upon him, whom the headstrong People had intreated against his Will to confirm with his Authority what was by them done for the establishing of *Isaac* in the Empire. *Andronicus* at his coming to the Palace perceiving first by the confused cry of the tumultuous Multitude, and afterwards by shewing with his Eyes, how the world were calling upon his old Friends and flattering Favorites, thought first by their help to have repelled the Fury of the Rebels; who as Friends of his better Fortune, and not of himself, were now for the most part shrunk from him; and those that were left, so feignly coming on, as if in his quarrel they had no mind to spend their lives; with which heartless Company *Andronicus* fearing to oppose himself against the Fury of the Multitude, with his Bow and Arrows in his hand got him up into the highest Tower of the Palace, called *Centauria*, and from thence bestowed certain shot amongst the People. But seeing that to be to no purpose, and better persuaded to do more with them by fair words, than such vain force, he from the top of the Tower cried aloud unto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, he would by their consent resign the Empire unto his Son *Adamus*; whereas the People, who were now all armed, feared not to pour forth most reproachful words in contempt both of himself and his Son; and so furiously broke into the Court by one of the Gates called *Carax*, which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, casting from him all his Habilliments of Honour, and disguising himself fled again to his Gally accompanied only with *Anna* his Wife, and *Martina* his Minion, and to returned to *Meladinn*, his place from whence he came. *Isaac* but yesterday in the bottom of despair, and shadowed as it were with the hand of Death, by the strange change of Fortune to day mounted unto the highest Type of worldly Honour, entering the Palace, was there again with the greatest applause of the People that might be, saluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith sent out certain Companies of his most assured Friends and Followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forsaken both of his Friends and of his better Fortune, secretly fled with his Wife and his Paragon, before remembered, to *Chele*, attended upon only with a few of his trusty Servants, which had of long time served him before he was Emperor. There taking Ship, with purpose to have fled unto the *Troacetybes*, (as no man thinking himself safe in any Province of the Empire) he was twice or thrice by foul Weather put back again, the rough Sea abhorring (as it seemed) to carry him that had polluted it with the dead bodies of the Innocent by him slain, and still threatening (as it were) to devour him. Thus strangely flayed by foul Weather, or more *Isaac*, yet blinded in appealing to the Mercy of the Highest, he was found by such as were sent out to seek after him, and being by them apprehended, was with two great Iron Chains fast locked about his proud Neck, and heavy Gyves upon his legs, cast into the Caltie of *Adema*; and in that miserable Habit shortly after presented to the Emperor, yet blinded in appealing to the Mercy of the Highest, he was found by such as were sent out to seek after him, and being by them apprehended, was with two great Iron Chains fast locked about his proud Neck, and heavy Gyves upon his legs, cast into the Caltie of *Adema*; and in that miserable Habit shortly after presented to the Emperor, yet blinded in appealing to the Mercy of the Highest, he was found by such as were sent out to seek after him, and being by them apprehended, was with two great Iron Chains fast locked about his proud Neck, and heavy Gyves upon his legs, cast into the Caltie of *Adema*; 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had before murdered or deprived of their fight, afterwards being committed to the hateful Fury of the People, he had his right Hand cut off, and was again committed to the same Cattle, without Meat, Drink, or any other comfort : where after he had lien a few days, having one of his Eyes put out, he was transported to the Gallies, as if he was to be put to death thereoff, and fo as if he were in Triumph) led through the Market place, his bald Head all bare, as if it had been a dead mans Skull taken out of a Charnel Houfe, in a short old Coat: fo miserable a Spectacle, as might have exprefsed a fortune of a man. But the Bedlam and most infolent Citizenz especially they of the bafter fock, as Cooks, Cobers, Curriers, and fuch like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day worn upon his Head the Imperial Crown, then honour'd with the name of King) and as if they were the Ravens, that they had not long before folemly fworn unto him Obedience and Loyalty) ran now as men out of their Wits, omitting no kind of Villany they could devise to do unto him : fome thrust nails into his Head, fome, caft dirt in his Face, fome the dung both of Men and Bees, fome caft Stones at him as at a mad Dog, and other fome opprobrious and defpiteful words, no lefs grievous unto him than the reft ; amongst others, an impudent Drab coming out of the Kitchen, caft a pot of fcaolding water in his Face : and in brief, their outrage fo excited, that he was forc'd to fwear, that he would be as good as he should be him the greateft Villain. Having thus shamefully, as in a ridiculous riddle brought him into the Theater, they there betwix two Pillars hang'd him up by the Heels ; where having fuffer'd all thefe defightful Indignities, with many more, not without offence to be mov'd, he was at length forc'd to fwear, that he had patience, not giving one evil word, but sometimes faying, *Lord have mercy upon me* ; and otherwiles, *Why do you break a braised Reed?* Yet the furious People nothing mov'd with the Calamity of fo great a man, (of all others now the most miserable) (thrice him of his back, Clasp'd in a fag, and with a fword in his hand) (and then to make an end of him, thrust his Sword in at his Throat : up to the twift as he hung ; other two with their long Swords proving their Strength, who could strike furthest into his Buttocks. This miserable perished this famous Emperor after he had reigned above twenty years, and was buried in the Church where he had carried away fome pieces thereof) being taken down from the place where he hung, was caft into a bafe Vault in the Theater, where it for a fpace lay, as the loathsome Carcafs of fome wild Beaft, and the miserable Spectacle of Mans Fragility : for *ſince* the Emperor would not fuffer his Name to be forgot, he was call'd *the Emperor of the People* overpaſſed it was by fome more charitable men remov'd thence, and laid in a low Vault near unto the Monastery of the *Ephori* ; which, as *Nicetas Choniater* (Author of this Hiftory ſpeaking of the time wherein he liv'd) faith, is yet there undilford to this day. He was a man of a goodly ſtature, of a ſquare tall, and well proportioned ; in his Countenance fate a certain reverend Majeſty, adorned with ſuch notable Vertues, as might have made him worthy to have been compar'd unto the greateſt Emperors of his Stock and Family, had he not obſcur'd his Name, and his goodly Fortune, by his own wickedneſs : whoſe ſon he once ſaid him to lead the greateſt part of his Life in Priſon or Exile ; the other brought unto him a moſt shameful End.

*King Angels his Successory: by the Favour of the People thus exalted unto the Empire, at the first governed the same with great Lenity and Moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the Effusion of his Subjects Blood; but afterwards, when he was troubled both with his Enemies, and Domesticks, he did invade the Imperial City by such of the Nobility as thought themselves no less worthy of the Empire than himself: for repenting of such Infolencies, and the afflicting of his State, he became so severe punishing the Offenders, and such others as he had forgiven, that he was accounted by his Subjects not inferior in Cruelty to *Andronicus* his Predecessor; for many days passing without the condempnation or execution of one great Man or other, he seemed of the manner sort, of whom he is famous to make no great reckoning; whereby he left them in such a manner, that his Subjects, who before had him in great honour, and became unto him no less odious than he was before *Andronicus*. Upon which general dislike of the People, his ingrateful younger Brother *Alexius* (by him before for the great love of Money he was called *the Money-Lover*) took occasion to rise up against him, and by the Favour of some Soldiers desired him together both of his Empire and his Sight; and having put out the Eyes, thrust him into a Monastery, there to live as it were out of the World, as a man condemned to perpetual darkness, after he had reigned nine years and six months. In the mean time, *Alexius* being now Whither it were the revenging hand of God, for the hard measure used to *Andronicus*, or not, he leave it to the wifer to confider, who in his deep Providence, wherewith he best governeth all things, would have a moderation used in punishing of such a tyrannical Empire, as this was. And while before our Eyes the Empire of State, of Power and Authority; and that as all worldly things are subject to change, so by the just Judgment of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we do unto others, the same we may receive again from others. In these few gates we have seen the fall of the Empire of *Constantinople* (which I have somewhat more at large prosecuted, not so much for the novelty of the matter, although it were right strange, as for that it was the end of the Loffes and Ruin thereof, the greatness of the Turks for the last part grew) *Glorious* *Emperor* *Constantine* the fourth, means to take from the Empire divers strong Towns and Castles in the lesser Asia, together with a great part of the Country of *Phrygia*; *Alexius*, *Andronicus* and *Isaac* the succeeding Emperors, troubled with dangers nearer home, having nothing to oppose to the *Emperor* *Constantine* the fourth, were not redeeming for a while an unfire Peace, with no less change in short time to be renewed again. This victorious *Sultan* (for so he may of right be called) holding in his Subjection a great part of the lesser Asia, now a Man of great years, dying, left behind him four Sons, *Masius*, *Agapane*, *Almasius*, and *Caspianus*, all of them young, and without strength when he divided his Kingdom. Unto *Masius* he bequeathed *Amalia*, *Agapane*, *Dory*, *Almasius*, with divers other pleasant Cities of *Pamphylia*; unto *Caspianus*, he assigned *Melyene*; *Caspianus*, and the Colony now called *Tyrra*: unto the youngest, *Almasius*, he gave *Armenia*, and some other Cities upon the Sea-Coast; but unto *Caspianus*, he left *Iscionia* his Regal Seat, and with it *Lycania*, *Pamphilis*, and all the Countries thereabouts as far as *Cotianum*. Of these four, *Caspianus* long lived not after his Father; for whose Inheritance *Recurtine* Prince of*

The Sons of  
Clizath-  
lan at va-  
riance a-  
mong them-  
selves.

of *Deuce*, and *Majus* Prince of *Amyra* his two Brothers) fell at variance, and so at last into an open War. But *Majus* finding himself too weak to fight for his warlike Brother *Reuterine*, yielded unto him the Territories which he saw he must needs forego; and glad now to keep his own, he made peace with him, and so returned home. But this ambitious and haughty Spirit, with his Forces thus doubled, denounced War unto his Brother *Caisiofrees*; who doubting his own Strength, fled unto the Emperor *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his Father done before him unto the Emperor *Manuel*, who was his Father's good friend. But the Emperor but of late had obtained the Empire by the deposing of his Brother; and altogether given to pleasure, reputed all those Domestical Wars of the Turks, some part of his own safety; sent him home without Comfort as one quarrel enough of him. He therefore defended his own ground against his Brother, who was his Father's good friend.

Howbeit, he was scarcely come to *Iconium*, but he was by *Reusinate* expulſed thence, and driven to fly into *Armenia*, where he was by *Zebane* King of that Country, a Turk alſo, honourably received and courteouſly uſed, but yet denied of the aid he requeſted; the King pretending that he was already in League with *Reusinate*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, that he was the ſon-in-law of the ſame, and could not intermeddle with him. Whereupon the poor Sultan utterly diſcouraged, returned again to *Conſtantinople*, and there in poor Eſtate, as a man forlorn, paſſed out the reſt of his

Now having thus passed through the Turkish affairs in the lesser *Asia*, together with the troubled Estate of the Constantinopolitan Empire, no small cause of the Turkish greatness; the course of time calleth us back again before we pass any farther, to remember their proceedings also at the same time, and shortly after, in *Syria*, *Judea*, *Egypt*, and those more Southerly Countries, which the People of that Region call not by all means to enlarge their Empire, until they had brought all those great Kingdoms under their Obedience.

Almeri-  
cus *sixto*  
King of  
Jerusalem

After the death of *Baldwin King of Jerusalem*, of whom we have before spoken, *Americus* his younger Brother, Earl of *Yppa* and *Afcalon*, being chosen to succeed him, was crowned with the better good liking of the Clergy, and the People, than of the Nobility, elected King. Not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a Kingdom, but for that some of them were wanting in the Nobles of the Nation. Nevertheless he was (as we said) by the general consent of the People, Elected, Proclaimed, and by *Americus* the Patriarch with all Solemnity crowned, the seventeenth day of *February*, in the year of our Lord's Birth, *1163*. At which time, the Egyptians first of all denied to pay unto him their wonted Tribute. In revenge whereof, he in person himself with a puissant Army entered into *Egypt*: and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, and his Army, he fought with him, till he had slain him, and his Army, and he returned him to flight; who to flay the further pursuit and safety of the Christians, cut the Banks of the River *Nilus*, and so drowned the Country, that the King was glad to content himself with the Victory he had already gotten, and so to return to *Jerusalem*.

The next year *Almericus* was again drawn down with his power into *Egypt*, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him against *Saracou*; whom *Noradin* the Turk, King of *Damafco*, had sent as General with an Army, to restore *Samar* the Sultan be-

fore expelled, and to depose *Dargan*. In which Expedition *Dargan* being slain, and *Saracem* being won certain Towns, kept them to himself; *Saracem* doubtfull of his good meaning, joynd his Forces with *Almericus*, and by his help expelled *Saracem* out of *Egypt*. But whilst *Almericus* was thus buied in *Egypt*, *Noradin* the Turk making an irruption into *Arabia*, the Christians near unto *Tripoli*, was by *Gilliers*, the Count of *Antioch*, and *Bohemond Prince of Antioch*, *Raymond* the younger, Earl of *Tripoli*, *Calamoun* Governor of *Cilicia*, and *Toros* Prince of *Armenia*, came with their power. Of whose coming the Turk hearing, raised his Siege and departed. After whom the Christian Princes eagerly following, were by the Turk set up in certain deep and rotten Fens (wherein they were wont to be wont to be entrined) and there with a great Slaughter overthrowen. In which conflict, all the chief Commanders of the Army were taken, except the Prince of *Armenia*, who foreseeing the danger had retired, after he had in vain disswaded the rest from the further pursuit of the flying Enemy. This *Armenian* being taken, was about a Year before the last fall of *Noradin*, but the Count of *Tripoli* was after eight years straight Captivity hardly delivered. *Noradin* after this Victory returning again to the Siege of *Arcthisia*, in few days won the Town; and encouraged with such good success, and the absence of the King, laid Siege to the City of *Panade*, the Prince being delivered unto him, upon condition that the Citizens might at their pleasure be safely deare.

At the same time *Saracen* General of *Noradin* his Forces, took from the *Christians* two *Cattles*; the one in the Country of *Sidon*, the other beyond *Jordan* upon the Borders of *Arabia*, both in the Custody of the *Templars*; twelve of whom the King at his return hanged up for Treason.

Shortly after *Saracen*, King *Noradin* his great Man of War, with all the power of the Turks, came down again into *Egypt*, with purpose to have fully subdued all that notable Kingdom unto his Lord and Maffer. Of whose power, *Sanne* the Sultan standing in dread, prayed aid of *Almeric*, promising unto him besides his yearly Tribute, a fine of forty thousand *Ducats* for his pains. The matter fully agreed upon, and all things now in readines, *Almeric* set forward with his Army, and encountering with *Saracen* and his Turks at the River *Nilus*, overthrew him in a great Battel, yet not without some loss, for the Turks in their Flight lighted upon the Kings Carriages with the whole Baggage of the Army, and overrunning them that way, made the chariot way so full of dead men, that a moft rich Rife, whereby it came to pass that the Christians had the Victory, for the Turks enjoyed the Spoil.

Saracón after this overthrow having again gathered together his dispersed Souldiers, took his way to *Alexandria*, where he was by the Citizens received; after whom the King following, gave no attempt unto the City, for that he knew to be but vain, but incamped close by the side of the River *Nilus*, from whence the City was chiefly to be victualled. Whose purpose Saracón perceiving, and betime foreseeing the distress of his whole Army

Noradin  
the Turk  
discomfited  
by the  
christians.



Army for want of Victuals, if he should there long lay; leaving there his Son *Saladin* (or as some call him his Nephew) with a thousand Horsemen for the keeping of the City, secretly by night departed with himself, and the rest of his Army; and passing through the *Defars*, did great harm in the upper parts of *Egypt*. Of whose departure *Almericus* understanding, was about to have followed him, but that he was otherwise persuaded by the Egyptian Captains to continue his former purpose for the gaining of the City; wherefore when the Countess of *Saracen* began to approach the Walls, and with divers Engines of War to disturb the Defendants; wherewith the Citizens (better acquainted with the Trade of Merchandize, than the Feats of War) discouraged, began now to consult among themselves for the turning out of those troublesome Guests whom they had so lately received; which *Saladin* perceiving, certified *Saracen* his Uncle thereof, requesting his speedy relief in that his dangerous Estate, and with much intreaty persuaded the Citizens for a while to hold it out, until he might from him receive an answer; of all which the Christians and Egyptians without having Intelligence, laid so much the harder unto the City. Gladly would *Saracen* have done what he was by his Nephew requested; but perceiving it to be a matter of no less danger than difficulty, he by the means of *Hugh*, Count of *Cesarea*, and one *Amruthus* another noble Christian, both then Prisoners with him, concluded a peace with the King; whereupon the City was forthwith yielded up, and *Saladin* with his Turks suffered in safety to depart. At which time also all Prisoners were on both sides freely and without ransom set at liberty. Thus *Saracen* for this time disappointed of his this purpose for the Conquest of *Egypt*, returned back again to *Damascus* and *Almericus* with great glory to *Aleppo*, where he arrived with his Army the one and twentieth day of September in the year 1167.

In this late expedition, King *Almericus* on the one side enlisted with the Wealth of *Egypt*, and on the other encouraged with the Weakness of that effeminate People, relying for the most part upon foreign Strength; had purposed himself to invade the Kingdom, and so if possible he might, to join it to his own. For colour whereof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before given, had secretly sought to join in League and Amity with *Noradin* King of *Damascus*. The chief thrirer up of the King unto this War, was one *Gerbert* Master of the Templars; who in respect of the aid by them of his order to be given, had obtained of the King, after the Victory gained, to have the City of *Pelufium* with all the rich and fertile country about the same, given unto him and his Brethren the Knights of the Order for ever; upon which hope, he contrary to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that War, gaged his whole Wealth and Credit, with all the Treasure of his House. So all things now in readiness for so great an Enterprize, *Almericus* country his Army for forward in *October*, and having in ten days passed the sandy *Defars*, came to *Pelufium*; which City he (after three days Siege) took by force, and put to the Sword all them that were therein, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition; which City, he according to his promise before made, gave unto the Templars. After that, he began also to besiege *Cairo*, at which time his Fleet lacked the City of *Tapium*. In the mean time, *Saracen* the Egyptian Sultan, considering the danger he was in, to satisfy *Almericus* his greedy desire, offered to pay him twenty hundred thousand Ducats to

withdraw his Forces; and forthwith sent him one hundred thousand, for the ransom of his Son and his Nephew taken Prisoners at *Pelufium*; and for the rest to be paid within five days after, he gave two of his Nephews Hostages. Whereby the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpose in the mean time to raise the whole power of *Egypt*, alio to receive aid from the Turks by *Saracen*, which he daily expected; of whose speedy coming, *Almericus* understanding, left part of his Army at *Pelufium*, and with the rest went to have met him; but missing him by the way, *Saracen* with his Turks came in safety to *Cairo*, unto the Sultan, as he had desired. Wherefore *Almericus* dismayed with the multitude of two so great Armies now joined together, retired back again to *Pelufium*, and there taking with him the Garrison before left, returned home to *Hierusalem*; having in that expedition (begun with the breach of Faith) laid the foundation of the ruin of his Kingdom, as in few years after, it by proof appeared, by the evil Neighbourhood of the Turks, by that means brought down into *Egypt*.

*Saracen* the Turk after the departure of *Almericus*, easily perceiving a most fit time and opportunity to be offered for him now to obtain that which he had in vain before both fought and fought for, encamped with his Army near unto *Cairo*, and notably counterfeited himself of all others the most devoted Friend of the Sultans; so that he was then two paces all the King's tokens of Love and Friendship, that could possibly be devised; the Sultan oftentimes feasting the Turk, and in kindness likewise being feasted of him; but at length going as his manner was, unto the Camp to visit him, he was by the Turks slain. So *Saracen* having brought to his what he desired, and entering the City with his Army, was by the great Caliph, (from whom the Egyptian Sultans, as from their Superiors, the true Successors of their great Prophet *Mohamet*, took their Authority) appointed Sultan, the first of the Turks that ever enjoyed the same; which Royal Dignity he had not possessed fully a year, but that he was taken away by death. In whose stead *Saladin* his Brothers Son, by and by stepped up; who altogether a Martial Man, not regarding the reverend Majesty of the Caliph (as had his Uncle *Saracen*, and all the Egyptian Sultans before him) with his Horsemen's Mace struck out all his Pottery, the better to affirm himself and his Successors the Turks in the possession of his new begotten Kingdom; and after that divided the great Treasures of the Egyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him in his Wars against the Christians.

This glorious Kingdom so much spoken of in Holy Scripture, and renowned of the Learned Historiographers of all Ages, after the Ruine of the Roman Empire, was sometime part of the Constantinopolitan Empire, and a notable Member of the Christian Common Weal; until that about the year of our Lord 704, the Egyptians weary of the Pride and Covetousness of the Grecians, revolted from them unto the Saracens, whose Superstition they also received; and so under the Government of the Sarafin Caliphs, the Successors of the false Prophet *Mohamet* lived about 464 years, until the year when invaded by *Almericus*; they prayed aid of *Noradin* the Turk, Sultan of *Damascus*; who to their relief sending *Saracen* with an Army, repulsed indeed the Christians, but oppressing their liberty, took to himself the Kingdom, which he left unto his Nephew *Saladin*, in whose Pottery it remained

The Sultan of Egypt under the name of Friendship slain by Saracen.

How the Kingdom of Egypt fell into the hands of the Saracens, with the notable circumstances thereof.

mained until it was from them again taken by the Christian Slaves the *Mamelukes*; under whose servile Government it was holden of long time, till that by the great Emperor of the Turks *Selimus* the first, it was again conquered and the *Mamelukes* utterly destroyed: In the Government of whose Prosperity, the mighty Emperors of the Turks, it hath ever since remained as part of their Empire, until this day, as in the process of this History God willing shall appear.

*Saladin* thus possessed of the great Kingdom of *Egypt*, and all things set in such order as he thought best for the Benefit of his Estate, with a great Army entered into the Land of *Palatine*, in the year, 1170, and there besieged *Daron*, which Town he won, and overthrew such as were sent by King *Almericus* to have relieved the same; with which small Victory contenting himself, as with the good beginning of his rising Fortune, he returned back again into his Kingdom; yet he was his Army to great and populous, as that the like Army of the Turks had never before been seen in the Holy Land. Wherefore *Almericus* considering in what danger he stood, his Kingdom now being on both sides beset by the Turks, sent out his Embassadors unto the Christian Princes of the West, to crave their Aid for the defence of that Kingdom which their Fathers had won; and for the same purpose went himself in Person unto the Emperor of *Constantinople*, of whom he was Royally entertained, and afterward sent back loaded with the promises of great matters, as were also his Embassadors from the Princes of the West. All which for all that forced unto nothing, but vanished into smoke.

The year following, viz. 1171. *Saladin* besieged *Ferrea*, the Metropolitane City of *Arabia*; but hearing that *Almericus* with a great Power was coming to the Relief thereof, he raised his Siege, and retired; as he did also next year after, having in vain attempted the strong Castle of *Mont-Royal*, on the further side of *Jordan*. In like manner also the third year he came again into the Holy Land, and spoiled the Country beyond *Jordan*; but hearing of the Kings coming against him, he forthwith returned again into *Egypt*. All these light Expeditions, this potent Prince made not so much for hope of Victory, or to prove his Enemies strength, as to train his Soldiers, especially the effeminate Egyptians, and to make them fitter to serve him in his greater designs.

Shortly after did *Noradin* Sultan of *Damascus*, and in his time a most notable Champion of the Turks, after he had reigned nine and twenty years. Upon whose death, *Almericus* forthwith besieged the City of *Panalea*, in hope to have again recovered the same; but he was by the Widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great sum of money and certain number of certain Prisoners, intreated to raise his Siege and depart. So having first away his Army, and traveling with his ordinary Retinue to *Yberia*, where he had the Summer before been sick of the Flux, feeling himself not well, he returned on Horse-back by old *Difdase* intending upon him, he was also taken with a Fever; whereupon after he had been some few days grievously tormented, he requested his Physicians, with some gentle potion to loofe his Belly, which was now somewhat stayed; which they refusing to do, he commanded the potion to be given him upon his own peril, hap thereon what he should; which being given him, and his Belly again loosed, he seemed thereafter to have been at the first well eased; but his

worsted Fever with great vehemency returning, before his weak and spent Body could be with convenient means refreshed, he suddenly died the tenth of July, in the year, 1173, when he had reigned about ten years. His dead Body was with the great lamentation of all his Subjects, solemnly buried by his Brothers. He was a most wise Prince, and withal right valiant, amongst many most fit for the Government and Defense of that troublesome Kingdom, to hardly beset with the Infidels, if it had pleased God to have given him longer life.

Four days after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his Son, then a Youth about thirteen years of age, by the general consent of the Nobility chosen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch in the Temple with great Solemnity Crowned in the year, 1173, unto whom as not yet by reason of his tender age, fit himself to manage the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, *Raymond* Count of *Tripolis* was by the whole consent of the Nobility appointed Tutor to supply what was wanting in the young King.

*Noradin* Sultan of *Damascus* (dead as is aforesaid) left behind him *Melechala* his Son, yet a Youth, to succeed him in his Kingdom. Whose Government the Nobility disliking, sent secretly *Saladin* Sultan of *Egypt*, unto whom at his coming they betrayed the City of *Damascus*, the Regal Seat of the Turks in *Syria*. Whereof *Saladin* did possess, and entering into *Caloforia* without Resistance, took *Helipolis*, *Emiffa*, with the great City of *Cesarea*; and in fine, all the whole Kingdom of *Damascus*, the City of *Acrehala* only excepted. But thus to suffer *Melechala* the young Prince to be wronged, and the Kingdom of *Damascus* to be joynted to the Kingdom of *Egypt*, was of the wiser sort thought not to stand with the safety of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the Count of *Tripolis*, Governor of that Kingdom, made out certain Forces to have hindered his proceedings. At which time also, *Cashed* Prince of *Partibia*, and *Melechala* Uncle, sent certain Troops of *Partibian* Horse-men to have aided his distressed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* overthrown and almost all slain, near unto *Aleppo* where *Melechala* lay. As for the Count of *Tripolis* and the other Christian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newness of his Kingdom had no desire to fall out; he appeased them with fair Intreaty and Rewards; unto the Count he sent freely the Hostages, which yet lay for his Ransom at *Emiffa*; unto the other Princes he sent rich Presents; and thereupon he consented them all, that they returned without any thing doing against him. After which time, three or four years passed in great quietness, to the great strengthening of him in those new gotten Kingdoms. At length upon the coming over of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, the Christian Princes of *Syria* encouraged, consulted of an Expedition to be made into *Egypt*, whereof *Saladin* having Intelligence, drew down into that Country the greatest part of his strength. But *Philip* disliking of that Expedition, and the rather for that he saw no great cheerfulness in the Count of *Tripolis* and the rest therewith; they with some consent changed their Purpose for *Egypt*, and turning their Forces a quite contrary way, miserably and without resistance wasted the Country about *Emiffa* and *Cesarea*.

Whilst the Christians were thus busied in *Caloforia*, *Saladin* on the other side took occasion to send *Bayez* to invade the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, of whose coming, King *Baldwin* having Intelligence, with such small Forces as he had left, halted

Baldwin the fourth of that Name, first sent King of Hierusalem.

Saladin then sent Bayez to invade the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

hastened himself to *Afcalon*. In the mean time *Saladin* with a great Army was entered into the Holy Land, where burning the Country before him, and raging in the blood of the poor Christians, he came and encamped not far from *Afcalon*; and struck such a fear upon the whole Country, that they which dwelt in *Jerusalem*, were about to have forsaken the City, as far as the King himself, he lay close within the City of *Afcalon*, not daring to adventure upon so strong an Enemy. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of fear of his Enemies, dispersed his Army, some one way, some another, to forage the Country. Which the King perceiving, secretly came to the City, and with all his Power, as he might overtake the Sultan unawares; neither was he deceived in his expectation; for coming suddenly upon him, and secretly charging him, he had with him for a good space an hard and doubtful battle, until that the Victory by the Power of God, at length inclining to the Christians, *Saladin* with his Turks fled, overthrowing with a great slaughter, most part of his great Army being either there slain, or left afterward with hunger and cold. This Victory fell into the Christians the 25th day of November, in the year, 1177. nor without the Almighty Hand of God, the Turks having in his Army above six and twenty thousand Horsemen, and the King not past four hundred Horse, with some few Foot-men. After which Victory, *Baldwin* in great Triumph returned to *Jerusalem*, and there shortly after with great care and diligence repaired the decayed Walls of the City. *Saladin* in revenge of this Overthrow, made three Incursions into the Frontiers of the Christians, and did great harm, especially in the Country about *Sidon*. For the repelling whereof, the King put himself in Arms, and going against him, overthrew part of his Army, as they were carrying away a great Booty. Of which overthrow *Saladin* understanding, came in such haste with the rest of his Army, as if it had been a sudden Tempest, upon the Christians, then in great security dividing the Spoil; of whom they slew a great number, and put the rest to flight: In which so sudden a Confusion, *Otto*, grand Master of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earl of *Tripoli* his son in law, were both taken Prisoners. The Earl himself with a few fled to *Tyre*; the King also at the same time was glad to shift for himself, and by flight to save himself as he might; after which Victory, *Saladin* besieged a strong Castle which the King but the year before had built upon the bank of the River *Jordan*, and given it to the Templars, with the Country round about; which Castle *Saladin* took by force, and put to sword all that were therein, except some few whom he carried away Prisoners. By this Victory *Saladin* became dreadful unto the Christians in Syria, which caused them, especially such as had any charge, with more vigilance to look about them. Yet shortly after, a Peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King; whereby their troubled Spirits breathed themselves almost the space of two years.

But this so welcome a Calm was by domestic troubles again by the Kings Friends suddenly troubled: for the Count of *Tripoli*, to whom the Government of the Kingdom was committed, coming towards *Jerusalem*, being by the suggestion of his Enemies brought into suspicion with the King, as if he had affected the Kingdom, was to his great disgrace by the way commanded to fly. The chief Authors of which discontentment, were the Kings Mother, a Woman of a turbulent nature, and her Brother the

Kings Steward; who in the absence of the Earl, had wrought the Kings sick mind according to their own appetite. But the rest of the Nobility wisely foreseeing unto what great danger that discord might tend; in despite of them, with much labour, caused him to be sent for again, and so reconciled unto the King; by which means, that dangerous fire of dissention was for that time appeased, which afterwards brake out again, to the utter ruin of that Kingdom.

*Saladin* now weary of the League he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer standing with his haughty Designs, renounced the same, and raising a great Power in *Egypt*, he directed towards *Damascus*. Of whose knowledge, King *Baldwin* having knowledge, with the whole Power of his Kingdom went to have met him, not far from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old Town called *Petra*. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings Territory, came and encamped before *Mount-Royal*, a Castle which *Baldwin* had given unto the Templars, about three days march from the place where the King lay.

There *Saladin* with the Spoil of the Country refreshing his Army, now weary of long travel, fell forward again, and so without reluctance arrived with his Army at *Damascus*. At the same time the Turk Captains about *Damascus*, *Bezzum*, and *Emilia* perceiving the Frontiers of *Saladin* thereabout to be kept with small strength, passed over *Jordan*, and spoiling a great part of *Galilee*, besieged the Castle of *Burie*, at the foot of *Mount Tabor*, not far from the City of *Naius*; which Castle they in few days took, and having there made a great slaughter, carried away with them about five hundred Prisoners. *Saladin* being come to *Damascus*, called together all the Garrisons of that Kingdom, and joining them unto the Forces he brought out of *Egypt*, entered into the Holy Land; at which time the Count of *Tripoli*, Governor of the Kingdom, lay sick of a burning Fever. Nevertheless the King encouraged by the Knights of the Order, went out with his Army against him; and encountering with him near unto a Village called *Froblet*, overthrew him in a great battle; wherein, afterward in the flight, most part of the Sultans Army perished; *Saladin* himself being glad by speedy flight to escape the danger, and so by long marches to get him again to *Damascus*.

In revenge of this overthrow, *Saladin* having repaired his Army, and sent for his Fleet out of *Egypt*, came and besieged *Beirut* both by Sea and Land; at which time also his Brother, whom he had left Governor in *Egypt*, besieged *Darum*, a strong Town in the uttermost bounds of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* towards *Egypt*; both whose Forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repress, by the Council of his Nobility, thought it best first to relieve *Beirut*, as the place of greatest Importance. And for that purpose set forward with his Army by Land, having allowed up three and thirty Gallies at *Tyre*, for the Relief thereof by Sea. Of which preparation *Saladin* understanding, as also of the Kings coming (by Letters intercepted by his Scouts, directed to the besieged, for the holding out of the siege, with promise of speedy Relief) he presently rode with his Army, and departed; whereof the King being advertised, retired to *Sepher*.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, desirous above measure to extend the bounds of his Kingdom, and seeing the success of his Attempts against the King of *Jerusalem* not answerable to his desire, converted his Forces unto the Countries more Eastward; and passing

*Saladin*  
sent out  
of Egypt  
to Damascus.

*Galilee*  
spoiled, and  
the Castle  
of *Burie*  
taken by  
the Turks.

*Beirut* is  
besieged by  
the Turks.

*Alleppe*  
besieged  
and the  
Turks.

passing the River *Euphrates*, and entering into *Mesopotamia*, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the Cities of *Edessa*, *Carrai*, and divers others. In which time the King of *Jerusalem* took occasion first to spoil the Country about *Damascus*, and after that divers other places of the Sultans Kingdom, making havoc of whatsoever came in his way, and so laded with the spoil of the Turks, retired to *Jerusalem*.

*Saladin* with Victory returning out of *Mesopotamia*, in revenge of the injuries done unto him in his absence, marched directly to *Alleppe*, the strongest City in that part of the Country of *Syria*, which above all other he longed after; where he had not long lie, but that it was by the treason of the Governor delivered into his hands, with all the Country thereabouts; wherewith the Christian Princes were so discouraged, that they even then began to fear greater matters to ensue. The Prince of *Antioch* sold *Tamir* the Metropolitain City of *Cilicia*, to *Rapinus* Prince of *Armenia*; for that he saw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being so far from him, and *Saladin* as it were now steep in betwixt him and it.

At the same time, King *Baldwin* at *Nazareth* fell sick of a Fever, the Leprosy also his old Disease growing daily more and more upon him; infomuch as despairing of his life, he called unto him *Gay* Luffigan Count of *Joppa* and *Ascalon*, unto whom he had before espoused *Sybil* his eldest Sister, and in the presence of his Mother, the Patriarch, and all the chief Commanders of the Squadrons of the Sacred War, appointed him the Governor of the Kingdom, referring unto himself only the Title of a King, with the City of *Jerusalem*, and a yearly Pension of ten thousand Ducats; all which was done to the great disgrace and discontentment of the Count of *Tripoli* the old Governor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* having breathed himself a little, after so great Labours came again into the Holy Land, where he took many Castles, and did infinite harm; infomuch that the Country people were glad for fear to forsake their Houses, and to fly into Cities. The Christian Army in the mean time lying fast by at *Sepher*, not once moving, although many a fair occasion were offered for the chief Commanders affectionated unto the Count of *Tripoli*, and envying the Preference of *Gay* the new Governor, were unwilling to fight, but finding one excuse or other, suffered the Enemy at his pleasure to spoil the Country, and so in safety to depart, which he had never before done in those Quarters.

Within less than a month after, *Saladin* with a great Army well appointed with all the Habilliments of War needful for the besieging of a City or strong Castle, came again into the Land of *Palestine*, and passing through the Country beyond *Jordan*, fate down, as last before *Petra*, in hope by the taking thereof to have made his passage between *Egypt* and *Damascus* more safe. Of which his purpose King *Baldwin* having knowledge, and taught by the evil success of late, to what small purpose it was to commit the managing of his Wars unto a General so evil beloved, and less regarded, as was *Gay* his Brother in law; he sent against him with his Army, *Raymond* the Count of *Tripoli*, the old Governor, whom he had again restored unto the Government, and displaced *Gay*. Of whose coming *Saladin* hearing, raised his Siege after he had lien there a month, and so departed.

A little before this Expedition, the King still growing sicker and sicker, his soul Disease still

increasing, by the common consent of the Nobility, appointed *Baldwin* his Nephew by his Sister *Sybil*, a Child but of five years old, to succeed him in the Kingdom; and the Count of *Tripoli* to have the Government of the State during the time of his Minority. This *Sybil* the Kings Sister was first married to *William* the younger, Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, who dying within three months after, left her with child with this his Posthumous Son *Baldwin*, now by his Uncle deputed unto the hope of the Kingdom. After whose death she was married to *Gay* Luffigan Count of *Joppa* and *Ascalon*, the last husband of which, who taking in evil part this the Kings designment, especially for the Government of the Kingdom by the Count of *Tripoli*, departed from the Court as a man discontented, unto his City of *Afcalon*; whereof the Patriarch and the Princes of the Sacred War, fearing (and that not without cause) great danger to ensue, came to the King, then holding a Parliament in the City of *Asen*, most humbly requesting him for avoiding of further danger, and the safety of his Kingdom, to receive again into his Favour the Count *Gay* his Brother in law, and to make an atonement betwixt him and the Count of *Tripoli*. But this their request forced to no purpose, so that the Parliament was dissolved without any success, and the good of the Common-wealth in that point concluded.

After that time the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* began still more and more to decline. In the old King *Baldwin* (sick both in body and mind) was almost no hope; in the young King (yet so unfit for great a burthen) much less; and the dissension betwixt the two Counts *Gay* and *Tripoli* among their Favorites, was like enough to bring great harm unto the State. Besides that, the Count of *Tripoli* fearing the Power of *Gay* his Enemy, was thought to have secret Intelligence with *Saladin* the Turk, infomuch as the King was almost in purpose to have proclaimed him Traytor. Wherein the King now relied only upon the Council of *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, and the Masters of the Knights of the Sacred War; by whose advice he sent *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Roger* Molins Master of the Knights of *St. Johns*, and *Arnold* Master of the Templars, Embassadors unto *Lucius* the Third, then Pope, unto *Frederick* the Emperor, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, to declare unto them the dangerous State of that Christian Kingdom, and to crave their Aid against the Infidels. These Embassadors coming to the Council then holden at *Venice*, with great gravity and diligence, in the presence of the Pope and of the Emperor, declared the hard estate of the Christians of the East, with their humble Request unto them for Aid; in such sort that they moved them, with all the Princes there present, to Compassion. From thence they were by the Pope directed unto *Philip* the French King, with whom having dispatched their Affairs, they returned, first into *England*, and afterward into *Germany*; and had at length brought their Negotiation to good pass, that in every place great preparation was made for a great Expedition to be made against the Turks, for the Relief of the Christians in the East; with which good News the Embassadors returning to *Jerusalem*, filled the sick King with the hope of great matters. But greater Quarrels shortly after arising betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, and sharp War likewise betwixt the French King and the King of *England*, and the other Christian Princes also being at no better quiet, the notable Expedition that had with the expectation thereof to filled the

*Saladin*  
is the  
Court of  
*Jerusalem*.

King  
*Baldwin*  
besieged  
by the  
Turks.  
The  
Turks  
besieged  
the  
City  
of *Beirut*.



from the distressed Christians, and the effectual perfections of *Clement* the Third, then Pope; promised, and all, or most part indeed, made great preparations; which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occasions) but at divers times employed, for the most part with the danger of their own Persons, against the Turks, for the relief of the poor oppressed Christians, and recovery of the Holy Land; but with what success shall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which for great preparations made against him, *Saladin* not ignorant, for at liberty *Guy* the King of *Jerusalem*, who contrary to his promise made at *Affaila*, he had now detained a year in Prison; yet before his inlargement exacting of him an Oath, Never by force of Arms afterwards to seek to recover his Kingdom, or to revenge the wrongs he had sustained; hoping thereby to stay the coming of the other Princes in his quarrel. Which Oath for all that, the Pope defended withall, at extorted by constraint from him, at such time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in Prison, than of right he should.

*Guy* now at liberty, and yet in mind a King, came to *Tyre*, but could not be there received, the Citizens having before sworn their Obedience unto *Conrade* Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, by whom they had been notably defended against the Fury of *Saladin*. Wherefore departing thence with such power as he had, and the distressed Christians daily repairing unto him out of all parts of *Syria*, he came and besieged *Ptolemais*; where he had not long lien, but first came unto him the Venetian Fleet, with them also a Fleet of fifty Sail, who all joined their Forces together for the winning of the City. But whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, came *Saladin* with a great Army to the relief of the besieged; where betwixt him and the Christians was fought a great Battle, wherein the Christians at the first had the better; but afterward fainting, and ready to flee, had there undoubtedly received a notable overthrow, had not *Giffrey Lysignan* the Kings Brother (left for the guarding of the Camp) in good time come in with new Supplies; and not only raised their Flight, but also repressed the further pursuit of the fierce Enemy, now almost in possession of the desired Victory. Nevertheless there were 2000 Christians there slain, and among them *Gerard* Master of the Templars. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiving how hard a matter it would be for him by Land to relieve his City, sent for the Fleet which he had formerly rigged up at *Alexandria*, and by force put new supplies both of Men and Victuals into the besieged City. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often sallies upon the Christians; and in despite of the Christian Religion, whipped the Image of Christ crucified, which they had for that purpose in the figure of a cross set up on the top of the Wall. With the same Fleet also he fooured the Seas, that no Victuals or new Supplies of Men could that way without great danger be brought unto the Camp; whereby such Scarcity and Want of all things being thrust shortly after to arise among the Christians, that some of them not able longer to endure the Famine, fled unto the Turks Camp, then lying not far off, crying out for Bread. Of which distress in the Camp of the Christians, *Saladin* knowing right well, both by such Fugitives as daily came over unto him, and by his own Epistols, yet made shew as if he understood nothing thereof; but suddenly rising with his Army (as doubtfull of his own Strength) departed, leaving

his Camp full of all manner of Victuals. Whereof the Christians understanding, and supposing him to have for fear been gone indeed, in great numbers halted unto the forsaken Camp, as unto a most desired Prey: where whilst they were gorging themselves, *Saladin* suddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great Slaughter. Nevertheless the Christians having now lien before the City six months, continued the Siege all the Winter, overcoming with patience the hardest difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Christian Princes, whose coming they expected with the first of the next Spring; during which time many hot skirmishes passed betwixt them and the Turks both by Sea and Land.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, *Frederick* the Emperor, with divers of the great German Princes and others, before resolved upon an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the relief of the distressed Christians in *Syria*; having now raised a great Army, furnished with all things necessary for so long a journey, set forward from *Ratisbon*, and so coming to *Vienna*, and passing through *Hungaria*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, arrived at length at *Constantinople*; where he by *Iaac Angelus* the Emperor that then reigned, honourably entertained; but indeed more for Fear and Fashion sake, than for any Love or good Will; for that he after the suspicious manner of the Greeks, having in distrust to great a power of the Latine Emperors, withheld rather for his absence than his presence. And therefore ceased not in what he might, to hasten his passage over into *Asia*, pretending for colour thereof, the necessity the Christians had of his present aid. So the Emperor with his Army passing over, the Straight, and without resistance marching through the greatest part of the lesser *Asia*, entered into *Lycania*, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, that were come from the Sultan of *Moravia* to stay his further passage, he overthrew them in a great Battle, and so marching directly on to *Icomium*, took it by force, and gave the Spoil thereof unto his Soldiers, in revenge of the injuries before done unto his Uncle the Emperor *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that City. Departing thence, and marching through *Cilicia*, he in another Battle overthrowing the Turks, that having taken the Straights of the Mountains, had thought, to have raised his further passage into *Syria*. After that he took the City *Philomela*, which the Sultan had strongly fortified, which he raised to the ground, and put to the Sword all the People therein, for that they contrary to the Law of Nations, had slain such Messengers as he had sent unto them for the summoning of the City. In like manner he entered into the lesser *Armenia*, where he took the City *Melietene*, and subdued all the Country thereabouts; unto the relief whereof the Turks coming, with a most huge Army, were by him with an exceeding great Slaughter overthrowing and put to Flight. After that, entering into *Comagena*, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his Son, with a great Army of the Turks, he overthrew him in the plain Field, and discomfited his whole Army; but whilst he too eagerly pursued the Enemy he had then in chase, his Horse foundering under him as he passed the River *Saleph*, he was so overthrowing, and his Foot hanging fast in his Stirrup, drawn through the deep River, and almost drowned; and at the farther side of the River was so plunged by his Horse, at his landing, that he was taken up for dead; yet breathing a little, and casting his Eyes up to Heaven, with much ado he uttered these few words, *Lord receive my Soul*; and so in the Hands

1160. *Frederick the Emperor slain by the Christians Army.*

*Frederick the Emperor slain by the Christians Army.*

Hands of them that took him up gave up the ghost, unto the great grief and hindrance of the Christian Common-wealth; for *Saladin* hearing of his approach, was so afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keep that he had before won in *Syria*, but how to defend himself in *Egypt*. Thus miserably perished this worthy Emperor, the tenth of *June*, in the year of Grace, 1190, being then of the age of seventy years, whereof he had with much trouble reigned eight and thirty. His dead Body was carried along with the Army, and afterward with all funeral Pomp buried in the Cathedral Church at *Tyre*. *Frederick* the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his Son Duke of *Saxony*, by the general consent of the Princes in the Army chosen General in his stead; upon whom, with the rest of the Army, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gave a sudden and fierce Charge, in hope so to have overthrowing them; but finding greater resistance than they had before supposed, and having lost some of their men, they with like speed that they came, retired again. Now began Famine (one of the ordinary Attendants of great Armies) to increase in the Camp; for why, the Turks for that purpose had before destroyed or carried away all that was in the Country, nothing remaining for the Christians more than the bare ground. Wherefore the Christians, weary out of the way, came to *Antich*, which was easily delivered unto him, and his hungry Soldiers well refreshed by the Citizens, being as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there stayed past fifteen days for the refreshing of his Army, but the Plague (the Hand-Maid of Famine), and another Scourge of the great multitude) began to rage among his Soldiers, in such sort, that he was glad with his Army to forsake the City, and to get him abroad again into the open field, where forthwith News was brought unto him, that *Dodecan* General of such Forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of *Egypt* (which were not small) was by great Journeys coming towards him; against whom he in good order set forward, with his Fathers Corps still carried in the midst of his Army. These two Armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joined a great and doubtful battle, fortune now inclining to the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their Enemies in valour, and they them again in number. At length the Christians in the Vanguard began to retire, and they that seconded them were also hardly charged; when *Frederick* mindful of his Fathers valour, with a Troop of valiant Horsemen brake into the Enemies battle with such force, that the Turks were glad to give ground; after whom *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* coming presently on with his Footmen, brought such a fear upon the whole Army of the Turks, that they brook themselves to speedy flight. In this battle were slain divers of the Enemies slain, with very small loss of the Christians; and about one thousand more taken Prisoners, with fifteen of their Ensigns. After which Victory, *Frederick* marching further in *Calo-Syria*, pacified *Laodicea* then in mutiny, and in like a way had delivered unto the Turks. He also with a little labour took *Berytus*, where divers other Cities of *Syria*, which before belonging unto the Turks. So afterward coming to *Tyre*, he there solemnly buried his Father, (dead, as is before said;) and from thence certified *Guy* the King (still lying with the other Christian Princes at the Siege of *Ptolemais*) of his coming; who forthwith sent the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, with part of the Fleet,

A great battle fought between the Turks and the Christians.

to transport him with his people that were left, by Sea; for that by Land he could not so safely have come, being now but weak; for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great Army lay still hovering about his besieged City, intensive to all opportunity. So was Duke *Frederick*, with his Soldiers yet left, safely by Sea conducted from *Tyre* to the Camp at *Ptolemais*, and there joyfully received by the King and the other Princes, with the general Applause of the whole Camp.

In the mean time the Turks falling out of the City of *Ptolemais*, had done great harm among the Christians, by whom they were not without some loss again repelled. But after the coming of Duke of *Frederick* and his Germans, it was thought good by the general consent of all the great Commanders in the Army, that the City should be assaulted round; and to that purpose was every man Regiment appointed what place to assail. The King himself with the Templars and the Italians from *Pifa*, undertook that part of the City which was toward the Sea; unto Duke *Frederick* and his Germans, was allotted all betwixt the Bridge over the River *Belus*, and the Bishops Palace; the *Venians*, *Genuoyes*, and Knights Hospitallers, were appointed upon the rest of the Wall as far as the Court of *Raymond*; the *Friarslanders*, *Flemings*, and *Hollanders*, took up all the rest of the Wall unto the Sea-side. Thus was the City on every side assailed by the Christians, with such fury, as if they had thereon purposed to engage their whole Forces; seeking by a thousand Wounds, and a thousand kinds of death to have by their scaling-Ladders gained the top of the Walls; the Turks with no less courage still beating them down again. But in the heat of this so dreadful and desperate an Assault, *Saladin* still hovering aloft, came now upon the sudden and assailed the Camp of the Christians, filling the same with fear and tumult; whole charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably received, but finding themselves too weak, began to give ground; by which means the Turks took certain Tents with some Ensigns, and fired some other of the Pavilions of the Christians, having slain somewhat more than an hundred of the Defendants.

The Christians in the mean time little prevailing in the Assault, and troubled with the danger of their Camp, retired to the Relief thereof. But the Turk perceiving himself too weak for the whole Power of the Christians, retired also; yet not with such half, but that he had there almost lost himself. This notable Assault was given the fourteenth of *October*; after which, many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks; more for booty than for any other great purpose.

In the mean time, divers great Princes of the West that had vowed themselves unto this Sacred War, came thither, whose number rather increased the want of Victuals, than furthered the Service. At which time also the discord betwixt *Guy* the King (whose Wife and Children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat* (who had married the late Queens Sister, by whom he pretended a Claim unto the Title of the imaginary Kingdom) did much harm unto the proceedings of the Christians; by pleasing a thing their haughty Princes by the lofty minds of the ambitious. Shortly after the Christians yet lying at the Siege, the Contagion and Famine still increasing, it fortified that Duke *Frederick* fell sick of the Plague, whereof he died; and with the great mourning of the whole Army,

*Ptolemais assailed by the Christians.*

Army, was afterward solemnly buried fast by his Father in the Cathedral of *Constantinople*, upon whose death the Christians attempted no great matter against the City, although they were oftentimes by the Turks provoked, but lay still strongly entrenched, expecting more greater Aid from the Princes of the West.

Now all the hope of the Christian Affairs in Syria, and the Kingdom of *Cilicia*, rested upon the coming of the two mighty Princes, *Philip* the Second of that name, King of France, and *Richard* the Fifth King of England; who having agreed betwixt themselves, with their combined Forces to relieve the distressed Christians of the East; and again (if it were possible) to repair the broken State of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, were now met together at *Marple* in *Provence*. From whence the French King first departing with his Fleet for *Cilicia*, and with a prosperous gale for certain days holding on his course, and now come night unto the Island, was by force of a furious tempest suddenly arising, to be tossed and tumbled in the deep, that many of his Ships there perished, eaten up of the Sea; others by force of Weather driven upon the Sands and Rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the rest, some with their Masts broken, some with their Tacklings and Sails rent, and all in general Force Weather-beaten, with much ado arrived at *Messina*, the destined Port. At which place King *Richard* afterwards (but with better fortune) arrived with his Fleet also. Both the Kings now met together, relieved those to winter; the French King enforced by necessity to do so, for the repairing of the late Losses he had received, as well in his People and Provision, as in his Shipping, all which was to be relieved by new Supplies out of France; and the King of England staying to take Order for the Dowry of his Sister *Joan* (Widow of *William* the late King of *Cilicia*) with *Tancred* the base Son of *Roger*, that had now aspired unto the Kingdom of that Island. About which matter great Strife arose betwixt King *Richard* the Queens Brother, and *Tancred* the new King, inasmuch that it was like to have broken out into open War, had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* been otherwise taken up, and so the Controversie ended. But whilst these great Kings thus remained in this Island, and oftentimes with good Friends met together, sometime for their disport, and sometime to confer of their private Affairs; the way (as was thought) to have appeased all former displeasure, and to have increased love; it fell out clean contrary, jealousy and distrust, not only reviving the old, but also still raising new Quarrels betwixt them, to the great hindrance of the common good by them intended; which may serve for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in Amity, and to hold a good Opinion one of another, never to see one the other; or coming to an interview, not to converse or stay long together; which as it was often done without the danger of their persons, so can it not possibly be long continued, but that it will engender in themselves as well as in their Followers, Jealousie, envy, hatred, and mistrust, as we have before said and hereafter in the course of this History may appear.

There was an old Contest betwixt these two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French Kings Sister; whom *Richard* having before (his Father yet living) affianced, had now rejected, as her whom his aged Father *Henry* the Second had too familiarly used; and in stead of her, to the great disgrace of the French, espoused

the Lady *Berengaria*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*; which Indignity was more added, when arising betwixt the French and the English, as then with great heart-burning mouldred up in respect of the common Cause then in Hand, afterwards broke out again, to the shameful overthrow of this most honourable Expedition, and lamentable disturbance of both Realms.

Winter past, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the best pleased, first looked from *Messina*, and with his Fleet in safety arrived at *Prolemais*, where he was by the Christians, now the third year lying at the Siege, so joyfully received, as if he had been there sent with Succours from Heaven. After whom, shortly after followed also King *Richard*, with his whole Fleet (by force of Weather fore beaten and dispersed) two Ships by the rage of the Tempest driven aground upon the coast of *Cyprus*, were by the Island people spoiled, and the Men that in them had hardly escaped the danger of the Sea, with most barbarous Inhumanity, some slain and some taken Prisoners; the rest of the Fleet arriving there also, were with like Incivility forbidden to land; the *Cypriots* ready at hand in all places to keep them off. With which to great an Indignity the King justly moved, and by force landing his people, with incredible Celery and Success over-ran the whole Island, and some taken Prisoners; the rest of the Fleet thereof, and taken *Isaac Commene*, commonly called *The King of that Island*, and of some (for what reason I know not) *Emperor of the Greeks*, Prisoner; yet was he indeed neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great Nobility and Power, and of the honorable Stock of the *Comnenians* had in the troublesome Reign of *Andronicus Commene* the Emperor, his Cousin, laid hold upon that fruitful Island, and there tyrannized as a reputed King; until that now he was by King *Richard* taken Prisoner, and for his unfaithful dealing sent fast bound in Chains of Silver into Syria. The King thus possessed of the whole Island, there at *Limonas* married the Lady *Berengaria* the King of *Navarre* Daughter, brought thither by *Joan* late Queen of *Cilicia*, the Kings Sister. And so disposing as he thought best of all things for the safe keeping of the Island, set forward again with his Fleet towards Syria. Where by the way he light upon a great Ship of the Sultans, laden with Victuals and other War-like Provisions for the relief of the besieged; all which became a Prey unto him. So holding on his course, he at length arrived at *Prolemais*, where he was by the French King, and the rest of the Christians there lying, most honourably received.

Now had the City of *Prolemais* been three years besieged by the Christians, and notably defended by the Turks; during which time many an hot Assault and bloody Skirmish had passed betwixt them. And now the eyes of all men were fixed upon the two Kings of England and France, unto whom all the rest offered their Obedience and Service. The Christian Camp was great, composed especially of *Englishmen*, *Frenchmen*, *Italians*, and *Almain*; not them that were left of the Emperor *Frederick* his Army (for they were for the most part dead, or else returned home again into their Countries) but of such as moved with the Zeal they bare unto this Religious War, came daily in great numbers thither; as did also many others of divers Nations, desirous in some measure to be partakers of so honourable a War.

These Religious and Venerable Christians thus lying at the Siege, had with much painful labour

King Richard's  
revengeable  
injury done  
to his people  
by the  
Cypriots.

1191.

hour undermined one of the greatest Towers of the City, called the accursed Tower, with some part of the Wall also, by means whereof they were in hope to find a way into the City. Wherefore all things being now in a readiness for the firing of the Mine, it was thought good by general consent, that an assault should also at the same time be given unto the City; and to every Regiment was by lot appointed which part of the Wall to assail, which they all with great courage undertook. In the heat of which Assault, the aforeaid undermined Tower, with some part of the Wall (the Timber whereon it stood, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair breach for the Christians to enter; whereupon the Turks dismayed, forthwith craved to come to parley, which granted, they for safeguard of their lives yielded forthwith to give up the City, and to restore to the Christians the Holy Cross, with two thousand Captives, and two hundred Horsemen, which as they should require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; besides two thousand Constantinopolitan Dukes, to be by him given to the two Kings, for the cost by them bestowed in the Siege. For payment whereof the Turks in the City were to remain as hostages under the safe keeping of the Christians, so that if all the Covenants aforeaid were not within forty days performed by *Saladin*, they should all for their lives be at the Kings mercy. So was this strong City, after it had been almost three years besieged, delivered up unto the Christians the 12 of July, in the year 1191. The first that entered were the Germans of *Asiria*, who as if they had been the only men by whose Valour the City had been won, at the first and almost presumptuously advanced their Ensigns upon the top of the Walls, to the great Offence of all the rest of the Christian Princes, but especially of King *Richard*, who (not unworthily for his Princely Courage was commonly called *Richard Coeur de Lion*) not brooking for proud an indignity, caused the Ensigns of *Leopold* his Duke to be pulled down, and foisted under foot; which shortly after gave him occasion of Repentance, as shall hereafter be seen.

The two Kings possessed of the City, divided the same, with all the People and Spoil thereof betwixt them, without regard of the rest of the other noble Christians, that had sustained the whole travel of that long Siege; for which cause most part of them, seeing themselves so deluded, withdrew themselves from them, and with one consent fell them word, That they would forsake them, except they were made partakers of the gains, as they had been of the pains. Which the two Kings to content them, promised they should; however, they delayed so long their promises, that many worthy men, constrained by Poverty, departed discontented from them into their Countries.

But long it was not, that this one City, so lately gained, could contain these two great Kings; whom two large Kingdoms could not retain in peace. For albeit that they were in body together present, and in one, and that a most honourable action, combined, yet were they in hearts far asunder, and their secret designs much different; envy and distrust still reviving undelivered past, and mislending new matter of greater contentments. King *Richard*, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more desirous, than to have the War continued until they had made a full Conquest of Syria and the Land of *Palästina*; and for that end requested the French King to bind himself together with him by a solemn Oath, there to stay yet three years, for the

regaining of those Countries. But he in mind long more strange from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters nearer home better fitting his purpose, would by no means be persuaded to do so, but still found one occasion or other for to colour his departure. And shortly after (as the French Chroniclers report) falling extremely sick, he requested King *Richard* and the other Christian Princes to come unto him, unto whom being come, he in few words declared his purpose of return, as followeth:

I cannot, my Lords, longer endure the inclemency and intemperance of the Air in this extreme hot season. If my death might profit the Christian Religion, or any one of you, or the Christian Commonwealth, there should be no difference whatsoever, that could separate me from you, or withdraw me from hence. But more may the life of one absent, serve and profit you, than the death of him present. I must of necessity depart, yet as my departure I will leave you five hundred men at arms, and ten thousand Footmen, the Flower and Chace of all the Forces of France, under the conduct of my Cousin Odo, Duke of Burgundy, unto whom I will give Pay and Entertainment, with a continual supply of all things for their necessity.

This excuse of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part; but said, That it was apparent to all men, that he abandoned the Wars in Syria, to return into France, for no other end or purpose, but the more easily to invade the Provinces of *Gaul* and *Normandy*, now distressed of their Garrison, and so subject to his malice. Which point he so urged, that the French King could have no leave with his Honour to depart, until such time as he had by solemn Oath bound himself unto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud against him, or any thing of his, until fifty days were expired after King *Richard* his return home; which how well it was by the French King observed, I leave it to the report of the Histories of that time. And so the French King, not to be intreated longer to stay, leaving behind him the aforeaid number of men he had promised, embarking the rest of his Army, and accompanied with three tall Ships of the *Gons*, waxes his Friends, and *Raffin* Viceroy his Admiral, departed from *Prolemais* to *Tyre*, the first of August, and two days after, looting thence, sailed along the Sea-coast of *Asia*, and cutting through the *Mediterranean*, arrived at length in the mouth of the River of *Tiber*, and from thence went to Rome; where after he had visited Pope *Celestine*, and the famous places of that most Renowned City, he returned again to his Fleet, and so by Sea arrived in safety in France; having in that great expedition, so honourably by him entertained, performed nothing answerable to that the World looked for.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of *Asiria*, with his Germans; and not long after him the Venetians also, with them of *Pisa* and *Genua*. Of whose departure *Saladin* understanding, and that the Christian Forces were thereby much enquired, refused either to pay *Money*, or to restore the Prisoners, as was promised at the giving up of *Prolemais*; threatening moreover to chop off the Heads of all such Christian Captives as he had in his power, if the King should show any extremity unto the pledges in the City. Nevertheless, shortly after he sent his Embassadors with great Presents unto the King, requesting a longer time for the sparing of his pledges, which

The French  
King Richard  
did not  
observe  
his  
Treaty's  
infringe.

which his request, together with his Gifts, the King refused to grant or accept. Whereupon the *Saladin* forthwith caused five Christian Captives as were in his power, to be beheaded; which albeit King *Richard* understood, yet would he not prevent the time before agreed upon for the execution of his Prisoners, being the twentieth day of *August*; upon which day he caused the Turks Prisoners, to be hanged by the neck (or at the French and Germans write, to the number of 7000) in the sight of *Saladin's* Army to be executed.

The loss of the strong Town of *Ptolemais*, much impaired the reputation of *Saladin*, even among his own People; as it commonly falleth out, that the evil success of a great Commander in his affairs, altereth the good Will, Affection, and Opinion, especially of the Vulgar Sort, which judge of all things by the Event. And albeit that his losses were great, and such as much daunted him; yet he thought it best as the case then stood, to make them greater, and with his own hands (as it were) to rattle and overthrow such Towns and Cities as he saw he could not keep, rather than to suffer them whole and undivided to fall into the Enemies Hand. So carried headlong with despair, he caused all the Towns he had along the Sea coast in *Syria* and *Palestine*, to be sacked and razed, and the Walls overthrowen; such cities were of most importance, and like to stand the Christians in stead, namely, *Perpatria*, *Cesarea*, *Joppa*, *Affalon*, *Gaza*, and *Elam*, with divers other Castles and Citadels in the Countries thereabouts; most part whereof were again by King *Richard* and the Templars fortified and repaired, although *Saladin* in the mean time did what he might to have lured the same.

Nothing more hindered the good proceeding of the Christian Princes, in this and other their most honourable expeditions against the Infidels, than the discord among themselves; one still envying at another's Honour, and every one jealous of his own. Great strife and heartburning there had been between the two Kings of *France* and *England*, during the time they were together in this sacred Expedition, to the great hindrance of the same. No less contention had there been betwixt King the late King of *Turkey*, and *Conradus* Marquis of *Mantua*, about the Title of that lost Kingdom; whereby the whole power of the Christians in *Syria* was divided into two Factions. *Richard* King of *England*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Henry* Earl of *Champaign*, the Knights Hospitallars of *St. John*, the Venetians and *Pisans*, taking part with *Guy*; And *Philip* the French King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Rudolph* Earl of *Claremont*, the Templars, the Genovays, the Landgrave of *Thuring*, *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, and *Robert* Count of *Nassau*, taking part with *Conradus* the Marquis. But *Conradus* shortly after the taking of *Ptolemais* being slain, by some of the King's party with Guy, or (as some others say) by two desperate Rustians, (slain thereby by the Prince of *Torone*, in revenge of the despiteful done unto him by the said Marquis, by taking from him *Isabel* his Disposed Wife) as he was walking in his City of *Tyre*, and doubting no such Treason, King *Richard* being now at an occasion offered for the utter extinguishing of that claim, and how to entitle himself unto that Kingdom; perfwaded the aforesaid *Isabel* (the Widow of the late Marquis, and in whose right he had laid claim unto the Kingdom) to relinquish that to tranquillize a Title, and to take to her Husband *Henry* Earl of *Champaign*, his Nephew, un-

to whom he gave the City *Tyre*. *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of a wrong done unto himself. Shortly after he began also to tamper with *Guy*, perfwading him to resign unto him that little right and interest he had in the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and in lieu thereof to receive at his Hands the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; which his offer the poor King was glad to accept. By which exchange *Guy* became King of *Cyprus*, and *Richard* King of *Jerusalem*; which honourable Title he afterwards (as some report) used in his Title, as did some others his Successors the Kings of *England* after him. So *Guy* with all his Wealth passing over into *Cyprus*, took possession of the Kingdom, where he long lived nor. Nevertheless that pleasant Kingdom continued in his Family of the Lusignys, by the space of about 283 years afterwards; untill that at length that Family failing in the *Posthumus* Son of *James* the Bastard, last King of that Island, it fell into the Hands of the Venetians, by whom it was holden as a part of their Seignory almost an hundred years, until that it was in his fresh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the Second, great Emperor of the Turks, in the year 1571. as in the process of this History shall in due place (God willing) be declared.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increase of his honour, and desire, that before of the City of *Jerusalem*, as the most precious and honourable prize of all that religious War. And thereupon with all the power of the Christians then at his command, set forward from *Ptolemais*; and was come on his way as far as *Asfus*, a Town situated betwixt *Asfus* and *Typpa*. In the Vauward was King *Richard* himself, with the Englishmen; after whom followed *Odo*, Duke of *Burgundy*, with his French, and in the Rearward *Jaques* de *Avennes*, with the Flemings, Brabanters, and Wallons, who after the death of their Count *Philip* at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, had put themselves all under his Regiment. *Saladin* with a great Army still at hand, and as it were tending upon them, first with certain Embuscadoes charged the Rearward, and so afterwards came on with his whole power; upon whom *Jaques* turning himself with his Flemings, received the charge with great assurance, and so long themselves endured the same, until the French came in to their succors, and after them the English also. There was fought a notable Battle, and great Valour shewed both on the one side and on the other, but especially by them of the Turks part, who knew well the purpose of the Christians for the besieging of *Jerusalem*, and that thereupon depended their only hope, and that he that could hold the same, might almost assure himself to carry away the glory of that War. The French and the English in that latter honourably strove who might shew the greatest Valour; neither would the low Countreymen underlings for the Generals sake, be any less bold than them. This sharp conflict began about Noon, and continued until the going down of the Sun. King *Richard* (as some write) was there wounded with an Arrow; and *Jaques* valiantly there fighting was slain, having lost his life dear, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the Victory unto the Christians, and that there in this Battle was slain more Turks and Sarafins, than in any one Battle within the memory of man before; of the Christians were not lost any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforesaid *Jaques*, the valiant General of the Flemings.

The next day the Christians removed to *Beitlhem*, a Town

King Richard passing to have besieged Jerusalem, as by the backwardness of the Prince is forced to retire.

King Richardmar. With this King's army towards Jerusalem.

unstable battle fought betwixt King Richard and Saladin.

King Richard's army hard conditions to conclude a peace with Saladin.

a Town about the mid way betwixt *Joppa* and *Jerusalem*. But Winter now coming King *Richard*, was of Victuals like enough to increase, at the King changing his mind for the Siege, returned with the greatest part of the Army to *Affalon*, which he that Winter new fortified, the Walls thereof being before by *Saladin* in his despair demolished; the Duke of *Burgundy*, with his Frenchmen, was while quiet at wintering in *Tyre*. In this mean time the power of the Christians was thus greatly diminished, some one way departing from the Camp, and some another. The Italians for the most part, with them of *Pisa* (who in these three years Wars had striven with the Venetians for the Honour of their Service) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themselves also. Nevertheless, Winter now past, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* took the Field again, and came to *Beitlhem*; where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of Camels, charged with great store of Victuals and Munition, sent by *Saladin* out of Egypt to *Jerusalem*, all which he took; but purposing to have gone on to the Siege of *Jerusalem*, he was by the backwardness of the French glad to change his purpose, and to return to *Ptolemais*; for the Frenchmen, perfwaded by the Duke their General (who well knew the French Kings mind) that any thing worth remembrance was done, it was not to be done by them, and that the glory thereof should wholly redound unto the King of *England*, as there in person present, and to his Englishmen; shewed themselves to unwilling to the Siege, as that there in was nothing done, to the great grief of that worthy Prince. At which time all news was brought unto King *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetful of his solemn promise made before his departure out of *Syria*) had now invaded the Country of *Normandy*, and excited *Earl John* (the Kings Brother, a man of an haughty and aspiring nature) to take upon him the Kingdom of *England* in his absence; as had before in like case *William* the younger Brother, served Duke *Robert* his eldest Brother, then absent at his Father the Conquerors death, in the first sacred expedition unto *Godfrey* of *Bulain*. Wherefore King *Richard* beside the present difficulties, fearing lest while he was so far off in Wars for defence of the Christian Commonwealth, he might lose his Kingdom at home; thought it best to grow to some good end with *Saladin*, and so to make his return; but the politick and wary Sultan, nor ignorant of the discord of the Christians, and that their Forces daily decayed in *Syria*; either of the troubled Estate of the Kings affairs at home in his Kingdom, or of his desire to return; would not hearken to any other conditions of Peace, but such as might both for the present, weaken the Forces of the Christians in *Syria*, and discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, when they should see that the negotiation but to suffer them in Peace to live, which they must of necessity restore again. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should forthwith restore whatsoever they had won in those three years Wars, *Ptolemais* only excepted; and from thenceforth for the space of five years, the Turks should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in Peace to live by them; which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the King was glad to accept, and so concluded a Peace. Whereby the labour and travel of the two great Kings and so many Nations with them, were all become frustrate and vain; having now to no purpose lost their Men, their Money, their Time, their Hope, their Blood,

their long Travel, to gain that they must now in an hour forego; nothing more left unto the poor Christians in *Syria*, than the Cities of *Antioch*, *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*.

This done, King *Richard* leaving the affairs of *Asia* unto the charge of *Henry* Count of *Champagne* his Nephew, shipping the greatest part of his People, with his Wife *Berengaria*, first for *Cicilia*, and from thence for *England*, where they in safety at length arrived; followed shortly after with some few himself; where by the way, by extremity of Weather he was in the Adriaticque driven to land upon the Coast of *Illyria*; where travelling with a small retinue homewards in the Habit of a Templar, he was discovered and taken Prisoner by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of *Ptolemais*, as is before declared: who now glad to have him in his power, made prize of him, and fold him to *Henry* the Emperor, for forty thousand pounds; by whom he was kept Prisoner by the space of a year and three months, and then ransomed for the Sum of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greatest terror of the Christians; who mindfull of mans fragility, and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no Solemnity to be used at his burial, but only his Shirt in manner of a winding sheet, made fast to the point of a Lance, to be carried before his dead body as an Ensign, a plain Priest going before, and crying aloud to the People in this sort; *Saladin* Conqueror of the East, of all the greatest riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his Shirt. A light worthy to great a King, and that nothing to his eternal commendation, more than the true knowledge of his Salvation in Christ Jesus. He reigned about sixteen years with great honour, and dying left nine Sons, which were all murdered by *Sepradin* their Uncle, excepting one called also *Sepradin* Sultan of *Alippo*; who by the Favour and Support of his Fathers good Friends, saved himself from the treacherous practices of his Uncle. Of this *Sepradin* the Uncle, defended *Meladin* Sultan of *Egypt*, and *Coradin* Sultan of *Damasco* and *Jerusalem*, *Saladin* his great Kingdom being by them now again rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in short time bruited abroad, with the discord among the Turks and Sarafins about his Dominions, put *Celsinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the City of *Jerusalem* might in that change and hurly be easily again recovered, and that Kingdom established. But when he had in vain dealt to that purpose with the Kings of *France* and *England*, (then altogether buried in their Wars one against the other) he perfwaded *Henry* the Sixth, then Emperor, to take the matter in hand; who (for that he well could not, or else would not himself in person undertake that long expedition) sent *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* his Lieutenant, with a great Army into *Asia*, under whom were journey two Legats, *Conradus* Archbishop of *Magnus*, another of the Electors, and *Conradus* the Bishop of *Herbipolis*. At which time also many other great Princes took upon them that holy War; namely *Robine* Landgrave of *Thuring*, *Henry* Palatine of *Rhine*, *Henry* Duke of *Brabant*, *Conradus* Marquis of *Moravia*, *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Albertus* *Habsburgensis*, with some others; unto whom also joynted themselves the Bishops of *Rheme*, *Hamberg*, and *Ratisbona*, with divers other great Prelats. Who having passed through *Hungary* and *Thracia*, and by the Greek Emperor *Alexius* *Angelus* relieved with all things necessary, were by the Grecian Ships transported unto *Antioch*, and

King Richard returning out of the Holy Land taken Prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria.



fo by Land came to *Jyre*, and from thence to *Ptolemais*, with purpose to have gone to relieve the Germans besieged in *Joppa*; who before their coming were all by treason slain, and the City rased; wherefore being come to the ruins thereof, they departed thence to *Sidon*, which they found also abandoned by the Turks. After that they took *Berithus*, which City they fortified, and so went to besiege *Tonne*; which City when they had brought to the extremity, as that it must needs (as it was thought) either yield or be taken, the Turks came on fo fast to the relief thereof, that the Christians were glad to raise their Siege and to be gone; which they in garriſon at *Berithus* perceiving, and ſeeing the Enemy to approach them, they abandoned the City, and joyning themselves unto the rest of the Army, marched all together to *Joppa*, a little before ruined, which they now again fortified. But the Enemy coming to *Berithus*, and finding it forsoaken, rased it down to the ground, and so in few months space was *Berithus* both repaired and rased, in the year 1197.

1197.

But whilst the Christians were repairing the City of *Joppa*, the Turks proud of that they had done at *Berithus*, came now to disturb also the fortifying of that place. Of whose coming the Christians understanding, removed by night about five miles from the City, of purpose to draw the Turks unto a convenient place for Battle. The Turks thinking them to have been fled for fear, sent part of their Army to assail the City; and with the other followed after them disorderly, as if it had been after men they had had in chase.

Upon whom the Christians turning, had with them at the first a sharp encounter, but afterwards put them to flight; in which conflict certain thousands of the Turks fell; of whom the Christians taking the Spoil, and having put the rest to flight, returned again to the fortifying of the City. But the joy of this Victory was by the sudden death of two of the greatest Princes in the Army greatly diminished: for the Duke of *Saxony* having in the Battle taken great pains in performing the parts both of a worthy General and valiant Soldier, had over-heard himself, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold, died of a Fever the fourth day after. The Duke of *Austria* mortally wounded in the Battle, died also the night following.

About this time, or not long after, died *Celestinus* the Pope, Author of this Expedition, and *Henry* also the German Emperor; after whose death great troubles began to arise in *Germany* about the choosing of a new Emperor. Whereof the Bishop of *Mogunfia* (then chief Commander of the Army of the Christians in *Syria*) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, having intelligence, could not by any real they were come) be persuaded longer to stay, but that needs home they would; and indeed home they went the fame way that they came. After whose departure the Turks took *Joppa*, having one of the Ports betrayed unto them by one of the City, at such time as the Germans there in Garriſon, after the manner of their Country, upon St. *Marys* day were carefully making merry together in their Pots; upon whom fo furcharged with Wine, the Turks entering by the Port given unto them, put them all with the rest of the Christians to the Sword, and so afterward rased the City down to the ground. Of which Victory they became fo proud, that they had thought without stop to have driven the Christians quite out of *Syria*; but by the coming of *Simon* Count of *Mont-Fort* (a most valiant and expert Captain, rent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a Regiment of tall Soldiers, at the instance of *Innocentius* the Third, that succeeded *Celestinus* in the Papacy) and by civil discord then reigning amongst the Turks themselves for Sovereignty, their fury was repressed, and a peace betwixt them and the Christians concluded for the space of ten years; during which time the Turks promised not to molest the Christians in *Jyre* or *Ptolemais*; which happened in the year 1199, or as some others say, 1198. After which peace so concluded, the worthy Count returned again with his Soldiers into *France*; with whom we also will repair into the lesser *Asia* (whither the course both of the time and of the History now calleth us) to see the other great affairs of the Turks in those Eastern Countries; leaving for a season their poor remainders of so many Christians in *Jyre* and *Ptolemais* now for a while in peace, but to be ere long devoured of the Infidels their Enemies, as in the process of this History shall in due time and place appear.

1199.

The

## The Ruine of the TURKS first Empire in PERSIA; with the Success of their Second Kingdom in the lesser Asia, under the Aladin Kings.

Kingdoms after the manner of other things, have but their time to flourish in, and so again decay.

AS no Kingdom or Empire upon Earth (were it never so flourishing or great) was ever yet so assured, but that in the Revolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a sick Body been subject unto many strange Innovations and Changes, and at length come to nothing; so fared it now with the Turkish Empire, which first planted by *Tangralixip* in *Persia*, and the other far Eastern Countries, increased by *Ascan* his Son, and so by the Turkish Sultans their Successors (although their names and doings, as too far off, be not unto us all known) for the space of one hundred and seventy years continued, must now (I say) give place unto a greater Power, and settle it self else-where, the inevitable destiny thereof so requiring. It fortune, that about this time (when in the space of a few years such Mutations as had not before of long been seen, changed in divers great Monarchies and States) that the *Tartars*, or rather *Tatars*, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare Countries in the North-side of *Asia*, (of all others a most barbarous, fierce, and needy Nation) stirred up by their own wants, and the persecution of one *Zingis* (or as some call him, *Cangis*) holden amongst them for a great Prophet, and now by them made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Ulu-Chan*; that is to say, The mighty King, (commonly called *The Great Chan*) flocking together in number like the Sand of the Sea, and conquering first their poor Neighbours, of condition and quality like themselves, and easie enough to be entreated with them to seek their better Fortune, like swarms of Grasshoppers sent out to devour the World, passed the high Mountain *Caucasus*, part of the Mountain *Taurus*, of all the Mountains in the World the greatest; which beginning near unto the *Archipelago*, and ending upon the Oriental Ocean, and running through the many great and famous Kingdoms, divided *Asia* into two parts; over which great Mountain, one of the most assured bounders of nature, that had so many Worlds of years shut up this rough and savage people, they now passing without number, and coming down as it were into another World, full of Natures pleasant delights, such as never were to them before seen, bare down all before them as they went, nothing being now able to stand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate Leader dead in this fo great an Expedition, *Hocentia* his Son, eldest of his twelve Brethren, a man of great Wisdom and Courage, took upon him of his Fathers Place; who sending part of his great Army for the subduing of the Countries Westward, turned himself with a world of people towards the East; where having subdued the *Bedrians* and *Sogdians*, with divers others, he entered into *India*, and subduing that rich Country on both sides the River *Indus*, even to the East Ocean, there in the Country of *Cathai* built the famous City of *Cambala*, in circuit eight and twenty miles about; for pleasure and plenty of all things necessary for the life of man, of all the Cities of *Asia* the chief; where the great *Chan* of *Tartary* still Resident, as in his Imperial City, commandeth over one of the greatest and

strongest Empires of the World. In whose Kingdom also, in the Province *Alany*, more towards the East, he hath another most famous City called *Quinif*, of all the Cities in the World the greatest, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himself dwelt therein about the year, 1260. It is situate in a Lake of fresh-water, and hath in it twelve thousand Bridges; of which some are of such an height, that tall Ships with their Sails up may easily pass under them. In this populous City the great *Chan* hath for the keeping thereof always thirty thousand men in Garriſon. The *Tartar* Kingdom thus planted in *Cambala*, *Hocentia* contenting himself with the rich pleasures of *India*, afterward managed his Wars by his Lieutenants, being for the most part his Brethren, or other his high Kinsmen; of whom he sent out with his Armies some Northward, some Westward, and some toward the South; by whom he subdued the *Arachians*, *Margians*, and divers other great Nations; and entering into *Persia*, subdued the Country, with all *Partavia*, *Alfaria*, *Myriandania*, and *Media*. At this time in the City *Balch* or *Belch* in the Country of *Chorasani* in the farthest part of *Persia*, reigned over the Turks one *Cavajumes*, of the Greeks called *Corjanus*; who finding himself far too weak to stand before the *Tartarians*, fled with all his people, leaving unto them both the City and the Country which he and the Turks his Predecessors had ever since the time of *Tangralixip* possessed; which City the *Tartars* rased, and took the Country unto themselves. In this general flight of the Turks, when as every man was glad to make what shift he might for himself, *Corjanus* their Sultan died, the last of the Kings of the *Selaccian* Family that reigned over the Turks in *Persia*; whose Son *Urgan-Chan* taking upon him the leading of such multitudes of Turks as followed his Father, failed upon the great City of *Babylon*, now called *Bagdad*, near unto the ruins of the old *Babylon*; where having put to the Sword all the Inhabitants thereof, he there and in the Country thereabout seated himself with the Turks his Followers; but long he had not there reſted, but that the *Tartars* hearing thereof, pursued him, took him Prisoner, and expelled thence all his people. There was at the same time also another Kingdom of the Turks at *Nachan* a City in *Persia*, giving name unto the Country wherein it stood, not far from *Chorasani*; wherein then reigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* Family, as had divers other of his Progenitors before him; who terrified with this dreadful Storm so suddenly risen out of the North, and warned by the sudden fall of the *Selaccian* Sultan and his Kingdom, of far greater Fame and Power than himself or his, fled also with such his Subjects as would follow him, into the lesser *Asia*. But of him and his proceedings more shall be said hereafter in the rising of the Victorious *Orkoman* Family, as descending from him. After this the *Tartars* together with their good fortune still extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered *Armenia* the greater, with the Countries of *Calchis* and *Iberia*; so that now their Empire was become of all others

others the greatest and most flourishing. This great Conqueror the *Tartar*, as his proud conceit purposed to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have made the Sea the only bounder of his Empire; but overcome with the delicacies of *India*, having divided amongst his people those great Provinces and fruitful Countries, with the rich Cities and pleasant Fields, he so reposed, embracing the Manners and Superstition of his people he had overcome, that it was so far from our purpose, to recount all the famous Victories and Conquests of this bare Northern people; suffice it to the History we have in hand, that the Turks were by them then driven out of *Perfia*, with the Countries thereabout; and their *Togran* Kingdom (as they call it) first founded by *Timgubius*, there extinguished about the year of our Lord, 1202. The Turks thus driven out of *Perfia*, and their Kingdom overthrown, retired themselves into the lesser *Asia*, possessed by their Country-men, long before brought thither by *Culte-Mufes* and his Sons; (as is before declared) and by them ever since in some part, though with divers Fortune-holders. Where these Turks now arrived out of *Perfia* under the leading of *Aladin* the Son of *Ket Hufren*, defended also of the *Selaccian* Family in *Perfia*, and taking the opportunity offered them by the mortal discord of the Latines with the Greeks, and the Greeks among themselves, feited upon *Gilicia* with the Countries thereabouts, and there first at *Schafnia*, and afterward at *Iconium*, erected their new Kingdom; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdom of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all so.

Now about this time, and within the course of some few years after, such great and strange mutations happened in the Constantinopolitan Empire, as had not therein at any time before been seen; whereby the whole Estate of that great Empire, which sometime commanded over a great part of the World, was almost utterly subverted, and a fit opportunity given unto the Turks and Infidels for the first setting of themselves, and establishing of their Kingdoms both in *Syria* and the lesser *Asia*; which briefly to run through shall not be from our purpose; and their Affairs prospering by these Troubles, and their proud and hateful Empire that now braved all the rest of the World, being raised out of the ruins of that Christian Empire; and at this present triumphing even in some Imperial City wherein these so great Innovations happened through the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and destruction of a great part of the Christian Common-wealth.

*Alexius* the Ullurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traitorously to have deprived *Isaac* his elder Brother of his Empire and fight together, fought also after the Life of the young Prince *Alexius* his Brothers Son, and their apparent of the Empire; who feeling the Villainy of the Person of his Brother, fled himself by flight from the fury of his Uncle, and so accompanied with certain great Lords of the Greeks, his Fathers Friends, fled to crave Aid of the Christian Princes of the West, whom the Grecians commonly call the Latines. And first he took his way to *Philip* the German Emperor, who had married his Sister, the Emperor *Isaac* Daughter, by whom he was most honourably received and entertained. This great Lady not a little moved with the Miseries of her Father, and the flight of her Brother, ceased not most instantly to solicit the Emperor her Husband, not to leave unrevenge to great a Villany, by the example thereof dan-

gerous unto himself and others of like Majesty and State. She declared unto him, what an execrable Indignity it was, to see her Father the Emperor unworthily imprisoned, deprived of his Empire and fight, and of the society of men, by his Brother that had by him received and recovered his Life, his Light, and his Liberty; and to see the Heir apparent of the Empire banished by the wickedness of his Uncle, to wander up and down here and there like a Beggar. This great part of which disgrace, as the said, redounded unto her self the Daughter of *Isaac*, and Sister to the young wandering Prince, and to himself also, the Son in law unto the unfortunate Emperor her Father. Moreover the said, that this Murderer *Alexius* durst never be hardy as to commit so great and detestable a Villany, if he had not lightly regarded and contemned the Majesty of the said *Philip*; whom if he had had in any Reverence or Honour, or at all feared, he durst not have attempted so Villanous an act. This Greek Lady moved with full grief, with these and such like Complaints to prevail with her Husband, that he promised her to be in some part thereof revenged; which he could not for the present perform, letted by the Wars he then had with *Otho* his Competitor of the Empire. At the same time it fortuned, that great Preparations were making in *Italy*, and divers other places of Christendom, for an Expedition to be made against the Turks into the Holy Land. The chief men wherein were *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, (a man of great fame, and General of the Christian Army) *Boniface* Marquess of *Mont-Ferrat*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* and *Henry* his Brother Earl of *St. Paul*, *Henry* Duke of *Lovain*, *Gualter* Earl of *Breame*, with divers other noble Gentlemen, which to name were tedious; unto whom referred also many valiant and devout Christians out of divers parts of Christendom, ready to have spent their lives in that so Religious a War; so that now the number of them was great, and the Army right populous. But being thus assembled together, they thought it not best to take their way to *Constantinople*, through *Hungary* and *Thrace*, and so to pass over into *Bithynia*; for that the Greeks had still in all former times shewed great discourtesy unto the Latines, in passing with their Armies that way; and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of *Italy* to take their Journey by Sea into the Holy Land; and for their Transportation, especially to use the help of the *Venetians*, whom they found much easier to be intreated, for that by the means of so great an Army, they were in hope to secure the *Adriatick* (then much infested by the *Dalmatians*) as to recover *Fadara*, with some other Cities upon the Coast of *Scalavonia*, before revolted from their State to the *Hungarians*, as indeed they afterward did. But by the way as this Army was marching out of the *Adriatick*, and came into *Tarentum*, the noble Count of *Champagne* General thereof, there fell sick and died, to the exceeding grief and sorrow of the whole Army; in whose stead, the Marquess of *Mont-Ferrat*, a man of great Nobility, and well acquainted with the Wars of the East, was chosen General. This great Army, transported by the *Venetians* into *Scalavonia*, took *Fadara*, with divers other Port Towns along the Sea coast, and having there done what the *Venetians* most desired, was about again to have been imbarck for *Syria*, and so into the Holy Land. But the young Prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himself and the noble *Grecians* (led with him for fear of the Tyrant) so wrought the matter with the Latine Princes

Great preparations made by the Christians, for an Expedition into the Holy Land.

*Alexius* comes as to the assistance.

of the West, especially with *Innocentius* tertius the Pope, with *Philip* the Emperor his Brother in law, and *Philip* the French King, that they plying his Estate, and induced also with some other Considerations more proper to themselves, took him as it were into their Protection, commending by Letters and Messengers for that purpose sent unto the Army, (which they might command) the defence both of himself and his Cause; who with the Commendation of three or four Princes, coming to the Army yet lying at *Fadara* (expecting but a fair Wind to have passed into *Syria*) was there of them all most honourably received, as the Son of an Emperor, and as became one to them so highly commended. And he himself also, as one knowing his good, was not wanting unto himself, but recommended his person to their Protection, as a poor exiled Prince in Distress; yet was he of a lively Spirit, gracious in Speech, beautiful to behold, and very young, and withall fully instructed by the noble *Grecians* that were with him, in all things that might serve to further his purpose. And forthwith as this great Army consisted of divers Nations, especially of the *French*, *Italians*, and *Venetians*, not all to be by one man moved; he fitted every one with such motives as he thought might best prevail with them: Unto the *French* he promised to pay the great fee of *Constantinople*, and the recovery of the *Venetians* for the furnishing of themselves in this War: Unto the *Venetians* he promised Recompence for all the Injuries they had sustained by the late Constantinopolitan Emperors, especially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refused to Aid him in his Wars against *William* King of *Sicily*, did in law confiscate all the Goods of the *Venetian* Merchants within his Empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the Law of Nations, shamefully entreated their Embassadors sent unto him, amongst whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune General for the *Venetians* in the Army; who moved as well with the wrong in particular done unto himself, as with the Common, desired to be revenged both of the one and the other; which although he could not have of *Emanuel* himself, being long before dead, yet was he still desirous to have it of some one of the Greek Emperors, whosoever he were; Unto the Pope and the *Italians*, both he and the Noblemen with him, had before promised, that the Greek Church should ever acknowledge the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, and from thenceforth submit it felt thereunto, as unto the Sovereign Judge of all the Christian Churches; which caused the Pope *Innocentius*, by Letters, by Legates, by Embassadors, and by all other means possible, to further the Cause of the young Prince *Alexius*, so combined with his own; alledging the diversity of Opinions in matters of Religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to have been the chief cause that the *Mahometans* had not been long ago by their United Forces subdued, or utterly rooted out. In brief, the young Prince spared not to promise most bountiful Rewards in general, to all that should take his part against his Uncle the usurping Emperor.

By this means, the devout War taken in hand for the Redress of the poor Christians in *Syria*, and the recovery of the same Forces of the Latines have been therein employ'd, now converted against the Greek Empire, to the great weakening of that side of the Christian Common-wealth, and advantage of the Common Enemy; who might then easily have been oppressed, had he with the United Forces of the Christians been on this side charged home, as he was on the farther by

the *Tartars*. The *Grecian* War thus resolved upon, it seemed best unto the great Commanders of the Army, to march against the *Grecians*, as to the head of the *Grecian* State, and place where the Tyrant whom they fought after was relict. In the mean time it was by them given out through all the Greek Cities which the Emperor had strongly manned and fortified for the buying of their passage, that their purpose was not to make War against the *Grecians* their Friends, but only to restore their lawful Emperor unto his former State and Honour: And that forasmuch as every City and Town in ancient *Greece* had appointed Rewards, and almost divine Honours unto such as had delivered them from Tyrants, they should now more favourably receive and intreat them that came to restore unto every City, and to every man in general, their former Liberty and Honour. And to upon the Resolution for *Constantinople* imbarck their Army, and passing through the *Ionian* Sea into the *Aegean*, and so without let through the Straits of *Hellipontus* into *Propontis*, and entering the Straits of *Bosphorus Thracius*, which divide *Europe* from *Asia*, they came to an Anchor even in the face of the City. In this Fleet were two hundred and forty Sail of tall Ships, sixty Gallies, seventy Ships for burden, and one hundred and twenty Sail of *Viduauns*; which all together made a most brave force, covering that Strait in such sort, as that it seemed rather a Wood than a part of the Sea. Thus for a space they lay facing the City, attending if happily upon the coming and fight of so great a Fleet, and the report of so puissant an Army as the young Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any Tumult or Sedition might arise in the City. But the wary Tyrant had so well provided therefore before hand, that the Citizens, although they in heart favoured the young Prince, and wished him well, yet durst they not once move or stir in his Quarrel. Whilst the Fleet thus lay, Embassadors came from the life of *Creet*, in two great Gallies, with three banks of Oars, yielding unto the young Prince that goodly Island, with all the Towns and Cities therein; which he forthwith gave unto the Marquess of *Mont-Ferrat*, General of the Army, thereby to encourage the other great Commanders of the Army to do the utmost of their devoir, in hope of Recompence and Rewards answerable to their deserts and valor.

Before the arrival of this Fleet, *Alexius* the Emperor had with a great Chain made fast the entrance of the Haven betwixt *Constantinople* and *Pera*, and appointed twenty great Gallies well manned for the keeping thereof; but a great gale of Wind arising, the General sent out the greatest and strongest Ship in the Fleet (for her greatness and swiftness called the *Eagle*) which with all her sails up, carried with a full gale of Wind, by main force brake the Chain, and gave way for the rest of the Fleet to follow, which the Greeks in the Gallies seeing, for fear fled, leaving the Gallies for a spoil unto the *Venetians*, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The Haven thus gained, *Theodoros* *Lascaris* the Emperors Son in law, was presently ready upon the shore with a select Company of the bravest of the City and of the Court, to have hindered the Latines from landing; who running their Ships aground, and landed with such cheerfulness and courage, and with such haste, that in one moment you might have seen them leap out of their Ships, take land, enter into the battle, and lay about them like mad men. This hot skirmish endured a great while,

A great Fleet of the Latines before Constantinople.

The Latines by force cut the Haven of Constantinople.

A hot fight betwixt the Greek and the Latines at their landing.



while, for that they were only Fooe-men that furnished this brunt, for the Horfes could not fo soon be landed, and the Greeks were bravely engaged. All this great fight the Constantinopolitans beheld, with doubtful hearts, expecting what should be the event thereof. There were in the City fix thousand of the Flower of Greece, which bravely falling out, made the battel much more doubtful; yet fuch was the valour and resolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greeks difcomfited, were glad to retire themselves again into the City, but with what lofs, was not certainly known: cafe it were to guefs, that it was right great, for that the old Tyrant *Alexius* discouraged therewith, and doubtful of his own eftate, with *Theodorus Lafcaris* his Son in law, and fome few others of his truly Friends (hard to be found in fo dangerous a cafe), the next night following fecretly fled out of the City, carrying away with him a wonderful mafs of Treafure (which he againft all fuch events had caufed to be fecretly hidden by his Daughter *Irene*, in a Monaffery of Nuns within the City, whereof he was the Abbeff) and fo faved himself.

The flight of the Tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Constantinopolitans taking the old Emperor *Ifaac* out of Prifon, faluted him again for their Emperor, rejoicing greatly for his deliverance and the falfeguard of his life; and after that opened the Gates of the City to the Latines, calling and leading them in by the way of the Revengers and Saviours of the Liberty of the Greeks, as alfo of the Life and Majesty of their Emperor; they requelted them that they might fee and falute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had fo long defired; and fo was the City of *Constantinople*, by the fubmiffion of the Citizens, freed from fackage and fack, and the old Emperor thus delivered, and together with his Son *Alexius* again placed in the Imperial Seat, gave the molt hearty thanks that poffibly he could unto the Latine Princes, for that by their Bounty, Charity, and Valour, the Greek Empire had been delivered out of a long and miferable Servitude; and for his own particular, that he had received of them fo great good, that albeit his fight could not be reforted to him again, nevertheless he acknowledged his Life, his Liberty, his Empire, his Country, his Son, to have been unto him by them reforted, and he likewise to them; for which their fo great Defers he could not (as he faid) reward them better, contentment, or daffe Rewards or Honours preferable to their Demerits and Valour; and that therefore he did ratifie and confirm whatever his Son had before promifed unto them for his deliverance; and not only that, but further promifed, That if they were not therewith contented, he would of his own bounty give them better contentment, not meaning they fhould go difcontented, that had faved his life, and otherwife fo highly pleafured him. Hereupon this good old Emperor began to confult with his Friends about the means whereby he might fatisfie and content the Latines in fuch things as the young Prince his Son had unto them promifed. And to the intent, that the Citizens of *Constantinople* might the more willingly do that he was to command them, and the more cheerfully pay fuch Impofitions as he was to lay upon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themselves out of the City into their Camp, about their Ships, which they accordingly did. But the Impofition being foon down, and what every man was to pay, femed unto the Greeks (as men of long accuftomed to receive Tribute of others, and not to pay Tribute to others) a matter molt heavy and intolerable.

In this very infant that this Exaction was required, died the old Emperor *Ifaac*, who having of long been kept in a dark and thinking Prifon in continual fear of death, and now delivered and reforted to his Empire, could not indure fo fudden and unexpected a change, both of the Air and of his manner of living, but fo fuddenly died.

At this Exaction impofed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Constantinopolitans grievouly murmured, and exclaimed, faying, That it was a villainous thing to fee the Greek Empire engaged and bound (by a young Boy) unto a covetous and proud Nation, and fo to be fpilled and made bare of Coin: That the great and rich Ifland of *Crete* lying in the middle of the Sea, was by him given as a Gift unto the Latines: That the City of *Constantinople* and the Greek Church, had by him been enforced and contrained to yield unto the Sec of *Rome*, to receive the Opinions of the Latine Church, to fubmit it felf unto the Obedyence of old *Rome*, from whence it had once happily departed ever fince the time that the Empire was by *Constantine* the Great tranflated thence to them. Thus every one faid for himfelf in particular; thus all men faid in general. And thereof the Noblemen in their Affemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grievouly complained; whereupon a Sedition and Tumult was raifed in the City. Some prefently took up arms, and the common people all enraged ran furiously difordered unto the Palace, with a purpofe to have committed fome great Outrage upon the Perfon of the young Emperor *Alexius*; who in that fo fudden an Infurrection, as might well have troubled a right conftant man, without longer delay refolved upon a molt wholfome and neceffary point for the appeafing of the peoples rage; unto whom affembled in a wonderful multitude) he fhewed himfelf from above in his Palace, promifing them to remain in their Power, and not from thenceforth to do any thing without their advice and liking, but wholly to depend upon them; with which good words the people held themfelves well content, and fo was the tumult for that time appeafed. But forthwith the young Emperor confidering the injury done unto him, began to burn with the defire of Revenge, and to change his purpofe. He could not together fatisfie the Citizens and the Latines; for if he would keep his promife with the Latines, he muft of neceffity offend his own people; neither was there any means to be found to fatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himfelf more bound to keep his promife with the Latines, whole Forces he knew not how to withftand, he fent fecretly to requelt the Marquels of *Mont-Ferrat*, General of the Army, to fend him about midnight certain Companies of Soldiers unto the City, affuring him to receive them in by a Gate near unto the Palace, which fhould be opened unto them by certain of his trufty Servants there left for that purpofe. Of this Plot *Alexius Duca* of his birds broes firnamed *Murzufes*, whom of a bafe Fellow the Emperor *Ifaac* had promoted unto the greateft Honours of the Court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an afpiring mind, and in thofe troublefome times having long thirfted after the Empire, took now this occafion to work upon.

The night following, he by his Agents, men intrusted for the purpofe, raifed a tumult in the City, nor inferior unto that which had happened the day before; and at the fame instant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came fuddenly to the young Emperor in the dead time of the

*Alexius*  
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the night (which he might at all time do, by reafon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a fad countenance told him, That the People were up again in an uprore, and efpecially they of his Guard, and that they were coming toward him to do him fome violence for the love he bare unto the Latines. With which unexpected news the young Emperor terrified, commanded him of his molt faithful Countellor, What were beft in that cafe for him to do? Who prefently embracing him in his Nightgown, led him out by a fecret doore into a Tent he had of his own in the Court, as if he would there have kept him fafe; but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeafe the Tumult, had been taken order, that he fhould prefently after his departure, be caft into Bonds, and fo be clapt up into a clofe thinking Prifon: which done, the falf Traitor openly fhewing himfelf, made an Oration to the People, wherein he fhewed himfelf to have great compaffion of the Greek Empire, and of the Greeks his Country men themfelves, efpecially in that they were governed by a youth unfit for the government, who fuffied himfelf to be mifled according to the pleafure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the City of *Constantinople*, the feat of the Greek Empire, to look about it, and to fend an Eye unto it felf, fith it was betrayed and fold by them which by them felf preferved and kept the fame; that they had now need of a man that loved his Country and Country-men, before that which yet remained of the Gracian name were utterly extinguifhed by the Latines.

This his Speech, fitted of purpofe unto the humour of the Seditions, was received with great outcry and applaus of the windy headed People. Some cried out, that he, and none but he, was to be made chief of the Common-weal that was by them to be eftablifhed; otherfome cried aloud to have him made General of the Armies and Forces of the State; but the greateft cry was to have him chofen and created Emperor; whereunto the reft giving place, he was by the general confent of the tumultuous People, without longer flay, chofen and proclaimed Emperor.

*Alexius* the Traitor, by no lawful Election or rightful Succellion, but only by the fury of the tumultuous People, thus created Emperor; was of nothing more careful, than how to farcher the Forces of the Latines, of whom only he now ftood in dread. And therefore to begin withal, he firft attempted by certain Gallies filled with Pitch, Flax, Brimftone, and fuch like matter apt to take fire, to have burnt the Venetian Fleet; which Gallies fo far on fire and carried with a fure gale of Wind among the Fleet, had been fufficient enough to have done great harm, had it not by the warinefs of the Venetians been prevented; who being good Sea men, and not unacquainted with fuch devices, eafily and without danger avoided the fame, by keeping themfelves aloof one from another in the Sea. This finenefs forcing to no purpofe, he to colour the matter fent certain Meflengers to the General, and other Commanders of the Army, to give them to underftand that that which was done for the firing of the Fleet, had been done without his privy, by the malice of the tumultuous People, and that for his part he would be glad of their Favour and Friendfhip, affuring them likewife of his, and promifing them to aid them both with men and money, and whatsoever elfe they fhould have need of in their War againft the Infidels. Whereunto an anfwer was given by *Dandulus* the Venetian General, that he would believe it, when *Alexis* the Son of the Em-

peror *Ifaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the Empire, fhould affure him thereof, and intreat for the People, upon whom the fault of that outrage was laid; which anfwer the more moved the traiterous Tyrant to rid himfelf clean of the fear of the young Prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the People of the hope and great defire they had to grow to fome peace with the Latines, by taking him out of Prifon, and receiving him again for their Emperor. For the People (by nature mutable, and not defirous of the good of themfelves, but according to the occurrents prefent, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to have done) began now to repent themfelves of that they had done againft their Emperor *Alexis* in Favour of the young Prince, and commonly faid, That they muft find fome means, whatfoever it were, to remedy their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufes* fearing the fudden mutation of the People, with his own Hands molt villainouly frangled the young Prince *Alexis* in Prifon, having as yet not attained much above fix months, and immediately after caufed it to be bruited abroad, That the fad young Prince departed out of his Eftate, had as a man difperate, hanged himfelf.

The Tyrant in vain having thus attempted the burning of the Fleet, and filt fearing the revengeful fword of the Latines, refolved now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to put them to battel. So having made ready and armed the whole Strength of the Imperial City, he with cheerful fpeech encouraged his Souldiers, requetting them valiantly to maintain and defend their Country of *Greece*, the Monuments of their Fathers, the Glory of their Anceftors, their prefent Honour, and the future Hope of their Pollicy; that having before their Eyes the Walls of their City, within which they were born, nourifhed, and brought up in hope of great matters, they would have pity and compaffion of their Temples, their Wives, their Children, and in no cafe to fuffer them to fall again into fo miferable and wretched a Servitude, but rather to die a thoufand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterprife taken in hand for the defence of his Country (as he would have the world to believe it) with the colour of a fuperftitious Devotion aloof, he caufed the Priests in their Ecclefiaftical Attire and Ornaments, to march forth before his Army, with an inging, having in it displayed the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. So courageoufly marching forward, he firft charged that quarter of the Camp where *Baldwin* the Count of *Flanders* lay, where at the firft was fought a right fierce and doubtful Battel. But afterward the Alarm running throughout all the Camp of the Latines, and new fupplies coming in, the one fide of the Greeks were put to the worfe, and enforced again to retire into the City, having loft a great number of men, together with their fuperftitious Engin. It was a wonderful thing to fee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of divers Nations, continued this expedition undertaken againft the Greeks. Seventy two days was the City of *Constantinople* ftrenghly befieged by the Latines both by Sea and Land, without giving any time of reft or refpofe day or night to the befieged, frefh men coming fill on to the Affault, as the other fell off, and in fuch fort troubled the Greeks in the City, that they knew not well what to do, or which way to turn themfelves. The Venetians upon whom was committed the charge to affault that fide of the City which was toward the Haven, upon two great Gallies made faft together, built a ftrong Tower of Wood, higher than the Walls and

*Murzufes*  
murdered  
the young  
Prince  
Alexis.

Confent  
the people  
to fign.

Constantinople fit  
on fire.

Rampiers of the Town, out of which they both with Shot and Fire-works much troubled the Defendants, wherewith they in the time of the assault approaching the Wall, by their fire devices first: that side of the City by the rage without, and a great number of Houses were burnt, with many other flames; and ancient Monuments of that famous City; and had at that present gained a great Tower near unto the Port, destitute of defenders, had not the Tyrant himself in good time come with new Supplies to the rescue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the rest, assailed the other side of the City by Land, where they were to fight not against the Defendants only, but against deep Ditches, high and strong Walls, and Bulwarks also; nevertheless, such was the Valour and Fury of the Latines, with the desire of Victory; as that they were not with any difficulties to be dismayed; but pressing still on, by a thousand dangers, at length after a most sharp Assault, they gained one of the greatest Bastions on that side of the City, called the Angel Tower, and so by plain force opened a way both for themselves and the rest into the City: Whereof *Alexius* undefending, and struck with present despair both of his State and Life, the night now coming on, fled with *Euphrosina* the Emperor *Alexius*'s Wife, and *Eudokia* her Daughter, whom he had married when he had reigned about a month and fifteen days.

The Tyrant, Author of all this mischief, and of the calamities ensuing, thus fled, and the Latines furiously entering, the Priests and Religious Men in their Surplices, and other Ecclesiastical Ornaments with their Croffes and Banners (as in solemn procession) met the Latines, and falling down at the Soldiers Feet, with Floods of tears abundantly running down their heavy countenances, besought them, but especially the Captains and Commanders to remember the condition of worldly things, and consenting themselves with the Victory, the Glory, the Honour, the Empire, the Immortality of their Name, to abstain from Slaughter, from burning, from spoiling and ransacking of so beautiful a City; and that seeing they were themselves men, they would also have pity of men; and being themselves Captains and Soldiers, they should also have compassion upon Captains and Souldiers; who although they were not so valiant and fortunate as they were, yet nevertheless were both Captains and Souldiers; and that they would keep and preserve their City, wherof (if they ruined it not) they might have much more pleasure and commodity, than if they should destroy the same, which as it had been the principal fear of the Greek Empire, so might it now be of the Latines; That seeing they had thereof a careful regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now upon better reason, to have more care thereof, being their own: That the Authors of all these troubles and mischiefs, *Alexius* the Elder, and *Mursule*, had already received a reward answerable to their follies, in that they were driven into Exile; That they would have pity and compassion of an innocent and unfortunate Multitude of poor People, oppressed and grievously tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous Lords and Governors; That in so doing, God the Lord of Hosts, the giver and guider of Battels, the God of mercy, would therefore reward them. To conclude, they humbly besought them to pardon their Citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious and merciful Lords and Fathers, not of Enemies and rough Masters; of Forgivers, not of Revengers; and to understand by their Tears, their miserable Estate and Woes passed. With this he humble a Submission and Complaint

of the Religious, some of the better sort were happily moved, but with the common Soldiers, breathing nothing but Victory, with their Weapons in their Hands; and the Spoil of an Empire in their Power, what availed Prayers or Tears? Every man fell to the Spoil, and in so great choice and liberty of all things, fitted his own disordered appetite, without respect of the wrong or injury done to others; only from the effusion of innocent blood they abstained: they whose lives they fought after, being already dead, together with the Tyrant. Other injuries and outrages (so great as that greater noise could be) were in every place to be seen, that every Street, every Lane, every Corner of the City was filled with Mourning and Heaviness. There might a man have seen Noble Men carst of great Honour, and reverend for their hoary Hairs, with other Citizens of great Wealth, thrust out of all they had, walking up and down the City weeping and wringing their hands as men forlorn, knowing not where to throw their Heads. Neither stayed the greedy rage of the insolent Souldiers within the Walls of mans private Houses, but brake out into the stately Palaces, Temples and Churches of the Greeks also, where all was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the Service of God, left unpolluted and defaced, no place unfought, nor corner unsifted: right lamentable and almost incredible to report all the miseries of that time. Some of the Greek Historiographers, men of great mark and place, and themselves Eye-witnesses and Partakers of those evils, have by their Writings complained to all Posterity, of the insolency of the Latines at the winning of the City, to their eternal dishonour; but that disordered Souldiers in all Ages in the liberty of their infatuated Victory, have done such outrages, whose minds abhor to think upon. This *Constantinople* the most famous City of the East, the seat and glory of the Greek Empire, by the miserable ambition and diffention of the Greeks for Sovereignty, fell into the Hands of the Latines, the twelfth of April, in the year 1204, or after the account of others, 1206.

*Constantinople* thus taken, and the Tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great Commanders of the Army held a Council, to consider what were best to be done concerning the City and the new gained Empire; for after so great a Victory, they thought it not good to raise so ancient and important a City, seated as it were at Watch-Tower upon the Theatre of the World, overlooking both *Asia* and *Europe* from the one to the other, as an eye of the Universal, and so commodiously placed, as was no other City of the World, for the keeping under of the Enemies of the Christian Religion; but that it were much better to place there a Latine Governour, to establish there the Latine Laws and Customs, and to unite the Greek Church as a Member unto the Church of *Rome*. In which consultation, some were of opinion, not to have any more Emperors in Christendom but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the German Emperor, Author of this War, whose Wife *Irene* was the only Daughter and Heir of the late Emperor *Isaac Angelus*, unto whom by all right the Inheritance of her Fathers Empire belonged. But the greater part, considering that the troubled affairs of *Greece*, in so great a change and newness of the Empire, had need of the personal presence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themselves, who there fill vacant in that place, might as all times give aid unto the Latins in the sacred Wars, taken in hand against the Infidels; which opinion as the better, was approved of them all.

Nicetas Choniates, annals, lib. 120.

1204.

The

The chief men in this Election of the new Emperor, were *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*, *Henry* his Brother, *Lewis* Count of *Blies*, *Simon* de *Montfort*, *John* de *Dammartin*, *Gualter* de *Brienne*, *Hugh* Count of *St. Paul*, *John* Count of *Brenne*, *Boniface* Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, *Stephen* Count of *Perth*, and five German Bishops; unto whom all were joynt two Bishops of *Syria*, the one of *Bathlem*, the other of *Ptolemais*, who had oftentimes come to the Camp of the Latines, to stir them up for the taking in hand the sacred War in *Syria*; with two Bishops of *France* also, namely of *Soufflon* and *Troy* in *Champagne*, and the Abbot of *Lemey*. These great Lords and Prelates assembled into the Church of the holy Apostles, after they had there with great devotion craved of God to inspire them with his Spirit for the choice of a good and just Prince fit for so great a charge; with one consent made choice of *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*, for Emperor of *Greece*; a brave and valiant Prince, about two and thirty years old, who was afterward the sixteenth day of May, in the year 1204. (Or after the computation of others, in the year 1205.) in the great Temple of *S. Sophia* solemnly crowned by *Theobald* Marquis a Venetian, first Patriarch of the Latines in *Constantinople*. From which time the Greek Church in *Constantinople* began to receive the Rites and Ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*.

The Greek Empire divided amongst the Latins.

It was not long after that *Constantinople* was thus taken by the Latines, but that they dividing their Forces without any resistance, took in the most part of the great Countries and Provinces on *Europe* side, belonging to the Greek Empire in the time of *Isaac Angelus* the late Emperor; the fortune of the whole Empire, as it were following the fortune of the Imperial City. Which large Countries so gained from the Greeks, the Latines divided amongst themselves, as good prize taken from their Enemies. Unto *Baldwin* the Emperor and his Successors in the Empire, was assigned the Imperial City of *Constantinople* and the Country of *Thracia*, with a limited Sovereignty over all the rest of the Provinces by the Latines already or afterwards to be gained. Unto the Venetians in this division of the Empire, was allotted for their share all the rich Islands of the *Ægean*, and *Ionian*, with the famous Island of *Candy* also; which although it was divided by the Venetians and *Alexius* in the beginning of these Wars, given unto the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, yet in this division of the Empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and given to the Venetians, as for them more fit; instead and lieu wherof, the Marquis had the City of *Thessalonica* with all the Kingdom of *Thessaly*, and a great part of *Peloponnesus* assigned unto him, with the Royal Title of a King. Of the aforesaid Islands (in number many and exceeding much) the Venetians in the name of the State, fortified some few of the greatest with convenient Garrisons, the rest they left to be possessed and defended by the better sort of the Citizens at their private cost and charges; who according to their ability, took into their possession, some one Island, some another, and some two or three, as they were able to for out the Gallies, one, two, or more, for the keeping of the same; over all which, the Signiory nevertheless had a general care, still keeping a Fleet with one of their Admirals at Sea; by whom they not only repressed the *Genna* Pirates then busy in those Seas, but also took in certain strong Towns in the Main upon the coast of *Peloponnesus*, namely *Modon* and

*Corone*; all which they of long time after held as a part of their Signiory. Some other particular places, yet parts of the Empire, were given unto particular men; as the Dukedom of *Arbeni* unto one *Geffrey* of *Troy* in *Champagne*, a Frenchman, a valiant Captain, whom they also made Prince of *Arbeni*; another Dukedom was also given to the Count of *Blies*; as were divers other Countries and Towns also unto other more private men; who nevertheless were bound to hold the fame of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yearly a fourth part of the Revenue arising thereof, towards the maintenance of his State. Yea the Greeks themselves in this shipwreck of their State and Empire, although they did nothing more than the strange Government of the Latines, yet yet they not being persuaded to joyn together in so common a calamity, but after their wonted manner fought every man how to share out something for himself, without regard of the common good; one seized upon one strong Town or City, and so likewise another; which for all that they held not long, driven thence for the most part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their own Countrymen.

The man whom the discontented Greeks most looked after, was *Theodorus Lascaris*, the Emperor *Alexius Angelus* his Son-in-Law; who at the taking of the City, fled to *Adrianople*, and afterward into *Bythynia*, where he was of the People, not of that Country only, but of others also farther off, joyfully received and honoured as their Emperor.

So taking into his hands the Countries of *Bythynia*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Ionia*, and *Lidia*, even from the windings of the famous River *Mæander* Southward, unto the Euxine Sea Northward; he with the general good liking of the People, took upon him the Estate of an Emperor, and so in the renowned City of *Nice* made the seat of his Empire. At the same time also *David*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the Nephews of the Tyrant *Andronicus* (sometime Emperor of *Constantinople*) by his Son *Manuel*, possessing the more Eastern Countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, erected unto themselves another Empire in *Trapezond*, where their Posterity of the honorable house of the *Comneni* reigned in great glory many years after, until their Empire, together with the Empire of *Constantinople*, was by the great Emperor of the Turks, *Mahomet* the second, subverted and brought to nought; as shall afterward in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greek Empire expoi'd (as it were) to the general Spoil, was no longer one, but many Empires; *Baldwin* reigning in *Constantinople*, the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat* in *Thessaly*, *Theodorus Lascaris* at *Nice*, *Alexius Comnenus* in *Trapezond*, and the Venetians in the Islands, all in Royal Dignity. Besides whom were many other lesser Princes, which had here and there according to their ability seized upon some one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, reigning therein as petty Kings; as did *Aldrandinus* in *Attalia*, *Michael Angelus* in *Epirus*, with divers others too long to rehearse.

*Baldwin* (as is aforesaid) created Emperor of *Constantinople*, by the help of the Venetian Admiral *Dandolo*, and other great Commanders of the Army in short time brought unto his obedience all the Cities of *Thracia*, excepting the City of *Adrianople*, whereunto the better sort of the discontented Greeks, together with *Theodorus Lascaris* (disclaiming the Government of the Latines) were fled, as unto a most safe Sanctuary; which *Baldwin* knowing, and wistly desiring

The beginning of the empire of Baldwin.

Adrianople besieged by Baldwin.

whilst yet he had his Friends about him, to set his new Empire in some good stay, without farther delay came and laid hard Siege to the same. Now the Greeks generally evil entreated by the Latines, and grieved to be governed by them, were some of them fled into other their Neighbour Princes Countries, but especially into *Bulgaria*, otherwise called *Misia*, a large Kingdom lying betwixt the great Mountain *Æmus* and *Danubius*; by whose perswasion, *John* King of that Country, aided by the Scythians, (a fierce Northern People, but lately come into those quarters) and by the fugitive Greeks themselves, took upon him to relieve the besieged City, and to fight with a great Army approaching the same, first before certain Troops of the Scythian Archers on horseback, to fetch in such booty of Horses or Cattel as they should find near unto the Emperors Camp; and whilst commanded them, that being charged by the Imperials, they should forthwith retire, so to draw them out of their Trenches, into the place where the King with the greatest part of his Army lay covertly to entrap them. Which the Scythians (well acquainted with such service) so well performed under the leading of one *Cocuz* their General, that having once or twice drawn their Enemies unto some light skirmishes, and so retrying, and ere long again with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his Army, in hope to do some great matter upon them, even as they wished, into the place where the King with his Army lay in wait among the Woods and Mountains for them; where they, weary and out of breath with the former pursuit, and now on every side beset with fresh Enemies, were overthrown with a great slaughter. In which conflict to increase the loss, *Baldwin* the Emperor himself was taken and sent Prisoner in bonds to *Ternova*; where afterwards by the commandment of the barbarous King he was most cruelly put to death, having his Hands and Feet cut off, and so dismembered was cast out into a deep Vally, where he yet lay miserably breathing three days after, and so died; leaving his body as fortunes scorn, for a Prey unto the wild Beasts and Birds of the Air, no Man vouchsafing to bury it. Thus perished this worthy Prince, for his Virtues commended even of the Greeks themselves, being about the age of three and thirty years, and not having reigned yet a full year, in the year of our Lord 1206.

The Victory thus gained, and the City relieved, the barbarous King with his late Soldiers having tasted the wealth of the Latines overthrown in the late Battle, and the pleasures of *Thracia* now subject to their Lust's greedily pursued their good fortune, without respect of all humanity; the open Country they overran, spoiling whatsoever came to hand, the rich and famous Cities they rifled, and afterward rased them down to the ground; namely *Serræ*, *Philippæ*, *Apia*, *Rhodesium*, *Perinthum*, *Damium*, *Aradopolis*, *Melina*, *Zurula*, and *Silyria*; the Citizens and Country People fled into the Cities for refuge, they put all to the sword, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition, except some few, whom they carried away with them Prisoners; so that of all the Provinces of that rent and ruined Empire, the Country of *Thrace* was most miserable, as first spoiled by the Latines, and now laid desolate by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Only some few of the strongest Cities, as *Didymotichum* and *Adramyttum* (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) escaped this fury of the Barbarians, all the rest that fell into their hands being laid waste and desolate.

In this so troubled a State of the new erected Empire of the Latines in *Constantinople*, the Latines made choice of *Henry* the late Emperor *Baldwin's* Brother, as of all others the fittest to succeed him in the Empire; who sided by the Marquis, now King of *Thessaly*, and the other *Latin* Princes, notably repulsed the Barbarians, and left them not until that at length he had recovered from them all such Towns and Cities as they had before taken, and driven them quite out of the Country, and so well established himself in his new Empire.

But to leave this dismembered Empire, now in the hands of many, and to come nearer to our purpose; *Alexius Angelus* the Usurper, driven out of the Imperial City by the Latines, to save himself fled into *Thessaly*, and from thence unto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great Fame among the Greeks) who tyrannizing at *Nauplius*, as had his Father before him, was in these troublesome times grown greater, by surprising of the two famous Cities of *Argos* and *Corinth*; by whose means he cunningly entraped *Alexius Ducas*, surnamed *Murza*, the Traitor, and for a secret gain not commonly known, put out his Eyes; himself an exiled man, being a most heavy Enemy unto the other also exiled; and himself thrust out of the Empire, a deadly Foe unto the other, oppressed with the like calamity. Shortly after which loss of his Sight he was by chance taken by the Latines, and so brought back to *Constantinople*, where he was for murdering the young Emperor *Alexius*, worthily condemned unto a strange and horrible kind of death; for being hung up at high Towers, and tumbling Heels over Head downward, he was with the weight of himself and violence of the Fall, crushed all to pieces, and so miserably died; a death too good for such a Traitor. Not long after it fortune also, that *Alexius* himself wandering up and down in *Thracia*, was by the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, going against *Scurus*, taken and stript of his great Treasure, and whatsoever else he had; and so sent away naked, long time after in beggars Estate wandered about in time after in beggars Estate, now far unlike that *Alexius* which sometime proudly reigned in *Constantinople*; but such is the assurance of evil gotten Honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris* his Son-in-Law reigned in *Asia*, and there held the State of an Emperor, rejoiced not thereat as a kind Father-in-Law, but inwardly grieved thereat as an Enemy, sorry that any other but himself should be honoured with the Title of the Greek Emperor; in which malicious humor he falling out of Greece into *Asia* over the *Ægeum*, came fiercely unto the Turks Sultan *Jahangir* his old acquaintance, then lying at *Atalnia*, (which famous City he had not long before taken from the Christians) unto whom he declared his heavy Estate, and how his Empire had been rent from him, as well by the Greeks as the Latines; requesting, that by his means he might be restored again unto some part thereof, especially that in the lesser *Asia*, which was by *Thanasius Lascaris*, together with the honour of the Greek Emperor, unjustly (as he said) deained from him. This *Jahangir*, now Sultan of *Iscion*; was the younger Son of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long surviving his Brother *Cai-Chosro*, left his Kingdom unto his two Sons *Asadun* and *Jahangir*, of the Greeks called *Assacines* and *Jahangir*; where long it was not, but that these two Brothers falling out for the Sovereignty, (which admitteth no Equality) the younger *Jahangir* his Elder Brother driven into Exile, and for the safeguard of his life fled to sit unto this *Alexius*, then reigning at *Constantinople*, by whom he

Henry B. and Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople.

Antioch besieged by Jussatines

he was honourably entertained, and as some write, converted and baptised. But *Assacines* the Sultan shortly after dying, this *Jahangir* returning home again, and renouncing the Christian Religion, was by the Turks received for their Sultan; of whom the Emperor *Alexius* in like extremity now craved Aid. The Sultan not forgetful of his own Troubles before past, or of the kindness he had received, and moved with the pitiful Complaint of his old Friend, together with his large Offers, besides that he was in hope to share out some good part of whatsoever he got, for himself; took him into his Protection, and forthwith sent Embassadors to *Lascaris*, threatening unto him all extremities, except he did forthwith give place unto *Alexius* his Father in Law, unto whom, as unto the Greek Emperor, those Countries which were by him possessed, of right (as he said) appertained. With which unexpected Message *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans Power, and the inclination of the people to their old Emperor. Nevertheless, having propounded the matter in Council, and finding the minds of his Subjects well affected towards him, and a readiness in them in his quarrel to adventure their lives; he encouraged therewith, accompanied only with two thousand choice Horse-men, together with the Sultans Embassador, without farther stay set forward to *Philadelphias*, the Sultan at the same time with *Alexius*, (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceive the people withal) and twenty thousand Turks, besieging the City of *Antioch*, situate upon the winding banks of the River *Meander*. Which the Emperor *Theodorus* well understood, and that the Sultan by gaining that strong City (standing upon the passage of the great River, the boulder of his Empire) should open a fair way for himself into the heart of *Romania Asiatice*, to the great hazard of his whole Empire, resolved with those few he had, to do what he might to relieve his City. And so setting forward upon the Spur, carrying nothing with him more than a little Victual; and now come near unto the City, sent before the Sultans Embassador, following him at the heels. Who coming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approach with so small a Power, could hardly persuade him that it was so, although he bound it with many Oaths; yet as length persuaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, he in all haste put his Army in the best Order he could upon such a sudden; but not to his best advantage, being hindered to do by the straits of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thousand filed Horse-men in the Emperors Army, were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who giving the first charge, broke through the midst of the Sultans Army, disordering his whole barrel as they went; after whom followed also the Greeks, though not with like courage; but those Italian Horse-men now divided from the rest, and in number but few, in coming back again, were by the disordered Turks, some on Horseback, some on Foot, to be set on every side, as that there was no way left for them to pass, but there valiantly fighting, were altogether slain, having both before and at the time of their death made such a slaughter of the Turks, as is hardly to be believed to have been possible for so few men to have made. The Greeks also hardly laid to by the Turks, and discouraged by the laughter of the Latines, were even upon the point to have fled; when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of the Victory, despatching the Greek Emperor, and trusting to his own great Strength, singled him out,

Jahangir his Sultan slain by Theodorus Lascaris the Greek Emperor.

being as ready as himself to meet him; when as at the first encounter, the Sultan with his Horse-mans Mace gave him such a blow upon his head, as might have killed a Bull, so that the Emperor, therewith astonished, fell down from his Horse; who yet even in the fall coming something again unto himself, and although dismounted, yet quickly recovering his feet, with his Faulchion hoisted the hinder legs of the Horse whereon the Sultan rid, being a most beautiful Beast, and of a wonderful height; which was now suddenly falling under him, and so the Sultan tumbling down as from an high Tower, before he could recover himself, had his head cut off by the Emperor; which by and by put upon a Lance, and so holden up, with the sight thereof so dismayed the Turks, that stricken with a sudden fear, they presently fled, leaving the Victory unto the Emperor, before more than half overcome, who for all that, considering his small number, durst to further pursue them, but entring the City gave thanks to God for so great a Victory. Unto whom the Turks shortly after sent their Embassadors, and so upon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him to set down, concluded with him a Peace. *Alexius* himself Author of these Troubles, taken in this battle and carried to *Nicos*, was by the Emperor his Son in Law, notwithstanding his evil deeds, well intreated and used.

Whilst the Latines thus spend their Forces in subverting of the Greek Empire, which should have been employed for the Relief of the Christians in *Syria*, and that the Greek Emperor *Lascaris* was thus troubled with the Turks; the Affairs of the Christians in *Syria* and the Holy Land grew still worse and worse. Whereof the Knights Hospitallers and Templars (the chief Champions of the Christian Religion in those Countries) greatly blamed *Abmonius* the King of *Cyprus*, for that he being so near at hand, and having married *Isabella* the Heir of that Kingdom, and so in her Right taken upon him the Title of the King of *Jerusalem*, gave himself wholly to pleasure, doing nothing for the Defence or Relief of the poor distressed Christians, or relieving of the Turks; who although they were yet in League with the Christians there, and at some discord also among themselves, yet spared not as occasion served, still more and more to encroach upon them, and by building of new Castles and Fortresses to cut them short. Of all which things, the aforesaid Knights by their Embassadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requesting his fatherly care for the remedy thereof; certifying him withal, that there was yet living one *Mary*, the Daughter of the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*, a Lady of rare beauty, whom they as her Tutors had brought up in hope of the Kingdom, and now were ready to bestow her upon some such man as he should think worthy of her, together with the right she had unto the Kingdom. Hereson *Innocentius* discharging *Abmonius* of the Title of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, gave it to *John* Count de *Brenno* of Dauphine in France, a man of great fame and valour, then in Arms with the other *Latin* Princes against the Greeks. Who now re-appointed King of *Jerusalem*, his Brother and with such Power as he was able to make, setting forward, came first to France, where he was royally entertained; and from thence, failing to *Constantinople*, was with like Honour received by the Emperor *Mury*, and so at length the fifth of September arrived at *Prolembus* in *Syria*, where he was with the great rejoicing and applause of the people received as their King. And the last of the same month marrying the aforesaid Lady *Mary* at *Tyre*, was there together with her

John Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed King of Jerusalem.

with a great Solemnity Crowned King, in the year, 1209. Which *Americus* the old King of *Cyprus* hearing, shortly after died for grief. Neither wanted this noble Gentleman, thus honoured with the Title of a Kingdom, some that envied at his Promotion, and therefore commonly called him in derision, a King, but still with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to say, Without a Town.

Now was the ten years Peace, before taken betwixt the Turks and the Christians in *Syria*, at the coming over of *Simon Marqués of Montfort* (as is before expressed) almost expired, which had not so much given to those poor remnants of the Christians some time of rest and breathing, as had the discord of the Turks among themselves; which having for the space of nine years continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the Sovereignty, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himself with the Government of *Aleppo*, and *Coradin* and *Meladin* the two Sons of *Saphadin*, dividing their Father's Kingdom betwixt them, the one taking unto himself *Damascus* and *Syria*, and the other the great Kingdom of *Egypt*, but all Enemies unto the Christians.

About this time also, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, summoned a general Council at *Lateran*, whereunto, besides a multitude of great Bishops, and other reverend Prelates, repaired also the honourable Embassadors of most of the Princes of Christendom; unto whom he assembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous estate of the Christians in *Syria*, and how the same was by the help of the Christian Princes of the West to be relieved. Whereunto all the Fathers and Princes there assembled easily gave their consent; and thereupon were some appointed in every Country and Province, to publish this Decree, and to stir up the Christians, and to stir up the devout people for the undertaking of so religious a War. The chief Furtherers of this sacred Expedition, to be thus taken in hand against the Infidels, were the Bishops of *Germany*, especially the three great Bishops of *Metz*, *Cullen*, and *Trier*, whose example moved also many others, all to see rehearse were tedious. Out of *France* also were sent three Count of *St. Vallery*, one *Gualter* the Kings great Chamberlain, with a great number of the gallant Youths of *France*, and so out of divers other places; so that at length such a number of men were met together at divers Ports of the *Adriatick*, as made up a Fleet of two hundred Sail; which with a prosperous Wind carried over into *Syria*, arrived in safety at *Ptolemais*, the chief City of the Christians, now that *Jerusalem* was lost. After whom followed also *Andrew King of Hungary*, long before bound both by his Fathers commandment and his own promise, for the undertaking of that sacred Expedition; with whom came also *Lewis Duke of Bavaria*, and *Leopold Duke of Austria*, with their Forces all well appointed; unto whom also *John King of Jerusalem* joyned himself with his Power. Great hope and expectation there was for some great matter to have been done, now that so great Forces of the Christians were thus met together. Who setting forward from *Ptolemais*, and the first day marching into *Galilee*, by the way met with certain Companies of the Turks, whom they easily overthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the River of *Jordan*, where they also defeated certain of the Turks Garrisons. The King of *Hongary* bathing himself in the River, forthwith (as one discharged of his Vow and Promise) returned

with all his Power unto *Ptolemais*, and so from thence back again into his Country, all the rest of the Army of the Christians crying out to him to the contrary; who after the Kings departure still marching on, came to the Mount *Thabor*. But shortly after, Winter now coming on, and many of their Cattel dying for cold and want of meat, they returned some to *Ptolemais*, some to *Tyre*, and there wintered. King *John* and the Duke of *Austria* in the mean time took a Castle betwixt *Cesarea* and *Caipha*, called *The Castle of Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the *Barbarians* throughout all that Winter. Upon the appearance of the Spring, and the Army again met together, it was thought best by all the great Commanders, that for so much as the Kingdom of *Egypt* was the chief Maintenance of the Mahometan Superstition, against the Christians in those parts, and that so long as it stood upright, they should not be able to do any great matter in *Syria*, to attempt the Conquest thereof, as an explicit self becoming their Valour, and so great preparation; for that Kingdom being once subdued, the City of *Jerusalem*, with all the Land of *Vallefine*, would of themselves without more ado straightway yield unto them. And for as much as the famous City of *Damietta*, called in ancient time *Pelufium*, not much inferior unto *Alexandria*, was the first and most commodious Port for that purpose, as nearest unto *Syria*; and that by the taking thereof they should have a fair entrance into the great River *Nile*, with the command of a most rich and pleasant Country about it. They resolved there to begin the War; and thereupon embarking themselves with all things necessary for so great an Enterprize at *Ptolemais*, and carried with a fair Wind, they in short time arrived at the desired Port. Now that rich and ancient City, the Key of that side of the Kingdom, stood at some mile from the Sea, and somewhat distant also from the great River, environed with a Navigable Ditch or Cut, drawn out of *Nile*, in manner of an Island, as a man cometh from *Syria* by Land; and compassed about with three strong Stone Walls, the work of the good Emperor *Alius Pertinax*, and of him (as some affirm) called also *Alisilius*. At the mouth of this Cut, as you should enter into the City, stood a strong Watch-Tower, the defence thereof, and round about a number of fair Houses, in manner of a pretty Town entrenched. Besides that, for the more safety thereof, the fame Cut was barred with a great strong iron Chain, in such fort, as that it was not possible for any Ship, without breaking of the fame to enter. The Christians with their Fleet entering the mouth of the River, and coming to this Cut, by great strength brake the Chain, but thinking so to have made their passage unto the City, they found a greater lay at the Watch-Tower, which strongly built of square Stone, and well stored with Warlike Engines of all sorts, and a good Garrison of valiant Souldiers, stayed their further passage, overwhelming them as they approached, with shot, fire, Stones, timber, and such like, before provided for that purpose.

The Christians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had upon certain flat Vessels built certain high Towers of Wood for the affailing of the Watch-Tower; in the approaching whereof, they were not only troubled with the Enemy, but with the tumult and stir of their own people also some, crying that they should yet draw nearer unto the Tower; othersome crying out to fall, to have the Bridge cast down, and the Enemy likewise with much clamour encouraging one another for the repelling

The first  
siege of  
Damietta  
in Egypt.

of the Christians. So the Souldiers, hindered the Mariners to do their business, and the Mariners the Souldiers. In the midst of this hurly-burly and tumult, one of the wooden Towers, surmounting the rest in height, overcharged with the press of men, fell; and in falling made such a noise, as if Heaven itself had fallen; in a moment (as it were) was presently to be seen a most heavy Spectacle; many overwhelmed with the falling of the Tower, lay there crushed to death; some grievously hurt, and yet not dead, lay oppressed with the timber, crying out for help; others bruised or hurt, but not overwhelmed, for fear of further harm, leapt some into the *Nile*, some aboard the other Ships near by, some crying out of his Arm, some of his Leg, some of his Head or other part of his body, to the great commixture of the rest, in so much that the Assault was for that time given over.

King *John* (as well for his Valour, as for the Title of the King of *Jerusalem*, chosen General of the Army) after he had appeased this tumult, and given the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, unto skillful Surgeons, and buried the bodies of such as were found drowned or overwhelmed; with cheerful Speech encouraged the rest of his Souldiers, persuading them not to be discouraged with the accident of the fall of a Tower, which was neither to be imputed to their Cowardice, or the Valour of the Enemy, but only to the chance of War.

In the mean time *Meladin* the Egyptian Sultan, had with a great Army encamped himself within the fight of *Damietta*, thereby to encourage the besieged, and to fill them with hope of relief; sending them by Posters, by the River, News, Messages, Victuals, Souldiers, Armor, and whatsoever else they wanted. The chief cause of his staying there, was to take occasion for the surprising of the Christians, if any should be offered, either by chance, or their own negligence. Every day some skirmish or other passed betwixt our men and the *Barbarians*, ours still carrying away the Victory; yet could these *Barbarians* neither be drawn forth to battle, neither could our men keep them from Victuals, for as much as they had the River of *Nile* at command, whereby Victuals were out of the upper part of *Egypt* in great abundance conveyed into the Sultans Camp; whereas on the contrary part, the fame River dividing it self into many Arms, in some places here and there overflowing, in another cut into many Ditches and Channels, and in some other pent up by *Ways* and *Causays*, gave unto our men a thousand displeasures. And therefore seeing that the Sultan would neither give nor accept of battle, they resolved again to lay siege to the Tower. Wherefore having with great cunning, upon two Ships made fast together, framed a Tower of most strong Timber, equal in height unto the Watch-Tower, they brought the fame near unto the Turks Tower, and the Souldiers adjoining thereto, after which followed also the rest of the Fleet well appointed for the Assault. At which time all the rest of the Army at Land stood in battle ready ranged, as well to discourage them of the Town, as that the Sultan should not be able to help them without the hazarding of battle. There began a fierce and cruel Assault; they of the Suburbs right valiantly defending themselves against their Enemies. Within those Suburbs, the Tower, and the Trenches, dwelt not only Egyptians, (the natural Inhabitants of the Country) but also *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Moor*, and *Atiopians*, who were there resiant; for that that City was a publick Mart whereunto all kind of Merchandises

were brought from far out of the remotest parts of the World, and so from thence in like manner transported; also; which encouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their Lives and Goods, the two things which men hold most dear; and in like sort animated our men unto the Assault, as well in the stead of the Christian Religion, as to enrich themselves with the spoil of those rich Nations. The Christians with their Ships drew as near as possibly they could unto the Land, so the intent that upon the bank of the River they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and so come close unto their Enemies. But the *Barbarians* on the other side fought by shot and all other means they could, to keep them further off, and so from landing.

That which most feared the Egyptians, was, that as one of our Ships by chance ran aground upon that side of the River where the Enemy lay, and being boarded by the Enemy, thronging in as fast as he could, and there making a cruel slaughter, one of the Christian Souldiers going down under the Hatch, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly coming in, sunk the Ship before the Enemy was aware, and so drowned a great number of the *Barbarians* together with the Christians. At which time also the high Tower built upon the two Ships, joyning now close unto the Watch-Tower, and mating the fame, dismayed the Defendants with the strangeness thereof, as with a Miracle, in such fort, that they stricken with a great fear, as now being to fight with a strange, hardy, and cruel kind of men, without any great resistance forsok the Tower and fled. The Watch-Tower thus taken, and they that should have defended the fame, some slain, and some fled; they in the Suburbs discouraged, and flying away, were many of them wounded from above, out of the Watch-Tower but now gained by the Christians. At which time also the other Ships landed the Souldiers, who entering the Suburbs, put all they found there to the Sword, even unto the last man. There was found great abundance of Victuals, but far greater store of Riches, in so much that it seemed to have been the spoil of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the rich Indies.

Now yet remained the strong Town of *Damietta*, which was forthwith assaulted by the Christians, more to prove if in that heat and sudden fear it would be yielded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But having done what they could both by scaling, and by other Engines, they gained nothing but hard blows and wounds, and so retired. Nevertheless they lodged themselves in the Suburbs, and laid a great part of the Army betwixt the Sultan and the besieged City, to the intent that no supply of Victuals should be brought unto it; yet both the Enemy oftentimes attempted to have entered the City, and the besieged to have sallied out, but both the one and the other were lerred to do what they would have done, and that not without the great loss of their men; for why, the Town was now on every side so inclosed by the Christians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege, it fortuned that the River of *Nile* swelling with a great Eastern Wind, rose above the banks, and so overflowed the places wherein the Christians lay, that they could keep nothing dry, and that most part of their Victuals were therewith spoiled. With which unfavourable rising of the River, the Christians not a little troubled, by commandment of *Pelagius* the Popes Legate, gave themselves to fasting and prayer by the space of three

A desperate  
act of a  
Christian.

Damietta  
is now  
affailed.

Corradin  
and Meladin  
divide their Fa-  
ther's King-  
dom be-  
twixt them.

three days. But the Wind falling the fourth day, and the River again decreasing, they gave themselves more earnestly to prayer than before, thanking the Almighty, that as he had put them in a great fear, so he had in mercy again comforted them.

Now with long lying began Victuals to grow scant in the Sultans Camp, so that he was glad to send away half of his Army up again into the Country of *Caire*. At which time also it chanced (as if it had been in an extremum and common danger of the Mahometan Superstition) that Embassadors sent from *Corradin* Sultan of *Damascus* and *Jerusalem*, unto the Princes of the Christian Army, came to sue for Peace, both for Himself and his Son the *Egyptian* Sultan; promising in regard thereof again to restore unto them the Holy Cross, and whatsoever else himself, his Father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them; of which their Offer, most part of the Army liked well, saying, That they had therefore taken up Arms for the recovery of that which had been before gotten, and gained by the Valour of the worthy Christian Captains, and had of late been taken from them; and to blot out the Ignominy of the loss thereof, to the end it should not be said, that they could not leave whole and entire unto their Children, what their Fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither having lost it, be able again to recover it; that all these things being restored, there rested not any further occasion of War, or let to lay them as most victorious Conquerors to return home. Nevertheless *Pelagius*, Pope *Honorius* his Legate (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the Wars was before dead at *Pelagium*) with King *John*, the Masters of the Knights Hospitallers and Templars, the Duke of *Austria*, and the *German*, were of opinion to the contrary; alleging, That this Sacred War was undertaken generally against the Infidels, and for Religions sake against the Mahometan Superstition; whereof the Kingdom of *Egypt* was the chief Seat and stay; and that therefore they ought especially to impugn that. Which persuasion, together with the Authority of the Persuaders, so prevailed, that the Sultans large Offers were rejected, and so the Embassadors dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon *Corradin* fearing that the Christians would at length come to *Jerusalem*, as the place they most desired; and doubting how he should be able to defend the same, forthwith raised the Walls thereof, and the more to defend it, overthrew and plucked down most of the goodly Houses, and other stately Buildings therein, sparing yet the Tower of *David*, and the holy Sepulchre; which he is said to have done at the humble Request and Intercession of the Christians of divers Countries, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Saracens.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege of *Damietta*, the Plague began to rage in the Camp, whereof so many died, that it began to report that the great Commanders of the Army that they had so much hearkened to the persuasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of Arms) rather than to the found Advice of others, who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of War, would willingly have accepted of the Sultans large Offers; so began *Pelagius* the Legate to be generally evil spoken of. There were now about six months past since the beginning of the Siege, and the Sultan lay in sight had not with him so great an Army as before, but only the flower and choice of his people, having (as we have before said) for want of Victuals sent away the rest up again into the

Country; now it fortuned that the Christians, as men weary of the long Siege, stood not so carefully upon their Guard, with Watch and Ward, as before, but gave themselves more to ease; which the Sultan perceiving, drew nearer to the Town, in hope under the covert of the silent night, to find new Supplies unto the besieged; which Companies by him appointed for this Service, courageously set forward, in hope to have deceived the Christian Sentinels, and so indeed came near unto the Town unseen or discovered; and now the foremost of those Companies were already entered the Town; when the Christians perceiving them, and raising an Alarm, put themselves in Arms, and so furiously assailed the hindmost of them, and in such sort, that they which were before within, and those that were but now entered, fearing lest the Enemy in that hurly burly should sell mell enter in with the rest, shut them out of the Gates, exposed to the butchery, where all were presently cut in pieces.

The Christians encouraged with this Victory, the next day leaving a great part of the Army before the Town to continue the Siege, presented themselves before the Sultans Camp to give him battle; who for all that well considering that the loss of a battle might endanger the whole state of his Kingdom, would by no means be drawn out of his Trenches, but lay still; wherewith the Christians, especially the French-men (in the first charge naturally furious) greatly encouraged, attempted to have forcibly entered their Rampiers, but not with success answerable to their courage. For the Egyptians perceiving the small number of their Enemies, nobly regulated them, and in fine enforced them to retire, having lost *Quater*, one of their chief Commanders, with divers others; yea King *John* in assailing the Camp, lost many of his men, and grievously burnt in his face, hardly escaping himself with life. After which discomfort, they resolved, not to think of any thing else but of the Siege, and above all things to provide that no Succours should be brought into the Town. They in the City more straitly beset and besieged than before, and now brought unto extremum necessity and famine; and out of all hope of Relief, assembled themselves to consult of their Affairs, and what were best for them to do in so dangerous a state; some one or other of them by night or otherwise secretly flying into the Camp. And that more was, the City had undoubtedly been yielded by the greater part, had not the chief Commanders within mured up the Gates, and commanded that none of the Inhabitants upon pain of death should come upon the Walls or Rampiers, to the intent they should not get out, or cast themselves from above the Walls into the Ditches. The chief Commanders and Captains went here and there up and down the City, to search and view all things, especially the shops and store-houses, where finding small store of Wheat, they divided it in small portions among themselves; the common people enforced with want, eat whatsoever came to hand, were it lawful or unlawful, or forbidden by their Superstition, wholesome or unwholesome, good or bad, salt or fresh, roasted or raw; and so prolonged their lives with such things as they could find. Now the besieged, not able to endure these extremities of the Famine (being the passion that most grievously and often troubleth Mankind) they were also stricken with the Wrath of God; for the Plague (the fury whereof had before attained the Camp of the Christians, and afterward quite ceased) was now got into the City, where it made a great Slaughter; which mortality

lity day by day in such sort increased, that men were not only now no more to be found, to visit, comfort, succor, serve and help the Sick; but were wanting also to bury them, to draw them out of their Beds and Houses, and to separate the Living from the Dead; the Streets and Houses full of dead Bodies, gave forth a most horrible stink, which a most grievous and infectious Air; there was not any place clear from the Plague, or any man that could boast he had not been attained therewith, or the fear thereof; and remedy there was none. The rage and fury of these two Devourers, the Famine and Plague, devoured them without number, choosing rather to die, than to submit themselves to their Enemies; or to humble themselves so low, as to crave their Favour. That they within were thus pinched with Famine, the Christians knew; but that the Plague so raged amongst them, they knew not. Now the Christians had of purpose cast up certain Trenches and Baricadoes, for the keeping in of such as the Famine should enforce to come out of the Town; thinking that the besieged, to ease their wants, would thrust the baser sort of the people, unto whom the Christians meant not to give any passage; for they having long before so faithfully environed the City, as that no relief could be brought unto it, lay now still expecting when the besieged, enforced by necessity, should yield themselves; and so without loss of any man, to become Masters of so strong and rich a Town. It was now more than a year that the Christians had thus lain at the Siege of *Damietta*, when as certain of the Soldiers, who heavily adventured with a few scaling Ladders to mount the Wall; in which doing, finding no resistance, and withal hearing of great silence, as if there had been no body within the City, they stood still a great while hearkening, but seeing that dumb silence fill to continue, they returned unto the Camp, giving the Captains to understand how the matter stood; who at the first thought it to be some policy and fineness of the deceitful Enemy; yet afterward they thought it good to adventure certain men, to prove their fortune, and to cause certain companies well appointed to scale one of the Bulwarks of the City, in such sort, as if they should have gon against a puissant Enemy, that had had the power to resist them. And hereupon were scaling Ladders brought forth, and all things made ready, as for a great Assault. So the Christians courageously mounting the Ladders, without resistance took the Bulwark. But as they were entering farther into the Town, a small Company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the Soldiers that the Fury of the Plague had left, and they also with the Famine and Infection of the Air very weak and feeble) met them, and began to make some small resistance, but to no purpose, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherewith the Gates of the City were mured, was presently removed, the Gates opened, and the Christians with signs displayed let in; but even at the very entering in at the Gates, they were attained with a most grievous and horrible stink, they saw a fair City dispeopled, and that which was most fearful to behold, the Streets covered with bodies of the dead and such a dreadful desolation, as might move even the Enemy himself to compassion. The Christians were entered, as men appointed to have done a great execution, and to have made the Channell run with blood; as men justly wroth with the long Siege, and the pains they had endured; they had their Swords and Weapons in their Hands, but found none against whom to use them; for a man could not enter into any House, or go into any Street, but

he must pass over the dead, or others, which being not yet altogether dead, were miserably drawing toward their end. Of seventy thousand persons in the City, were not found above three thousand alive, and these for the most part were young Children; for all the rest were dead, taken away either with the Sword, Famine or the Plague; the greatest part whereof lay yet stinking above the ground unburied. These three thousand that were left, were so maigre and poor, that pity it was to behold them; unto whom their lives were granted upon condition that they would make clean the City, and bury the dead, which they were three months in doing.

Thus was *Damietta* taken by the Christians the fifth day of *November*, in the year 1212, after it had been more than a year by them besieged. The Spoil there taken was great, for besides the rich Merchandise brought thither from far, was found great store of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. The Christians thus enriched, and the City made clean, raised there more than a year after, as in a Colony where they had been willing to dwell, forgetful of their own Country. In the beginning of these Wars, the Princes of the Army had with one consent agreed, That whatsoever City or Territory should by them be taken from the Turks or Infidels, should be given unto the King of *Jerusalem*, whom after the departure of the King of *Hungary*, they had made General of the whole Army. But now that the City was taken, *Pelagius* the Legate, pretending, That by the virtue of his Legation, it belonged unto him to dispose of all things taken in that sacred War, (as a man not unmindful of his Master) adjudged the City from thenceforth to belong unto the See of *Rome*. With which indignity and wrong, the King inwardly discontented, (and yet for the Authority of the Legate, dissembling the matter) withdrew himself, and so retired to *Prolemais*.

The year following, *Pelagius* weary to see the Affairs of the Christians to corrupt with rust, and nothing doing, considering the desire and hope he had utterly to have ruined the Infidels, together with their Superstition, commanded, That every man should again take up Arms for the prosecuting of this War against the Sultan, and the besieging of *Caire*. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would, or could, the Soldiers little regarding his command with one voice cryed out, that they would not be commanded by any, but by the King of *Jerusalem* only. So that the Legate, enforced by the Soldiers, was glad to send unto the King, to request him again to return to *Damietta*, and to take upon him the charge for the managing of that War, taken in hand for the defence of the Christian Religion; who for all that excused himself from doing, one while by his own particular Affairs, another while by his own indisposition; yet in fine, pressed and overcome with the prayers and requests of the other Latine Princes, he returned to *Damietta*, at the self same time, that the Duke of *Bevaria* arrived there with a goodly company of brave men, brought thither out of his own Country, after he had been now from thence ten months absent.

The Legate desirous of the prosecution of this War, requested and urged the King, with the rest of the Princes and great Commanders, without delay to take the Field, telling them, that the Enterprise of the holy War was grown old, and cold, and that long delay and protracting of the time; and that the which kept Wars so far from home, ought to make halt to force the Enemy, to take all occasions, to lose no time, but ever to be doing; and to prove all things for the annoying of the Enemy; and that that was the way, whereby

A fair Offer  
of rest  
is refused.

Scarcely  
there  
was  
time  
to  
begin.

*Damietta*  
without  
resistance  
taken  
by the  
Christians.

*Damietta*  
surrendered  
by the  
Turks.

1212.

1222.

*Pelagius*  
the Legate  
surrendered  
the City  
to the  
King of  
Rome.



the Worthies of ancient times, both Kings and Emperors, had gained unto themselves Empire, Glory, Greatness, and Wealth; That it was for them that were invaded and assailed, upon whose lives depended the safety of their Country, their Wives, their Children, and Goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might to delude the Enemy, to frustrate his designs, to defeat his Attempts, and with delays to dally him off, until that having thereby weakened his Forces, he should together with his courage lose also his hope; *Caire* (he said) to be indeed a great City, but yet the greatest Cities that ever were, had by the Wars become great Defiants, forced by the power of their puissant and speedy Enemies; and that great Empires, as were those of the Sultans, ought not to be invaded or assailed by any foreign force, if they were not at the first onset, overthrown, or at least so weakened, as that they could not afterwards lift up their Heads or recover themselves; for otherwise, that they which had prepared a destruction for others, should fall into the same themselves: That it behooved either not to have attempted or assailed *Egypt* at all, or else now, after it had been once assailed, not to give it over before it were conquered. The King of *Jerusalem*, whether it were that he was pricked with the grief, that being called the King of the Holy Land, he could not have the City *Damietta* (under the leading and conduct won by the Christians come to the sacred War) given unto him by the Legate; or that he had before proved that the higher Country of *Egypt* was not without great and manifest danger to be attempted; said, that he would not in any case go; alledging that honourable and sacred War to have been taken in hand, only for the recovery of the Holy Land, and not for the winning of *Alexandria*, *Belusius*, or *Thebes* in *Egypt*; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their Fidelity, or Allegiance, and could not possibly be kept by force; whereas *Syria*, by *Godfrey Duke of Bulbin* and the other great Princes his Associates, entered into, conquered and possessed; and since his time, by divers other Christian Kings and Princes holden, was right their own; and that therefore he greatly commended the forwardness, the diligence, the courage, the desire, and whatsoever thing *El Pelagus* commended; but that he ought to employ the same in *Syria*, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawn or expected. Nevertheless the Legate wedded to his own opinion, by the power of his Authority, commanded the King of *Jerusalem*, the Duke of *Barbaria*, with the rest of the great Commanders and Captains, to take up their Arms, to get them into the Field upon the Expedition by him appointed against the Sultan; threatening the pain of the high sentence of Excommunication against him or them, that would shew themselves backward or unwilling to do what he had commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legate, they began with evil Will and worse Speed, to set forward in *August*, in the very hottest time of the year. At which time the Sultan beholding the great Army of the Christians, in number about seventy thousand, retired as a man afraid, into such places as he thought best, farther off; which the Legate seeing (as one not acquainted with the fears of War) rejoiced greatly, as if the Victory had been already more than half gained; commending to the Heavens them that he saw courageously marching forward, saying, That fortune always favours the Valiant, and that unto Cowards all things fall still out to the worst. By the way the Christians seized upon a Bridge, which the Enemy had

made over the Nile, and cut in pieces fish Companies as were left for the keeping thereof; so marching on they drew nearer to *Caire*, and there plain of that great and rich City encompassed where running up and down, the more to terrify them of the City, provoked them to Battle, upbraiding unto them their Laziness, their Cowardice and Sloth, braving them, (if they were men) to come out; Yet for all that they would not so do, but keeping themselves close and covert within the City, let them alone to brag and boast of their own pleasure. This Siege continued long, of purpose protracted till from day to day by them of the City; and the great opinion the Christians had of their own valour, with the small regard they had of their Enemies, made them so proud and careless, that they remembered no more to take good care of the War, of their Duty, their Watch, or their Sentinels; their confidence was in their own Valour and good Fortune, not considering or remembering that they were come into *Egypt*, and that they had put themselves within the Trenches, Salices, Channels and Cuts of a deceitful River, which not only brought Victuals unto their Enemies, but also fortified them; who by how much they were the less valiant, and less understood of the Art of War, the more they used of Craft and Subtlety for the preserving of themselves; so the crafty Enemies drew the Christians out at length, abusing them with many delays and deccits; making semblance of great fear, to make themselves the less to be feared; and more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the Passages and Straights of the Country, and reserving themselves unto the occasions and advantages both of the time, and of their Enemies, might circumvent them and entrap them at such time as they least feared any such matter. At length, at all adventure had encompassed themselves in a low ground, within the Trenches and Causes of that Fenny Country, under the covert thereof, thinking themselves safe as in their Trenches, against all sudden Salices or Attempts of their Enemies; but these places wherein they lay were soft and dirty, for so much as the Country People used at their pleasure to water them by Channels and Sluices out of the River of Nile; which now plucked up and opened, the River began to rise and overflow all. There were those that perceived themselves thus as in a Grin, without power to defend themselves, or to make any resistance, or by any other means to shew their Valour. So the River fill arising and overflowing gave unto the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their Wars, and of a Victory more desired than had for over a warlike and victorious People. All the ground where the Christians lay encompassed, was covered with Water, so high that their Victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie dry in.

Now at the same time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the passages upon the Walls and Banks in that drowned Country, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retire or to save themselves out of the Bogs and Marshes covered over with Water. So was their rash Valour and presumptuous Confidence in themselves, exposed unto the Enemies shot and Fury; and when they would by force have defended themselves, their hardiness was overcome by the crafty Subtlety of the weak Enemy. Then began every man to cry out against *Pelagus* the Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him; the King himself they blamed not, for that he had done his duty, in diffusing this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himself drawn into this War, the charge whereof

The misery  
of the  
Christians  
in the  
drowned  
Land.

he had not without great inreasy taken upon him; neither might he with his credit well complain of this misfortune, left in so doing, he might seem to have had no comfort in himself. But as for the Legate, what Counsel could he then take for himself? They of *Venice*, *Pisa*, and *Genoa*, left at *Damietta*, were indeed strong at Sea, but how could they come to relieve him at *Caire*? And how, or by what Forces could the Christians break out of the Banks and Sluices of the Cuts and Channels; which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings inclosed them, beset also on every side with the victorious Enemy? After they had been thus cought up, and environed with the Waters three days, you might have seen the poor Soldiers in every place fall down dead for want of Food and Sleep, and so perish in the Water; the like miserable kind of death, the rest were also in short time apt to expect; whether help there was none, but to yield unto necessity, and to accept of such conditions as they should please the proud Enemy to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their lives, as the Liberty of his Country; and therefore required to have the City *Damietta* again restored unto him, and all things else in such sort as were before the besieging thereof; and so the Christians without more ado to depart his Country. Hard Conditions if any man respected the hope which was upon the Christians had undertaken this War, and were to come into *Egypt*, with the toil there by them endured; but unto him that will but enter into consideration of mens affairs, and especially in Martial matters, it will seem but an accident to be yielded unto, the like whereof hath oftentimes happened unto the greatest men in the World. These Conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to *Damietta*, for the there propounded to the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them; some said they would not accept of them, or surrender the Town, which being kept would be a stay for all the affairs of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to have recourse unto; but being restored and lost, carried away with it all the hope of the Christians, and therefore all were better to endure all extremities, than to receive such dishonourable and hurtful a peace. Others of the contrary opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before *Caire*, nor to expose them to the butchery, but to have a Christian compassion of so many thousands of Souls as there lay distressed, seeing they might be saved by the surrender of that one Town; Towns (they said) consisted of the number of men, and not Men of the Inclosures of Walls and Ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the delivering up of the Town, seeing the other obstinately set down to the contrary, withdrawing themselves from the Council, presently took up Arms, and by force entered the Houses of them that were of the contrary opinion, and took from them their Weapons, by that means and perforce to constrain them to yield to their desires. As soon as they that lay before *Caire* (almost drowned in the Waters) understood of this diffention at *Damietta* about the delivery of the Town, they sent word, that if they would not yield the Town to the Sultan, they would forthwith send to *Ptolemais*, which would not fail to do what should be commanded, to have it instead of *Damietta* surrendered to the Egyptians. So was *Damietta* again yielded to the Infidels, and so great labours of the Christians taken at the Siege and

winning thereof, all lost. That which made this indignity more tolerable, was that Sultan *Atladin*, having without bloodshed gained for great a Victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in delight or reproach of the Christians, but used them with all courtesie, relieving them also with Victual and such other things as they wanted, and by faithful Guides conducting them in safety out of the Country.

In like manner also, *Cosadin* his Brother, Sultan of *Damascus*, made truce with the Latines for eight years. Whereupon the King of *Jerusalem* went over into Italy, and there by the persuasion of *Honorius* the Pope, his Wife being now dead, gave his Daughter *Tuland* (now crowned Queen of *Jerusalem* in the right of her Mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of *Sicilia*, and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to stir him up for the taking in hand of the sacred War. Ever since which time, he and the Kings of *Sicilia* his Successors have been called Kings of *Jerusalem*, albeit that they have ever professed that their pretended Right and Title, as still busied in more prophane Wars against other Christian Princes. King *John* afterwards departing from *Rome* for *France*, was by the way honourably entertained at *Pisa*; but arriving at the French Court, he found *Philip* the French King desperately sick, who by his last Will and Testament gave unto the late King the Hospitaliers and Templars, sixty thousand Crowns for the maintenance of his Wars against the Infidels; which Money was to their use afterward paid unto King *John*. Who shortly to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, to visit the Pilgrimage at *Compostelle*, going into *Spain*, by the way married *Beregeria*, the King of *Castile* his Daughter; and there staying a great while, returned again into *France*, where he lay long expecting the setting forward of the Emperor *Frederick* his Son-in-Law, for the recovery of his Wives Right to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; which although he solemnly vowed at such time as he with all Princely Magnificence married the said Lady at *Rome*, yet otherwise lured with troubles nearer home, performed not the same, until almost seven years after; at which time the Christians in *Syria* enjoying the fruit of the late concluded Peace for eight years, lived in great rest and quietness; where so leaving them, until the arising of new troubles, let us in the mean time return again unto the troubled affairs of the Turks, Greeks, and Latines, at *Constantinople*, and in the lesser Asia.

Henry the Second Emperor of the Latines at *Constantinople*, after he had (as is aforesaid) with much ado, repressed the Fury of the Bulgarians and Scythians, his barbarous Enemies, and given peace to the miserable Country of *Thracia*, died, having reigned a most troublesome Reign about the space of eleven years. After whom succeeded *Peter*, Count of *Aulferre*, his Son-in-Law, third Emperor of the Latines in *Constantinople*; who in the beginning of his Empire, willing to gratify the Venetians, and to revenge himself of *Theodorus Angelus*, a great Prince of *Epirus*, Competitor of his Empire, bestowed him in *Dirrachion*; which strong City, the said *Theodorus* had but a little before surprized, belonging unto the Venetian Seigniority. At which Siege, *Peter* the Emperor lying, was so cunningly by the willie Greek used, that a Peace was upon most honourable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar kind of Friendship joined. Inasmuch that the Emperor at the request, not well advised, came unto him as his Guest; who now of his Enemy became his

The death  
of Henry  
Emperor of  
Constantinople.  
Peter Emperor.

Holt, entertaining him with all the formalities that feigned friendship could devise. But having him now in his power, and fearing no harm regarding neither the Laws of Fidelity or Hospitality, he most traitorously slew him, as he was yet in the midst of his Banquet. Of whose end, some others yet otherwise report, as that he should by the fame *Theodorus* have been intercepted about the pleasant Woods of *Tempe* in *Thessalia*, as he was travelling from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and afterwards to have been by him cruelly put to death. Of whose misfortune, *Terminus* Governour of *Constantinople* understanding, for the more safety of the State in that vacancy of the Greek Empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for five years, and the Turks for two. Shortly after came *Robert* (the Son of the aforesaid unfortunate Emperor *Peter*) with his Mother to *Constantinople*, and there in his Fathers stead was solemnly saluted Emperor; but not with much better luck than was his gravity before him; for shortly after his coming he took to Wife a fair young Lady, the Daughter of a great rich and noble Matron of the City, but before betrothed unto a gallant Gentleman, a Burgundian born; with whom the old Lady broke her promise, and more careful of her Daughters preferment, than fidelity, gave her in marriage unto the new Emperor. The joy of which to great an Honour was in short time converted into most deadly heaviness, but even into death it self; for the young Burgundian, more enraged with the wrong done him than discouraged with the greatness and power of the Emperor, comforted himself with a company of lusty tall Souldiers, acquainted with his purpose, and awaiting his time when the Emperor was absent, by night entered the Court with his desperate Followers, and first meeting with the beautiful young Empress, cut off her Nose and her Ears, and afterward threw her old Mother into the Sea, and so fled out of the City into the Woods and Mountains, with those desperate cut-throats the ministers of his barbarous cruelty. The Emperor pierced to the heart with this so great a disgrace, shortly after went to *Rome*, to what purpose was not certainly known; but in returning back again through *Achaia*, he there died, leaving behind him his young Son *Baldwin*, but a Child, begotten by his first Wife, to succeed him in the Empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the Second, was crowned the fifth and last Emperor of the Latines in *Constantinople*. And for because he was as yet but young and unfit for the Government, he was by the consent of the Nobility affianced, and afterward married unto *Martha* the younger Daughter of *John Brenne* King of *Jerusalem*, worthily old Captain, (but as then Governour of *Ravenna*, which City, he being certain years before sent for out of *France* for that purpose, by *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended against the Emperor *Frederick* his Son-in-Law, but that affinity was before broken off by the death of the said Emperors Wife) who now sent for out of *Italy* unto *Constantinople*, had committed to his charge and protection, both the Person and Empire of the young Emperor *Baldwin*, and now his Son-in-Law, which great and heavy charge he for certain years after worthily and faithfully discharged, until such time as that *Baldwin* was himself grown able to take upon him the government. Now although the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, with the Countries of *Thracia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of the Provinces of Greece, were all or for the most part under the Government of *Baldwin* the Emperor, the Venetians, or other the inferior Latine Princes;

yet were the oppressed Greeks, the natural Inhabitants thereof, in heart so desirous, as abhorring nothing more than that their foreign government; but wholly devoted to their own natural Princes, *Theodorus Lascaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one reigning at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, the other at *Trapezand* in *Pontus*, both called by the Greeks, Emperors, and so of them generally reputed. *Lascaris* of the two the better beloved, and by far of greatest power, had during the time of his Government fought many an hard battle, (as in part before declared) and strongly fortified his chief Cities against the invasion of his Enemies, as well the Turks as the Latines; and so having as yet erected a new Empire in *Asia*, and there reigned eighteen years, died, leaving behind him one *John Ducas Batatzis*, that had married the fair Lady *Irene* his Daughter and Heir, to succeed him in the Greek Empire in *Asia*. This *John* was a man of a great Wit and Spirit, and of his reign in very short time having set all things in good order, greatly augmented his Legions, and shooting at a fairer mark than the Empire he held, even the Imperial City it self, and the recovery of all *Thracia* and *Grecia* out of the hands of the Eatinies, which could not be done without a Fleet at Sea, built a great number of Gallies in the Ports of the lesser *Asia*. And so having rigged up and manned a strong Fleet, and scouring the Seas, in one Summer he made the Islands of the *Ægeum*, namely *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Icaria*, *Cos*, with the famous Island of the *Rhodes*, and many others also. And not so contented, to have increased his Empire, the next Spring crossing the *Hellefpos*, and landing his Forces, first invaded *Chersonesus*; and afterward to terrify the Latines, forgoing the Country far and near, even to the Gates of *Constantinople*, no man daring to oppose himself against him. At which time also he took many Cities and strong Towns along the Sea-coast, as *Callipolis*, *Sebastia*, and *Cardia*, with divers others thereabout, some by force, some by composition, the Greeks almost in every place yielding themselves, where they were not so oppressed by the Latines, as that they could not help him. Now by these proceedings of the Greek Emperor in *Europe*, was plainly to be seen again the ruine of the Greek Empire in the East, all things prospering in his hand according to his hearty desire. *Asslan* the Bulgarian King (no small terror both unto the Latines and the Greeks) moved with the fame hereof, by his Embassadors sent of purpose unto *John* the Greek Emperor, offered his Daughter *Helen* in marriage with young *Theodore* his Son; of which offer the Emperor gladly accepted. For being bidden in his great Affairs, he was loath to have so great a King was *Asslan*, his Enemy, able at his pleasure to call in the Scythians; who with their multitude, as a great flood breaking over the Banks, had oftentimes carried away whole Countries before them. Wherefore the match agreed upon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about *Chersonesus*, where *Helen* King *Asslan*'s Daughter, being then about ten years old, was with great Joy and Triumph solemnly married unto young *Theodore* the Emperors Son, much of the same age. Not

Robert  
Emperor of  
Constantinople.

As horrible  
outrage  
committed  
upon the  
person of  
the  
Empress.

Baldwin  
the last  
Emperor of  
the Latines  
in Constantinople.

John Batatzis  
Emperor of  
the Greeks  
in Asia.

Plenty  
of  
fruit  
of  
peace.

An Imperial  
Crown  
brought  
with  
Egg-money.

long after, Embassadors were also sent unto the Emperor from the Sultan of *Iconium*, to confirm and prolong the League betwixt them; for the *Tartars* not contented to have driven the Turks out of *Perfia* and the far Eastern-Countries, began now also to cut them short in their Provinces in the lesser *Asia*. Wherefore the Sultan of *Iconium*, fearing lest whiles he had his hands full of those his most dreadful Enemies, of themselves too strong for him, he should behind be set upon by the Greek Emperor, and so thrust out of all; sent these his Embassadors unto him for Peace; which he for many causes easily granted. First, for that he foresaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintain a War at once both in *Asia* against the Turks, and in *Europe* against the Latines; then by this War-like Nation, as by a most sure Bulwark, to keep his own Countries safe from the Invasion of the barbarous *Tartars*, unto whose fury he should himself lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both sufficient Reasons for the Emperor to yield unto the Sultan, which he did; so was the Peace concluded, and the Embassadors dispatched. This Peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards enriched the Emperors Countries; for now the people generally delivered of the fear and misery of continual War, began on all hands to fall to their fruitful Labours of Peace. Yea the Emperor himself, to the stirring up of others to the like good Husbandry, caused so much Land to be ploughed up for Corn, and so many Vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully suffice his own house, and such poor as he daily relieved; with a great overflow, which he caused to be carefully laid up in store; he kept also great Herds of Cattel, Flocks of Sheep, and Fowls of all sorts without number. The like he caused his Kinsmen and other of the Nobility to do, to the intent that every great Man having sufficient for his own spending at home, should not take any thing from the poor Country men, that so every man contenting himself with his own, might live in peace without the grievance of others. By which means in a few years every Barn and Granary was full of Corn, every Cellar full of Wines, every Stable full of Cattel, every Store-house full of Victuals; the Fields were covered with Corn and Cattel, and in every mans Yard were to be seen all kinds of tame Fowls, without number. About which time also there fortun'd a great Famine among the Turks, inasmuch as that they were enforced to fetch their greatest Relief from out of the Christian Countries. Thus might you have seen every way full of Turks, Men, Women, and Children, travelling to and fro into the Emperors Countries for Victuals; their Gold, their Silver, their other rich Commodities, they gave unto the Christians for Food; a little Corn was worth a good Commodity, every Bird, Sheep, and Kid, was sold at a great rate; by which means the Country-mens houses were full of the Turks wealth, and the Emperors coffers stored with their Treasure. The greatness of the profit arising of this plenty of the Christians, and penury of the Turks, may hereby easily be gathered, for that of Eggs daily sold, so much Money was in short time gathered, as made the Emperors an Imperial Crown of Gold, richly set with most orient Pearl and precious Stones of great price; which the Emperor called *Ovata*, for that it was bought with Egg-money. Thus flourish'd the Greek Empire in the lesser *Asia*, under the good Emperor *John Ducas*; the Turks at the same time declining as fast, daily pilled in one corner or another by the *Tartars*, and consumed with Famine at home.

*Frederick* the German Emperor had of long time vowed to take upon him an Expedition into the Holy Land; for performance whereof he was hardly called upon, first by *Honorius* quartus the Pope, and afterward for his long delay communicated by *Gregory* the Ninth; not so much for the sake of the Holy Land, as to be much for the sake of the Emperor at war in *Wars* abroad, which he in the mean time, to increase their own power, drew from him some one part or other of his Empire; which he not without cause fearing, from day to day, and year to year, delayed the performance of his Vow, so much urged by the Pope; by his Prefence and Power fill disappointing all the fly designs of the Popes, conceived or put in practice against him. But now at length moved, or more truly to say, incited with the Thundering and Lightning of force *Gregory*, he resolved to set forward, in the year, 1227. About which time, *Salerno*, or *Island* his Wife, the King of *Jerusalem* his Daughter, died in Child-bed, being before delivered of a fair Son. Now were met together at *Brundisium* an exceeding great number of courageous and devout Souldiers out of all parts of Christendom, especially out of *Germany*, under the Leading of *Ludwick* Landgrave of *Thuring*, and *Syphrid* Bishop of *Angoula*; all stirred up with the fame of so notable an Expedition. But whilst they there stayed somewhat long, the Plague arose among the Germans, whereof in short time after, both the Landgrave and the Bishop died, with many of the other best Souldiers. The Emperor himself was upon his way as far *Malice*, upon the further side of *Peloponnesus*, where falling despitefully of a Burning-Fever, and put back with contrary Winds, he returned again to *Brundisium*, and there stayed a great while after. Then began the Pope again to fret and fume, and to call out his Excommunications against the Emperor, as if it had been Thunder and Lightning, accusing him of Perjury, Infidelity, and many other grievous Crimes; of all which the Emperor was ready to have cleared himself in an open Assembly of the Princes of *Germany* to have been holden at *Ravenna*, had it not been by the Pope and the Troubles of *Lombardy* disturbed. Nevertheless, he by open Prorestitutions and Writings, fully answered all the Popes unjust Accusations, wherewith he had been so, hardly charged; and yet desirous to perform the Expedition by him taken in hand, having set all things in good Order, and put himself again in a readines, he set forward from *Brundisium* in *August*, in the year, 1228, leaving the Charge of his Territories in *Italy* under the care of *Reynold* Duke of *Spoleto*. The Pope displeased, for that the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himself, nor taken his leave of him, and deeming therein his Excommunications and Fulminations to be contented and for at naught, fell into such a rage and cholera, that he forbade all the Christian Forces that were in *Syria*, to follow him, or to yield to him their Obedience; and wrote Letters also unto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the Emperor, or to yield unto him any part of the Holy Land, which Letters the Sultan afterwards sent unto the Emperor. Neither yet so contented, immediately after his departure, ran upon his Kingdom of *Naples*, and so filled all *Italy* with Troubles. Nevertheless the Emperor happily arriving at *Prolemais*, was there honourably received of the *Assa*, under the good standing the Pope *Urban* and Carlings. Of whose arrival Sultan *Melekin* having Intelligence, and loth to draw so mighty an Enemy as was the Emperor, upon him, by his Embassadors offered him

1227,

1228,



him most honourable Conditions of Peace; which before he would accept of; he by convenient Messengers sent unto the Pope, to have his consent and approbation. But such was his rage, as that he would not suffer the Messengers to come into his presence, or vouchsafe to read the Emperors Letters, being brought unto him, but like a mad man presently rent them in pieces. All which Indignities the Emperor nevertheless took in good part, and concluded a Peace with the Turks for ten years, upon these conditions: First, That he should be anointed and accounted King of Jerusalem; then, That the holy City, with all the Land of Palestine should be delivered unto him; thirdly, That he might at his pleasure fortify the Cities of Nazareth and Joppa; fourthly, That all such places as were sometime in the Power of Baldwin the fourth King of Jerusalem, and taken from him by Sultan Saladin, should be restored; and last of all, That all Prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty without Ransom. So the Peace concluded, the Emperor with his Army came to the desolate City of Jerusalem, and there upon Easter-day with great Solemnity was Crowned King thereof, in the year, 1229. And to having repaired the Walls of the City, with certain Churches, fortified Nazareth and Joppa, and furnished them with strong Garrisons, and appointed Reynald Duke of Bavaria, his Lieutenant in Syria, he with two Gallies only returned into Italy. Ever since which time the Kings of Sicily have been also called Kings of Jerusalem, and have oftentimes borne the Arms of both Kingdoms.

Frederick the Emperor crowned King of Jerusalem.

1230. The unfortunate Expedition of the King of Navarre into the Holy Land.

The next year Pope Gregory, in despite of the Emperor Frederick, more than for any Zeal to the Christian Religion, did by the Dominicans and Franciscans (two Orders of Friars but then lately erected) as by his Trumpeters, stir up a wonderful number of zealous and devout Christians, almost in every part of Christendom, to take upon them the Cross (as they termed it) the cognizance of such as had by Vow bound themselves to take up Arms against the Turks and Sarafins, for the Recovery or Defence of the Holy Land. These devout men met together in great number, under the leading of Theobald King of Navarre, Amiceus, Count of Montfort, Henry Count of Champagne, and others too long to rehearse, (of purpose stirred up to trouble the Peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks in Syria) set forward, and after long travel passing the Strait of Bosphorus, not far from Constantinople into Bithynia, came to the River Sangarins, and there stayed a while to refresh themselves. Afterwards passing through Galatia, and so from Country to Country through the lesser Asia, they came at length unto the Straits of the Mountain Anconus (a part of the Mountain Taurus) which they found before taken by the Turks; and the Sultan of Iconium himself not far off accompanied with a strong Army. Nevertheless the valiant Count of Montfort, which had the leading of the Vanguard, courageously marching forward, by plain force opened the passage of the Mountain, having slain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof; the King of Navarre in the mean time (though in vain) assailing the Sultan in his Camp, who fearing the great Power of the Christians, kept himself within his own strength, and would not fight. Wherefore the King being it to no purpose there longer to stay, dividing his Army into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Count, placing his Baggage in the middle, and the best of his Soldiers in the rearward. But whilst they thus march up the

great Mountain, the Turks better acquainted with these passages, were still at hand, assailing them sometime behind, sometime on the one side, sometime on the other, as they saw occasion; and at length taking them at an advantage in a great Plain, set upon them, now before almost spent with hunger and travel, and there slew of them an exceeding great number. But by the coming on of the night the battle was broken off, and the Christians repairing unto their Ensigns, passed the Straits, and so at length arrived at Amis, having lost by the way the greatest part of the Army with all their Wealth, their Victuals, and most part of their Horses; the remnant yet left, having a little refreshed themselves, were by Sea transported to Ptolemais; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to Gaza, where they lay, and of the spoil of the Country greatly enriched themselves. As for any other great matters they were not able of themselves to take in hand; and help of such Forces as the Emperor had before left at Jerusalem, and other places, they could have none; having express charge from the Emperor himself, not to do any thing against the Enemy, tending to the breach of the ten years League; which the Turks well perceiving, and that they had to do but with these new come Guests, and some few others their partakers; having gathered together their Forces, lay in ambush for them in every corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that these of Gaza going far into the Country, and returning laden with spoil, were set upon by the Turks; whom they casting away the spoil they had before taken, violently repulsed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of Turks than before; which now putting on, charged the Christians, who all that night stood watching in their camp, and for yoked with them a most cruel battle; wherein the Christians shewed so much valour as was possible for men to do; but wearied with the long fight, and oppressed with the multitudes of their Enemies, they were overcome and slain almost every Mothers Son. Amongst the rest, the two Counts, Amiceus and Henry fell; the King of Navarre himself hardly escaped by the exceeding swiftness of his Horse, and by uncertain ways wandering up and down the Country, not knowing well which way to take, after two days came by good fortune to Joppa; some few others escaped by flight to Ptolemais, the heavy Messengers of the misfortune of their Fellows. The King afterwards visiting the holy places at Jerusalem, returned home into his Country, with some few of his Followers, having performed nothing of that the World expected.

About four years after, Reynald Duke of Bavaria, whom Frederick the Emperor had left his Lieutenant in Jerusalem, died; having by the space of five years peaceably governed that bruised Kingdom. After whose death, the Templars (who, he yet living, would oftentimes have broken the League, but that they were by his wisdom restrained) now took occasion to stir up the people to take Arms against the Turks, and of our respect unto the League yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to ensue. Whereof the Egyptian Sultan hearing, raised a great Army, sending also for the Chorgins, a War-like Nation then lying near unto Babylon, to come unto his Aid. Thus become very strong, he first laid siege to Gaza, but a little before repaired and fortified by the King of Navarre and the Templars, which he at length took by force, and put to Sword all that were therein, as well the Citizens,

1234. Jerusalem taken and retaken by the Turks.

Citizens, as the Garrison Soldiers; in like manner he dealt also with them of Afulon and other places as he went. To repress this his fury, the Templars and Hospitallars had assembled the whole strength of that weak Kingdom, and near unto Tyberias came to have given him battle. Who upon their approach hastily retired, as if he had for fear shunned battle. But whilst the Christians as Victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the River side, he returning back again with his Army, came upon them before they were well aware, half-sleeping, half-waking, but altogether unarmed, with a most horrible Out-cry. The Christians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the suddenness of the matter, hastily and disorderly (as must needs be in great confusion) took up their Weapons, such as came first to hand, and so courageously opposed themselves against their Enemies. There was fought a most terrible and doubtful battle, and that also for a long space the Christians still encouraging one another to do their last devoir; but the Turks still keeping their Order against the disordered Christians, and far more also than they in number, prevailed, and there overthrew them with a great slaughter, but not without the loss of many thousands also of their own men, which there lay dead upon the ground. Most part of the best Commanders, both of the Templars and Hospitallars were there slain, such as escaped fled to Tyre.

The Sultan incouraged by great a Victory, marched forthwith to Jerusalem, which he took without resistance, and there put to Sword all that he found therein, Men, Women, and Children, without respect of Sex or Age; and afterwards having razed the same, rased it down to the ground, burning the Buildings, and overthrowing the Walls, not long before repaired by the Emperor Frederick, and much beautified by Lieutenant Reynald. And carried with an infernal fury, defaced and most shamefully polluted the Sepulchre of our blessed Saviour, never before then violated or defiled, but of all Nations untouched and revered; which for all that may seem to have been done not so much for the hatred unto the Christian Religion, as for that it was the place of all others most desired of the Christians; and for the gaining whereof they had undertaken so many hard Adventures, and so much troubled the Sarafins and Turks.

Thus by the unfaithful breaking of the League, the most ancient and famous City of Jerusalem, sometime the universal Seat of the most High, and glory of the World, fell again into the Power of the Turks and Infidels. In the year, 1234. in whose hands it hath ever since remained even until this day; now a poor ruinous City governed by one of the Turks Sackzaks, and for nothing now more famous, than for the Sepulchre of our blessed Saviour, again repaired and most visited by the devout Christians, and not unreverenced by the Turks themselves.

The loss of this so famous a City, together with the dangerous State of the Christians in Syria, West, especially Frederick the Emperor, by whom it had been but a few years before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedy the matter according to his desire, being himself grievously entangled with the endless Troubles which Pope Gregory had as it were by tradition left unto the other Popes his Successors, for the troubling of his State, until at length he had deprived him of his Empire, and not long after of his life also. Amongst other the great Princes, careful for the poor Christians in Syria, was Lewis the Ninth,

the French King, a Prince of great Power, but of all others that of more profit famous for his Zeal unto the Christian Religion, and for his devout manner of life; who abounding in wealth, and all things else of a great Prince to be desired, and withall oftentimes considering the notable Expeditions many Christian Princes had (to their Immortal Glory) made, some into Syria, some into Egypt, against the Enemies of Christ, and for the Relief of the oppressed Christians, felt the like. But in these his devout motions, before he could resolve unto to great an Enterprize, he fell dangerously sick, inasmuch that for certain days he lay speechless, devoid of sense and motion, without any sign of life, but that he did a little faintly breathe; when coming a little unto himself (which moved by devotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weak brain, is uncertain) the first thing he asked for was the Cross (the Cognizance of such as vowed themselves unto the Sacred War) which he solemnly received at the hands of the Bishop of Paris. At which time also his three Brethren, Alphonse Count of Poitiers, Charles Count of Anjou, and Robert Count of Artois, with Hugh Duke of Burgundy, William Earl of Flanders, Hugh Count of Saint Paul, and afterwards most of the Nobility of France, to accompany the King, took upon them the same charge. Nevertheless it was not by and by taken in hand, but some few years lay past in the consultation and preparation for so great an Enterprize; many in the mean time discharging their Vows, by dying before at home in peace in their own Countries. At length the devout King still resolute in his former determination, having taken order with Blanch his Mother for his affairs at home, and put all things in readiness for his Journey, came to Limas to take his leave of Pope Innocent, the Fourth, who for fear of the Emperor Frederick, then lay there for his more safety) and from thence to Marpessus; where imbarquing himself with his Army the five and twentieth day of August, in the year, 1248. he the twentieth day of September following arrived in safety in the Island of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by Guy Lusignan then King of that Country.

Now was the French King desirous to have gone directly for Egypt, without longer stay in Cyprus, had he not been otherwise persuaded, both for that his whole Fleet was not yet come, and the time of the year began to grow unreasonable, and the Weather tempestuous. But whilst he there stayed, passing the Winter, the League (one of the ready Attendants of great Armies) began to arise in the Camp, which daily increasing, had in short time taken away the great number of men, and those not of the meanest sort. Amongst whom were Robert Bishop of Beauvais, John Count of Montfort, the Counts of Vendôme and Dreux, Archibald Lord of Barbon, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 240. so that by force of the infectious Contagion, the King was constrained to divide his Army into divers places of the Island, attending until the Infection should cease. In the mean time the Templars having in support both the French and the Turks, (the Turks, for fear they should overrun all; the French, left having gotten the Victory, they should take all into their own hands, and so diminish their Power and Authority wherewith they tyrannized over the other poor Christians) sent Embassadors secretly unto Melchun Sultan of Egypt, to persuade him to come to some good

1248.

King Lewis first forward toward the Holy Land.

About the same time also sickness daily increasing in the French Camp, the King purposing to march forward to *Caire*, sent a great number of Sick and Weak People down the River of *Nilus* to *Damietta*; of whose going the Sultan understanding, caused a great number of small Boats to be carried in Carts by Land unto the River side, which well manned, and meeting them by the way, fer upon them, and burnt or drowned them every Mothers Son, saving only one Englishman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded

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in five places of his body, escaped yet into the French Camp, reporting there what had happened unto this sort.

Now had the Sultan also got intelligence of the compact betwixt the Governour of *Caire* and the King, for the betraying of the City; and thereupon had caused him to be suddenly apprehended and put in safe keeping, until he were at better leisure to understand farther of the matter: which no less troubled the French King, than did the former misfortune; all his hope for the yielding up of the City, being thereby cut off. Thus his hopes together with his strength daily decreasing, he would have gladly accepted of the Conditions which he before refused, which the Sultan, now grown very strong, would by no means hear of, but in stead thereof, by way of derision, sent to know of him, what was become of all his Mattocks, Forks, Rakes, Sythes, Plows, and Harrows, which he had brought over with him; and why he set them not to work, but left them like an evil husband to rot and rust beside him. All which, with much more, the good King was glad to put up; for now his Forces greatly diminished, as well by sickness, as by the former losses, finding himself far too weak, he would fain have retired back again to *Damietta*; which the Sultan foreseeing, got to betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yield. The King himself had been often before incensed by his Nobility, whilst the River was yet unimpeded by the Enemy, to have conveyed himself by Water to *Damietta*, for that in the safety of his Person consisted (as they said) the safety of his Kingdom, whatsoever became of him; whereunto he could never be persuaded, saying, that he would never forsake his People, because he would not be forsaken of them; but was resolved to endure with them whatsoever it should please God to lay upon him; so passing the River by the same Force, where by his Brother had not long before unfortunately passed, and coming to the place where the Battle was fought, he might see the dead bodies of the Christians pitifully mangled, with their Heads and Hands cut off; for the Sultan, the more to encourage his Soldiers, had before the Battle proclaimed, that whosoever should bring him the Head or Hand of a Christian, should have a great reward for his labour; in hope whereof, they had so discombed them. But long he had not there staid, but that the Sultan began suddenly to appear, with a most huge great Army, as if he would even with the fight thereof have discouraged the Christians; against whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order opposed themselves, and for the space of three hours made great resistance; but what could one do against ten, and he also fainting for sickness and food? the hard plight wherein the greatest part of the French army then was. In conclusion, oppressed with the multitude of their Enemies, and no way left to fly, they were all overthrown and slain, except some few, saved in hope of great ranfome. The King himself, with his two Brethren, *Alphonfus* and *Charles*, and some few others, were taken prisoners, and brought unto the Sultan; who demanding of him what he would move him to make War against him? was answered by the King, that it was for Religion, and the defence of the name of his God. In this unfortunate Battle, fought the fifth of *April*, in the year 1250, besides the Common Soldiers, were slain most of the Nobility of *France*, and all their Tents taken.

The Sultan presently upon this overthrow, sent of his own Soldiers the like number that the

French were of, with French Ensigns, and disguised in the Attire of the slain Frenchmen, to *Damietta*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, the French Queen, and the Popes Legates lay; in hope to have been so let in for Frenchmen; but they were not so well masked, but that they were by them of the City discovered for Enemies, and so kept out and deceived of their purpose.

The Christians thus overthrown, and the French King taken Prisoner, *Melch-jala* the Sultan taking compassion upon him, and yet minding of his life to make his own gain; cheering him up with comfortable speeches, began to talk with him of his deliverance, and of a good agreement to be made betwixt them. The Conditions whereof were propounded by the Sultan were, That the King should forthwith deliver again unto him the City of *Damietta*, and moreover pay unto him for the ransom of himself and his, and for the charges of the War, eight thousand pound of Gold; That all Prisoners should on both sides be frankly let at liberty, and for a Peace to be taken for ten years. For the more assurance whereof, the Sultan offered to swear; That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his Mother; requiring also of the King to swear, If he failed in any thing that he had promised, to deny his Christ to be God; which prophane Oath the King detested, wishing rather to die than to give the same; the Sultan wondering at his constancy, took his word without any Oath at all, and so published the League. But whilst they were coming together to *Damietta*, *Melch-jala* now in the pride of this Victory, fearing nothing less than the sudden change of Fortune, or the mischief hanging over his head, was in the presence of a number of his Noblemen suddenly slain by two desperate Mamelukes; and one *Turquinus* a sturdy Slave of their own order and vocation (by whose procurement it was supposed to have been done) by the consent of the whole Army, created Sultan in his stead; who revoking the League before concluded by *Melch-jala*, made another in his own name with the King, much upon the same Conditions that the other was; which after he had received *Damietta*, he caused openly to be proclaimed. Nevertheless after that King *Lewis* had paid his ransom, and was with the remnant of his Army by the Genowais transported from *Damietta* to *Ptolemais*, the false mercenary performer, not the half of that he had promised, of twelve thousand Christian Captives that should have been set free, scarce enlarging four thousand; and killing all the sick Soldiers whom by his promise he ought to have relieved, neither suffering any Christian to carry any of his goods with him out of *Egypt*, which by the League he ought to have done also.

The French King coming to *Ptolemais*, and purposing to have returned home, was intercepted by the Master of the Templars and Hospitallers, and other the Nobility of the Christians, to stay, which he did almost by the space of four years; in which time he repaired the Cities of *Cafarea* and *Toppa*, and fortified many strong places for the Defence of the Christians against the Infidels; and so commending the protection thereof unto the Knights of the sacred War, and sending his Brethren away before him, followed after himself, greatly lamented for by all the Christians in *Syria*, and so arrived in *France* the sixth year from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and unfortunate expedition of *Lewis* the French King, wherein as some write, were eighty thousand Christians lost: Howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating this loss,

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loss, report, of two and thirty thousand French, six thousand to have returned again into *France*. The City of *Damietta* in the space of a few years twice won, and twice lost by the Christians, was shortly after the delivering up thereof, by the Sultan raised down to the ground, because it should no more serve the Christians for an entrance into his Kingdom.

The late Egyptian Sultans thus oftentimes invaded by the Christian Princes, and reposing no great assurance in the Power of the effeminate Egyptians, a People fitter for Merchandize and other base occupations than for Chivalry and War, had for the strengthening of their Kingdom, bought an infinite number of Slaves, especially of the poor and hardy Circassians, called in ancient time *Gata* and *Zimbi*, near unto *Colchis* and the Euxine Sea, brought unto *Alexandria* and other Ports of *Egypt* out of those bare cold Countries, by Merchants, and from thence transported to *Caire* and other Cities of *Egypt*; of which poor Slaves, the late Egyptian Sultans taking their choice, and culling out from the rest such as were like to be of the greatest Spirit and Ability of Body, delivered them unto most skilful and expert Teachers; by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leap, to vault, to floor, to ride, with all other feats of activity, and widal cunningly to handle all manner of Weapons, as well on horseback as on foot, and so instructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their Schools into pay, and inrolled together as the Sultans choice Horsemen, were commonly by the name of *Mamelukes*. In whose good service the late Sultans finding great use, feared for no cost, both for their maintenance and increasing of their number; daily erecting new Nurseries stored with the young Fry, which growing up and ready, was fill journey to the other. It is wonderful to tell, unto what a Strength and Glory this order of the Mamelukes was in short time grown, by the care of the Egyptian Kings; by them they managed their greatest affairs, specially in time of Wars; and by their Valour, not only defended their Country, but gained many a fair Victory against their Enemies, as they did now against the French; but as too much power in such mens hands, seldom or never wanteth danger, so fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melch-jala*, and those Mameluk Mameluke Slaves; who proud of their Preference, and forgetful of their duty, and seeing the greatest Strength of the Kingdom in their Hands, traitorously slew *Melch-jala* their chief Founder, setting up in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquinus*, a base Slave, one of their own order and servile vocation, but indeed otherwise a man of a great Spirit and Valour. This *Melch-jala* murdered by the Mamelukes, was the last of the freeborn Kings of *Egypt*; in whom the Turks Kingdom in *Egypt*, erected by *Saracum* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his Stock and Family ever since continued, took end, as did also all the power of the Turks in that great and rich Kingdom. For the proud Mamelukes having now got the Sovereignty into their Hands, and exalted a Sultan out of themselves, imperiously commanded as great Lords over the rest of the People, not suffering them to have the use either of Horse or Armour, or to bear any way in the Common-Weal; but keeping them under with most heavy impositions, and fill preferring their own Slave (wherever the Country of *Egypt* now swarmed) made the natural Country People, of all others most miserable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandize, their Husbandry, or other their base Mechanical Occupations;

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whereof the greatest profit still came unto the Mamelukes, who as Lords of all, with great infolency, at their pleasure took it from them as their own. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselves, not suffering any the Sultans Children to succeed their Fathers in the Kingdom; for fear lest they in process of time, proud of their Ancestors and Parentage, should reckon of them as their Slaves (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kind of Government.

Against which they provided also, not only by this restraint of their Sultans Children, but of their own also; taking order and establishing it as an immutable Law, That though the Sons of the Mamelukes might inherit their Fathers Lands and Wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawful for them in any case to take upon them the name or honour of a Mameluke; so debarring them from all government in the Common-Wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamelukes. Neither was it lawful for any born of Mahometan Parents (which could not be Slaves) or of the race of the Jews, to be admitted into that order; but only such as being born Christians and become Slaves, had from the birth their Captivity been instructed in the Mahometan Superstition; or else being men grown, and coming thither, had abjured the Christian Religion (as many Reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, unto what Honour and Glory this slavish Empire in short time grew; many of these poor Slaves by rare Fortune or secret divine Power, exalted out of the dust unto the highest degree of Honour, proving most excellent and renowned Princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadful even unto the greatest Princes of the World. In which great glory, this servile Empire (to the Worlds wonder) flourished from this time amongst the greatest by the space of 267 years; until that having run the appointed race, it was with a great destruction by *Selimus* the victorious Emperor of the Turks, overthrown in the year 1517, and the Kingdom of *Egypt*, with all *Syria* and the Land of *Palestine*, brought into the form of Provinces, united unto the Turks Empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this History shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appear.

But leaving the Kingdom of the Turks thus overthrown in *Egypt*, and the Mamelukes there triumphing, the French King returned into *France*, and the Christians in peace into *Syria*; let us again return into the lesser *Asia*, and to the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, whither the affairs both of the Turks and of the Christians now call us. All this while the Greek Empire (for so the Greeks will have it called) flourished both in peace and plenty in the lesser *Asia*, under their Emperor *John Batatzes*; the power of the Latines in the mean time declining as fast as at *Constantinople*, under the Government of the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the Second. As for the Turks whom we left grievously troubled both with Famine and the often incursions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet also, enough and more than enough to do to withstand the same Enemy. At length it fortuned that *John Duas* the Greek Emperor died, being at the time of his death about threescore years of age, and he had happily reigned three and thirty; by whose good and discreet Government, the Greek Empire before brought low and almost to nought by the Latines, began again to gather strength and to flourish both in *Asia* and some little part of *Europe* also. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as

impertinent to our purpose I could willingly pass over, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them flaid a while by the way.

This noble and famous Emperor having long lamented the death of the fair Empress Irene his first Wife, at last married another young Lady, the Sister of *Married King of Sicily*, called *Marcella*, with whom amongst other honourable and beautiful Dames, sent by the King her Brother for the accompanying of her to *Constantinople*, was one *Marcellina*, a rare Paragon, of such a Feature as if Nature had in her meant to bestow her greatest skill: From whose Mouth always flowed a fountain of most figured Words, and out of her Eyes issued (as it were) Nets to tangle the Amorous in. Upon this fair an object, the Emperor not fearing further harm, took pleasure oftentimes to feed his Eyes, until that at length caught with her Looks, he had lost his liberty, and was of a great Emperor become her thrall, in such sort, as that in comparison of her he seemed little or nothing to regard the young Empress his Wife; but so far doated upon her, that he suffered her to be attired and honoured with the same Attire and Honour that the Empress was her self; whom the now so far exceeded both in Grace and Favour with the Emperor, and Honour of the People, as that the almost alone enjoyed the same without regard of her unto whom it was of more right due. Whilst the thus alone triumphed, at length it fortune that he in all her glory, attended upon with most of the Gallants of the Court, and some of the Emperors Guard, would needs go (whether for her Devotion or for her Recreation, I know not) to visit the Monastery and fair Church, which *Blennydes* (a Noble Man of great Renown, both for his Integrity of Life, and Learning) had of his own costs and charges but lately built in the Country, where he together with his Monks, as men weary of the World, lived a devout and solitary contemplative life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the People in general.

This *Blennydes* was afterward for his upright life and profound Learning, chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*; which great honour, next unto the Emperor himself, he refused, contenting himself with his Cell. *Marcellina* coming thither in great Pomp, and thinking to have entered the Church, had the doors shut against her by the Monks, before commended to do so by *Blennydes* their Founder; and so was to her great disgrace kept out. For that devout man deemed it a great impiety, to suffer that so wicked and shameless a Woman, against whom he had most sharply both spoken and written, with her prophane and wicked sect should tread upon the sacred pavement of his Church. She enraged with this indignity, hardly by so proud a Woman to be with patience digested, and prick forward by her flattering Followers also, returning to the Court, grievously complained thereof to the Emperor, stirring him up by all means he could to revenge the same, perswading him to have been therein himself disgraced. Whereunto were joined also the hard speeches of her pickthank Favourites, who to curry Favour, spared not as it were to put oyl unto the fire, for the stirring up of the Emperor to Revenge. Who with so great a complaint nothing moved unto Wrath, but struck as it were to the heart with a sense of Conscience, and oppressed with heaviness, with tears running down his Cheeks, and fetching a deep sigh, said, *Why provoke you me to punish I just a man? Whereas if I would my self have lived without reproach and infamy, I should have kept my Imperial Majesty unpolluted or stained. But now sith I my self have*

*been the cause both of mine own disgrace and of the Emperors; I may thank mine own defects, if of such evil seed as I have sown, I now reap also an evil harvest.*

After the death of this good Emperor, *Theodor* his Son, born the first year of his Fathers Reign, being then about three and thirty years old, was by the general consent of the People, chosen Emperor in his stead; who in the beginning of his Empire renewed the League which his Father had made with *Jathabates* the Turkish Sultan. And so having provided for the security of his affairs in *Asia*, he with a puissant Army passed over the Straight of *Hellepontus* into *Europe*, to appease the troubles there raised in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, by the King of *Bulgaria* his Brother-in-Law, and *Michael Angelus* the Despot of *Thessaly*; who upon the death of the old Emperor began to spoil those Countries, not without hope as length to have joynted them unto their own; by whose coming they were for all that disappointed of their purpose, and glad to sue to him for peace. But whilst he was there busied, he was advertised by Letters from *Nice*, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left there Governor in his absence, was secretly fled unto the Turks; with which news he was not a little troubled. The cause of whose flight, as *Paleologus* himself gave it out, was, for that he perceived himself divers ways by many of his Enemies brought into disgrace, and the Emperors Ears so filled with their odious complaints, so cunningly framed against him, as that they were not easily or in short time to be refuted; and therefore fearing in the Emperors heavy displeasure to be suddenly taken away, to have willingly gone into exile, if so happily he might save his life from the malice of them that sought after it.

At his coming to *Iconium*, he found *Jathabates* the Sultan making great preparation against the Tartars; who having driven the Turks out of *Persia* and other the far Eastern Countries, (as is before declared) and running still on, did with their continual incursions spoil a great part of their Territories in the lesser *Asia* also; and now lay at *Adara*, a Town not far off from *Iconium*; against whom the Sultan now making the greatest preparation he could, gladly welcomed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthy Captain, commending to his charge the leading of certain Bands of Greeks, whom he had retained to serve him in those Wars, as he had others of the Latines, under the conduct of *Benjamin* a thing a Nobleman of *Venice*; and so having put all things in readiness, and strengthened with these foreign Supplies of the Greeks and Latines, set forward against his Enemies the Tartars; who at the first sight of the strange Ensigns and Souldiers were much dismayed, fearing some greater force had been come to the aid of the Turks; nevertheless, joyning with them in Battle, had with them, at the first a most terrible and bloody conflict, wherein that part of the Army that stood against *Paleologus* and his Greeks, was put to the worke, to the great discomfiture of the Tartars, being even upon the point to have fled, had not one of the greatest Commanders in the Turks Army, and a high Kinsman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare unto the Sultan, with all his Regiment, in the heat of the Battle revolted unto the Tartars; whereby the fortune of the Battle was in a moment as it were quite altered, they which but now were about to have fled, fighting like Lions; and they that were Victors now glad to turn their Backs and flee; in which Flight a great number of Turks fell, the fierce Tartars most eagerly pursuing them. *Paleologus*, with the

*Theodor*  
his eldest  
son  
Emperor.

General of the Turks, hardly chased by the Tartars, and glad every how to make a stand, and so fight for their lives, with much aid, after many days flight recovered a Castle of the Generals, near unto *Castamona*, and so saved themselves. The Tartars after this great a Victory (wherein they had broken the whole Strength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole State of their Kingdom) without resistance foraged all the Countries and Provinces subject unto the Turkish Sultan, making Spoil of whatsoever they light upon; infomuch that the Sultan discouraged, and having now no Strength left to oppose against them, fled unto the Greek Emperor *Theodor* for aid; who most honourably entertained him, with all his Train, and comforted him with such final aid as he thought good then to spare him; which for his more safety he sent home with him, under the leading of *Isaacus Ducas*, firmament *Murysso*, a man in great credit with him. In recognition of which kindness, the Sultan gave unto the Emperor the City of *Ladicea*, whereto he presently put a strong Garrison; Nevertheless, it was not long before it fell again into the Hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greeks. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himself still to weak to withstand the continual invasions of the Tartars, and weary of the harms he daily sustained, by the advice of his chief Counsellors made a League with them, yielding to pay them a certain yearly Tribute, thereby to redeem his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their Tributaries and Vassals.

Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors kind and gracious Letters called home, with his faithful promise also before given for his security, who before his return and himself also by solemn Oath, to be unto the Emperor and his Son always loyal, and from thenceforth never to seek after the Empire, or give cause of new suspicion for such matters as he had been before charged with; but for ever to yield unto the Emperor, his Son, or other his Successors in the Empire, his dutiful Obedience and Fidelity. Upon which conditions he was again made great Constable, and so received into the Emperors Favour, and lived the rest of his Reign in great honour and credit with him.

*The death*  
of *Theodor*  
the  
Greek  
Emperor.

Now *Theodor* the Emperor having reigned three years, fell sick and died, leaving behind him his Son *John*, then but a Child of six years old, to succeed him in the Empire; whom he upon his death bed, together with the Empire, commended to *Armenius* the Patriarch, and one *Gregory Muscalo* his faithful Counsellor, as to his trusty Affairs, to see him safely brought up, and the Empire well and peaceably governed. This *Muscalo* was a man of mean Parentage, but for his familiar Acquaintance and civil Behaviour, of a Child brought up in the Court with the Emperor as his play fellow; with whom he growing up, so framed himself to his manners and disposition, that he alone was unto him instead of all, still at hand, ready to say or do whatsoever might be unto the Emperor gracious or pleasing. And as the elder they grew, so increased their mutual affection and love also; in such sort, that which him now Emperor, he was of all others in greatest Favour and Authority; a wary observer of his delights, a ready minister of his Affairs, and faithful partaker of his Secrets; for which he was in short time promoted unto the greatest honours of the Court, and honourably married unto one of the Emperors high Kinwomen; and now at his death, by his last Will, with the reverend Patriarch appointed Tutor to

the young Emperor and his two young Sisters. And for the more assurance thereof, a solemn Oath of Obedience to the young Prince, as Emperor, and unto them as his Tutors, was exacted of all sorts of men, both high and low, of what vocation soever; and that not once, but first a little before the Emperors death, and again after he was now dead; for many of the Nobility honourably defended, seeing the sudden change of *Muscalo*'s fortune, among themselves murmured thereat, as grieving at his pretermitt, seeing there were many among them, unto whom the constitution of the young Emperor, and administration of the Empire, of better right appertained; infomuch as they were both neerer of kin unto the Emperor, and fitter (as they thought) for so great a charge than was *Muscalo*; whom (as they said) they had many causes both to condemn and hate: For, beside that he was not honourably born, and had served the late Emperor *Theodor*, as the minister of his wrath against some of the Nobility, chiefly sufficient of the Peoples hatred; if he should now also in so great Authority affect the Empire, it was by his malicious Enemies vainly doubted, that he would not spare to commit any manner of Villany for the effecting of his inordinate desire. Of all which *Muscalo* was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a most quick apprehension for such matters, but as then especially, his Wife being awaked with these so great motives and dangers. Wherefore speedily calling together all the Nobility into the Court, he welcomed them one by one, and curiously discoursing with them, offered to discharge himself both of the administration of the Empire, and tuition of the young Emperor, and willingly to yield the same to any one of them, whom the rest should think fittest for so great a charge; which, though they all with one voice refused, saying, that he was of all others to be preferred, unto whom the Emperor, Lord both of the Empire and the Child, had committed the same; yet *Muscalo* earnestly requested them to the contrary, and softly withstood their desire, wishing indeed rather to have led a quiet private life in security, than to have been so overcharged; not so much for doubt of the Envy then arising, as for fear of some great danger thereof to ensue. But would he, would he not, remedy there was none; but that as the late Emperor had appointed, so must he take the charge upon him. And now was every one, as well of the Nobility, as of the inferior sort, again with greater solemnity than before, the third time sworn, to the utmost of their power to defend the young Emperor in his Empire, and *Muscalo* in the tuition of him, and administration of the Affairs of the State, and faithfully to yield unto them both all due honour and obedience; which if they should fail religiously to perform, they wished to themselves every man, and to all theirs, a shameful end and destruction. Yet notwithstanding all this solemn swearing, mixt most times with much forswearing, there was not fully nine days past, but that certain of the chief Nobility, forgetful, or else careless of their Oath, and of Envy, seldom faultering but with blood, conspired the unworthy death of *Muscalo* the Protector both of the Emperor and the Empire. The ninth day appointed for the funeral of the Emperor, was now come; at which time were met together at *Sofandra* (an Abbey by himself built in the honour of the Virgin *Mary* at *Magnesia*) many great Ladies and grave Matrons, to mourn as the manner was; all of the Nobility, and among them the Conspirators also; thither repaired also a number of Souldiers prepared for the

*Envy*  
his  
cause.

*Marcellina*  
the  
empress  
the  
Catharine  
lived  
just  
out  
of  
the  
Church.

the slaughter, with an infinite number of the Common People, as at such Solemnities is usual. But what needs many words? while the Hymns were yet in singing, and the Obsequies performing, the Souldiers as they were before instructed, suddenly breaking into the Church, with their drawn Swords in their Hands, flew *Musale* (then fled to the Altar for refuge) with his two Brethren *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and divers others appointed to the Massacre. So the Matrons and the rest of the multitude breaking off their Mourning, and for fear thronging on one another's Neck, fell as fast as they could, some one way, some another, as they thought for their best safety; but the Priests and Monks thinking to have done the like, were by the imperious Souldiers, whether they would or not, again enforced into the Church; where tumbling one over another, as thronging in with great force and violence, and scarce able to stand by reason of the slippery steps of the blood there shed upon the pavement, they in great fear made an end of those bloody Obsequies. This outrage appeared, *Armenius* the Patriarch, and only Tutor of the young Emperor now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the person of the young Prince, and to the quietness of the State; but what good counsellor to take therein he could not tell; for as he was a man for his Learning and Integrity of Life not inferior to the best, so in matters of State he was as far to seek; as it commonly hapneth, the contemplative man buried in his meditations, to be unfit for temporal Government; whereas he that should perform both, must to his rare virtues add great learning join a civil conversation, with great experience in worldly affairs, not to be learned but by great and long practise. This reverend Father (of no great reach, yet wishing all well) calling together the Nobility, consulted with them what were best to be done for the Government both of the young Emperor and the Empire, now that *Musale* was dead; not confiding in the mean time, who they were with whom he consulted, or that Council grounded upon no wife foresight, or approved experience, was more dangerous unto him whom he would have provided for, than all the Enemies murdering Swords, as shortly after appeared.

Amongst others of the Nobility called to Council, was *Michael Palaeologus* (of whom we have before spoken) much superior to the rest, as descended of the Imperial House of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerful countenance, courteous and curious, and withal exceeding bountiful and liberal, whereby he easily won the Hearts of all men in general, but especially of the Colonels, Captains, and other Martial Men, Commanders in the Army; of whose aspiring to the Empire, many piques and common rumors (not always vain) had in former time passed also, to the moving of many; yet the Patriarch himself not confiding his haughty and aspiring nature, made no less account of him than did the rest, but upon an especial favour, committed to his only trust the keys of the common Treasure, at such time as Monys was to be delivered out for the payment of the Armies, or other like great occasions of the State; the most effectual means for the furtherance of his secret practices, and the readiest way for the effecting of that he had so long before plotted; for having in his fingering such a mass of Treasure, as he might well have wished, but never reasonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by buckets, amongst the Nobility and Martial Men, and such others as he thought were able to do mischief to the People; amongst whom were

Musale  
trastero-  
ly murdred  
in the  
church.

Michael  
Palaeo-  
logus  
rich.

many of the Clergy also; of which his Favourites were made many meetings, and by them was the Patriarch continually solicited, but yet in general terms, without date (according to the necessity of the time) to take order for the good Government of the State, which now as a great Ship in the middle of the Sea without a Master, was (as they said) in danger to perish, and being once lost, was not to be again recovered. At which time also the name of *Palaeologus* was in every man's mouth, as the only man for his Wisdom and experience fit to take upon him the charge and government of the Empire, until the young Emperor were come to age. Unto which common good liking, the Patriarch also (feeling no more, or peradventure not so much as the rest) gave his consent; and so without longer stay, to the great contentment both of the Nobility and People in general, made him Governor of the Empire, and Tutor to the young Emperor, wanting now nothing of an Emperor himself, more than the Title and Imperial Ornaments. This was the first step whereby the aspiring man (twice before in disgrace with the two late Emperors, *John Ducas*, and his Son *Theodorus*) mounted at last unto the Empire.

It was not many days after, but that his Favourites held another Council, wherein it was alleged, That it was not seemly for him that was Tutor unto the Emperor, Governour of the State and Empire, and to give audience unto the Embassadors of foreign Nations, to want the honour next unto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the State, as for the credit of the Prince; whereupon he was both by the Patriarch and the young Emperor honoured with the title of the Despot, another step unto the Empire. But what contentment find the ambitious even in the greatest honours, so long as there is one above them? Little sure, or none at all more than that it forceth them to step at next up to the highest; as did this new made Despot, who shortly after, was by certain of the Nobility his great Favourites, near unto *Magnesia*, with the great applause of the People, hoisted up and flattered Emperor. Whereof *Armenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the young Child, the right Heir of the Empire. And first he was about to have communicated as well him that was made Emperor, as them that had so made him; but afterward changing his purpose, for fear of greater troubles, he thought it better by solemn Oath to bind both him and the rest, that they should not seek after the life of the Child, or by any force or colour go about to deprive him of the Empire; which was so done. Yet it was not full a month after, but that even he that had so great a care of the young Child, and so provided for his safety, (perwaded by them of the Nobility and Clergy) with his own Hands, and all the accustomed Ceremonies, for the Imperial Crown upon this Ufurper Head; yet not as upon him that should still enjoy the Empire, but as upon a man according to the present necessity of the time and State, thought himself for so great a charge, until the young Child came to age; unto whom then he was to give place, and to resign to him the Empire. All which being by more solemn Oath than before, confirmed, good news (as the certain signs of his fortunate Government) were brought unto him of a great Victory obtained by his Captains, against *Michael Angelus* Despot of *Aetolia* and *Epirus*; who having married the late Emperors Daughter, and being of his death, with the troubles in *Afia*, aided by the King of *Sicilia*, and the Princes of *Peloponnesus* and *Acchia*, his

Michael  
Palaeo-  
logus crown-  
ed Emperor  
by Arsenius,  
us the Pa-  
triarch.

1260.  
The  
Tartar first  
with a  
great Ar-  
my against  
the Turks.

his Sons in Law, had thought in that hurl and perturbation of the State to have taken to himself the greatest part of the Emperors Territories in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*; and for the same purpose was with a great Army entred into them, burning and spoiling the Country before him; whereof *Michael Palaeologus* (then but newly made Despot) having intelligence, sent his Brother *John*, and some other his best Captains, with a great Army against him, by whom he with his complices were put to the worse, and not without great loss enforced to retire; the joyful news whereof he received even as he was crowned. Which was shortly after confirmed by the coming of the great Emperors themselves, bringing with them the Prince of *Peloponnesus* and *Acchia*, by them taken Prisoner; who for his Ranfome was afterward glad to give unto the Emperor *Palaeologus*, *Monembasia*, *Maine* and *Sparta*, three of the best Cities of *Peloponnesus*; whereinto he put strong Garrisons under the command of *Constantinus* his Brother, by the Mothers side, a right valiant Captain. By whose good service and the commodious situation of the places, he gained divers other Towns and Cities, and at length the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, out of the hands of the Latines; for the utter rooting out of whom, he shortly after with a great Army passed over into *Thracia* (his purpose (as was thought) to have besieged *Constantinople*; but finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was before supposed, he left that, and laid siege to the Castle of *Pera* over against it on the other side of the Haven, in hope by winning of that Castle, to have become Master also of the Town; where he was notably repulsed, and enforced with loss to retire. So rising with his Army, he fortified divers Castles and strong Holds in the Country about *Constantinople*, and putting into them strong Garrisons, charging them with continual incursions to trouble the *Constantinopolitans*, and to cut them to short, if it were possible, as that they should not dare to look out at the Gates of their City. Which they so well performed, that in short time the Latines in the City were driven to such extremity, that for want of Wood they were fain to burn many of the fairest Houses in the City, in stead of Fuel. Which done, he returned again to the chief seat of the Greek Emperors, ever since that *Constantinople* was taken by the Latines.

Now reigned in *Constantinople* the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the Second (as is before declared) a man of small courage, and less power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines; who for the maintenance of his State, was glad to sell away the publick Ornaments of the City, and to pawn his Son unto the *Bruges* Merchants for money; by whom he was pawned unto the Venetians.

About this time *Alans*, the great Cham of *Tartary*, stirred by *Atimius* the Armenian King, by whose perfidious he had also received the Christian Religion, sent his Brother *Hasan* with an exceeding great Army against the Turks and Saracens in *Syria* and the Land of *Palestine*. This *Hasan* (converted also unto the Christian Faith by his Wife) setting forward with a world of People following him, in the space of six months overran all *Perfia*, with the Countries adjoining, excepting one strong place in the Mountains, (which some say was *Samarcanda*, afterward the Royal Seat of the great terror of the world, the mighty *Tamerlane*) which besieged by ten thousand Horsemen, by

him appointed for that purpose, and so continued by the space of seven or twenty years after, was then at length (as *Atim* himself writeth) yielded by the Defendants, only for want of Cloaths to cover their nakedness. *Hasan* (in whose Army those ten thousand left behind were not misfitted) marching on, and as a violent Tempest bearing all down before him, entred at length into *Affrica*, then the Seat of the great City of *Babylon*, Mahometan Princes honoured above all others, as the true Successor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and received from his mouth the interpretation of their Law as most divine Oracles. Which great found therein, Men, Women, and Children, with all the Spoil thereof, and the rich Treasures of the Caliph, enriched his Souldiers. The Caliph himself (reserved for that purpose) he commanded to be set in the middle of the infinite Treasure which he and his Predecessors had most covetously stacked up together, and that he should of that Gold, Silver, and precious Stones take what it pleased him to eat, faying (by way of derision) That so gainful a Quest should by good reason be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, whereof he willed him to make no spare; in which order the covetous Wretch kept for certain days, miserably died with hunger, in the middle of those things whereof he thought he should never have had enough; which though they were in value great, and with great care laid together, yet served they him not now to suffice Nature, but contented with a little. *Babylon* thus sacked, and almost rased, the Tartar marching on through *Mesopotamia*, by the way took the City *Rhodes*, where *Atim* the Armenian King, and Author of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twelve thousand Horsemen, and forty thousand Foot, as reporteth *Atim* the Armenian Kings Nephew, then there present. So entering into *Syria*, in a few days took *Aleppo*, which he sacked and rased *Aleppo* in the year of our Lord 1260, with divers other rased by the Tartars Kingdom of *Antioch*. Then was one *Malacensis* Sultan of *Damascus*, commanding over all *Syria* and the Land of *Palestine*; who terrified with the loss of his Cities, and the fear of farther danger, with his Wife and Children came and begged himself before the Tartar Prince, in hope so to have of him some favour, and to have part of his Kingdom. Wherein he was much deceived, being (as some say) carried away far off into exile, because he should not hinder the Tartars proceedings; or as others report, (and haply with more probability) being by him detained as his Prisoner, and afterwards to the error of his Son, cut in pieces in his sight under the Walls of *Damascus*, after that he had in vain been twice assailed by the Tartars, which strong City for all that he afterwards took by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the perurbation of his Wife overthrew all the Mahometan Temples, as he had before in every place where he came. But purposing to have gone on forward to *Jerusalem*, and to have conquered the whole Land of *Palestine*, news was brought him of the death of his Brother *Mange*, the great Cham; whereupon he staid his journey, and returned back again, in hope of that great Empire; having in this expedition spent almost six years.

Thus by the Tartars was the Kingdom of the Turks at *Damascus* overthrowen. At which time the broken affairs of the Christians in *Syria* and the Land of *Palestine*, might easily have been repaired and those two goodly Kingdoms again restored.

Damascus  
was.



restored to the Christian Common-Weal, had the Christian Princes of the West then in time put their helping hand on the one side, as did the Tartars on the other; but they then as did the Tartars on the other; and buffed with their cord among themselves, and buffed with their Wars at home, lest they should find an opportunity, the like whereof they seldom or never had since. *Hasan* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good Will toward the Christians and their Affairs, at his departure from *Damascus* left his Son *Abdullah* there with twenty thousand Horsemen (as was then in their Wars, if they should come (as was expected) for the recovery of the Holy Land; who having there staid some while, and hearing of his Father's troubles at home, followed himself after him; but yet left behind him *Gurbacha* a valiant Captain, with ten thousand of his Horsemen; to like purpose that his Father had him; men, to like purpose that his Father had him; who by the fidelity of certain Christian Soldiers in Garrison about *Sidon*, was of a Friend, together with his Tartars made a Foe. These Garrison Soldiers having by chance fell in some booty out of the Tartars Territory, not only refused to restore the same again, but also cruelly entreated such as the Tartar had sent for the demanding thereof. Whereupon further quarrels arising, it fortuned a Nephew of *Gurbacha*, a valiant young Gentleman, to be slain; in revenge whereof he besieged *Sidon*, and having taken it, sacked it, and burnt it down to the ground. After which time, he and his Tartars became utter Enemies unto the Christians, doing them all the harm they could devise.

This discord betwixt the Tartars and the Christians, gave occasion unto *Melech* the Egyptian Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars nearness, with a great Army of his Mamelukes and others to enter into *Syria*, and to spoil the Country of *Damascus*; against whom *Gurbacha* with his Tartars, although both in Strength and Number far inferior, went out. But joining Battle with him at too much odds, and the Victory inclining unto that side where most Strength was, he there valiantly fighting was slain, with most part of his Tartars; which as escaped fled into *Armenia* unto the friendly King. By this Victory, all *Syria*, with the Land of *Palatine*, excepting some few places helden by the Christians, fell again into the hands of the Egyptian Sultans; as did some of them shortly after also for *Bahadour*, succeeding *Melech* in the Mameluke Kingdom, coming into *Syria* with a great Army, took *Antioch* from the Christians, and with it most of the places before by them defended. The City he burnt, and raised the Cattle down to the ground, and afterward entering into *Armenia*; did there great harm also.

Willitt the Turks Kingdom thus goeth to wreck in *Syria*, ruined by the Tartars, but possessed by the Mamelukes; their affairs in the lesser *Asia*, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better; for *Taishime* the Turks Sultan, then invaded by the Tartars, and having lost *Iscion* his Regal City, fled some coming in large Empire, where he might in safety rest with his Wife and Children, and other Followers, whom with much Wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on every side himself incumbered with Wars, thought it not good in so great newness of

his Empire, to diminish his own Forces; and to assign unto him any place to inhabit, deemed no less dangerous; for that he having once a great Prince, and commanding over many great Countries, and brought up in all Princely Royalty; beside that, his Nobility, then dispersed by the Tartars, were like enough in great numbers to resort unto him, as unto their Head, so foot as they should once hear that he were feared in any place; and unkindly to call him off; that had nobly used him in like extremity, the Emperor was loath. And therefore feeding him up with fair Words, and fording him on from time to time with delays, he held him a great while as a man in suspense, between hope and despair. At length in the absence of the Emperor (though happily not without his Privy) he was commanded with all his Train, in number about twelve hundred, to get him to *Amu* a City of *Thracia*, standing upon the Sea-coast; where he most discontented, lived like an honourable Prisoner at large; but with the watchful Eyes of so many upon him, as that he could by no means (as he desired) escape. In which case we will for a while leave him, to feed upon his own melancholy thoughts.

Now had *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor reigned at *Nice* two years, when new troubles began again to arise in the West part of his Empire in *Europe* side, by the treachery of *Michael Angelus* Despot of *Epirus*. For the speedy redressing whereof, he sent one *Alexius Strategopoulos*, a worthy Captain, and a man of great Nobility (whom for his good service against the said Despot, he had in the beginning of his Reign made *Cesar*) with little above eight hundred Bythinian Soldiers; and Commission for the taking up of so many more as he should for that service need, in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*; commanding him when he had passed the Streight, with those Soldiers to take his ways through the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, to terrify the Latines, whom he was loath to suffer too long to live in rest and quiet, or to stir too far out of the Gates, but to keep them as Prisoners cought up within the Walls of the City. This warlike Captain with this handful of men, passing over *Propontis*, encamped at *Regium*, not far from *Constantinople*; where by chance lighting upon certain poor labouring men, Greeks born in the City, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the state thereof, and of what Strength the Latines were, with many other things which he was desirous to know; who not only told him that the Strength of the Latines was but small, but also that the greatest part thereof was gone to the Siege of *Daphnusia*, a Town not far off, upon the side of the *Euxine* Sea; and withal (as Greeks ever affected to the Government of the Latines, and desirous of the liberty of their Country) offered of themselves to flow him. These poor men dwell within the City, close by one of the Gates, near whereunto by an old ruinous Mine almost swarved up, was a secret undiscovered way into the City, not known to any but to themselves; by this blind hole they promised him by night to receive in fifty of his best Soldiers; and dispatching them out of the way, might presently break open the Gate, and so let in the rest of the Army; whereunto they promised themselves with their Friends to put to their helping hands, assuring him of the good success thereof. This Plot for the betraying of the City thus laid and agreed upon, *Alexius* and *Cesar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater Promises

1261.

Paleologus the Greek Emperor takes possession of the City of Constantinople.

promises sent them away; who as if they had been about their Country work, were after their wonted manner received into the City, without suspicion at all. And within a few days after according to their promise, at an appointed hour received in by night the aforesaid fifty Soldiers; who aided by them, presently flew the Watch, and brake open the Gate, whereby *Alexius* entering a little before day, in convenient place put his men in order of Battle, and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, caused the City to be set on fire in four places, which increasing with the Wind, burnt in most terrible manner, and was in short time come almost unto the Emperors Palace. Who farthest waked, and seeing the City all on a fire about his Ears, and the Enemy coming on, was about as the first with those few Latines that he had (for Greeks he had none) to have made head against them. But better advised, and perceiving it to be now to no purpose, he (the last of the Latine Emperors that ever reigned in *Constantinople*) with *John* his Latine Patriarch, and some other of his Friends, fled by Sea into *Euboea*, and so from thence afterwards to *Venice*, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in hope to have been by him and the Venetians relieved. After whom fled also all the rest of the Latines. Thus the Imperial City of *Constantinople* by great fortune fell again into the hands of the Greeks, in the year 1261. after that it had been in possession of the Latines about 58 years.

The joyful news of the recovery of the Imperial City, was in short time carried unto *Michael Paleologus* the Greek Emperor at *Nice*; who at the first believed it not, as thinking it scarce possible, so strong a City to have been by so weak a power surprised, whereas he himself not long before was not able with a right puissant Army, and much other like provision, to win the Castle of *Galata* over against it. But afterwards assured of the truth thereof, with his Hands and Eyes cast up towards Heaven, gave most hearty thanks to God therefore, causing Hymns and Psalms of Thanksgiving to be solemnly sung in every Church, with all the other signs of Joy and Triumph that could be devised. So tending all other things apart, he wholly busied himself in making preparation for his going unto *Constantinople*, now once again the seat of the Greek Empire; wherein, and in travelling having spent many days, he at length with the Empress his Wife and *Andronicus* his Son, then but two years old, as if it had been in solemn Procession, from that entered into the City, by the Gate called *the Golden Gate*; and after Prayers and Thanks given, went to the Palace prepared for him near unto the Tilt-yard; for the other Imperial Palaces of greater beaury (sometime the stately dwellings of the greatest Emperors of the Greeks) had now of long, during the Reign of the Latines, lieth in ruins, or altogether demolished. And shortly after, because virtue and true desert should not want their due honour, he caused *Alexius Cesar* (by whose means the City was recovered) in solemn Triumph in his Robes of Honour, with a Crown upon his Head, not much inferior unto the Imperial Crown, with great Pomp to be carried through all the City; and farther commanded, that his name for one year next following, in all solemn Prayers and Hymns of Thanksgiving, should be joined with the name of the Emperor himself. And yet not thinking to have done him honour enough, caused his lively Image toward the most reverently made, and as a Trophy to be set upon a fair marble Pillar, before the great Church of the Holy Apostles, in perpetual remembrance of

him, and what he had done for the delivery of his Country; which shortly after overthrowen by an Earthquake, was by his Son again restored. Now was this great and famous City, sometime the Beauty of the World, by these strange and fatal mutations, wonderfully defaced, and brought to great defolation; in every place to be seen great Heaps, or rather (to say the truth) great Hills of Rubbish, the eternal Witnesses of the ruin thereof; the Houses stood some quite fallen down, some ready to follow after, and some other great and stately buildings, now the small reliques of great Cities; for the great beaury thereof was before, at such time as the Latines took it, most defaced by Fire; who all the time that they had it, ceased no night any day to destroy some part or other of it, as if they had known they should not long keep it; neither did this last Fire raised by the Greeks themselves to terrify the Latines, a little deform it; for which cause the Emperors chief care now was to cleanse the City, and in the best sort he could to reform to great a confusion of things not to be all at once amended; first beginning with the Churches, which ruinous or ready to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the empty houses with new Inhabitants. And albeit that the chief of the Latines were together with the Emperor fled and gone, yet was most part of the Artificers and Tradesmen of the City, Venetians and of them of *Pisa*, mingled together; unto whom also to join the Genovais, and so to fill the City with Latines, he thought it not altogether safe, although that by them he reaped great profit; wherefore he assigned unto them the City of *Galatia* now called *Pera*, on the other side of the Haven, for them to inhabit; granting them great Privileges, and every of those Companies to be governed by a Consul or Postelate of their own. As for the Imperial City it self, he stored it, (as near as he could) with Natural

Greeks born. Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the Emperor could himself have wished; yet could he not rest so contented, for fear lest those which now did eat their own Hearts, and with great grief smouldered their anger, should at length as the rightful Heirs of the Empire by him usurped, break out into open force, and so breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps work his confusion. For such is the tormenting state of usurping Tyrants, never to think themselves safe so long as any one liveth, whom they may suspect. Wherefore at once to rid himself of this fear, he thought it best to divide of the Children of the late Emperor *Theodore Lascaris*, as thus he should not need of them to stand in doubt; to take them out of the way, besides that it was a thing odious, he saw it like to be unto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the eldest Daughters) being before by their Father married unto two great Princes, one the Despot of *Epirus*, and the other Prince of *Bulgaria* (with whom he had much before to do, and of them yet stood in some doubt; but these were safe enough out of his reach. Other two young Sisters there were in his custody, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their Brother *John*, the only Heir of the Empire; *Theodora* he married unto one *Balsara* a Gentleman of *Peloponnesus*, and *Irene* to one *Viginimilio* of *Genoa*; both Latines, men of no great Birth or Power, such as he needed not to stand in doubt of. These two Ladies, the Daughters of a great Emperor as was *Theodora*, thus basely bestowed; remained only their Brother *John*, the only Heir of the Empire, then but ten years old, whom *Paleologus* long before ever

Paleologus the Greek Emperor takes possession of the City of Constantinople.

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in the beginning of his Reign, had sent unto *Mag-  
nifher* there to be safely kept off from the Court,  
for fear lest in his right and quarrel some discon-  
tented persons desirous of innovation, should now  
begin some new fits dangerous unto his Estate.  
Which indignity done unto the young Prince,  
*Asfamin* the Patriarch (put in trust by his Father  
for the bringing of him up) took in so evil part,  
that he forsook the Court with all his Ecclesiasti-  
cal dignity, and as a man weary of the World,  
retired himself unto a little Monastery of *Palestus*  
in the Country, there to spend the rest of  
his days. From whence for all that he was after  
the taking of *Constantinople* from the Latins,  
almost against his Emperor's will, and by *Pale-  
ologus* the Emperor, and made Patriarch there-  
of, there together with so great an honour to  
find his greater discontent. For *Paleologus* the  
Usurper, altogether unmindful of his Faith fo-  
lemnly before given, for the safety of the  
young Prince, and the restoring unto him of  
his Empire; and now fully resolved to establish  
unto him and his Posterity the Sovereignty of  
so great an Empire, howsoever it was got, caused  
the young Princes Eyes to be most cruelly put  
out; the usual practice of the Tyrants of the  
East, upon such as they are loath or fear to kill,  
and yet would make them unfit for Government.  
Of which outrageous cruelty, his Sister *Theodora*  
(married to *Constantine* Prince of *Bulgaria*) hear-  
ing, could not with tears and prayers and all  
other womanly persuasions, to stir up her Hus-  
band in revenge thereof; whereunto also *Jak-  
sime* the Turks Sultan, gave no little furtherance;  
who weary of Exile, and to be so in a corner  
confined as into a Prison from whence he might  
not flatter, by secret Messengers treated the  
Bulgarian Prince to make War upon the usurp-  
ing Emperor; promising him a great sum of  
Money, if by his help he might recover his  
former Liberty. Wherewith he the latter moved,  
with a great power of his own, and above twenty  
thousand Tartars which then lay by the River  
*Heber*, suddenly brake into the Emperors Ter-  
ritories, and in shorter time than was to have  
been thought, overran all the Country of *Thra-  
cia*, even unto the Sea side, leaving neither man  
nor beast in all that Country as he went; in  
good hope also to have by the way surprised  
the Emperor himself, even then returning from  
his Wars against the Despot in *Thessaly*; who  
hearing of his speedy coming, being got unto  
the Sea side, and (having no way left to have  
escaped by Land) shipped himself into a Gal-  
ley of the Latines, which with another, her  
confort bound for *Constantinople*, by good hap  
put in there for to water, and so in two days  
arrived safe at the Imperial City. Thus dis-  
appointed of the Emperor, all his care was for  
the delivery of the Turks Sultan. Wherefore  
marching in haste to *Anam*, he so terrified the  
Citizens with his coming, that they without  
farther delay delivered him into his hands, to  
redeem their own Peace. In his return you  
might have seen the Souldiers, especially the  
Tartars, driving before them infinite numbers  
both of Men and Cattel, in such sort, as that  
in the open Country of *Thracia* for a Peace,  
was hardly to be seen either Countryman or Beast,  
it was so clean swept both of Inhabitants, and  
likewise of Cattel.

*Jahannes*  
died in  
Exile.

*Jahannes* the Sultan by the Tartars carried  
over *Heber*, and so by them set at liberty, shortly  
after died. In whose Kingdom succeeded not  
his Son *Melike* (as some write) but two others  
(as the Turks themselves report) the one called  
*Mesur*, the Son of *Rei-Cahad*, and the other

*Rei-Cahad*, the Son of *Feremine*, born also of  
the *Selaccian* Family, as were all the Turks;  
Sultans, but how near of blood unto the late  
Sultan: *Jahannes*, they say not. Betwixt which  
two, as his Vassals, *Gaza* the great Tartar Cham  
(by whom they were so preferred) For the pay-  
ment of a yearly Tribute, divided the Turk King-  
dom; appointing unto *Mesur* the Cities of *A-  
mid* (in ancient time called *Amisus*), and *Amin-  
sur* in *Galatia*, *Alutia* otherwise called *Alutia* in  
the latter *Armenia*, *Sivastie*, in ancient time *Se-  
bastia*, and *Harbarie*, before *Satrabia*, both in *Cap-  
padoxia*, with all the Country about them. And  
unto *Rei-Cahad*, *Iscumia*, the ancient seat of  
the Turkish Sultans, with all *Rumelia*, *Affrica*, or the  
Countries of the lesser *Asia* along the Sea-coast;  
which these two Princes held as the Tartars  
Tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Jahannes* be-  
fore them, until such time as he was by the  
late Tartars again expelled. So that the Turks  
Kingdom, which had of long time flourished in  
the *Selaccian* Family in *Persia*, in *Syria*, *Pa-  
lestine*, and *Egypt*, there quite overthrowen  
by the Mamelukes and Tartars (as is before de-  
clared) and now brought underfoot in the les-  
ser *Asia* also, where only remained all the hope  
of that Nation, was now at a low Ebb, di-  
vided betwixt two weak Princes, reigning but  
at the devotion of the Tartar. In which confu-  
sion of the Turkish Empire, so rent, not only  
divers men of greater Power and Authority  
amongst them, flared unto themselves, some one  
corner of the declining Kingdom, and some  
another; but many of the obscure and basest  
People also, bearing with them nothing but their  
Bows and Arrows, took the straight passages of  
the Mountains, and from thence with their day-  
ly Incursions, did much harm in the Countries  
of the Christians joyning upon them; which was  
no great matter for them to do, the Garisons which  
were wont to defend the same, being for want of  
pay quite disbanded, and the Castles upon the  
Frontiers by them abandoned; which at the  
first, as a thing of small importance neglected,  
was at length unto the Greeks a great cause  
of the ruin and decay of the greatest part  
of their estate in *Asia*. These mischief unguarded,  
grew daily more and more, the Turks still  
gaining upon the Greeks what they lost unto  
the Tartars. Whose invasions (the Glory of  
their Kingdom only excepted) was no so  
hurtful unto them, as the cause of their much  
greater felicity afterwards. At length it fortu-  
ned, that a great power of these adventurous Turks  
meeting together in *Epiphania*, were about to  
have invaded the Territories of the Christians;  
against whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor  
sent out a strong and puissant Army to their  
further coming on, led breaking in that way,  
they should without resistance at their pleasure  
forage the Country before them. Which Army  
conducted by unskilful Captains, encountering  
with the Turks, was by them in a great Battle  
overthrown and utterly defeated, few or none  
of all that great multitude escaping; for whilst  
the Greeks unadvisedly pursued the Turks, retiring  
of purpose before them, they were by them  
drawn into the danger of a greater Power  
lying in ambush for them, and so entrapped,  
were slain with an exceeding great Slaughter.  
After which so great a Victory (the beginning of  
the misery of the Christians in the lesser *Asia*) the  
Turks without let or stay overran all the Coun-  
try, unto the River *Sagarius*; upon the Banks  
whereof the Greek Empire was glad to for-  
feit divers Towns and Forts to keep them out  
of *Bithynia*. Nevertheless, they in short time

after subdued all the Countries, from *Pontus* and  
*Galatia*, unto the Lycian and Carian Sea, and the  
River *Euxynus*, which they divided amongst  
them into divers Toparchies; little or nothing  
acknowledging the Sovereignty either of *Mesur*,  
or *Rei-Cahad*.

Whilst the Turks in the lesser *Asia* thus win  
from the Christians on the one side, and lose to  
the Tartars on the other, many an hard con-  
flict in the meantime raised betwixt the Emper-  
or and the Sultans with their Mamelukes, and the Tar-  
tars, for the Sovereignty of *Syria*. The poor  
remainder of the Christians all that while there,  
in doubt both of the one and of the other; from  
whom and from the Armenians (then also much  
infested with the Mamelukes) divers Embassi-  
dors were sent unto the Pope and the Christian  
Princes of the West, to crave their aid and  
help in that their hard Estate; whose prayers  
little prevailing with the rest, yet so moved *Lewis*  
the French King, and *Henry* the Third, then reign-  
ing in *England*, that they both promised them  
aid. Whereupon *Lewis* and from thence embarking  
on, and always forward in that service against  
the Infidels, took upon him the Cross, the cog-  
nizance of the sacred War; causing his three  
Sons, *Philip* that succeeded him in the Kingdom,  
firmated the Fair, *Peter* Count of *Alencon*, and  
*Jehan* Count of *Nevers* (firmated *Tristan*, for that  
his Mother was at that great leaving of him, the  
taking of her Husband, delivered of him in *E-  
gypt*) and most of the Nobility of *France* to do  
the like; unto whom also *Theobald* King of *Na-  
var* his Son-in-Law, *Alphonse* his Brother, and  
*Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, joyned themselves. And  
so having put all things in readines, took his  
way to *Marseilles*, and from thence embarking  
himself with his Army in the *Gemousy*, he  
hired for that purpose, set forward the first of  
March, in the year 1270. But being at Sea, he  
was by force of Weather constrained to land in  
*Sardinia*, and there to stay a while; departing  
thence, he at length arrived at *Carthage*, the place  
by him desired; where in the entrance of the  
Haven he surprised certain of the Enemies Ships;  
but landing his men, and assaulting the Town,  
he was there notably repulsed. This is not that  
ancient, great, and famous City, which sometime  
mightily trove with the proud Mistress of the  
World for Sovereignty, but another built long af-  
ter in the ruins, and at the place where the  
same was the same. In the besieging whereof,  
the Frenchmen found fith resistance, as well put  
them in remembrance of the ancient glory of the  
Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the King  
thus lay at the Siege, that the Defendants made  
a great and fierce Sally upon the Frenchmen,  
who before commanded so to do, by little and  
little retired, to draw their Enemies further on;  
betwixt whom and the City, the Confitable with  
a great power coming in and charging them be-  
hind, and they which before retired, now standing  
close unto them, they were on both sides hard-  
ly best; who for all that, as became valiant men,  
doorly defended themselves, and made there  
great fight, though not without extreme peril;  
which they in the City beholding, gave out a  
most hideous and piteous cry, a certain sign  
of their hard estate within; alonging with the sud-  
denness thereof, both their Friends and Enemies.  
But whilst they of the Town betwixt hope and  
despair stood thus beholding the fight at Land,  
the Frenchmen by Sea approaching a Bulwark  
on that side of the Town, took it without re-  
sistance; which so dismayed them without, that  
they began forthwith to flee, of whom the greatest  
part calling away their Weapons, were by the

1270.  
Carthage  
besieged by  
King Lewis  
the Third.

Kings commandment taken to mercy; and they  
likewise of the Town upon promise of their lives,  
yielded the same unto the King. *Carthage* thus  
won, the King laid Siege to *Tunis*, the chief City  
of that Kingdom, being not far off; where by  
the way he was encountered by the King of the  
Country, who having there lost ten thousand of  
his Moors, betook himself to flight with the rest.  
Who thus overthrowen, resolved no more to tempt  
Fortune, but to keep themselves safe within the  
Walls of the City, if happily so he might (as it  
oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his En-  
emies by lying still and protracting the time, than  
by open Force and Valour. Which their pur-  
pose King *Lewis* perceiving, resolved not to stir  
from thence until that he were become Master  
of the City; which as he feared, could he not hold  
out for want of Victuals, considering the mul-  
titude of People that were got into it. Never-  
theless thus besieged both by Sea and Land, and  
so faithfully hemmed in on every side, as that  
no relief could possibly be brought unto it;  
yet held it out by the space of six Months. Af-  
ter which time Wans daily more and more in-  
creasing amongst the besieged, Embassadors were  
sent out to the King, to intreat with him of peace.  
But whilst these Embassadors go to and fro, and  
reason upon the capitulations of the desired peace,  
behold a great and furious Plague arose in the  
French Camp, which began to cut them down  
by heaps; there died *Philip* the Count of  
*Nevers*, the Kings youngest Son, born in the  
first expedition that the said King his Father  
made into the Holy Land, even at such time as  
he was taken Prisoner; which *Tristan* died the five  
and twentieth day of August in the year of our  
Lord 1270. The good King having yet scarcely  
performed the Obligation of his Son, fell sick of  
the bloody Flux, whereof he there shortly after  
died also. About which time arrived there also  
*Charles* King of *Sicily*, the French Kings Brother,  
with a great number of fresh Souldiers; whose  
coming lightened somewhat the Frenchmans  
hearts heavy for the death of their King)  
and daunted the Moors, before they of the  
same. Shortly after whom arrived there also  
Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the Third his El-  
dest Son, who travelling through *France*, and  
taking shipping at *Aquino*, not far from *Mar-  
seilles*, was now in ten days with a brave  
Company of Englishmen come to *Tunis*; and  
thereof the other Christian Princes, namely of  
*Philip* the French King (his Father *Lewis* be-  
ing now dead) of *Charles* King of *Sicily*, and  
of the two Kings of *Navar* and *Aragon*, joy-  
fully received. But these Princes had a little  
before his arrival concluded a Peace with the  
Moors King, and the Infidels, upon condition  
that he should pay a yearly Tribute of forty  
thousand Crowns unto the King of *Sicily*; and  
to suffer the Christian Religion to be freely  
preached in his Dominions, by such devout  
persons as should be there left for that purpose;  
and that unto such as should by their preaching be  
converted unto the Faith in Christ Jesus, it should  
be lawful for them to be baptized, and to pro-  
fess the Christian Religion. Of which Peace,  
Prince *Edward* understanding, did what he might  
to have dissuaded them from the same; say-  
ing, that the War was by them all taken in  
hand against the Infidels, as Enemies to the Cross  
of Christ, with whom they were not to have  
Peace; and for the recovery of the Holy City. But  
they say what he would, and do what he could, the  
Peace (to his great discontentment) was now  
concluded, which they might not (as they  
said) again break; and thereupon with the first

fair Wind hoisted sail, and returned towards *Sicilia*, with purpose the next Spring to have gone into *Syria*; which their determination was shortly after by the hand of God disappointed. For being come upon the Coast of the Island *no* far from *Drepanum*, most of the great Princes and other Nobles, in their long Boats went on Land, the rest of the Fleet lying at Anker about a League off; for that being for the most part Ships of great burthen they were not able to put into the Harbor. But as they lay, by force of a sudden and violent Tempest then arising, forces were eaten up by the rough Sea; and their falling foot, and their Boats were perished together; others driven upon the Main, were there beaten in pieces; so that of that great Fleet before the Storm ceased, perished about an hundred and twenty Sail, with all the People, as well Mariners as Souldiers left in them; and great flocks both of Armor and Munition. In such fort that most of the common Souldiers and Mariners which had escaped the Plague at *Tunes*, there upon the Coast of *Sicilia* perished by Shipwrack. Only Prince *Edwards* Fleet, being in number but thirteen Ships, escaped free without loss either of Ship or Man. Neither were they that were got to Land at *Drepanum* in much better case, the Plague still following them; whereof died *Theobald King of Navarre*, and *Isabel his Wife*, *King Lewis his Daughter*, *Elizabeth the French Queen*, with a wonderful number of noble Gentlemen, and other common Souldiers; in such fort that *Philip the French King* did rage with the greatness of the mortality, and the miserable loss at Sea, resolved there to make an end of the intended War, and so returned into France, as did the rest that were left, every Man into his own Country. Only Prince *Edwards* having passed that Winter in *Sicilia*, with the first of the next Spring set forward again on his Voyage, and in 15 days after arrived with his Fleet at *Ptolemais*: where after he had by the space of a Month rested himself and his Souldiers after their long travel, and fully inquired of the State of the Country, he with six or seven thousand Souldiers marching from *Ptolemais* about twenty Miles into the Land, took *Nazareth*, and put to Sword all them he found therein, and so again returned. After whom the Enemies following, in hope to have taken him at some advantage, he understanding thereof, turned back upon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight. And after that about *Midsummer*, understanding that the Sarafins were again making Head at a place called *Cakhou*, about forty Miles off, he set forwards towards them; and coming upon them early in the Morning before they were aware, flew about a Thousand others and dispersed the rest. Aided also by the Nobility of *Cyprus*, he with like success as before, made a third Expedition against the Turks and Infidels: infomuch that his Fame began to grow great amongst them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilst he thus prevailed, he was by foul Treachery almost out of the way. The Admiral of *Toppa* seeking himself desirous to become a Christian, and willing to further the Princes proceedings, had by a secret Messenger and Letters fild times Intelligence with him, as well concerning his own good Entertainments, as the manner of that which he had promised. This Messenger by the Admiral thus employed, was (though to the Prince unknown) one of the *Assines*, a company of most desperate and dangerous Men

The Christian Princes were driven from Tunes, after the death of Sicily.

1271. Prince Edwards arrived at Ptolemais.

among the Mahometans, who strongly deluded with the blind zeal of their Superstition, and accounting it meritorious, by any means to kill any great Enemy of their Religion; for the performance thereof, as Men prodigal of their Lives, desperately adventure themselves into all kind of dangers. To now this Messenger, being resolved to die, coming the fifth time to the Prince, and being searched for having any Weapon about him, as the manner was, had access unto him, then lying in his Chamber upon his Bed, in his Jerkin, bare Headed, because of the heat of the Weather, where after due reverence done, he pulled out this Messenger, and his Lord unto the Prince, which he read with great delight, as penned of purpose for to please. But as he was further questioning with him of many matters, and all the company voided, the desperate Messenger making as though he would have pulled out some other secret Letters, suddenly plucked out an envenomed Knife, which he had secretly hidden about him, thinking to have struck him into the belly as he lay; for the avoiding of which stroke, the Prince lifting up his Arm, was therein grievously wounded. But as the Villain was about to have doubled the stroke or Men. The Princes servants being not far off, and he fled him to the ground, and with the starting up, caught him by the hand, where in struggling with him for the knife, and wresting it out of his hand, he hurt himself therewith in the Forehead; but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the Murderers Belly and so flew him. The Princes servants, being not far off, and hearing the bustling, came running in; where finding the Messenger dead on the floor, one of them with a stool beat out his brains; whereas the Prince took some displeasure, for so striking a dead man. This danger of the Princes much troubled and grieved all the Christians in *Syria*; and the more, for that the wound in his Arm, after it had been certain days well dressed by the skilful Surgeons and Physicians, began to mortify and grow black, infomuch, that they and others about him began to mutter among themselves, and to look heavily upon the matter, as not without danger. Which he perceiving, said unto them, Why whisper you this amongst your selves? What see you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth and fear not. Whereunto one of them answered; And like your Highness, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painful for you to suffer. If suffering (said he) may again restore my health, I commit my self unto you, work on me your skill, and spare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poysoned flesh out of his Arm, and in fifteen days after perfectly cured his wound, to the great rejoicing of all his People. The great Sultan to clear himself of this dishonourable treachery, sent three of his Noble men unto the Prince, calling to witness his false Prophet. That the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which Embassadors the Prince honourably used, but suffered them not to come nigh him. So having received eight Madrasas at *Ptolemais*, and no ayd coming from the other Christian Princes, as was expected, he took Shipping, and returning homeward, landed first in *Sicilia*, and from thence crossing over into *Apulia*, and to travelling to *Rome*, was there honourably entertained by *Gregory the Tenth*, then Pope; and from thence by the way he arrived in *England*, where he was shortly after crowned King, in the year 1272. His Father the old King, *Henry the Third*, being a little before his return dead.

The

Prince Edwards wounded.

1273. Rodolph the English was taken upon his flight.

The year following, *Gregory the Tenth*, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians in *Syria*, (as having there been of late himself with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his absence elected Pope) and now desirous to procure them some relief, ratified the election of *Rodolph of Hapsburg* unto the Empire, upon this condition, That he should promise to take upon himself the Cross, and to give them relief; for the performance whereof he offered unto the Emperor two hundred thousand Crowns, with the Tenth parts of the Clergy and Temporality for six years; and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the Preachers of that time, promised unto all such as should with him take upon them that sacred War. Whereupon the Emperor, with all his Family took upon them the Cross, the sign of the sacred expedition intended; as did also the Duke of *Lorain* shortly after, with some others. Nevertheless the Emperor, otherwise busied in Wars against the *Bohemians* and *Bavarians*, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take upon him so long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope still threatening his high sentence of Excommunication, the time passed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Until that at length the Emperor, having happily finished his Wars in *Bohemia*, and finding himself at some good leisure in some part to discharge his Vow, and to satisfy the expectation the World had long conceived of him, sent *Henry Prince of Mecklenburg*, or as the Germans call it, *Stettelburg*, with a strong Power into *Syria*, to perform what himself had promised. Who coming to *Ptolemais*, made many notable incursions into the Country about *Damascus*, with Fire and Sword destroying all before him as he went; and carrying thence many great and rich booties; until that at length he was by the Mamelukes circumvented and taken Prisoner, and so carried unto the Sultan at *Caire*, where he remained in strait prison six and twenty years after, until that by chance one of the Mamelukes (a renegade German) being chosen Sultan, caused him to be brought before him, and at his coming demanded of him, If it would not do him good to celebrate the remembrance of the Nativity of his Christ with his Friends in *Germany*? (for now that time of the year was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted unto thy Superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy Liberty. Truth (said *Henry*) mighty Prince, for Liberty would avail me nothing, if Christ by his most mild Mercies had not taken me away our Captivity; and therefore how much all men owe unto the reverend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, O King, didst also understand; which as I most heartily wish, so I would I could thereof persuade thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I remember that when I was chief Engineer unto thy Father at *Konstanz* in *Livonia*, and there did him good service, I was altogether of the Christian persuasion; but now having left that common Error, have therewith also changed my private Fortune. But as having concerning thy Liberty; wouldst thou therefore gladly be free, and so return home to thy Friends? That Nature craveth (said *Henry*) although my fortune gaineth, which yet dependeth on your pleasure; I desire indeed to return home, which if you should deny me, I must bid (said the Sultan) what I can need part; alluring my with my Wife *Anna*, with my beloved Sons, *Henry, Leo* and *John*, having long since celebrated my Funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceived, (said the Sultan) for I am sure

Henry the Prince taken prisoner, and sent to Caire.

that they know thou yet livest, and pray most heartily for thy return. Truly I owe much unto the remembrance of thy Father, and therefore this day give thee thy Liberty. And having so laid, furnished him with all things necessary, and gave him leave to depart with one *Martin* his Secretary, who taken with him, had born him company all the long time of his Captivity. So taking his leave of the Sultan, he came to *Ptolemais*; but shipping himself for *Cyprus*, he was by the way by certain Pyrates taken at Sea, and as a fugitive Captive brought back again unto the Sultan; who pitying his hard fortune, set him again at liberty, and by a ship let out for that purpose, transported him into *Syria*, where he was by the Queen of that Island his Aunt (as some say) honourably entertained, and so furnished of all things fit for his Estate. Departing thence he came to *Marsilles*, where after he had some few days refreshed himself, he from thence travelled by Land home into his own Country; where at the first he was not known of his own Children and Friends, as being grown old in prison, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at last found again, and by them known, he was of his Children joyfully received as their Father, and of his Subjects as their Prince. Howbeit he shortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monastery of *Delvany*.

Thus in the whole course of this History it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions even the greatest Christian Princes of the West, to their immortal glory, from time to time undertook against the Enemies of Christ, and his most sacred Word, and for the relief of the poor distressed Christians in *Syria* and in the Land of *Palestine*; whereof as divers of them had right glorious success, unto the great profit of the Christian Common-wealth; so some of them answered not with like Event, as undertaken with too small strength, or otherwise overthrown by the difford or malice of the Christians themselves, rather than by the Enemies Force. Which nevertheless how unfortunately forever they fell out in the hands of such worthy men as undertook them, yet have they this glory, commendation, and comfort. That they were taken in hand for the honour of the Son of God, Christ Jesus, and the defence of his Verity, against the false Prophet *Mahomet*, and his most blasphemous Doctrine; so honourable and just a quarrel as might well become the greatness of the greatest Prince, yea of all the Princes of Christendom. Yet could not the worthiness thereof, even in those more zealous times, or the dangerous Estate of that part of the Christian, or the dangerous Estate of that part of the Christian, as an Common-Weal, even then like to perish, (as some others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poor oppressed Christians, crying out unto their Christian Brethren for aid, any whit move the Christian Princes of that time, with their combined Forces to reach unto them their helping hands, or to yield unto them any succor or relief; for they little feeling those harms so far off, and more regarding their own hereditary quarrels, employed those Forces one against another, unto the effusion of so much Christian blood, as might have sufficed not for relief of the distressed Christians in *Syria* only, but also to have regained whatsoever had been before from them taken by the Turks or Sarafins. The German Princes were fill at a jar about the choice of their Emperors; the French agreed not with the English, or them of the Low-Countries; neither the English with the Scots; the Arragonians were at odds with the French; and in Italy were almost as many deadly Factions as Provinces. Of which difford of the Christians (the greatest occasion

Tripolis  
was and  
ruled by  
Elips the  
Egyptian  
Sultan.

1289.

Sidon and  
Berythus  
ruled  
Tyre yield-  
ed.

of their ruin and decay.) *Melchares* the Egyptian Sultan underfanding by his Efpials, raised a great Army of the Mamelukes and others, with a full purpofe to have utterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriftians in Syria and the Land of *Paleftine*, and fo to have entirely joyned thofe two great Countries unto his own Kingdom. But when he had fo maliciously devifed, he lived not to bring to pafs, being in the midft of thofe his great defigns taken away by fudden death. After whom *Alphis* (or as fome call him, *Elpis*) fucceeding him in the Kingdom, and with a puiffant Army entering into Syria, laid Siege to Tripolis, which he at length took by undermining it, and put to the Sword all the Chriftians therein (except fuch as by fpeedy flight had in time got themfelves out of the danger) and rafed the City down to the ground; which calamity befetted unto the Chriftians the ninth of April, in the year 1289. Prefently after, he had the ftrong Caftle of *Nefefie* yielded unto him, whereupon he put a ftrong Garrifon, to hinder the Chriftians from building again the late destroyed City. In like manner alfo he took the Cities of *Sidon* and *Berythus*, which he facked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he removed to Tyre, which after three months Siege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of relief) yielded unto him, upon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in fafety depart. With like good Fortune he in good time, and as it were without refiftance, took all the reft of the ftrong Towns and Caftles which the Chriftians yet held in Syria and the Land of *Paleftine*, excepting only the City of *Ptolemais*; whereunto all the poor Chriftians fled as unto a Sanctuary, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hofpitales. Nothing now left unto them more than that ftrong City, the Sultan of his own accord made a Peace with them for the fpace of five years, fearing (as was them for) to have drawn upon him all the Chriftian Princes of the Welt, if he fhould at once have then utterly rooted out all the Chriftians in thofe Countries together.

The Chriftian Affairs thus brought to the laft caft in Syria, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the late obtained Peace; *Peter Pelufie* Master of the Templars, with the grand Master of the Knights Hofpitales, fuddenly paffed over (as Embaffadors from the reft) into Europe, unto *Nicolaus* quartus then Pope, craving his fatherly aid. Who moved with fo great miferies of the poor afflicted Chriftians, folicted the other Chriftian Princes to have fent them relief; efpecially *Rodolph* the German Emperour, who then ruled over the affairs of the Empire, and his Troubles nearer home, (as were the other Chriftian Princes alfo) gave good words, but no help at all. Yet fome of them under the colour thereof, got from their Subjects great fums of Money, which they implored to other worfe ufe; only the Pope fent fifteen hundred men at Arms, whom with devout perfuafion, and much earnest Preaching, he had induced to take upon them that fared Expedition, and entertained them of his own charge; unto whom alfo many others out of divers Countries, upon a Religious Zeal, joyned themfelves as voluntary men; who meeting together at *Brudenburgh*, and thence embarked with the two grand Masters of the Templars and Hofpitales, in fafety at length arrived at *Ptolemais*. There was then in the City a great number of People of all forts; of able men there was about fifty thoufand, and about forty thoufand of the weaker fort; amongst whom, divers Murders, Felonies, Rapes, and fuch other shameful Out-

rages; (all haftning the dreadful judgments of God) were daily committed, and let pafs unregarded, more than of them that were injured. For all the chief Commanders were then at variance among themfelves, every one of them laying claim (not worth a ruff) unto the vain Title of the Kingdom of *Jerufalem*. *Henry King of Cyprus* coming thither with a great Fleet, charged the Templars to deliver him the Crown of that Kingdom, which they had (as he faid) wrongfully taken from *Americus* and *Guy* his Ancestors. And *Charles King of Sicily*, who his Embaffadors laid claim unto the Title of that Kingdom. Thus unto the Kings of that Ifland; and underftanding it to be given unto *Henry King of Cyprus*, caufed all the Revenues of the Templars within his Dominion, to be brought into his Treafuries, and their Lands and Houfes to be fpoiled. *Hugh* alfo, Prince of *Antioch*, laboured with tooth and nail, to defend the overborn Right that his Father and Grandfather had won that loft Kingdom. And the Count of *Tripolis* laid in for himfelf; That he was defended from *Raymond of Telous*; and that befide himfelf, remained no Prince of the ancient Nobility, which had won that Kingdom out of the hands of the Sarafins, and that without that regal Dignity did not of better right appear unto any other than unto himfelf. Neither did thefe four Princes more thrive for the Title of the loft Kingdom, than for the prefent Government of the City, ftraightway about to periff. The Pope Legate pretending the unto a right alfo; for that King *John* dreamed had himfelf fubjected it unto the See of Rome. As for the claim unto the City of *Ptolemais*, the Patriarch of *Jerufalem* challenged unto himfelf the Preheminence, for that the Metropolitane City of *Tyre* (under which the City of *Ptolemais* was the third Epifcopal Seat) was under his jurifdiction, given by the Decree of the Welt Church. The Templars alfo, and the Knights Hofpitales, whofe power in the City was at that time far the greateft, pretended the Government thereof of belt right to belong unto them, as the juft reward of their blood, already and afterward to be fpent in the defence thereof; promiffing great matters if it might be wholly referred unto them. Neither fpared the French King, or the King of *England*, by their Meffengers to claim the Sovereignty of the City, by their Predeceffors fometimes won. And they of *Pifa* having filly a Confil taken therein, by open Marriages with the natural Inhabitants, grown into great affinity with them, what they might to get the Government into their Hands. The Venetians alfo by their Authority and great Wealth, laboured to gain the good Will of the People; fparing therein no Coft. And they of *Genoa*, no lefs cunning than the reft, fupplanted the ftrongeft Factions, by giving aid both aptly and covertly unto the weaker; that fo having weaker fteps to many Competitors, to find a mean fteps up above the reft. But the greateft part of the People for all that were moft inclined unto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their nearnefs and power moft like of all other to ftand them in ftead. All thefe aimed at one mark, which was the Government and Command of the City; and moft of them had in view the fubverting proper Laws and Customs, to decide their Caufes and Controversies in. Whereby it came to pafs, that every man might without check or controulment

The multitude  
of a City  
drawn to  
Ptolemais.

1291.

Prolemais  
delivered.

Prolemais  
is vain  
filled.

ment almoft do what he list, the offenders from one Court to another, removing their fuits as beft ferved their turns. Thus were murders (as is before faid) daily committed in the Streets, men abufed, houfes robbed, thops broken up, and many other outrages done; fo that judging of the wrath of God, and grief of all good men.

Division and diffention (the ruin of all Common-Weals) thus reigning in the City, the Souldiers of late fent thither, or in zeal come of themfelves, for the defence thereof, gave occasion for the more fpeedy destruction of the fame. Such is the power of the Ambiguity, in his wrath and judgments for fin, even by thofe things wherein we moft trust and joy, to work our utter ruine and destruction. Thefe Souldiers, for want of fuch pay as was promiffed them, were enforced to feek abroad; and therefore contrary to the League before made with the Egyptian Sultans, offendments went out in great parties into the Frontiers of his Territories, taking the fpoil of fuch things as they light upon. Whereof the Sultan underftanding, demanded by his Embaffadors, That reftitution might be made, and the offenders delivered unto him to be punifhed, according unto the League. But in that fo feck a late as dying Common-Weal, neither was reftitution made as reafon would, nor yet the Embaffadors courteoufly heard. With which Infoleny the Sultan provoked, fent *Emilech Arapfus* a notable Captain, (and as fome fay, his Son) with an hundred and fifty thoufand men, to befiege the City; who coming thither, and having made his approaches, had by a Mine in fhort time overthrowed a piece of the Wall; but in feeking to have entered by the breach, he found fuch ftrong refiftance, that he was glad with lofs to retire. Whilst *Arapfus* thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, *Alphir* the Sultan died at *Damafcus*; in whole ftead the Mamelukes made choice of this *Arpufus* for their Sultan; who more defirous of nothing, than of the glory of the utter rooting up of the Chriftians in Syria, was fo far from raifing of his Siege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the news of his Kingdom) that he more ftraightly beleit the City than he had in the three months fpace that he had there lie before. Now had they in the City choften Peter the Master of the Templars, their Governor; a man of great experience and valour; unto whom, and the reft of the Nobility, the Sultan offered great rewards, and unto the Souldiers their pay, with free liberty to depart, fo that they might without any other aid unto him the City, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the Master rejected, and flatly told him, That he had not learned of his Ancestors, to fell for Money unto the Infidels a City bought with fo much Chriftian blood; either did fo much regard his vain threats, as therefore to forget his fervice due unto his Souldiers, Chrift and the Chriftian Common-Weal. Which arfter the Tyrant enraged, the next day with all his Forces affaulted the City, and therein fuch depofate and furious manner, as if he would even then have carried it; having before filled the ditch, and promiffed the Spoil unto his Souldiers, the more to encourage them. Yet having done what he could, and loft a number of his men, flain both in the affault, and in a Sally which the Chriftians made out at the fame time, he was enforced to retire back again into his Trenches. In this fo terrible an affault, not repulled without fome lofs alfo of the Chriftians, was the grand Master and Governor of the City wounded with a poyfoned Dart, whereof he died in three days after died: with whom the courage of the Defendants fainted alfo, no man being left

like unto him to undertake fo great a charge, although many there were, that overweening themfelves defired the fame. In the beginning of this Siege the Chriftians had fent away all their aged and weak People, unfit for fervice, into *Cyprus*, where they in fafety arrived. But now many of the better fort, both Captains and others, discouraged, one after another conveyed thence away out of the City; of whom a great number in paffing thence to *Cyprus*, were upon the coast of the Ifland, together with the Patriarch drowned. In the City remained only twelve thoufand, which were thought fufficient for the defence thereof; who afterwards, as some report, fled alfo by Sea after their Fellows, and fo left the City empty unto the barbarous Enemy; fome others reporting of them more honourably, as that they fhould right valiantly defend the City againft the Affault of their Enemies, until fuch time as that moft of them being flain or wounded, and the reft by force driven from the Walls into the Market place, and there for a while notably defending themfelves, in flying thence unto the Ships, were by the way all cut in funder, or elfe drowned. But howsoever it was, the Sultan entering the City (by the Chriftians abandoned, or by force taken) gave the fpoil thereof unto his Souldiers; who after that had rifed every Corner thereof, by his Commandment fet it on fire and burnt it down to the ground; and digging up the very foundations of the Walls, Churches, and other publick or private buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no sign of any City at all; but purging the place even of the very heaps of the ftones and rubbidge left of the rafed City, made it a fit place for Husbandmen to plow and fow Corn in; which he did both there, at *Sidon*, *Berytus*, and other Towns along the Sea-coaft, becaufe they fhould never more ferve for a refuge unto thofe Chriftians, or give them footing again into thofe Countries. Thus together with *Ptolemais* was the name of the Chriftians utterly rooted out of Syria, and the Land of *Paleftine*, in the year 1291, about 192 years after the winning of *Jerufalem* by *Godfrey of Bullion* and the other Chriftian Princes his Confederates.

This lofs, attending to the great difgrace of the Chriftians in general, moved not a little even the greateft of the Chriftian Princes; wronged all or moft part of them in the perfons of the Templars or Knights Hofpitales, their Subjects, fo shamefully now quite cut out of Syria and the Land of *Paleftine*; howbeit, troubled with their own turbulent Affairs at home or with their neighbour Princes not at all, none of them once thirfted for the redrefs or revenge thereof. Only *Calixtus* the great Tartar Prince, having of late fubdued the Perfians, and married the Daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometan become Chriftian) by the request of his Wife and his Father-in-Law, took the matter in hand. And for that purpofe having raifed a moft puiffant Army of two hundred thoufand fighting men, and aided by the Armenians and Georgians, paffing over the Mountain *Annus* into Syria, not far from the City *Hama* met with *Melchamul*, the Egyptian Sultan Lion, as with a mighty Army, whom he overthrowed in a great and mortal Batel, wherein forty thoufand of the Egyptians are reported to have been flain, and fo drove him quite out of Syria; fending *Abais*, one of his Captains, with part of his Army to purfue him, who never left him until he had chafed him over the defart Sands into Egypt. Thence the victorious Tartar after this Batel took the City of *Hama*, where lying upon the great Treafures of the Sultan,

Calixtus  
the great  
Tartar Prince  
died Syria

Jerusalem  
taken and  
repaired by  
Calices.

Sultan, he bountifully divided it, together with the Spoil, amongst his Soldiers, relieving nothing thereof unto himself, more than a Sarc and a Casker full of secret Letters. The Egyptians thus put to flight; he without resistance took in most of the Cities of Syria, with the City of *Jerusalem* also; which in many places by the Turks and Egyptians defaced, he again repaired; and together with the Temple, more than a Sarc and to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, repairing thither out of *Cyprus*, *Crete*, and other places, to inhabit. And having himself honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his Army to *Damascus*, which was forthwith delivered unto him. But lying there, with purpose in Autumn following to march into *Egypt*, and to have utterly destroyed that Kingdom, he was certified of new troubles arising in *Perfia*, and some other parts of his Empire; for repressing whereof, he with the greatest part of his Army returned himself into *Perfia*, leaving one *Casparus* Governor of *Damascus*, who after the overthrow of the Sultan's Army had revolted unto him; and *Molau* (of whom we have before spoken) Governor of *Jerusalem*; commanding them at his departure to re-edifice the City of *Tyre*, and to send Embassadors unto the Christian Princes of the West, to join in League with them, for the more sure holding of those new gained Countries. And so *Tyre* was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and delivered to the Christians, with a convenient Garrison for the keeping thereof; but the Embassadors coming to the proud Bishop *Boniface* the Eighth, then Pope, whom of all others it seemed to have furthered their business, they could of him obtain nothing, but returned as he came. For he at the same time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his Excommunications, discharging his Subjects of their Loyalty, and so much as in him was, depriving him of his Kingdom, had given the same unto *Albertus* Duke of *Austria*, whom he had declared Emperor; whereof arose great troubles. Besides that, he being of the *Guelphs* Faction was not in any thing more careful, than of the utter extinguishing of the contrary Faction of the *Gibelines*, especially of the most honourable Family of the *Colonnas*, of whom some he had slain, some he had deprived of their honours, some he had imprisoned, and driven other some into exile; so that this wickedly buffed for the maintenance of his own proud Estate, he had no leisure to further the good of the Christian Common-Weal; which his intolerable pride, and forgetfulness of duty long escaped not the revenging hand of God; being when he thought least, suddenly taken prisoner at his Fathers house in the City of *Anagnin* (where he was born) by *Sara Columella* his mortal Enemy; whom but lately before redeemed out of a Pirats Gally, the French King had sent for that purpose, with one *Lougaris* (or as some call him, *Negars*) a French Knight; by whom the proud Prelat brought to *Rome*, in the Castle of *S. Angelo* within five and thirty days after most miserably died in his madnes (as some report) renting himself with his Teeth, and devouring his own Fingers. This worthy Tartar Prince *Casim* (by whom the Christian Common-Weal might have again riden *Syria* and the Land of *Palestine*, had not the pride of the great Bishop, and the diffidence of the Christian Princes hindered the same) was (as *Aldonus* writeth, who was present in this War, following his Uncle the Armenian King) a man of a very short stature, and exceeding hairy, but with a Valour, Bounty, and other Vertues of the Mind, plentifully recompensing what wanted in the Feature

The deformity  
of Calices.

of his Body. After whose departure into *Perfia*, *Casparus* Governor of *Damascus*, considering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Christian Princes of the West; to recompence his former Treason of revolting from the Sultan, with a new revolt from the Tartar, rose up into open Rebellion, drawing after him not only the City of *Damascus*, but the greater part of *Syria* also. Whereof *Molau* Governor of *Jerusalem*, understanding, was about to have gone against him with his Tartars; but advertised by his Ephials, that *Casparus* in this his Conspiracy had compacted with the Egyptian Sultan, also perceiving himself too weak to withstand so great a power, retired with his Tartars into *Mesopotamia*, there expecting new Supplies both from *Casim* and the King of *Armenia*. Of whose departure out of *Syria* the Egyptian Sultan understanding, came directly with his Army to *Jerusalem*, which he took (being forsaken of the Inhabitants) and prophaned the Temple, sparing only the Sepulchre of our Saviour; at the humble request of the Religious, making there a greater shew of Devotion, than of Cruelty. After that, he won all the other lesser Towns, which the Tartars had either kept for themselves, or given to the other Christians, and utterly rased all the Forts of the Hospitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without other help, for the space of almost a year, held out against the Tyrant, in which time most of them were honourably slain; the rest that were left alive being taken by the Enemy, had nevertheless leave given with bag and baggage in safety to depart, having before by solemn Oath for ever abjured the Country of *Syria*; and these were other help, the great ornaments of the Christian Common-Weal, the Hospitallers and Templars, which to the utmost of their power had by the space of three hundred years right worthily defended both the Christians and the Christian Religion, against the Infidels in *Syria*, and the Holy Land, were now for ever driven out thence about the year of our Lord 1300, to the great dishonour of all Christendom.

Wherefore with them now taking our leave of *Syria*, and the Holy Land, leaving the same in the possession of the Egyptian Sultan and the *Mamluks*, although it were shortly after like enough to have been again recovered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince *Casim*, and their domesticall troubles letted; we will again return to the troubled Affairs of the Turks in the lesser *Asia*, whither the course of the time had somewhat before called us, with the accidents thereof, more proper to our purpose, and the argument we have in hand, but that all cannot be at once told; and for the better understanding of the devious Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to break off the course of the aforesaid History, drawing to near to an end, but to make him partaker of the heaviness thereof.

Now had the Turks no Kingdom left in the lesser *Asia*, and that also at the pleasure of *Gazan* and the great Tartar *Cham* divided betwixt *Moset* and *Casubades*, as his Vassals, bound unto him by a yearly Tribute, as is aforesaid; who both kept in awe by the greatness of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance, but as they lived, so also died, almost buried in obscurity. Of these two, *Moset* died without issue; but *Casubades* departing left behind him his Son *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the Second succeeding in the Kingdom united again the same before divided, yet paying him Tribute unto the Tartar his Sovereign, as had his Father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this

The City of  
Jerusalem  
with all  
Syria a-  
gain re-  
covered by  
the Egyptian  
Sultan.

1300.

The death  
of Moset  
and  
Casubades.

*Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, and not to lie so heavy upon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet Spirit, and therefore much delighted in Peace; a great Friend to *Orkhan* the first founder of the glorious and mighty *Orkhan* Empire, as in his life shall appear. But this *Aladin*, the last of the Turks Sultans of the *Seleucian* Family, dying without issue; one *Sabiz* his Vicer-Azemes, or chief Counsellor, and a man of great Authority, aspired unto the Kingdom, which he had for the most part himself swayed all the Reign of the late Sultan his Master; which usurped Sovereignty, no way unto him due, he could neither himself long hold, or deliver unto his Posterity; for that many others of the Nobility, men of great Power, and born of greater Families than he, envying at his honour, and disdaining to be governed by him, or any other no greater than themselves, laid hold, some upon one Country or Province, some upon another, where they were able to do most, erecting unto themselves greater or lesser Satrapies, according to the measure of their own Strength and Power, without respect of any Superiority one should have over another, but every one of them absolutely commanding over so much as he was able by strong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies destitute of their lawful heirs, in his time, or all become rich Preys unto such as could first lay strong hand upon them, even so fell it now out in the great Kingdom of the Turks, every one of their great Princes, measuring the greatness of his Territory, not by the measure of his right, but by the strength of his own power. Wherein they shared so well for themselves, that *Sabiz* lay in possession of all, was in short time thrust quite out of all; and so the great Kingdom of the Turks in the lesser *Asia*, brought unto a meer Anarchie; no King now left among them, the whole Kingdom being divided into divers Satrapies, or other lesser Territories. The greatest of these Princes that thus shared the Turks Kingdom amongst them, was one *Caraman* *Alfrinus*; who as strong, took unto him the City of *Ikonium*, the Regal seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all the great Country of *Cilicia*, and some part of the Frontiers of the Countries of *Lyconia*, *Pamphilia*, *Caria*, and the greater *Phrygia*, as far as *Voladephia*, and the City of *Antioch* upon the River *Mander*. All which large Territory, was of him afterward called *Caramania*, and by the same name is commonly at this day known, and by our late Geographers described. Of this *Caraman* also descended the *Caramanian* Kings, who of long time after unfortunately strove with the *Orkhanian* Sultans for the Sovereignty of their Empires; until that at length they, with their Kingdom, and all the rest of these Turkish Satrapies, were in the fatal greatness of the *Orkhan* Empire, swallowed up and devoured, as in the process of this History shall (if God so will) in due time and place be declared. Next Neighbour unto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greeks called *Sarban*, of whom the Country of *Ionnia* *Mavritima* was and yet is called *Saru-Chan-Li*, and *Saruchania*, thas to say, *Saruchan* Country. The greatest part of *Lydia*, with some part also of the greater *Mysia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia*, fell to *Calamus* and his Son *Carafus*, of whom it is called *Carafus*, or *Caraf-Li*, (or as we might say) *Carafus* his

The Turks  
Kingdom  
went in  
under by  
themselves.

The Turks  
Anarchie.

Carama-  
nia.

Sarucha-  
nia.

Carafa.

Country. The greatest part of the ancient *Mysia*, with some part of *Lydia*, was possessed by *Aidin*, and was of him called *Adimia*, or *Aidin-Li*, as his Country. Some part of a City in the Country of *Pontus*, with the Cities of *Heraclea*, *Parica*, *Calymna*, *Synope*, and others near unto the *Euxine*, and the Country of *Ephlogenia*, fell into the hands of the Sons of *Ormer*, or as the Greeks call him, *Amur*; of whom that Country took not its name, as did the others, of such Princes as possessed them, but is commonly called *Bolli*, of a City in that Country by the Turks so named. As was also *Mendefia*, or as some call it *Mendefia*, a Country in the lesser *Asia*, so by the Turks called of *Alender* or *Myndus*, a City in *Caria*. There were beside these, divers other places and Toparchies in the lesser *Asia*, which in the naming of this great Kingdom, from the Turks received names, before unto the world unknown; all which to prosecute were tedious. Let it suffice us, for the manifesting of the Turks Anarchie, and the ruin of their Kingdom in the lesser *Asia*, as in part also for the more evidence of the heavy History following, to have remembered these as the chiefest, especially such as took their names of such great Princes or Captains as in that so great a confusion of the Turks Kingdom, by strong hand first seized upon them, and so left them to their posterity, of whom much is to be said hereafter. These Princes one and all that thus shared the late *Aladinian* Kingdom, were descended of the better sort of the Turks, which with the *Seleucian* and *Aladinian* Sultans driven out of *Perfia* by the Tartars, had under them feared themselves in the lesser *Asia*, as is before at large declared. Now amongst these great men that thus divided the Turks Kingdom, most of them that wrote of the Turks Affairs, both Greeks and Latines, reckon up *Orkhan* (the raiser of his House and Family) for one, who indeed in the later time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flourish, and was of him for his Valour extraordinarily favoured (as in this History shall appear); but of his Kingdom held no more than one poor Lordship, called *Sagura* in *Bithynia*, not being from the Mountain *Olympos*, (long before given unto his Father *Ertoghras*, for his good service) with such other small holds thereabouts, as he had himself gained from the weak Christians his Neighbours. For although he were a Turk born, yet was he not of the *Seleucian* Family, as were the rest, but of another House and Tribe, and therefore not of them favoured or thought to have so good right to any of the late Sultans Provinces or Territories, as they had, who being of his House, and holden with the prescription of time, envied at the sudden rising of the *Orkhanian* Turk, being to them as it were a moor stranger; whose fortune for all that (I know not by what secret foreknowledge) they seemed to fear, as in time to grow dangerous unto them and their Posterity; wherein they were no whit deceived. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be said hereafter; leave we him now therefore with the rest unto their fortunes in this the Turks Anarchie, and so conclude this part of our General History: Glad when I look back to have waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get over; such a Sea of Matter and World of Troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toil, and that in long time to be passed through.

Aidimia.

Bolli.

Mendefia.

Orkhan  
one of the  
Seleucian  
Family.

N

The



*Multiplici lustrata Asia res dade premuntur,  
Hinc Saracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.  
Mulus Christicola gladio in vulnera stringunt:  
Græcia funesta Seditio perit.  
Impiger interea nova concepit Ottomanus  
Concilia, et valida surgit in arma manu,  
Et vasta trivis regno fundamina turba  
Ponit, et in multo sanguine sceptrum lavat.*

*Whilost weltering in it's gore proud Asia lay,  
To Saracens, and Tartars made a Prey.  
While Christian Swords wounded each others breast,  
And Greece with mad Sedition was distract.  
Bold Ottoman the dire Advantage takes,  
And a new road for Desolation makes.  
A barbarous Empire his Ambition founds,  
His cruel scepter stain'd with blood, and wounds.*

The RISING of the  
Great and Mighty Empire  
OF THE  
TURKS  
UNDER  
OTTOMAN,  
First FOUNDER thereof;  
WITH HIS  
LIFE & DOINGS.

*All world.  
By things  
subject to  
change*

**W**HAT small assurance there is in mens Affairs, and how subject unto change even those things are wherein we for the most part repose our greatest felicity and bliss, (beside that the whole course of mans frail life, by many notable Examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainly manifest the same, than the heavy Events and woful Destructions of the greatest Kingdoms and Empires; which founded upon great Fortunes, increased with perpetual Success, exalted by exceeding Power, established with most puissant Armies, wholefome Laws, and deep Counsels; have yet grown old, and in time come to nought: So that even as men, all things else belonging unto man, are subject unto the inevitable course of Destiny, or more truly to say, unto the fatal doom of the molt High, prefixing unto every thing that in time begun, a time also wherein to take end, being himself without time the great Commander thereof, and of all things else done therein. The Fame of the first Assyrian Monarchy, is very ancient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it nevertheless found an end; and the more to put us in remembrance of our infirmity, was never with so much glory and valour by Ninus erected, as it was with shame and cowardise by Sardanapalus subverted. With like necessity fell the great Empire of the Medes and Persians, the time thereof being come: And after them the Macedonians also. Neither hath the great Roman Empire, or the proud City of Rome it self (sometime the Mistress of the World) herein found any exemption, but run the same course with the rest; which grown great with

continual Triumphs, and so strong as that it was not with foreign Power to be shaken; converted the Forces of it self upon it self, to the overthrow of the ancient liberty thereof, together with the utter subversion of the State. After which time that mighty Monarchy (of all that ever yet were, the greatest) under the Roman Emperors felt many an hard and perilous storm, and by little and little still declining (though sometimes like a sick aged body, by the valour or vertue of some one or other her worthy Emperors, a little relieved, and by and by again cast down by the folly or negligence of some others succeeding) it became at length a Prey unto a foolish, rude and barbarous Nation, which it had before oftentimes overcome, and over which many the Roman Captains had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious Surnames; which now again without compassion, burning and sucking it, caused it to flop, and to yield unto the servile yoke which it had in former time proudly imposed upon the Necks of others; wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then sitting at the Helm (although that may also much help the matter as a mean) but the instability of worldly things, never permanent, but always changeable, and the sooner for their height; and that so forcibly, as that no man knoweth how to remedy the same; or if he did, were able to perform it; the greatest means that men could possibly devise for the stay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater Power from above, converted unto the more speedily effecting of that, against the which they were by mans wisdom provided. The like might be said of the Athenians,

Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What marvel then, if the ancient Kingdoms of the Turks likewise in *Perſia*, and the leſſer *Aſia*, in *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*, having run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themſelves rent in ſunder (their Deſtiny fo requiring) loſt at laſt their wonted Maſteſty, and to fell into a moſt Anarchie, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other People fortunate. That after the ruin of their former Kingdoms, ſtraight way out of themſelves ariſe another, namely this *Othoman* Monarchy, the chief object of this Hiſtory; which at the firſt fearce of the World perceived, or of themſelves regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered, as that the Power and Glory thereof obſcured not their former Kingdoms only (nothing, in compariſon of this) but even the greateſt Monarchies of the World; over a great part of which, it now ſo proudly triumpheth, as if it ſhould never have and, and the Beauty whereof the World wondreth, and at the Power thereof quake; within the greateſtneſs whereof are contained ſo many portions of *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Africa*, but even the moſt famous and fruitful Kingdoms thereof; no part of the World left untouched but *America* only; not more fortunate with rich Mines than that is ſo far from being great and dangerous an Enemy. The foundation of this ſo great a Kingdom (and now ſo mighty an Empire, as holdeth the World in awe) was firſt laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Osman*: not defended of the *Seleucian* Family, as were all the former Turks Sultans, but of the *Oguzian* Tribe and Kindred; in whoſe line this glorious Empire hath ever ſince, to the attainment of the World, wonderfully flouriſhed. But ſo far as both his greateſtneſs, and the greateſtneſs of the reſt of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his Progenitors, took their beginning from this worthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whoſe Life and Doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our Hiſtory, it ſhall not be amiſs both for the continuation of that we have in hand, with that we have already written, and for the more manifiſtation of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his Race and Deſcent aloft; not meaning with a long and ſeigned Pedegree to ſet him out of Noah his Ark, (which continual Succeſſion of Princes, no Nation of the World, be it never ſo ancient, the Jews only excepted, and they alſo by Writings and Hiſtories as much as was poſſible eternized, could truly and juſtly challenge) but only to ſo far as it ſhall be pertinent unto our purpoſe, and by the authority of good Hiſtorians to be aſſured.

At ſuch time as the Turks Kingdom founded by *Tamgrolipix* in *Perſia*, flouriſhed in the *Seleucian* Princes his Succeſſors, there was alſo another Kingdom of theirs at the City of *Machan*, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other, either in Glory or Power. In this City, and over this ſmall Kingdom, reigned one *Solyman*, by his Subjects honoured alſo with the name of a Sultan or King; at the ſame time that the Tartars under the leading of old *Zingis* their great Captain, leaving their own Country, and bearing down the World before them, having conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt, and there ſeated their Kingdom, turned their Forces into *Perſia*, and there overthrew the Turks Kingdom at *Balch*, in *Coraſan*, and drove the Turks with *Curmeſes* their laſt King, out of the Country; after that they had there from the

time of *Tamgrolipix* reigned about an hundred and ſeventy two years.

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeak, then reigning at *Machan*, was not of the *Seleucian* Family (as were all the other Turks Sultans, the Succeſſors of *Tamgrolipix*, but of the *Oguzian* Tribe, a Family famous alſo amongst the Turks; who ſprung from the *Seleucian* Sultan *Curmeſes* (or as ſome call him, *Cuſmeſes*); his Countryman, bearing his Kingdom by the Tartar, and his Country over-run, and the great Chalf of *Babylon* alſo overthrown; thought it not good longer to ſtay in that Country which he could not hold, but by ſpeedy flight betimes to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and of ſuch his Subjects as would follow him; and hearing that *Aladin* the Son *Ker-Huſien*, or as the Greeks call him, *Cai-Capſes* (a great man of the *Seleucian* Family, and near of kin unto the late Sultan *Curmeſes*) who for fear of the Tartars but lately come into *Romania*, *Aſiatica*, had there by force of Arms moſt honourably ſeated himſelf and the Turks his followers, amongst the Chriſtians, in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeal towards his Superſtition (accounting all well gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) took his way after him, with ſuch of his Kinſmen and Subjects as would accompany him in his new adventures. And coming to *Arceps*, a City in the borders of *Armenia*, he ſet himſelf to the ſiege of the year ſeated himſelf with his followers, being in number many; who with their Wives and Children, after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their Anceſtors, in poor Tents and Carcs covered with a courſe kind of Cloth, had followed him; being indeed nothing elſe but a very rude and rough kind of ſturdy Herdſmen, not wedded to any place, but ſtill removing with their Tents and Carcs up and down, as beſt ſerved for their purpoſe and the feeding of their Cattle, as do the *Turcoman* Nation, the true deſcent of the Turks, in many places of *Aſia* at this day; and were therefore not only called *Nomades*, that is to ſay, Herdſmen, (by which name the proud *Fanizaries* will oftentimes in contempt call even the greateſt of the natural Turks) but *Hamaſephoretes*, and *Hamaſebis*, that is to ſay, people carried or living in Carcs. *Solyman* having ſaid a while about *Erzerum*, removing thence came to *Anaſia*; and there ſpying the Country, then inhabited by the Chriſtians, did them much harm, oftentimes encountering them in the plain field, and ſometimes ſeizing upon their Towns and Cities, until he had ſubdued unto himſelf a right large Territory; yea at length having in ſo many Battles by him fought and Cities by him beſieged, loſt a great number of his People, and ſo wearied the reſt as they were not willing farther to follow him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keep the Country by him already gotten, in the midſt of ſo many Enemies, thought it beſt to ſeek thence, and to ſeek his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was richly reported, that the affairs of *Perſia*, after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow again to ſome good quiet, the fury of the Tartars being now well abated, and that ſtorm overblown; wherefore *Solyman* reſolved now to return home again, and to viſit his Native Country, of him and his people above all others deſired. So paſſing thorough *Syria*, (for that was now his way) near *Aleppo* he ſetled upon a Cattle called *Ziaber-Cala*, and there ſtaid a ſpace for the reſtoring of his people. Afterward ſetting forward again, he came at length to the great

Romania  
Aſiatica.

The Seat  
of  
Solyman,  
and their  
firſt ad-  
vinture.

great and famous River *Euphrates*, over which he muſt needs paſs; but finding there neither Bridge nor Ford, or other means to get over, he ſtood ſtill as a man diffaid, not knowing what to do. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not; his deſire bid him go, but the great River ſaid no. In this perplexity *Solyman* himſelf with his Horſe offered to ſwim the River, in hope to have found ſome paſſage; but finding none, adventuring too far, was with the force of the ſtream carried away, and ſo together with his Horſe drowned. His body after long ſeeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his People buried near unto the Cattle *Ziaber*, not long before by him taken; whereof they ſay the place is now in their Tongue called *Meſeri-Zarue*, (viz.) the Turks Grave. Some of theſe *Oguzian* Turks, after the death of their Sultan, weary of their long travel, ſeated themſelves in the Country thereabouts, unto whom the Turks that now do hold that Caſtle do refer their beginning. The reſt of that great Tribe and Family diversly divided, went unto divers places as their fortunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſerts of *Arabia* and *Syria*, and are at this day called the *Damaſceni Turcomans*; other ſome returned back again into *Romania*, the way that they came; of whom ſome are deſcended the *Zirgians*, who dwell in *Armenia*; who yet with their Wives and Children, as Herdſmen in great companies wander up and down the Country, after the manner of their Anceſtors.

*Solyman* thus loſt, left four Sons, *Secur-Telen*, *Tamgrolis*, *Ertegrol*, and the ſecond *Ordoſtol* (the Father of this *Othoman* Founder of the Turks Empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With theſe four Brethren, moſt part of theſe *Oguzian* Turks that were left, returning into *Romania* (as is aforeſaid) after they had there reſtored themſelves a while, marching up along the River *Euphrates*, came to a place called *Palm-Oraſi*, about ten miles above *Artemis*, where *Ertegrol* and his Brother *Dunder*, with four hundred Families, not willing to go any farther, ſtayed with their Tents and Carcs, their beſt Dwelling. *Secur* and *Tamgrolis* their other two Brethren, in the mean time paſſing the River, returned with the reſt into *Perſia*; whom there leave unto their unknown fortunes. In this place *Ertegrol* with his Brother and his three Sons ſtaid a while, and had divers conflicts with the Country People thereabout, until that at length he thought it beſt to return again into *Romania*. So ſetting forward he came to *Anaſia*, and from thence unto the black Mountains, and ſo to a plain called *of the Turks Sultan Ughi*, about 75 miles Eaſtward from the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, where he had many skirmiſhes with the Chriſtians.

Now a great while before that, *Aladin* the Elder (of whom we have before ſpoken in the former part of this Hiſtory) ſed out of *Perſia*, had ſubdued divers great Provinces and Cities in *Romania* *Aſiatica*, or the leſſer *Aſia*, for ſo it is more truly called; ſo that he was of all the People thereabouts accounted for a great Prince, and of the Turks themſelves honoured with the name of their *Ulu Padſchabek*, that is to ſay, their great King or Emperor. Having placed his Regal Seat firſt at *Sabaſia*, and afterward at *Icomium*; which two Cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did ſome few of his Poſterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertegrol* ignorant of the Honour, Glory and Power of this great Sultan; but having three Sons, namely *Tamgrol*, *Sergatin*, and *Ordoſtol*, ſent *Sergatin* his ſecond Son (a bold well

ſpoken man) unto him, to requeſt him in that his ſo large a Kingdom, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant unto them his poor called Countrymen, of long time oppreſſed with divers fortunes, ſome ſmall corner for them, with their Families and Cattle to reſt in. Which his requeſt, the Sultan not forgetful of his own diſtreſs ſome-time in like caſe, graciously heard, and with great careſſe uſed the Meſſengers, and now for furtherance of his ſuit it ſortuned, that this Sultan before driven out of *Perſia* by the Tartars, and by them alſo much troubled in theſe his new gotten Countries in the leſſer *Aſia*, had with them divers hot ſkirmiſhes and ſharp conflicts; in one of which it ſortuned the Sultan himſelf, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beaten by his Enemies, and in danger to have loſt the day; when as *Ertegrol*, but newly come into the Country, and willing to do the Sultan ſervice, and awaiting alſo opportunities for the commendation of himſelf and his followers; upon the ſudden unlooked for, with four hundred men came upon the backs of the Tartars, then almoſt in poſſeſſion of a great Victory, and ſo forcibly charged them, that unable to endure the charge, and to maintain the fight againſt the Sultan, (whoſe men encouraged by this unexpected aid, as by ſuccor from Heaven, began now to fight with greater courage) being beaten before and behind hardly beſet by the men in poſſeſſion of the Victory they had before aſſured themſelves of, turned their backs and fled. After which good ſervice, the Sultan honourably welcomed this new come Turk, giving him his Hand to kiſs, as the manner of the Nation is; and highly commending his Valour, and ſome hundred men came to be caſt upon him (amongſt thoſe Eaſtern Nations a great honour) and all his Souldiers to be boundly rewarded; and preſently after gave unto *Ertegrol* and his Turks a Country Village called *Suguta*, betwixt the Cattle *Bilezuga* and the Mountain *Imolus* in the greater *Phrygia*; in which Village they might live in Winter, and upon the aforeſaid Mountain, and the Mountain *Ormenius*, betwixt the Rivers *Sangarius* and *Licus*, ſed their Cattel in Summer. And yet not ſo contented thus to have honoured him, in whom he ſaw ſuch approved Valour, committed to his protection that ſide of the Country wherein he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his Kingdom; which he charged he ſo well looked unto, that all the Country thereabout, before much infeſted with the often incursions of the Enemy, was by his vigilant care and proweſs well ſecured.

Thus is *Ertegrol* the *Oguzian* Turk, with his homely Herdſmen, become a perry Lord of a Country Village, and in good favour with the Sultan; whole followers, as ſturdy Herdſmen with their Families, lived in Winter with him in *Suguta*; but in Summer in Tents, with their Cattel upon the Mountains. Having thus lived certain years, and brought great Peace unto his Neighbours, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, before much troubled with the invasion of the Tartars, it ſortuned that the Chriſtians of *Cara-Chiſar* (a Caſtle thereby, called by the ancient Greeks, *Melanoprogen*, and of later time, *Maurocannon*, that is to ſay, the black Tower or Caſtle) weary of their own eaſe, and of the Peace they had by his care enjoyed, fell out with him, and evil entreated both him and his People. Which by their ingratitude he taking in evil part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done unto the Turks, ſo grievouſly complained unto the Sultan, that he therewith moved, raiſed a great Army, and to himſelf in perſon came and beſieged the Caſtle. But lying there at the Siege, news was brought him,

The Chriſtians  
of  
Cara-Chiſar  
fell out  
with  
the  
Turks.



him, that the Tartars with a great Army under the leading of one *Bainan*, were entered into *Caria*, and there spoiling the Country, had taken *Heraclea*. For the relieving of whom, the Sultan was glad to rise with his Army; yet leaving a sufficient strength behind him for the continuing of the Siege, under the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for so the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountering with the Tartars at *Bage*, overthrew them in a great Battle. Whilst *Ertogrul* in the mean space hardly besieged *Caracifer*, wherein fortune so much favoured him, that at length he took the Castle; the Spoil whereof he gave unto the Souldiers, reserving only the fifth part thereof, as due unto the Sultan; which he sent him for a Present, together with the Captains of the Castle, who he had taken alive; which Captain the Sultan afterward enlarged, and restored again to him his Castle, for the payment of a yearly Tribute, which he truly paid during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two years after, he refused any more to pay it, and so revolted from the Turks.

Small things in time of trouble yield unto the will great content.

Sultan *Aladin*, Founder of the Aladinian Kingdom (for so the Turks call it) being dead at *Iconium*, after him succeeded *Asanin* his Eldest Son, and after him *Tahsin* his younger Brother; who slain by *Theodoros Lascaris* the Greek Emperor, (as is before declared) after him succeeded in that Kingdom another *Tahsin*, the Son of that Prince, who was by the Tartars expelled, and his Kingdom subdued, as in the former part of this History it appeareth. After which time the *Seluzian* Family there also by the Tartars in the latter *Asia* depopulated, retained scarce the name and shadow of their former Majesty and Glory. In which troublesome times, and when the State of *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the World, kept himself close in his house at *Suguta*, as well contented therewith as with a Kingdom; seeking by all means to keep Peace on every side with his Neighbours, as well Christians as others. In which quiet kind of life he sweetly passed over the troublesome times of *Myfon* the Son of *Re-Oubates*, and of *Re-Oubates* the Son of *Re-Oubates*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars Tributaries, and reigning but at their pleasure, until the time of the Second *Aladin*, the sole and last Heir of the *Iconian* Kingdom, before by the Tartars divided, which was no few years. All which time *Ertogrul* lived quiet at *Suguta*, as one amongst many other of the *Iconian* Sultans Subjects, wisely considering the fall of the *Seluzian* Sultans, both in *Perfia* and at *Iconium*, as also the ruin of his own House and Family, both from Royal State brought almost unto nothing; and therefore with patience taking the World as it came, and making a virtue of necessity, contenting himself with a little, bare himself kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great years, with his three Sons, greatly beloved and honoured of their Neighbours, as well Christians as Turks; and no less favoured by the second *Aladin* than Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him; whom the young men his Sons after the manner of their Nation (forbidding them with empty hands to salute their Princes) oftentimes visited with one Present or other. In all which his Sons were many good parts to be seen, yet so, as that in *Othoman* was easily to be seen a greater Courage and Spirit than in the other two his Brethren; which was the cause that he was more by them of his Tribe regarded, but especially of the youthful and warlike sort, which commonly resorted unto him when he went to hawk or hunt, or to other delights of the Field

(the counterfeits of War) and was of them commonly called *Othman Gaziz*, that is to say, *Othman the Warlike*.

In this frontier Country near unto *Suguta*, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* divers Lieutenants and Captains, Governors of his Castles and strong Holds upon those frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and unto whom he for Friendship sake oftentimes resorted; but especially unto the Captain of *In-Ungi*, for that he knew himself to be of him well beloved, and therefore unto him very welcome. So it happened upon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but young, was going to make merry with the Governor of *Eski-Chifur*, a Castle about four and twenty miles off, called of the Greeks, *Palaeofaron* by the way as he went, at a place called *Iburne* (a Town in *Phrygia*) chanced there to see, and afterwards to fall in liking of a fair maiden called *Malbatun*; unto whom his affection daily increasing, he without his Fathers knowledge, sent a secret Friend of his to treat with her of Marriage. Which after long discourse to her made concerning *Othoman's* affection and request, gave him answer, that betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, of such as wished to live a happy life in well-to-do bands; for she was (as the said friend) mostly born, and therefore was not to expect to get a match; whereas he could not want choice of other Maids of more worth, and in all respects more answerable unto himself. But among other causes why he gave him this answer, one was, for that some that withed her well, and put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but under that colour to detain of her some few days pleasure, had to having dishonoured her, afterward again to cast her off; which was indeed far from his thoughts; for he the more inflamed with her modest denial, the more desired her for his Wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going again unto the Governor of *Eski-Chifur*, and courteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar Friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his Love, with greater affection than discretion, commending her Beauty, her Feature, and gracious Perfections, not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him received at hands. Whilch the Governor hearing, seemed greatly to like of his choice, saying, that she was by the Divine providence (for so the Turks religiously use to speak) appointed only for him to have. But in the mean time sorely inflamed with the immediate commendation of *Othoman*, without respect of Friendship, he began to grow amorous of her himself, whom he had never seen; so light is that foolish affection; and that so far, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, he was not able to conceal or cover these new conceived flames, but that *Othoman* by certain conjectures and tokens perceived the fact. And yet dissembling the matter as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the Banquet, calling unto him one of his trusty Servants, secretly sent him away unto certain of the Maids Friends, willing them in his name, as they rendered her honour, presently to send her away unto some safe place further off, for fear the were not long taken from them by a great man more amorous of her person, than respective of her honour. And by and by after taking leave of his unfaithful Friend and bidding him farewell, took his way to the Captain of *In-Ungi*, whom he knew to be his dear Friend. But whilst he there stayed certain days, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and

Othoman beloved, and in danger for his Love.

of folly common as to Lovers.

No friend ship in love.

and other youthful disports, with the Captain his Friend; the Governor of *Eski-Chifur*, who commanded all the Country thereabout called *Sultan-Ungi*, sent one of his trusty Servants to *Iburne*, to see fair *Malbatun*, and how all things went there. Who coming thither, and understanding of her secret departure, and that by the advertisement from *Othoman* he was conveyed to certain of her Friends afar off, at his return from point to point certified his Master thereof; who exceedingly grieved with the report, and fretting above measure to see himself so deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent unto the Captain of *In-Ungi*, (being within his jurisdiction) to command him without delay to deliver *Othoman* unto him. But he loving of him well, as a faithful man unto his Friend, could with no threats or intreaty be persuaded so to do. Wherefore the Governor in a great rage presently raising the greatest Power he was able to make, came to the Castle of *In-Ungi*, requiring to have *Othoman* forthwith delivered unto him. Where among the Souldiers there in Garrison with the Captain, began to arise divers opinions; some wishing, for the averting of the present danger for which they were now unprovided, to have him delivered; and other some abhorring so treacherous a fact, willing rather to endure all extremities, to contend after much consultation honestly prevailed, and it was generally resolved, that he should be defended, who could not without their great infamy be delivered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diversity of opinions, which had even at first showed in fact, and thinking it not for his safety, to commit himself unto the trust of such wavering men, entered into a deep conceit of a matter of great adventure, which was, by a sudden fall to make himself way through the midst of his Enemies. Wherewith having made his Brother *Jandus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, and thereupon resolved; he secretly called out, and by plain force brake through the midst of them, and so took his way towards *Suguta*, still noably repelling them that were sent to pursue him. But being come into the Frontiers of his Fathers Territory, and the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakly accompanied, he was by a great number of his Enemies pursued; presently all the lusty youths and such as loved him well, took horse to come to his rescue; who meeting with the Governors Souldiers, that had *Othoman* in chase, in a sharp conflict slew divers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken Prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Michael Caffi* a Christian, Captain of a little Castle in that Country, called *Hirmer-Caia*, or the Rock of *Ormeni*; Of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which unexpected curtesy he was so moved, that ever after he took part with him, and did him great service in his Wars; whose Posterity hath ever since even until this our age continued, next unto the *Othoman* Family, most honourable and famous amongst the Turks, by the name of *Michael Oghis*, that is to say, the Sons or Posterity of *Michael*.

*Ertogrul* now spent with age, shortly after died, in the year of our Lord 1183, having lived 92 years, and thereof governed the *Othoman* Family after the death of his Father *Solymen*, 52. His death was of all his Tribe and Kindred generally lamented; and his body after the Turkish manner honourably buried at *Suguta*, where he had of long time lived.

After whose death, these plain *Othoman* Turks, in a general Assembly consulting whom they

might chuse for their Lord and Governor in stead of old *Ertogrul*; casting their eyes especially upon two, flood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although most men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and virtues as well of body as of mind, was to be preferred before the rest of his brethren the Sons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there some, and they also men of great gravity and experience, who had in suspect the young mans age, as of it felt slippery, and for the most part prone to vice, especially in the liberty of great power; and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dundur* (*Ertogrul's* Brother) and *Othmann Ungle* a man of far greater gravity, judgment, and experience. But *Dundur* himself being undecide a wife man, and far from all ambition, perfwaded them in that choice not to have any regard at all unto his honour or preference, but to consider what were best for their State and Welfare in general. For he providently foresaw in what danger the *Othoman* State stood, exposed on one side to the mortal hatred and treacheries of the Greeks, grieved to see themselves spoiled by the Turks, and naturally hating them for the *Alahmetan* Religion; and on the other side not fairly back by the Sultans of *Iconium*, brought in thirraldom to the Tartars, and daily grown weaker and weaker; hence which inconveniences and dangers (he said) an old, weak, and overgrown body (as his was) could give no help or remedy at all, but required the help of a wife, politic, vigilant, stirring and valiant man, such as all well knew was *Othoman* his Brother's Son. Thus before he came unto the election, he in private declared his mind unto the chief of the *Othoman* Family; and afterward at their request coming to the general Assembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed upon *Othoman*, he first of all (by his example to encourage the rest) for the good of the *Othoman* Tribe, his ancient House and Family, saluted him their great Lord and Governor, promising unto him all Loyalty, with the utmost of his service; whereunto by and by ensued the great applause of the rest of the People, as unto a Governor sent unto them by God; unto whom they joyfully wished all happy success, with long life and a prosperous Government. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great Governor of the *Othoman* Turks, and so became among them a great Commander, and honoured with the Title of *Othman-Beg*, or the Lord *Othman*. Yet was this his honour included in a small circuit, plain and honestly, without any great Pomp or Show, commanding amongst rough and rude Hardhearted men and Shepherds, not acquainted with the curtesy of other more civil Nations; for as yet they were the same homely *Scythian Nomades* that they were before, and could not as yet be perfwaded to forsake their wonted rude and uncivil manners; by long tradition received from their Ancestors, and so be agreeing with their Nature and Calling. Amongst which rude Hardhearted men, this new Governor himself, not too far exceeding the rest in civility, commanded much like unto another *Romulus*; of whom also the Turks report many such things as do the Romans of their Founder, which for brevity I thought good to pass over.

Now it happened that *Othoman*, even in the beginning of his Government felt first at odds with one *Hagimichelau*, or S. *Nicolas* (Captain of *Eginio*), a Castle there by; for that he had oftentimes of purpose troubled and molested these *Othoman* Hardhearted men, in passing to and fro with their Cattel by his Castle. For which cause *Othoman*

The Othoman Turks in doubt of whom to make choice for their Governor.

was informed to request the Captain of *Bilezaga* (another Cattle there by, also his Neighbour and Friend) that by his people in passing that way to the Mountains, and when the Goods and Cattle, as occasion should require, take the refuge of his Cattle; which the courteous Captain (well acquainted with old *Ertogruul*, *Othomans* Father) easily granted; yet with this proviso, that none should with such Goods or Cattle have access into his Cattle, but the Turks Women only; which his courteous *Othoman* refused not. So was the Cattle of *Bilezaga* from that time forward a refuge unto the Turks Women, who passing that way, and there shrouded with their Goods and Cattle, usually preferred the Captain with some one homely Country Present or other, which afterwards was the loss of the Cattle.

Yet was not *Othoman* unmindful of the wrong done unto his people, by his evil Neighbour the Captain of *Einegiul*, but purposing to be thereof revenged, made choice of Seventy of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to pass the Mountain *Osmenian*, and so if it were possible, to surprisè or set on fire his Enemies Cattle. Of which his designment the wary Captain having intelligence by one of his Ephials, in place convenient upon the Mountain laid a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to have furnished his Cattle; whereof *Othoman* (no less wary than he) before warned by his Scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the Enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right bloody and cruel Battle, and many slain on both sides; amongst whom *Hecsa*, *Othomans* Nephew was one. The Victory nevertheless fell unto *Othoman*; after which time his People in much more safety fed their Cattle in the Summer time on the Mountains, as the manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surprisèd the little Cattle *Chalee*, not far from *Einegiul*; and there without mercy he put to the Sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterwards burnt the Cattle. Which outrage was the beginning, and occasion of great troubles thereof ensuing; for the Christians of the Countries adjoining, much grieved and offended at themselves together, complained unto the Captain of *Cara-Chifur* the greatest Commander thereabout. That these Turks, which not many years before were of meer pity received as poor Herdmen into that Country, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands upon the ancient Lands and Possessions of the Christians; which iniquity (as they said) if it were longer winked at and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authority as were to reform the same; they would no doubt in short time drive both them and all the rest of the Christians out of their native Countries; wherefore it was thought high time, and more than necessary for him, and all the rest, to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleep wherein they had long time drowsily slept; and joining their Forces together, to expulse those unthankful, incroaching, and merciless strangers out of their Countries; the mischief (they said) being now so great, far therefore needed speedy remedy; and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The Captain moved with the indignity of the late fact, and just complaint of the poor Country People, sent with all speed a strong company of Souldiers, under the leading of *Calanus* his Brother; with commandment that they should march

unto the Cattle of *Einegiul*, and there to joyn with the rest of the Christian Forces.

*Othoman* understanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his Souldiers together, marched to a place called *Officium*, near unto Mount *Timulus* in *Phrygia*; where between him and the Christians was fought a sharp Battle, wherein he lost his Brother *Sargatun* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his Souldiers. In this Battle was also *Calanus* slain, whose Belly *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his Entrails to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Mefari-Repes*, that is to say, The Dog-Grave, by which name the place is at this day known. The Body of his Brother *Sargatun* he carried to *Saguna*, and there honourably buried it near to the Body of his Father *Ertogruul*. *Aladin* Sultan of *Iscionium* understanding of this conflict, was very sorry for the loss happened unto *Othoman*, being a Mahometan of his own Religion; wherefore in token of his good Will and Favour, he gave unto him the City of *Paleopolis*, with all the Territory thereunto belonging, giving unto him also leave to besedge, take or spoil the Seignior and Cattle of *Cara-Chifur*; for accomplishment whereof he sent unto him both Souldiers and Munition. *Othoman* encouraged with this great bounty of the Sultans, straightway besegged the Cattle of *Cara-Chifur*, which at last he won, and slew all the Christians therein; the Captain he took alive, whom he cruelly executed; the Spoil of the Cattle he gave unto his Souldiers, reserving only the fifth part thereof, which he sent for a Present to the Sultan. All this happened in the year of our Lord 1290. This Cattle of *Cara-Chifur*, with the rest of *Einegiul*, *Bilezaga*, *Chalee*, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all situate in the borders of the greater *Phrygia*, or else near thereunto in the Confinnes of *Bithynia* and *Mysia*; In which pleasant Countries (but lately part of the Constantinopolitan Empire) the Christians the ancient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the rising of the *Othoman* Empire; which whom they lived at continual jars, until that at length they were by them altogether utterly oppressed and extinguished.

*Othoman* encouraged with this good success, and supported by the great Sultan of *Iscionium*, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit greater matters, for the further increase of his Honour and Territory; yet not trusting altogether to his own device, he entred into consultation with his Brother *Jandus*, which way was best to take to dispossess any bring in subjection his Neighbours the Christians; In which case, *Jandus* a man of greater courage than discretion, advised him with all celerity to urge his good fortune, and presently to invade the Christians already discouraged with the loss of *Cara-Chifur*. But this counsel altogether pleased not *Othoman*; for (said he) the Cities and Towns by us gained, must be kept with strong Garrisons, otherwise they will again be recovered by the Enemy; which Garrisons cannot be maintained and kept, if we spoyl or dispossess the Countries adjoining upon us; for in so doing we shall (as it were) with our own hands cut our own Throats; for (said he) I think it best, that we enter into a League of Amity and Friendship with the Christians round about us; which League we will keep with some and break with others, as shall serve best for our purpose. And according to this resolution, he made Peace indeed with all the Christians; but especially with *Michael Cuffi*, Captain of *Hirmen-Cia* Cattle, of whom we have before spoken, who

*Othoman* confest with his brother *Jandus* what course to take for the spoiling of the Christians his Neighbours.

*Othoman* letteth in order his little consilium.

who afterward served him to great use in the managing of his Wars, and became also a Renegat of the Mahometan Religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, because he was then at great advantage with one *Gentem-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selvacian* Family) who envying at the rising of *Othoman*, fought by all means possible to hinder his greatness, as did also the others, his quietness; which discord the Christians liked well, as a mean for them to live in more rest by.

In the mean time, *Othoman* derivèd with all carefulness to beautifie and strengthen his new Common-weal; and for the greater concourse of People, built a fair Temple in *Cara-Chifur* for the exercise of the Mahometan Religion; appointed Markets to be kept in all peaceable manner, in his great Towns, granting great privileges to such as resorted thither, as well Christians as Turks; using therein full Justice, that, all flows of People without fear, in hope of gain resorting thither, furnished his Country and Towns with all things necessary; yet this care of civil policy and government, could not so withhold him, that according to his aspiring mind, he had always a greater desire and care to enlarge his Possessions and Territory. Wherefore intending to make a rode into *Bithynia*, he requested *Michael Cuffi*, the Christian Captain before mentioned, to deliver his opinion what was best to be done; who so politely directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great Spoil and more Honour. This road so terrified most of the Christians thereabouts, that they were loath to give *Othoman* any cause of offence, for fear lest they should by him be spoiled.

It fortuned about this time, that the Captain of *Bilezaga* and *Cara-Chifur* falling at odds, he of *Cara-Chifur* first taking up Arms fiercely invaded the Captain of *Bilezaga*; who thereupon sent unto *Othoman*, to pray his aid, which he easily granted, and so without further delay presently came unto him with certain Companies of lusty tall Souldiers. By whose coming, the Captain of *Bilezaga* not a little encouraged and strengthened, set upon his Enemy; where betwixt them was made a sharp conflict, and divers on both sides slain; but the Victory by the help of *Othoman* the Turk, at length inclining to the *Bilezagian*, the other vanquished Captain in a half day came to his own death. After whom *Othoman* following, laid siege unto the Cattle, which at length he took together with the Captain, whom he caused to be presently slain. It is strange to tell, how proud the Lord of *Bilezaga* was, to have revenged himself of his Enemy, and to have gained the Victory; although it were indeed gotten, not so much by his own Valour as by the Prowess of the Turk; for whom and his followers in token of his thankfulness, he caused a great Feast to be provided in the Country there, where by he honourably entertained them; and in the end of the Feast, caused Garments of great price (according to the manner of the East) to be given to *Othoman*, in token of his favour, and his Souldiers to be also bountifully rewarded; but this was done with such a presumptuous state and grace, as if he had been some great Prince, offering unto the common Souldiers of the Turks, in passing by them, his hand to kiss, as a great favour. With which exceeding insolency, *Othoman* was so much offended, that he had much ado to hold his hands from him; yet repressing his anger, he in secret imparted his discontentment unto his Cousin *Dunder*, his Uncle *Dunder* Son, grievously complaining of the intolerable pride of the Christian Captain, and of

the disgrace by him done unto the Turks, in offering them his hand to kiss; requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected; who but a little before, being by the said Captain made Lieutenant, frankly told his Kinsman, That as then nothing was to be attempted against him; first, for that on the one side they had *Gentem-Ogli* (a great man amongst the *Selvacian* Turks) their Enemy, and round about them besides they were environed with the Christians, whom he should have all in his neck at once if he should offer the *Bilezagian* Captain any wrong. By which answer, *Othoman* perceiving his Cousin great affection towards the Christian Captain, and doubting to have the mischief he had imagined against him, by him revealed, or at leastwile hindered; without more ado suddenly taking up his Bow in his hand, with an Arrow shot him quite through, and so flew him.

Not long after, *Michael Cuffi* the Captain of *Hirmen-Cata*, *Othomans* great Friend, having concluded a marriage between a Gentleman of that Country and his Daughter, invited all the Christian Captains of the Castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the marriage; and the rather, that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now to grow dreadful unto them; hoping that such means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made Friends, they might in more due security possess his own without fear of being spoiled by him. Unto this marriage came all these bidden Guests, bringing with them such Presents as they thought good to bestow upon the new married Folks, according to the manner of the Country; but *Othomans* Gifts far exceeded all the rest, which besides many other rich things, gave unto them whole Flocks and Drovers of Sheep and Cattel; which thing drew all the Christian Captains into no little admiration of his bounty; inasmuch that they began to lay among themselves, that *Othoman* Wealth and good Fortune did portend some greater matter, to their utter ruin and fall; which to prevent, they thought it best by secret means to compass his death. The execution of which device they referred to the Captain of *Bilezaga*, as unto one with him best acquainted. This Captain was of great Wealth, Credit, and Authority amongst the Christian Rulers of the Country; which very ill of Craft and Diffimulation; which his evil disposition, *Othoman* of long time well perceived; yet having occasion to use him, in subtil manner gave him (in outward show) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and delecting himself as plain and poor in comparison of him. But to give a beginning to this treacherous device; the Captain meeting with *Othoman*, in a friendly manner told him, how that he intended shortly to marry the Daughter of the Captain of *Tar-Chifur*, earnestly requesting him to honour that his marriage with his presence, of the time whereof, he said he would give him farther knowledge afterwards; and as was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any such Treason. *Othoman* understanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, sent thither a Present of certain fair Oxen and Sheep, in the name of his Brother *Jandus*; for the Captains provision against this Marriage; but *Othoman* that *Othoman* himself, with his simple Rustic, would be present at the marriage, and then present him, not with such Presents as were agreeable with his Honour, yet such as his poor ability could afford. This message with the Presents, were wonderful welcome to the Captain,

hoping

The Cattle of *Chalee* surprisèd by *Othoman*.

The Christians complain of the wrong done unto them by the Turks.

*Michael Cuffi* letteth in order his little consilium.

hoping assuredly that his devised Treachery would take such effect as he wished; and therefore calling unto him *Michael Caffi*, in whom he had reposed an especial trust, declared to him his whole device (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant) requesting him to take the pains to go unto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed and at hand; which he knew *Caffi* might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance; and in token of great Friendship, he sent unto *Othoman* by the same Messenger, a Present of gilt Plate. *Caffi* took unto him this Message, which when he had delivered to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harm. But *Caffi* inwardly grieving to see to brave a man, and his kind Friend, by such treacherous manner to be brought to his end, moved with compassion, discovered unto him the whole Conspiracy of the Captain against him, and of the Plot laid for his destruction, willing him to take heed unto himself; for which virtue, *Othoman* gave *Caffi* great thanks as to his Friend, for saving his life; and withal richly rewarded him, promising him greater matters if he would continue that his faithful Friendship. Now concerning the Captain of *Bilescua* (faith he), as you return recommend me unto him, and tell him, That I think my self much bound unto him for many curtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore divers times in most friendly manner protected my Goods and Cattel, within the safeguard of his Castle; which his Friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one more year, and I will be bound by reason of the dangerous Wars betwixt me and the Prince *German-Ogli*, as he well knoweth; wherefore if it might so fland with his good pleasure, I would presently send unto his Castle such things as I make most reckoning of, requesting him once more to be the faithful keeper thereof, as he hath been before; and tell him further, that my Mother-in-Law, with her Daughter my Wife, desire nothing more than to find opportunity to be acquainted with the honorable Lady his Mother; for which cause (if it please him) I will bring them both with me to the marriage. This *Othoman* request, when the Captain of *Bilescua* understood by *Michael Caffi*, he sent the same *Caffi* back again to hasten his coming, willing him to bring with him what gifts he pleased; appointing certain time and place when and where the marriage should be solemnized. And because the Castle of *Bilescua* was thought to be too little conveniently to receive the multitude of People which were expected at the marriage, there was another open place of greater receptivity appointed in the Country for that purpose, about three miles distant from the Castle. The marriage day drew nigh, wherunto *Othoman* must repair for his promise sake; and therefore prepared with all diligence to set forward, and to put in execution what he had devised for the safety of himself, and destruction of his Enemy. *Othoman* had of long accustomed in dangerous times, to send by carriage the best of his things, made up in packs, to be kept in safety in the Castle of *Bilescua*; under the colour whereof he now made great packs in form as he was wont; but instead of his rich Household stuff, and such other things of price, he thrust in armed men, covering those packs with homely coverings, sending them by Carriages to the Castle of *Bilescua*, giving charge that they should not come thither before twilight. After that, he apparelled certain of his best Soldiers in Womens apparel, as if it had been his Wife and Mother-in-Law, with their Womans; so casting his jour-

ney, that he with these disguised Soldiers, and the other sent in packs, might at one instant meet at the Castle aforesaid. The Captain being now in the Country, and understanding that *Othoman* was coming in the Evening with a great train of Gentlemen, thought the safety of his late coming to be for that the Turkish Women use to flun the sight of Christian men by all means they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the Country where the marriage was next day to be solemnized, having done his humble reverence to the Captain, requested him to let him the honour, which when the Gentlemen were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be sent to his Castle, there to have some convenient lodging where they might alight and bestow themselves apart from others, according to the homely fashion of their Nation; left peradventure the presence of so honorable a company of Noblemen and Gentlemen, might put them out of countenance: which the Captain granted, and having fluted them a far off after the Turkish manner, commanded them to be conveyed to his Castle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the same time that these disguised Soldiers arrived at the Castle, came thither also the other Soldiers covered in packs in the carriages: which so soon as they came into the Castle, suddenly leapt out of the packs, and drawing their short Swords, with the help of their disguised Fellows slew the Wardens of the Castle, and without more ado possessed the same; the greatest part of the Captains people being then gone out of the Castle to the place of marriage. *Othoman* having tarried to long with the Captain, as he supposed the Castle at that time by his men surprised; so soon as the Captain had taken his Chamber, suddenly took horse, with all his Followers, accompanied also with *Caffi*, taking his way directly to the Castle of *Bilescua*; of whose sudden capture the Captain understanding, presently took horse and pursued him with all his Train, which were for the most part drunk, and overtaking him before he came to the Castle set upon him; in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* slain, and the rest put to flight.

The same night *Othoman* using great celerity, early in the Morning surprised the Castle of *Jarchair*, also where he took Prisoners the Captain thereof, with his fair Daughter *Lulifer*, (which should have been married to the Captain of *Bilescua* the next day) with all her Friends, as they were ready to have gone unto the marriage, which fair Lady he shortly after married unto his eldest Son *Orchoman*; who had by her *Amerath*, third King of the Turks, and *Solyman* Basla.

*Othoman* omitting no opportunity, presently sent one of his Captains called *Durgh-Alper*, a man of great esteem and valour, to besiege the Castle of *Emegul*; wherein he used such celerity, that preventing the fame of that was done at *Bilescua*, he suddenly environed the Castle, in such sort that none could pass in or out; until such time, as that *Othoman* having brought his Prisoners and Prey to the Castle of *Bilescua*, and there having set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of War to *Emegul*; which he presently by force took, promising the Spoil thereof unto his Soldiers. The Captain called *Hagio Nicholas* his ancient Enemy, he caused to be cut in small pieces, and all the men to be slain; which cruelty he used, because they a little before had used the like tyranny against his Turks.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subjection a great

*Othoman*  
by admini-  
stration of  
justice  
strengthen-  
ed his go-  
vernment.

The City  
of Nice be-  
sieged by  
*Othoman*.

The Cap-  
tain of Bi-  
lescua trea-  
sonably be-  
trayed the  
death of  
*Othoman*,  
is by him,  
himself  
killed.

great part of the strong Castles and Forces of the greater *Alger*, with the Territory to them be- longing, he began with all carefulness to make good Laws, and to execute justice to all his Subjects, as well Christians as Turks; with great industry studying by all means to keep his Country in peace and quietness, and to protect his Subjects from the Spoil of others, as well Christians as Turks; whereby it came to pass, that the old Inhabitants which had for the most part forsaken the Country, by reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now again to their ancient dwellings; and not only they, but many other Strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late Wars had consumed. By his good Government, that wasted Country in short time grew to be again very populous.

The civil Government of his Country well established, he besieged the City of *Nice*, in ancient time called *Nicea*, a City of *Bithynia*, famous for the general Council there holden against *Arian* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This City he brought into great distress, by placing his men of War in Forts new built upon every passage and way leading unto the same, so that nothing could be brought out of the Country for the relief of the poor Citizens. They in this extremity, by a secret Messenger certified the Emperor of *Constantinople* (under whose obedience they were) of the distress the City found, and that except he sent them present relief, they must of necessity either perish with Famine, or yield themselves into the hands of their Enemies the Turks. The Emperor moved with the piteous complaint of this Messenger, with all expedition embarked certain companies of Soldiers from *Constantinople* to relieve his distressed City. But *Othoman* understanding by his Espials, where these Soldiers were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his Forces from the Siege, lay in ambush near to the same place where the Emperors Soldiers (casting no peril) landed; who before they could put themselves in order of Battel were by *Othoman* and his Turks in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slain, and the rest driven unto the Sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* having thus piteously overthrown the Constantinopolitan Soldiers, returning to the Siege, continued the same in straight manner than before. The besieged Citizens, being brought to great penury, and now despairing of all help, yielded themselves with the great and rich City of *Nice* into the hands of *Othoman*, with the Spoil whereof he greatly enriched his men of War.

*Aladin* the great Sultan of *Iconium*, glad to hear of the good success of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his Favour and Love, sent unto him a fair Ensign, with certain Drums, and Trumpets, a Sword and Princely Robe, with large Charters, that whatsoever he took from the Christians should be all his own; and also that publick Prayers should be said in all the Turks Temples, in the names of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate, which two things properly belonged to the dignity of the Sultan. These extraordinary favours gave occasion for many to think, that Sultan *Aladin* (having no Children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptive Son and Successor in his Kingdom.

The Presents and Charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending unto *Aladin* the fifth part of the Spoil of *Nice*, taken from the Christians; but the Princely Honours due to the Sultan only, he used not during the life of *Aladin*, intending not long after to have gone himself in

person to visit the Sultan, and so to have grown into his further Favour. But having prepared all things for so honourable a journey, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sabih* (one of his great Counsellors) had taken upon him the dignity of the Sultan (as is before declared,) which was much discomfited the aspiring mind of this *Ottoman* Turk, in good hope to have succeeded him in the Kingdom, or at leastwise to have shared the greatest part thereof unto himself, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediately after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take upon him the title of Sultan, which he was granted unto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modesty sake had forborn, *Aladin* yet living; wherefore he made one *Drus* his learned Fakir (that is to say, a man learned in the Turkish Law) Bishop and Judge of *Carac-Chifur*, commanding the publick Prayers which were wont to be made for the health and prosperity of the great Sultan, to be now made in his own name; which was first openly done by the said Bishop in the Pulpit of *Carac-Chifur*. At the same time also he began to coin Money in his own name, and to take upon him all other Honours belonging unto a Sultan or King; which was about ten years since the death of his Father *Ertugul*, and in the year of our Lord 1300, unto which time the beginning of the great Empire of the Turks is under the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

When *Othoman* had thus taken upon him the Majesty of a King, he made his Son *Orchoman* the first Prince and Governor of the Country, his principal Followers, to be Governors of other strong Castles and Forts, divers of which places retain the name of those Captains at this day. He himself made choice of the City *Neapolis*, about twenty miles from *Nice*, to seat his Royal Palace in, where also divers of his Nobility built them Houses, and changed the name of the City, calling it *Despotepe*, as who should say, the City of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to devote by all means he could, to augment his Kingdom; and for that cause being accompanied with his Son *Orchoman*, made many rodes into the Countries adjoining upon him, inslaving many places as might best serve his purpose, for the enlargement of his Kingdom, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

The Christian Princes, rulers of the Countries bordering upon this new Kingdom, fearing lest the greatness of *Othoman* might in short time be their utter confusion, agreed to join all their Forces together, and so to commit to the Fortune of one great Battel their own Estates with his; according to which resolution, the Christian confederate Princes, which were for the most part of *Myfia*, and *Bithynia*, levying the greatest Forces they were able to make, with Fire and Sword invaded *Othoman* Kingdom. Who having knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made against him, had in readines all his Captains and Men of War; and hearing that his Enemies had entered his Dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the Confines of *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, fought with them a great and mortal Battel, wherein many were slain on both sides, as well Turks as Christians; and after a long Fight, obtained of them a right bloody Victory. In this Battel *Cafelennus*, one of the greatest Christian Captains was slain; another called

1300.

*Neapolis*  
the first  
Princel City  
of this  
*Ottoman*  
Kingdom.

*Drus* be-  
sieged by  
*Othoman*.

Taken of the Country which he governed in Phrygia, chased by Othoman unto the Castle of *Ublad*, not far distant from the place where the Battle was fought, was for fear delivered unto him by the Captain of the same Castle, and was afterward by Othoman's commandment now called cut in pieces, within the view of his chief Castle; which Othoman afterwards subdued, with all the Country thereabouts. The other Christian Princes and Captains saved themselves by flying into strong holds farther off. The Prince of *Bitunia* the chief Author of this War, fled into the strong City of *Prusa*, which the Turks called *Burisa*, whither Othoman not long after led his Army, in hope to have won the same; but finding it not possible to be taken by force, began presently at one time to build two great and strong Castles upon the chief passages leading to the City, which Castles he with great industry finished in one year; and in the one, placed as Captain *Attemur* his Nephew; in the other one *Balahanzack*, both men of great courage and skilful in feats of War; and in this fort having blocked up the City of *Prusa*, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of *Bitunia*; and so returned home, leaving the two Castles well manned with strong Garrisons, under the charge of the Captains before named.

Othoman returning home to *Neapolis*, honourably rewarded his Souldiers, according to their deserts, establishing first a quiet and pleasing Government in his Kingdom; the People in a short number retired from far into his Dominions, there to rest themselves; whereby his Kingdom became in few years exceeding populous, and he for his politic Government most famous. And so living in great quietness certain years, being now become aged and much troubled with the Gout; his old Souldiers accustomed to live by the Wars, abhorring Peace, came to him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honourable War in hand for the enlargement of his Kingdom, with great cheerfulness offering to spend their lives in his service rather than to grow old in idleness; which forwardness of his men of War greatly pleased him, and so giving them thanks, for that time diffinitively, promising that he would not be long unmindful of their request. But yet thinking it good to make all things safe at home before he took any great Wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call unto him *Michael Cafi*, the only Christian Captain who for his great deserts he had at all times suffered to live in quiet with his Possessions, as it were in the heart of his Kingdom; and by fair means (if it might be) to persuade him to forsake the Christian Religion, and become a follower of *Malomet*, and so to take away all occasion of mistrust; which if he thought he could do, without forgetting all former Friendships, to make War upon him as his utter Enemy. Whereupon *Cafi* was sent for, being persuaded by the Messenger, that Othoman had sent for him, because he had occasion to use his wonted faithful Counsel and Service in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Cafi* thinking of nothing less than of that which ensued, came accompanied with such Souldiers as he thought to use in that service; But coming unto Othoman, and understanding the very cause why he was sent for, and seeing danger eminent on every side, kissing Othoman's hand, after the manner of the Turks, requested him in courteous manner to enter him in the Principles of the Mahometan Religion, which he promised ever after to embrace; And so saying certain words after Otho-

Michael  
Caffi  
the  
only  
Christian  
Captain

man, he turned Turk, to the great displeasure of God, and the contentment of Othoman and his Nobility. For which his revolting, Othoman presently gave him an Ensign and a rich Robe, tokens whereby the Mahometan Sultans assure their Vassals of their Favour and the undoubted possession of such Land and Living as they then hold.

Oftentimes after this, Othoman for the contenting of his Souldiers, invaded the Countries bordering upon him, took many strong Castles and Forts, subdued the most part of *Phrygia*, *Misia*, and *Bitunia*, and other great Regions, unto the *Euxine Sea*; and being now very aged and diseased as is aforesaid with the Gout, and thereby unable to go into the field in person himself, oftentimes sent his Son *Orchanes* against his Enemies; who to the imitation of his Father achieved many great enterprises, Othoman his Father yet living.

Now happily might the confidante Reader (and not without just cause) marvel, what dead sleep had overwhelmed the Greek Emperors of those times; first *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his Son *Andronicus*, both men of great Valour, and still resolute at *Constantinople*, thus to suffer the Turks (not Othoman, for he as yet bare no sway; but others the Sherars of Sultan *Aladin* Kingdom) to take their Cities, spoil their Countries, kill their Subjects, and dayly to in-croach upon them in the lesser *Asia*, and especially in *Bitunia*, so near unto them, and as it were even under their Noses. But yet him with me, here as in a most convenient place but breathe a little, and consider the troubled State of that declining Empire, now hasting to an end; and he shall plainly fee the causes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diseased body quite overthrown and sick to death, it became at length a Prey unto the aspiring Turk. *Michael Paleologus* having by great treachery obtained the Greek Empire, and by rare fortune recovered also the City of *Constantinople* from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this History declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the West, but especially of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, then a Prince of great Fame and Power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceased not to solicit for the restitution of him again into his Empire, and to have also joined with him a near bond of Affinity, by marrying his Daughter unto *Charles* his Son; to avert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles near home, by his Embassadors offered unto *Gregory* the Tenth, then Bishop of *Rome*, to unite and conform the Greek Church unto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Bishops Supremacy in such sort as that it should be lawful for any man to appeal unto the Court of *Rome*, as unto the higher and more excellent; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promising to perform what he had before requested, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwise baffled. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of Religion in the Greek Church should be made, *Joseph* the Patriarch to begin withal, gave up the place, and shortly after forsaking the City, retired himself into a Monastery near unto the Straight of *Bosphorus*, where he at quiet devoutly spent the rest of his life. The rest of the Clergy also discontented with this innovation, in their Sermons openly inveighed against it, persuading the People not to receive it; crying out, that now was come the time of their trial, the time of their Martyrdom, and the time wherein they were to receive the glorious Crown of their painful sufferings;

Alteration  
of Religion  
in the  
Greek  
Church.

sufferings; inso-much, that great tumults were thereupon raised, and all the City and the Country in an uproar; for it was not the Clergy only, and the vulgar People by them moved, which diffided and abhorred these the Emperors proceedings, and made these fits, but many of the better sort, yea, of the chief Magistrates themselves also. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor learning all other foreign business, was enforced to convert all his Power and Study unto the appeasing of these domestic Troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than those abroad. And first to persuade his discontented Subjects, he told them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in respect of the dangerousness of the time; and that it was a point of wisdom, to foresee dangers hanging over our heads, and not to delay, if any thing were to be altered, for the averting thereof; for if the Enemies (as he said) should come, the City yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raised from death to life, the present mischief would be far greater than those forepassed, and that then their Enemies would become Lords, not of their Religion and Ceremonies only, but of all at once, their Wives, their Children, and whatsoever else they had, where their Liberty changed into Bondage, they should be constrained to convert themselves not with their bodily service only, but even with their minds also, unto the Wills of the Latines their Enemies. And that so it would come to pass, that no man should be able to keep the old Customs and Manners of their Ancestors, but should see even their most sacred Rites and Ceremonies changed and quite overthrown. Which he carefully foreseeing had not (as he said) refused to yield unto necessity, and as Wisdom would, neglected a little harm in respect of a greater benefit; and in the lefts to have yielded unto his Enemies, to escape the benefit of the greater Liberty. With which the Emperors persuasion some were moved, and so held themselves contented; and some others not; against whom he was enforced to use other more severe remedies, as against his rebellious Subjects; of whom some he imprisoned, some he banished, some he tormented, some he dismembered, some he bereft of their Sight, or confiscated their Goods, using (in brief) all the means whereby the Minds of the Resolute or the Weak were to be moved. All which things, they whose zeal was grounded upon knowledge (in number fewest) with patience endured; but the greater part void of judgment, and the refuse of the People in simple Attire, ran roving abroad, some unto *Peloponnesus*, some unto *Thracia*, some unto *Achaia*, and some as far as *Calabria*, as men persecuted for their conscience, not regarding greatly whether, so it were out of the Emperors jurisdiction, and sometimes fitting their own Humors; neither conforming themselves unto the Religion then commonly by the Emperor established; neither yet agreeing among themselves, but taking unto them divers names, some as the Disciples of *Armenius*, some of *Joseph*, and some of others; some of them, themselves deceived, and deceiving others also. Thus for the avoiding of foreign danger out of the West, was the Empire at home no little endangered, and the State thereby shaken. Wherewith the Emperor was so encumbered, as that he had no leisure to provide for the tempest arising by the Turks out of the East, but was enforced wholly to employ himself, and all his endeavours to the keeping of his People and Subjects in their due obedience at home. All whose deep devices, first in

aspiring to the Empire, no way unto him due, and great travels afterwards for the affluring of the same to himself and his Posterity; against all right even with the alteration of the Religion of his Fathers, yielded him in the winding up of all, not so much as credit of an honourable Sepulture; but dying in these troubles not far from *Lysimachia*, as he was making preparation against the Prince of *Thracia*, was there by his son *Andronicus* his commandment (for whose advancement he had strained both his Faith and Honour) obscurely buried in the Field, a good way from his Camp, as unworthy of a better Sepulture, for revolting from the ancient Religion of his Ancestors, although his Obsequies were for fashion sake afterward with some solemnity celebrated. This was the end of the great Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whose time the Turks, the Successors of *Aladin*, greatly incoached upon him in the lesser *Asia*, as is in part before declared; a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of body and mind, had he not for the advancement of himself and his Posterity, strained the same with foul Treachery and Apollacy; for which (as some say) he ever after lived in conscience troubled, and dying, was even by his own Son not thought worthy of an honourable funeral. A notable example unto all such as with greediness seek after glory, and foolishly expose themselves unto such adventures, as oftentimes overthrow their deepest devices, leaving in themselves no certainty, preferring their inordinate desires (either for themselves or their Posterity) before that which is good and virtuous. Twice wretched in so doing; first in their folly, and then in their ingratitude; who believe that they find God himself against their designs, and by his aid evidently never and purposes, they by and by evidently never with other things than what they had foreseen, contrary unto them; and so themselves offend, contrary to their expectation, call headlong into extreme misery; for so, even he of whom we now speak, otherwise a man of great Wisdom, and happy in his doing, overcame with his affection towards his Children, in desiring to leave unto them the Empire, when as he ought to have cast all the care, both of himself and of them, especially upon the Providence of God; he like a blind man following his own deep conceits, not grounded upon the fear of God, but upon *Man's* Wisdom only, cast himself before he was on *Man's* Wisdom, and became also even aware unto miserable troubles, and became also even unto his Subjects, and them also for whom he had so forgot himself. For whereas God had even from his Childhood allotted unto him the Empire (as was by many evident signs and tokens to have been gathered) if he could have moderated his untimely desires, kept his tongue from Perjury, and his hand from blood, and not turned out of the way after strange Devotions, he had by many degrees excelled even the best Emperors his Predecessors; whereas now he lieth obscurely buried, shrouded in the fumes of Despair, the report of his foul and faithless dealings far exceeding all other unrighteous varieties.

*Andronicus Paleologus* succeeding his Father in the Empire, and thinking by restoring again the government of the Church, together with the Rites and Customs of the Greeks, to have appeased all such troubles as were before by his Father raised, by bringing in those of the Latines; found himself therein most deceived, and his troubles no less than his Fathers; they which had before received the Latine Customs, and well liking of them, with great obstinacy defending the same; and the other of the contrary Faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modesty or measure insulting upon them; whereof arose exceeding great riots and troubles, especially in the beginning of his Reign; so that great

became

Andronicus  
can  
be  
seen  
in  
the  
picture.

benefit of the inchoating Turks, who in the mean time ceased not by all means to increase their Territories in *Asia*; and not only there, but in the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea, also. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles King of Sicily*, delivered of the greatest fear for which both he and his Father before him had to their great cost and charge both built and maintained a strong Fleet of Gallies; now perwaded by fame, whose aditions and speeches were after the manner of the Court, all framed upon the Princes Appetite, (as the readiest way to thrive, without respect of the common good) to spare that needless charge (as they termed it) which yearly cost him more than any thing else; had discharged all his Mariners and Sea-men, and commanded all the Gallies to be laid up, as if he intended to come in another year, were neglected and not looked unto, they in time for the most part rotted and perished. As for the Mariners, they went some one way, some another, as their Fortunes led them; to look for their Livings in foreign Countries, even with the Emperors Enemies; and some gayd themselves to Home, thinking it better by doing something to live, than by sitting still to perish. Which good Husbandry at the first seemed to be very profitable unto the Emperor, but especially unto such as being near unto him, and courtuously given, made full reckoning of all other the most necessary defences of the Empire, in comparison of those which were up of money, until that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to have sprung many great mischiefs, unto the great weakening of the Greek Empire. For besides that the Turks without let did great harm on the Sea; the Pirates now out of fear of the Emperors Gallies, at their pleasure took the spoil of the rich Islands in the *Mediterranean*, and robbed the Towns all along the Sea-coast, to the unpleasing grief of the poor Country People; and yet not so contented, came with their Gallies, sometime two, sometime three, sometime more, as it were in contempt, even close unto the imperial City. Yea the *Florentines* were so bold, as upon a right small displeasure to rise and afterward to set fire up on the Suburbs thereof, which they would hardly have adventured, had the Emperors Fleet been preserved and maintained in the wonted strength.

At the same time also *Andronicus* the Emperor (as the great hindrance of the Affairs of the Empire, and advantage of the Enemies of the same) was not a little troubled with a jealous Suspicion of his Brother *Constantine* (commonly called *Porphyrigenius*) as if he had sought to have aspired unto the Empire: seeking by all means to win unto himself the love and favour of all men, but especially of the Nobility both at home and abroad, and to lay that means unto the height of his desires: All which (as most men thought) were but meer Slanders, maliciously devised by such as envying at his Honour, and taking occasion by the Emperors Suspicion, ceased not to increase the same, until they had wrought his unworthy destruction. The first ground of this false Suspicion in the young Emperors head, was, for that this *Constantine* even from his Childhood, was for many causes, better beloved of the old Emperor his Father, than *Andronicus*, as better furnished with those gifts of Nature which beauteify a Prince, and of a more courteous Behaviour than was his Brother; inasmuch that had he not been the younger Son, then, his Father could willingly have left him his Successor in the Empire. This was one and the chiefest cause of the Emperors grudge, and the

ground of his Suspicion. Yet was there another also, and that not much less than this; for that his Father in his life time had of long thought, to have separated from the Empire a good part of *Thessalia* and *Macedonia*, and to have made him absolute Prince thereof; and had haply to do done, had he not been by death prevented; which thing also much grieved *Andronicus*, and the more incensed him against his Brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that according to his Willom, cunningly did endeavour, not only during the time that his Father lived, but three years after his death also, making show of the great love and kindness towards him that was possible. *Constantine* in the mean time, of such greatest revenues as were by his Father assigned unto him, reaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same upon his Followers, Favourites, and others that made sure unto him, as well the manner sort as the greater, and with his sweet Behaviour won unto him the Hearts of all men; for Affability and Courtship in high degree allured mens minds, as do faire flowers in the Spring the Passengers Eyes. This was that precept of the *Golden Rule*, That the higher a Prince was in Dignity, and the more courteous he shewed himself unto his Inferiours, the better he should be of them beloved. He therefore that should for the two first causes blame *Constantine*, should do him wrong; as both proceeding not of himself, but of his Fathers too much love; but in the third thing was not altogether blameless; for if for want of experience he prodigally gave such gifts, as for the most part might have befemed the Emperor himself, he ignorantly erred, yet did he not little offend; but if he knewed, that for his prodigal bounty he could not be suspected of his Brother, and yet without regard to the publick good, he was greatly to be blamed thereof. For if nothing else might have moved him, yet he should have considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had forced, and how many it had brought to untimely end. So although perhaps that *Constantine* meant no harm unto his Brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did these things not a little increase and aggravate the former Suspitions, and open the Ears of the Emperor his Brother unto such calumination as commonly attendeth upon immoderate bounty. But to return to our purpose, this honourable *Constantine* then lived in *Lydia*, but lately married, and in good hope long to live, being not past thirty years of age; but pleasantly spending the time with his Wife at *Nymphæa* in *Lydia*, at such time as he was thus secretly accused unto his Brother, the Emperor thought it good, as upon other occasions of business, to pass over into *Asia* himself, but indeed to a false resolution, upon the sudden to oppress his Brother, as by the proof it fell out. For at his coming over *Constantine* fearing nothing less, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest Favourites, of whom one *Michael Strategopulus* (sometime a man in great Authority with the Emperor his Father, and of all others, for wealth, honour, and noble acts most famous) was chief of the number, together with *Constantine* were first clapt into prison, where we will leave them every hour looking to die, their Lands and Goods being before confiscated. But these worthy men, especially *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid fast; who many times in great Barrels discomfited the Turks, and notably defended the Frontiers of the Empire along the East side of the River *Mæander*; they now finding none to withstand them, foraged not only

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only all the rich Country beyond the River, but with an infinite multitude passing the same, did there great harm also; so that there was no remedy, but that the Emperor must of necessity make choice of some other worthy Captain for the defence of those his Cities and Countries, by the Incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part of *Asia*.

There was then in the Emperors Court one *Alexius Philanthropus*, a right valiant and renowned Captain, and then in the flower of his youth; of him the Emperor thought good to make choice for defence of those Frontiers of his Empire in the lesser *Asia* (against the Turks) which were before, the charge of his Brother *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*; joyning to him one *Libadarius*, an old famous Captain, and a man of great experience also; appointing unto him the Government of the Cities of *Conium* and unto the other the Frontiers along the winding banks of *Mæander*. Where *Alexius* having now gotten a Charge worthy his valour, and in many great Conflicts with the Turks fill carrying away the Victory, became in short time of great fame; besides that he was exceeding bountiful and courteous unto his men; a soldier, but a ready way unto dangerous Credit and Renown. Thus at the first all things prospered in his hand according to his hearts desire; yea the Turks themselves, bordering upon him, hardly bese on the one side by the *Tartars*, and on the other by himself; and yet not so much feared with their Enemies behind them, as moved with his courteous, came over to him with their Wives and Children, and served themselves (many of them) in his Camp. But as they say, That in *Jupiters* Court no man might drink of the Tun of Bliss, but that he must taste also of the Tun of Woe; so fell it out with this great Captain, who having been tasted of the better Tun, had the worse all poured full upon his head. *Libadarius* feeling all to prosper with him, and somewhat envying thereat, began to fear and suspect, left he proud of his good Fortune, and now grown very frong, casting off his allegiance should aspire unto the Empire, and so first begin with him, as the nearest unto him; which thing many of the Nobility secretly affirmed also, but how truly many doubt. But this envious Plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked up in the ashes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropus*, certain Companies of *Cretansians*, whom for their good Service and Fidelity he both honoured and trusted above others, using them also for the Guard of his own Person. These men proud of their Credit, hearing of the furnished aspiring of their General, and in hope by his advancement to raise their own Fortunes also, ceased not continually to flatter unto him high conceits of himself, and to perwade, with all speed to take the matter upon him; the very conceit whereof (as they said) would be unto him no less danger, than if he should enter into the Action it self, as he might well see by the woful Examples of the noble *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, both in extrem peril but for the jealous conceit furnished against them. Which quick Suggestions wrought in the great mind divers, and those most contrary motions, so that he scarce knew himself what he would or would not. For they which are unto themselves in conscience guilty of any grievous Crime, if any mischief hang over their heads therefore, it happens unto them as forknowing and expecting the same even from the time that they offended, unto whom, if nothing else, yet that same very forknowledge catcheth not a little the grief and misery; whereas contrariwise, they which are with sudden mischiefs, and unlooked

for, overwhelmed, not knowing any just cause why, must needs stand as men dismayed, and almost beside themselves. But at length after divers great Conflicts with himself, the evil Perwaders of Rebellion prevailed with him. Yet did he at the first forbid any mention to be made of him in the Army as Emperor; which caused the *Cretansians*, the chief Authors of his Rebellion, almost to force him forthwith to take upon him the Imperial Ordinances, thereby to confirm the minds of his Followers and Favourites; for that such Resolutions were (as they said) forthwith to be put into execution, neither that any thing required by joynt celerity and dexterity both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would fill his Soldiers heads with doubts, and discourage them with the fear of the uncertainty of the event; all which for all that moved him not so to do; but whether for fear of the greatness of the danger, or for that he secretly thought how fitt to circumvent *Libadarius*, of whom he stood most in doubt, is uncertain. The report of all which his doings and designs were in short time carried first unto *Libadarius*, as the nearest, and so in short time unto the Emperor; who were therewith not a little both disquieted. And had *Alexius* as some perwaded him) at the first set upon *Libadarius*, then unprovided, no doubt but he had done much; but God, by whom all Princes Reign, and whose Power confoundeth the devices of the proud, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppressed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Emperors Brother, of whom he was to have feared no harm. This *Theodorus*, the first man that *Alexius* shot at, warned by his Brother *Constantine* surnamed, lived a pleasant private life in *Lydia*, far from the ambition of the Court, and therefore so much the more beloved of the Emperor; but *Alexius* fearing left in that hurle many should refuse unto him, as unto the Emperors Brother, and so hinder his proceedings, thought best first to make him sure, and afterward to oppress *Libadarius*, not aware that in stead of the body he followed but after the shadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his oversight, and knowing many that be the sown of War, gathered together all the Coin he possibly could, both of his own, and his friends, sending also for the Emperors Treasures of *Philadelphæa*, and with all speed raised the greatest Power that possibly he could out of *Ionæ*, which he furnished with all things necessary, promising unto his Soldiers great matters, and filling them with great hopes, and that within ten days he would with a great Army meet the Rebel in the heart of *Lydia*, and there dare him barrel. But withall considering that the *Cretansians*, men but of a mercenary Faith, had always the Guard of *Alexius* his Person, he thought good to make proof if they might be unto him no less danger, than if he so well wrought the matter by great sums of money presently given, and promises of greater Preferments with the Emperor, that they (somewhat before discomfited with *Alexius* his lackness, and now doubting also his success) yielded unto his desire, promising in the beginning of the barrel to deliver him into his hands; which they shortly after in the very joyning of the barrel accordingly performed, delivering him fast bound unto *Libadarius* his Enemy. Who not a little proud thereof, used him with great Infidelity, and within three days after put out his eyes, for fear the Emperor according to his courteous nature should have given him his Par-  
do; and so kept him in prison until the Emperors pleasure

Alexius  
Philanthropus  
thereupon  
died.

Libadarius  
was  
oppressed  
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proceedings  
of  
Philanthropus.

pleasure were further known. Thus through false flattery and ambition were the greatest Champions of the Greek Empire brought to confusion.

Now after this Rebellion of *Philantropous*, *Andronicus* became so jealous of his own people, as that he wot not whom to trust, retaining great confidence in strangers, than in his own Subjects, to the great hurt of his Estate. At the same time it is furnished, that the *Maffagets* (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond *Ister*, being Christians, but oppressed by the *European Tartars*, weary of their slavery, sent presently unto the Greek Emperor, offering to place for them to dwell in, they would come over unto him with ten thousand of their Families, and faithfully serve him in his Wars against the Turks (who then grievously wasted his Countries in *Asia*, destitute of good Captains and Commanders,) which offer he gladly accepted, as fringing them in need of Aid, and not greatly trusting his own people. But when these *Maffagets*, in number above *10000*, coming over with their Wives and Children, were to be furnished with all things, and especially the Men with Horses, Armor, and Pay, (all which the Emperor could not himself do) the Subjects were therewith hardly charged, and Commotion sent out into every Country and Province, for the taking up of Horses and Armor: every City, every Country-Town and Village, every Gentlemen House and poor man's Cottage, was searched and ransacked, and all things taken from them, that were there found fit for Service, to their great discontentment, every man murmuring and grudging to have his Arms taken from him, and given to strangers; but when they were also to be Contributors unto their pay, they then openly cursed and banned them even unto their faces. Yet at length (though with much ado) these strangers well furnished with all things necessary, went with some other Forces also, shipped over into *Asia*, under the leading of *Michael Palaeologus* the Emperors eldest Son, and then his Companion in the Empire. Who marching along the Country, came, and encamped about *Adrianople*. Where the Turks at the first, after their wonted manner retired themselves into the high Mountains and thick Woods, that from thence they might more safely learn what strength their new come Enemies were of, and what discipline of War they kept; for they knew, that upon the coming of great Armies many false Reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were; as they did of these also, as of a people invincible; and therefore they thought it best to protract the time, until they might see in what sort best to deal with them. But thus hovering over their heads, and perceiving them oftentimes without order to roam abroad into the Country seeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenary men spoiled their Friends no less than if they had been their Enemies) they came down in good order from the Mountains, from whence at the first they had sent but a little; but afterwards they came on further, and with greater confidence, in such sort, as that it seemed they would ere long assault the young Emperor in his Camp. Whereupon he with the rest discouraged, without any stroke given retired; and the Turks still following him at the heels. For neither he, neither they, had any thing considered of the small number of their Enemies; but as drunken men, whose heads filled with gross vapors, are deceived in the greatness of the ob-

ject that they see, and oftentimes think one thing to be two; so were they also in like manner with their own fear blinded. Befide that, most commonly it falleth out, that the Army which Infidelity and Injury forenunceth, is appointed to destruction, and by the fearfulness of it self overthrown before the Enemy fight upon it, they themselves becoming Enemies to themselves, and Gods just Vengeance appointing unto them such an end as their deeds have deserved; neither was it like that they should do any great good, that at their first fighting forth, in stead of provision, carried over with them the bitter Curses and Execrations of their Villages, which the Emperor seeing the *Maffagets* fly, and not daring with those few he had left, to oppose himself against his Enemies, retired himself into the strong Castle of *Magnesia*, there to expect what would become of these mischief. But the *Maffagets* spoiling the Country of the poor Christians as they went, marched directly unto the strait of *Hellepontus*, and there again passed over into *Europe*, as if they had been therefore only sent for over the River *Ister*, to shew the Turks the foener the way unto the Sea in *Asia*. For it was not many days after, but that *Michael* the Emperor being returned to *Constantinople*, the Turks coming down, with a great Power, subdued all the Countries, even unto the Coast of *Lesbos*, to the great ruine and weakening of the Greek Empire.

It was not long after these great stirrs made by the *Maffagets*, but that one *Ronsierius* (sometime a notable Pirate, but as then a most famous Captain) hearing of the great entertainment that the Greek Emperor gave unto strangers, by Messengers sent for that purpose offered unto him his Service in his Wars against the Turks, as had before the *Maffagets*. This *Ronsierius* of whom we speak, had out of *Catalonia* a Province of Spain, and out of that part of France which is called *Narbonensis*, and some other places also, gathered together a great number of bare needy naked men, yet lusty able bodies, and fit for Service either by Sea or Land; with whom he manned four tall Gallies, and for as a notable Pirate long time robbed, not only the Merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Islands, carried away thence much rich Spoil also; until at length by the mischief he did being become famous, and great Wars then arising between *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodore* King of Sicily, he was by *Theodore* sent for and requested for aid; which he (living of the spoil) easily granted, and so came unto him with a thousand Horse and as many Foot, all old expert Soldiers, whose good Service stood the King in those Wars in great need. But as the end of War is Peace, so long as the civil discords of *Charles*, a Peace being concluded between the two Kings, and confirmed by a Marriage betwixt their Children; *Ronsierius* living altogether by his Fortunes, was to seek for new Entertainment, both for himself and his men, as having neither house nor certain dwelling place to repair to; but being as needy men, they together sought out of one place, some out of another, in hope of booty as their Fortune led them. In which case *Ronsierius* their General thought it best to offer his Service to the Greek Emperor in his Wars against the Turks; whereof he gladly accepted, and so sent for him; unto whom he presently came, with two thousand good Soldiers, called (after the proud Spanish manner) by the name of *Catalonians*, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the Country of *Catalonia*. Of whose coming

Ronsierius went us what he was.

Ronsierius went us for what he was.

coming the Emperor rejoicing more than he had cause (as afterward by proof it fell out) in token of his great favour, honoured him with the name of the Great Captain, and afterwards gave him his Niece *Mary* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tenza* another *Catalonian* Captain sent for by *Ronsierius*, was come thither also with more men, the Emperor to gratify these both, gave unto *Ronsierius* the name of *Cesar*, and unto the other the name of the Great Captain. But when these new Captains with their Followers were to be transported into *Asia*, it is not to be spoken what harm they did by the way unto the Country people, and in the Villages along the Sea-coast; abusing the men and women as their Slaves, and spending their subsistence at their pleasure, for which they had many a bitter curse; and this was their first years entertainment. The next Spring they set forward to relieve the great City of *Philadelphie*, being as then long besieged by the Turks, and hardly belted without with the Enemy; and within, with extreme Penury and Famine; which good Service they most valiantly performed, and raised the Siege. For the Turks beholding the good order of these Latine Soldiers, their bright Armor, and courageous coming on, rose presently and departed, not only from the City, but quite out of the Emperors Territory. Besides that, in this Army were joynted unto these *Catalonians* great numbers of the best Soldiers of the Greeks, and all the Power of the *Maffagets*; so that had not the Emperor expressly before commanded, not to pursue them too far, it was by many thought, all those Cities and Countries might then again have been in short time recovered from the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdoms appointed unto ruine, fair occasions help not for the stay thereof; yea the greatest help provided by the world, by a secret commanding Power above, being oftentimes converted to the destruction of that they were provided for the safeguard of; as it now fell out with the Emperor and these Spanish Soldiers; for this Service done, the Greeks returned home, as did the *Maffagets* also. But these *Catalonians* with *Ronsierius* their General, roaming up and down the Emperors Territories in *Asia*, did there great harm, turning their Forces (as Enemies) upon them whom they were sent for to relieve; alledging that they had not their pay according to the Emperors promise; and that therefore they must live upon them that had sent for them and deceived them. So were the poor people in every place spoiled, their Wives and Daughters ravished, their Priests and aged Fathers tortured to confess such secret store as they had; all was subject unto these dissolute Soldiers rage and lust; yea many of them that had not money and Manners, were taken by the greedy Soldiers imagination, having their hands or feet, or some other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high-ways side begging an halpenny or a piece of bread, having nothing left to comfort themselves with, more than their miserable voice and fountains of Tears; with which they now and then did move their pity, and so they had fulfilled by the Turks, the Emperor much grieved, and well the more, for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieve them; but what remedy, his Coeffers were so bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redress thereof. *Ronsierius* having thus spoiled the Emperors Country, and thus left nothing that pleased either him or his, with all his Power passed over into *Europe*; and leaving all the rest of his Army at *Calpessus*, with two

hundred of his men went unto the young Emperor *Michael* (then lying with a final Power at *Oreghia* in *Thracia*) to demand of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats; with whose Infidelity at his coming, the Emperor more offended than before, his Soldiers there present perceiving the fame, with their drawn Swords compassing him, sent by the Court, flew him, with certain of his Followers; the rest fled in all haste to *Calpessus* to certify their Fellows what had happened.

Thus by the death of *Ronsierius*, the young Emperor had thought to have discouraged the *Catalonians*, and abated their pride, as like enough it was to have done; yet in proof it fell not out so, but was the cause of far greater evils. So when God prospers not mens actions, the devil falleth out unto the worst, and their wifed devices turn to meer follies; for the *Catalonians* at *Calpessus* hearing of the death of *Ronsierius* their General, first flew all the Citizens in the City, and notably fortified the same, took that as their Refuge. Then dividing their Soldiers into two parts, with one part of them manned out eight Gallies, which under the leading of the great Captain *Tenza*, robbed and spoiled all the Merchant Ships, passing the straits of *Hellepontus*, to or from *Constantinople*; the other part left in the City, in the mean time foraging the Country all about them. But *Tenza* shortly after encountering with a Fleet of the *Genoways*, well provided for him, was by them overthrown, and most of his Gallies sunk, and himself taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his Fellows, and so again enlarged. Now the *Catalonians* at *Calpessus* somewhat discouraged with the loss of their Fleet and so many of their men, for certain days kept themselves quiet within their Walls, not knowing well what course to take, for they feared both the *Maffagets* and *Thracians*; them, for that they had upon light causes abused them, and slain divers of them in the late *Asian* War; and these, for that they had but even the other day burnt their Houses and spoiled their Labors in the Country there by; for which and other their Outrages, they utterly deplored of the Emperors Favor, whom they had so highly offended. But that which most of all terrified them, was, for that they looked for every day, when *Michael* the young Emperor, who as then lay not far off, should with a great Power come to assault them; for fear of whom they cast a deep Ditch about the City, with a strong Counterparty, to preparing themselves, as if they should have been even presently besieged. But the time so passing, and the Emperor delaying his coming, they began to think of other matters; for being brought to that strait, that they could not well tell which way to turn them, that they were on every side beset with danger, they upon malicious Reasons, and unto the Greeks most fatal, by Messengers sent of purpose, craved Aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other side of the strait over against them, in *Asia*; who presently sent them five hundred good Soldiers, after whom followed also many other fugitives and loose companions, in hope of spoil; with whom the *Catalonians* for the present strengthened, and being themselves three thousand strong, issued out of the City, and foraged the Country thereabouts, bringing in with them great Herds and Flocks of Sheep and other Cattel, together with their Keepers; whereupon both the Emperors and his Subjects incensed, prepared themselves for Revenge. This was the first calling in of the Turks into *Europe* (that I read of) and the beginning of those endless miseries

Ronsierius was slain.

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The Turks divided the Country into two parts, the *Turques*, or renegade Turks following *Melch*, and the rest *Chal* their General. But *Melch* being before become a Christian, as were his Followers also; and after that having received most honourable Entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet again most shamefully breaking his Faith before given, and violating his Religion, had revolted to his Enemies; despairing of the Emperors further friendship, which he had so evilly deserved, made choice rather to go unto *Charles Prince of Servia*, by whom he was sent for, than to come again into the sight of *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor. And to go unto him with a thousand Horle, and five hundred Foot, was there of him well entertained himself; but his Soldiers all commanded to deliver unto the Prince both their Horles and Armour, and to fall to other Trades, and not to bear Arms but at such time, and so many of them as should seem good unto the Prince, that had received them into his Country.

But *Chal* with the Turks his Followers, in number about thirteen hundred Horle and eight hundred Foot, staying at *Macedonia*, offered unto the Greek Emperor quietly to depart his Country, to that he would give him passage by the Straits of *Christopolis*, by him fortified; and in safety transport him and his Soldiers with all their substance, over the Strait of *Hellepontus* into *Asia*; unto which his request, the Emperor considering the great harm done in his Provinces, and defraus also to be discharged of so great a burthen, easily granted; and sent *Semander*, one of his most valiant Captains, to conduct them out of *Macedonia* unto *Thracia*, unto the Straits of *Hellepontus*. Where the Greek Captains and Soldiers seeing the great multitude of Horles, and abundance of Money and other Spoils, which they having taken from the *Greeks*, were now about to carry away with them into *Asia*, they thought it a great indignity to suffer them to do so; and allured also with the hope of so rich a Prey, as had been of long in gathering, they entered into a device far different from that which was unto the Turks before promised; neither providing them of shipping, neither careful of their safety, but purposing upon the sudden by night to destroy them. Whereof the Turks having got understanding, suddenly rising, surprised a Castle in the Country there by, which they notably fortified for the defence of themselves, to the great affrontment of them that had purposed their destruction, who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to certify the Emperor what had happened; who (after I wot not what received Custom of the Greek Emperors his Predecessors) slowly dispatching things requiring great care, carefully delayed the same, to the great trouble of his State, and advantage of his Enemies. For they wisely considering the danger and distress they were in, by speedy Measures sent over the Strait, craved Aid of the Turks their Country-men in *Asia*, which they presently sent them; wherewith they not a little both encouraged and strengthened, with their often and sudden Incursions grievously wasted the Country round about them, to the great discontentment of the Greek Captains, not able without greater help to remedy the same. Who thereof certified the young Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, requesting him with all the Power he could make, to come and besiege the Castle, and to suppress these so dangerous Enemies. For the performance whereof, not only the Captains with

their Soldiers, but the Country people in general, with their Spades and Mattocks came flocking unto the Emperor; not as if they would have besieged the Castle, but have digged it down and overthrown it together with the Turks their Enemies.

Now the Emperor with his Captains and Soldiers, and a multitude of those Country people, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, most part of them foolish, thinking of nothing, but of the spoil of their Enemies, not considering with what danger the fame was to be gained; so that the more the Enemies provided for the necessary defence themselves, as in a number but few, and shut up in their Enemies Country, the more carelessly and negligently, and without all order, the *Greeks* proceeded in their Siege, for that they were in number far more, and better provided of all things than their Enemies; repuring with themselves, nothing in this World to be firm and sure; and all worldly things (as faith the divine Philosopher) to be but the mockery of God, and to be hastily turned up-side-down, and with most uncertain course this and that way to wander. But their Enemies, who before feared even the very fame of their coming, accounting themselves rather among the dead than the living, seeing their confused and disordered ranks; therewith much more than before encouraged, bestowed all their Wealth, their Women, and other things unnecessary for battle, in good safety within their trenches, but themselves, with eight hundred chosen Horsemen only, and they very well armed, filled out, even to the place where the Imperial Ensign stood; being neither of any great safety, neither guarded with any such strength or carefulness as befemed; with which sudden and desperate eruption of the Enemies, the *Greeks* Company, began to fly; after whom by little and little others followed, until at length all the rest without further resistance fled also; which the Emperor seeing, did what he might to have staid their flight; but in to general a confusion and fear, when every man was to flit for one, who regarded him? therefore wearied and finding no other remedy, he was glad to take the same course, and to fly with the rest; yet many of the more expert Captains, ashamed of so foul a flight, made divers stands; and so staid the barbarous Enemy from further pursuit of the Emperor and the other flying *Greeks*. In which doing, many of them inclosed by the Turks, were of them taken Prisoners; unto whom all the Emperors Treasure became a Prey also, and whatsoever honourable Emblems of the Empire else that were found in the Emperors Tent; yet the Imperial Crown it self, richly set with Pearl and Jewels, *Chal* putting upon his head, pleasantly scoffed at the Greek Emperor that but late before wore it.

After this Victory, the Turks with great pride spoiled almost all *Thracia*, in such sort as that the people for two years together durst scarcely go out of their strong walled Towns to plough and sow their Land; which exceedingly grieved both the Emperors, the Father and the Son; for in their own Power they had no great confidence. God having (as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, so that all their hope was to entertain foreign Aid (the miserable threat of the great distressed Ones) wherein also they found many difficulties and less, whilst they considered the greatness of their Charge, their Coßers being then, if ever, empty

The unfortunate fate of the Emperor Michael Paleologus was with the Turks in Constantinople.

Philip Paleologus requests aid of the Emperor, who he might go against the Turks.

by reason their Territories were so long and grievously by their Enemies wasted; yet need admitting no Law, *Andronicus* the old Emperor was glad to send to *Charles Prince of Servia*, his Son-in-Law, to pray his aid. But in the mean time he making no halt (as men in relieving others commonly do) and the misery more and more increasing, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one *Philip Paleologus* the Emperors near Kinsman, to undertake the protection and deliverance of his Prince and Country; that if afterward for his great valour by the Emperor worthily made Lord great Marital of the Empire. This *Philip* of whom we now speak, had all his life time been brought up in the Court, and was for his upright dealing and integrity of life beloved of all men, but specially of the old Emperor his Kinsman, whom he with like affection honoured; but was a man altogether unskilful of the Wars, as being by nature of a weak constitution of body, and of very tickly; and with all more given to devotion and the service of God than the Affairs of the World, oftentimes spending most part of the day at his Prayers in the Church. He now grieved to see the perplexed Emperors, and the misery of his Country, requested of him that he might with some small power, and from few Captains of his own choice, go out against these proud Turks; hoping (as he said) by Gods grace to revenge the wrong by them done, and to return to him again with Victory. Unto which his request, the Emperor easily yielded; saying, that God was just, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatness of any mans strength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind; not for giving his help unto *Michael* the Emperors son, for the offences of his Parents; as happily he might unto those who upright and devout a man, regarding more his integrity of life, than his skill in Arms; for turning me about, I have seen in this World (said he) I have seen, the swift not to gain the prize, neither the valiant the victory; wife men to want bread, and men of understanding wealth; the simple to gain favour, and the subtle to fall into disgrace; such alteration worldly things in time find. So the Emperor (as is aforesaid) yielding to his request, furnished him with Money, Horles, and Armour, and such a convenient Power, as he himself desired. Which he having received, first of all encouraged his Captains and Soldiers, in all manner of courteous and kindnes, giving unto them Money, Horles, Armour, Jewels; yea sometime he gave unto his Purse, unto another his Cloke, his Rapier, or some other such thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardness; after that, he persuaded them to an honest and temperate course of life, and valiantly to play the men, promising according to their deserts to reward every one of them, the War once happily ended; and before his setting forth, understanding by his Elipals, that *Chal* with a thousand Foot and two hundred Horles was foraging the Country about *Bizis*, he bade his departure, that so he might by the way encounter them, laded with the Spoil of the Country; and so setting forward, came the third day to a little River, which the Inhabitants call *Xerogissum*, and there in a great Plain near unto the same, encamped. Where after he had for all things in order set for Battle, he made cheerful Speeches as a great Commander, encouraged his Captains and Soldiers; leaving nothing unsaid or undone, that might serve for the animating of them to fight. But he had not so lien two days, but that his Scouts about midnight coming in, brought him tidings, that the

Enemy laden with Spoil, was even fift by at hand; who by the rising of the Sun were come within sight, and had themselves a far off also discovered the Christian Army, all glancing in bright Armour. Whereupon saying, a while to prepare themselves for Battle; and first of all, compassing themselves round with their Wagons and other carriages, they bestowed in them all their Captives fast bound together, with the Booty they had taken; and afterwards as the manner was, casting down upon their heads, and their Hands up towards Heaven, they came on. And now the Christian Army came on forward also, *Philip* still encouraging both the Horsemen and Footmen, and right well conducting them, as was the time and place required. So it furnished, that he that had the leading of the right Wing of the Army, gave the first charge upon a Squadron of the Enemies, and at the first offer unhorled one of the Enemies, and by and by after him another; But having his Horle fore wounded under him, he hastily retired out of the Battle; which somewhat troubled the Christians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcry began most fiercely to press upon the retreating Christians. *Philip* in the mean time with many cheerful words and comfortable persuasions still encouraging them to play the men; and with his Eyes oftentimes cast up to Heaven, with tears running down his face, most heavenly besought God, the giver of all Victory, no longer to suffer these his Enemies, and the Ministers of his Wrath, to triumph over his People; as did also the poor Captives that lay bound, doubtfully bewail their fate and hope expecting the event of the Battle. The Christian Footmen at the same time encountering hand to hand with the *Barbarians*, assailed them, and were assailed, flew of them, and were themselves of them slain; so that there was a cruel Fight made on both sides. But *Philip* with the multitude of his men having almost incircled the *Barbarian* Horsemen, with a Company of his most valiant Soldiers broke in upon the side of the Enemies Battle, and so made way through the midst of it; and so troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to fly, or what to do. So being on every side circumented and hardly charged, most of them there fell, excepting some few Horsemen, whom the Greek Horsemen pursued unto the entrance of *Charfontas*, with purpose of heart to slay them up. *Philip* coming thither also, there upon those Straits encamped; at which time the Emperor presently sent out five Gallies to keep the Straits of *Hellepontus*, so that no aid might be brought unto those Turks out of *Asia*. Whilst these things thus went, two thousand chosen Horsemen came to the aid of *Philip* out of *Servia*, and the Portcote of *Persa* came by Sea also with eight Gallies more into *Hellepontus*, to the aid of the Christians; wherefore upon the *Greeks* and the *Servians* had thus on the one side flur them up by Land, and they that were in the Gallies on the other by Sea, *Philip* with all his Power came and incamped about the Town and the Trenches wherein the Turks lay, planting his battery against the Castle, wherewith he greatly shook the same, and made great Slaughter of the Turks and of their Horles, and that not only by day but by night also. But the Turks seeing death now present before their Eyes, and no way left for them to escape, for that they were so on every side both by Sea and Land inclosed, thought good thus to adventure their lives, resolving by night to set upon the *Greeks* rather than upon the *Servians*, whom they had hitherto accustomed to overcome, and whom they had with often

The Battle between Philip and the Turks.

The Turks were driven.

Slaughters

Slaughters terrified; that so the rest by them also happily discouraged, they might so delay the assault; but in attempting the fame they perceived themselves much deceived, finding they were at their first falling out ready in Arms to receive them; wherefore having in vain given the attempt (as against a strong Fortress) they were shamefully enforced to retire. Yet were they not therewith so discouraged, but that the straight Siege still continuing, they gave the like attempt upon the *Servians*; but being also by them in like manner with loss repelled, they began now utterly to despair. Wherefore the next day about midnight casting away their Arms, they with their boloms and pockets full of Coin ran down into the Sea-side, towards the Gallies, with purpose to yield themselves unto the *Gensarats* that were therein; as fearing of them less harm, as of men whom they had never hurt. But the night being dark and misty, and the Moon giving no light, many of them unawares came unto the Greek Gallies, and there flying the smoke, fell into the fire; for being lightened of their Money, they were by them forthwith without any pity slain also. But the *Gensarats* slew not all their Prisoners, but only such as had brought with them the most Coin; left afterwards betraying the fame, it should have been fought after by the Greeks; the rest they cast into bonds, of whom some they sent unto the Emperor, otherwise they kept to themselves as their own Prisoners. Thus by the valour and good conduct of this worthy devout Captain, the Turks were for that time again chafed out of Europe, and the Country of *Thracia* delivered of a great fear.

Now by that we have already written, is easily to be seen the chief causes of the decay and ruin of the Greek Empire to have been First, the Innovation and change of their ancient Religion and Ceremonies; by *Michael Palaeologus*, whereof ensued a world of Wo: then, by Covetousness, covered with the name of good Husbandry, the utter destruction of the chief strength of the Empire; next unto that, by Envy, the ruin of the Greats false Suspicion, the loser of Friends; Ambition, Honours overthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; and foreign Aid, the Emperors faithless Porter, opening the gate even unto the Enemy himself; whereunto foul Discord joined (as shall be forthwith declared) that wanted that the barbarous Enemy could desire for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an Empire? But again to our purpose, *Michael* Companion with his Father *Andronicus* in the Empire, had by his Wife *Mary* two Sons, *Andronicus* who was afterward Emperor, and *Manuel* surnamed the Despot; and by his Daughters, was married unto *Thomas* Prince of *Epirus*, and *Theodora* married to the Prince of *Bulgaria*; of all these, the old Emperor *Andronicus* their Grandfather to entirely loved *Andronicus* his Nephew, as that in comparison of him he seemed little to regard either his own Children, or the rest of his Nephews, willing them all rather to perish than him; which many supposed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the Empire in his House; as also for his excellency of Wit, and comeliness of Person; the likeness of name also happily furthering his kind affection. For which reasons, he caused him to be honorably brought up in his Court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when he was out of his Childhood, and grown to be a lusty Youth (at which time mens hot desires are commonly most vehement) he began to contemn all

chaffisement and government; especially in so high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his Companions became unto him the Ministers and Persuaders of all those vain Delights which untaught youth most desires; and at the first began to lead him forth to walk the Streets, to hawk, to hunt, and to haunt Plays, and afterwards to night-walks also, not well becoming his State; which riotous course of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged Grandfather gave him but a certain spare allowance for his convenient maintenance, he acquainted himself with the rich Merchants of *Geneway* which dwelt at *Pera*. Hereof arose hard taking up of Money, great Debts, fine devices how to come by Coin, with secret consultations and purposes of Flight. For when he saw his Grandfather old *Andronicus* long to live, and his Father *Michael* like to succeed him, he had no hope of aspiring unto the Empire; whereupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent desires long time tormenting his haughty Heart, suggested unto himself false purposes. For when as he would not obey his Grandfather as his Tutor, nor follow other mens Councils, as a Child, he fought after the Imperial Liberty, and abundance of Wealth, that he might have that was sufficient for himself, and wherewith to reward others, as the Followers of an Emperor. Which seeing he could not do, his Grandfather yet living, and his Father reigning, he fought after the Sovereignty of other Kingdoms and Countries; one while after *Armenia*, as belonging unto him in the right of his Mother the King of *Armenia*'s Daughter; another while after *Peloponessus*, and sometime he dreamed of *Lesbos* and *Lemnos*, and other the fruitful Islands of the *Ægean* Sea; which when it was secretly told, sometime to his Father, and sometime to his Grandfather, he was now croffed and reproved of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to pass over many other his youthful pranks, he used in his night-walks secretly to repair unto a certain Gentewomans House, more honourably born, than himself qualified; which Woman, a certain Gallant (and another *Adonis*) no less affected than himself; wherewith he highly offended, as with his Rival, appointed certain Ruffians and Fencers to watch her House. But upon a certain time about Midnight, *Manuel* the Despot (his younger Brother) seeking after him, chanced to pass by where they were Watchmen lay; who seeing him hasten by, and not knowing him in the dark, and supposing him to have been the man they looked for, (the Gentewomans best Beloved) let upon him, and so wounded him, that he fell down for dead from his horse; but being by and by again known by others coming in, he was taken up, and half dead carried unto the Court. Which outrage in the Morning being known unto the Emperor, cast him into a great heaviness, as beholding not the time present only, but wisely considering what was like to ensue in the time to come also. But *Manuel* the Despot being dead of his wounds there received, and the report thereof brought unto *Michael* the young Emperor his Father, then lying at *Thessalonica*, struck him to the heart with so great a grief, that falling sick with the conceit thereof, he shortly after died.

*Andronicus* the untaught Youth nevertheless holding on his wonted course, with a secret purpose to have fled, became thereby still more and more suspicious to his aged Grandfather, not a little careful unto what end those his violent passions would at length tend. And there-

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fore appointed one *Syrgiamus* (a man of great Credit and Authority in the Court, in whom, as in a reconciled Enemy, he had most undevotedly repented too much truly) to insinuate himself into the youthful Princes acquaintance and favour; that so founding him and his secret Designs, he should not possibly be able without his knowledge to step aside; which of all things the old Emperor feared most, as to the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiamus* being a man directly Place, and of a subtil Wit, was sometime himself suspected of aspiring, and therefore as upon the Misprision of Treason, was by the old Emperor imprisoned; but afterwards by him again enlarged and received into favour, was now put in trust partly to observe the doings of the young Prince. But he not unmindful of the wrong before done unto him, and in hope by troubling the State, either to aspire unto the Empire himself, or at leastwise to some good part thereof; thought now a fit occasion to be misinformed unto him for him to work upon, both for the one and the other, by letting the old Emperor and his ambitious Nephew together by the ears; which opportunity he not minding to let slip, taking the young Prince one day aside, discovered unto him all his Grandfathers device: brief, as follows:

Your Grandfather, noble Prince (said he) hath set me at a Watch over your actions, or more truly to say, at a Blood-bath, to seek after your doings; only, but if it were possible, even after your most secret thoughts also; and so I will be maliciously prepared for you *Shares* and *Pettors*, you not aware thereof, foolishly follow your lusts, and childish conceits. For what shall I avoid my secrets to you, and to me? if the best chance, yet must you (as the common saying is) put your feet under another mans Table, and live of his Charge; if it fall not out worse, that you be slain or made away by them you fly unto for relief, or else fall into the Snare by your Grandfather laid for you. But if so be that casting behind you these your fond Devices, you will hearken unto my Counsel, I will shew you a ready way, how you shall in short time, and without any danger, aspire unto the Imperial Seat and Dignity; the only way whereunto is this, if you leaving the City of Constantinople, shall fly out into the Cities and Provinces of *Thracia*. For seeing men are most commonly by nature desirous of change, and the miserable Thracians are with their exactions grievously vexed; if you shall but once proclaim a Redress of their Grievances, with Immunity for ever, they will all with one accord follow you whithersoever you will, your Grandfathers long and heavy Yoke being cast off; as it were Siphilus his heavy fume, which they had long relied, and never the near. If you like of this advice, I will be with you both the Author and the Leader of this Exploit, and will easily bring to good effect the whole matter; so that you again on the other side promise unto me upon your Faith, to reward this my travel according to my desire therein. But what Rewards shall thee be? Honourable Preferment, large Puffings, great Revenues, the first place in your service, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my consent and knowledge. For you see how willingly I make my self partaker of your Calamity, and Companion of your dangers, no necessity enforcing me thereto; forgetting even my very Faith, in comparison of the love and zeal I bear towards you, whereas, if I were shall by the multitude of Fortune beside me, I have set down my self with patience to endure it. All which considered, you need not to grudge to yield unto my Requests, if you tender your own safety. And forasmuch as the shortness of the time will suffer no long Consultations, and that delay brings extremest dangers,

let us without longer stay impart the matter unto such others, as for the barred of the Emperor are like to keep our Counsel, and may yet much further our Designs.

The young Prince moved with this Speech as if it had been with a Charm, easily granted to his desire, confirming the same by his Oath conceived in writing; at which time were present such as were especially to be acquainted with the Plot of the Conspiracy, namely *John Cantacrus*, and *Theodorus Syndemus* (both men of great honour, and the old Emperors ancient supposed Friends, and of him beloved, much of like age unto himself) and *Alexius Apocanus* the third (not of like honour with the other, yet a man of great Place, and of a most subtil and deep wit;) who all understanding the matter, flew to defend themselves not as Ministers, but as Ring-leaders and Captains of the intended Rebellion. This Conspiracy with most solemn Oaths and Promises on every part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter; and to begin withal, *Syrgiamus* and *Cantacrus*, by corrupting divers of the great and most gracious Courtiers, procured to themselves the Government of such Cities and Provinces in *Thracia*, as they thought fittest for them to begin their Rebellion in. *Syrgiamus* having the Government of the Sea-coast, and the in-land Country, even from the Sea-side to the top of Mount *Rhodope*; and *Cantacrus* the Government of the Country about *Orhiza*. In all which places they mustered Soldiers, provided Armor, entertaining all strangers, and other vagrant and masterless men, as for some great War; besides that, in the Cities for the Government thereof, they placed their trustiest friends, employing such others as they had in suspicion. All which they coloured by rumors of fidelity raised, one while of the coming of the European Tartars from *Danius*, and another while by the coming of the Turks out of *Asia*; against whose Invasions these preparations were again thought to be made, for avoiding of suspicion; and the Traitors for their provident care highly commended even by the Emperor himself, against whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiamus* notably diffembled, oftentimes withal certifying the young Prince what he had done, and what was likewise of him to be performed.

But the old Emperor seeing his youthful Nephew not to hearken to his grave advice, but still to proceed in his disfigure kind of Life, was about solemnly to have reproved him before the Patriarch and some others of the chief Nobility; if happily such open reproof might have wrought in him some change of Manners; if not then to have committed him to prison; or like enough he was to have so done, had he not been otherwise perfwaded by *Theodorus Aditiches*, (who of all others was able to do most with him) by reason of the liberty of the time; for then it was almost *Shrove-tide*, when as the people dightened with excess of meat and drink, were of all other times most fit, upon any light occasion to be drawn into a tumult or uproar; for fear whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But *Shrove-tide* past, and a good part of *Lent* also, the old Emperor seeing no amendment in his Nephew, calling unto him *Georgius* the Patriarch, and the rest of the reverend Bishops then presiding in the City, sent for his Nephew, openly before them to chide him, and to school him for his disordered life; but especially for his purposed flight; that ashamed of such open reproof before such reverend Fathers, he might either amend his life, or

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and fro, to be dispersed abroad in the high Ways, and about in the Country near unto the Depots Camp. And after that, he caused the death of the Emperor his Grandfather to be every where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Constantinopolitans in a tumult slain; which the devilers thereof, in every place reported. Yea some there were, that swore they were themselves present at his woful death, and saw it with their Eyes; other some more certainly to perwade the matter, showed long white Goats hair, or such like gathered out of white Wool, as if they had been by the People plucked from the head of the old Emperors Head or Beard, at such time as he was slain. Which things being commonly reported in every Town and Village, but especially in the Depots Camp, wonderfully filled Mens Heads with divers strange and doubtful thoughts; then divers also of the dispersed Edicts being found, and brought to the Depots, truck him (and not without cause) into a great fear inasmuch, that by the persuasions of his best Friends, he without longer stay retired in haste to *Thessalonica*. Whither shortly after came a Gally from *Constantinople*, with secret letters from the Emperor to the Depots, for the apprehension of five and twenty of the chief Citizens vehemently suspected for the stirring up of the People to Rebellion, and so to have delivered the City to the Prince, all whom the Depots should have sent bound in that Gally to *Constantinople*; but they in good time perceiving the danger they were in, secretly stirring up the People, and by and by after ringing out the Bells, the signal appointed for the beginning of the Rebellion) had in a very short time raised a wonderful tumult in the City; inasmuch, that all the Citizens were up in Arms, who running headlong unto the House of the Depots, found not him (for he forewarned their coming, was fled to the Castle) but saw all they met of his, or else robbing them, call them in Prison. As for the Depots House, they took what they found therein, and afterwards pulled it down to the ground. Then coming to the Castle, they fired the Gates; which the Depots seeing, and not able to defend the place, took horse and fled to a Monastery far off, where being taken up by them that pursued him, he full free against his Will, for the safeguard of his life, took upon him the habit of a Monk; nevertheless, he was from thence carried Prisoner to the young Prince his Nephew, who showed himself much more courteous to him, than all the rest of his Nobility and Waiters; for they, as if they would have eaten him up, were even forthwith ready to have torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms, saved his life. Yet the next day after, by the persuasion of his Council, he sent him to *Didymochium*, where he was kept in a most loathsome Prison, being very deep and dark, in manner of a Well, for they, as if they would have eaten him up, were even forthwith ready to have torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms, saved his life. Yet the next day after, by the persuasion of his Council, he sent him to *Didymochium*, where he was kept in a most loathsome Prison, being very deep and dark, in manner of a Well, for they, as if they would have eaten him up, were even forthwith ready to have torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms, saved his life. Yet the next day after, by the persuasion of his Council, he sent him to *Didymochium*, where he was kept in a most loathsome Prison, being very deep and dark, in manner of a Well, for they, as if they would have eaten him up, were even forthwith ready to have torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms, saved his life.

Things falling out cross with the old Emperor, and although they were never so well devised, still forcing out upon the world, he became very impatient and doubtful what to do. So it turned, that one day in his melancholy mood, having a Plaster in his hand, to relieve his doubtful mind,

he opened the same, as if it were of that heavenly Oracle to ask Counsel; wherein the first vert that he light upon was, *Dum celsa difficit Reges, non conferunt in Salmon; When the Almighty Scatter Kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Salmon.* Which he applying to himself, as if all things, troubles, and whatso ever evil had happened in them, proceeded from the Will of God, although for causes to him unknown; he by and by sought to reconcile himself with his Nephew; contrary to the mind of *Syrigianes*, desiring nothing but trouble. For (as we have before said) the young Prince although he was detested of the People and Liberty of an Emperor, yet he left the Ornaments and Care thereof unto his Grandfather; and had not he oftentimes and earnestly been egged forward by his Companions to affect the whole Empire, happily could and would have contented himself with the former pacification; for being now kind for, he came first to *Rhegium*, and there visited his Mother (now set at liberty, and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where he with her and by her Counsel did whatsoever was there done. So within a few days the matter was brought in to so good terms, that an Assurances were made, and he himself went, and met the Emperor his Grandfather before the Gates of the City; the old Emperor sitting then upon his Horse, and the Prince lighting from his, a good farlong before he came at him; and although his Grandfather was very unwilling, and forbade him so to do, yet he came to him on foot, and kissed his Hand and Foot as he sat on horseback; and afterward taking horse, embraced him, and there kissed one another, to the great contentment of the Beholders; and so having talked some few words, departed; the old man into the City, and the young man into his camp, which then lay near unto *Paga*; where staying certain days, he came divers times into *Constantinople*, and so went out again; for as then his Mother, partly for her health, partly for the love of her Son, lay at *Paga*.

But *Syrigianes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his Nephew, walked up and down sick in mind, with a heavy countenance, especially for that in time of Peace his busy head stood the Common-wealth in no stead. Wherefore in all Meetings and Assemblies, he willingly conversed with them which most disliked of the present State, and spake hardly as well of the Emperor as of his Nephew, as if he thought by them best; whereas in the time of their greatness both he had (as he said) stood them in good stead. But seeing one *Afanes Andronicus* walking melancholy up and down, as a man with heaviness oppressed; who having done good service for the young Prince, and not of his regard, had fled to the old Emperor, and there found no such thing as he expected for the sake of his grief, although he were a man honourably born, and otherwise endowed with many good parts; with him *Syrigianes* acquainted himself, as grieved with the like grief that he himself was; with whom as with his Friend, without any dissimulation he plainly discoursed of all such things as his grief desired. But *Afanes* handling him with great wisdom, did himself with like words speak hardly both of the Emperor and his Nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoever *Syrigianes* said, for he had before by Art and Ambition, and as then, took it in displeasure, that he was Enemy unto *Catacuzanus*, his Son-in-Law, who was all in all with the young Prince, and did

Andronicus the old Emperor, looking for Counsel of the Plaster as if an heavenly Oracle, and to be taken with his Nephew Paul, &c.

did oftentimes comfort him. But the fang being thoroughly set, *Afanes* came secretly unto the old Emperor, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he betime laid hold on *Syrigianes*, affecting the Empire, he should in short time be by him brought to the Scaffold. Whereupon *Syrigianes* was forthwith clapt fast in Prison; whole House with all his Wealth, the common People took the Spoil of; and not contented to have rased it down to the ground, converted the Site thereof, together with the pleasant Vineyards adjoining unto the same, into a place of feed Goats and Sheep; a worthy reward for his manifold Treacheries. The young Prince shortly after going to *Constantinople*, was there crowned Emperor, as fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather; unto which solemnity in the great Temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperors riding, it fortune the old Emperor by the Humbling of his Horse to be overturned, and foully lacerated in the mire, the Streets being then very foul by reason of much rain but a little before fallen; which many took as ominous, and portending the evil fortune which shortly after befell him. During the time of this Peace, it fortune that as the young Prince was a hunting in *Chersinopolis*, twenty Turks adventurers, were by force of weather driven on shore; who before they would yield themselves Prisoners, made a great Fight with the Emperors men, and slew divers of them; in which conflict the young Emperor himself was wounded in the Foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now Fellow in the Empire with his aged Grandfather, held not himself long to contented, but after the manner of ambitious Men (and continually prick forward by his aspiring Favourites) longed to have the whole Government to himself, which hardly brooketh any Partner; and therefore weary to see his Grandfather live so long, resolved no longer to expect his natural death, (although it could not by course of Nature be far off) but by one device or other to thrust him from the Government; or if that might not be wrought, at once to dispatch him both of life and state together. And the first way he took the Plot wherewith so foul and horrible a Treason was to be built, he by the Council of his Mother and others, by whom he was most directed, sent for *Michael* the Prince of *Bulgaria*, his Brother-in-Law (though before to him unknown, as was his Wife his Sister also) to make with him a firm League, to the intent by him to provide, that if the Prince of *Servia* (who had but lately married the old Emperors nigh Kinswoman, and so to him much devoted) should take part with him, he should by the *Bulgarian* his Neighbour be intangled. Who so sent for, with his Wife, the old Emperors Daughter, caused to *Dyspochium*, where they were many days, he honourably entertained both by the young Emperor and his Mother; for why, this meeting plotted upon great Treason, was finely coloured, with the desire the young Emperor had to see his Sister and her Husband, as before unto him unknown, and the Emperors Daughter, who had not been in three and twenty years before. But the secret conclusion betwixt them was, that the *Bulgarian* Prince should to the uttermost of his power aid the young Emperor against his Grandfather, and he likewise him against the *Servian*, as he should have need; and further, that if his Grandfather being deposed, he should recover the whole Empire, then to give him a great sum of Money, with certain special Cities

and Provinces confining upon him, as in Dowry to his kind Brother-in-Law, and Companion in his labours. So *Michael* the *Bulgarian* Prince honourably entertained by the young Emperor and the old Emperors his Mother-in-Law, loaded with rewards, and promises of great reward, returned home into his Country.

This matter thus dispatched, the young Emperor therewith encouraged, and knowing all the Constantinopolitans, besides the other Cities of *Thracia*, exceedingly to favour him and his proceedings; by whom also he was secretly invited to hasten his coming thither (as was weary of the long life and laziness, as he termed it, of his Grandfather) thought it best cunningly to go about the matter; that to his Grandfather being with as little stir as might be deposed, he himself might alone enjoy the Empire. But needing Money for the effecting of so great matters, he by force took all the Money from the Collectors, whom the old Emperor had sent into *Thracia* for the taking up of Money there, telling them that he was an Emperor also, and in need of Money, and that the common charge was likewise by the common Purse to be discharged. After that he took his way towards *Constantinople*, pretending that upon fiscal causes he had occasion to send Embassadors unto the Sultan of *Egypt*; for the transporting of whom he was there to take order for the setting forth of a great Ship, and other things necessary for the journey. Neither went he slenderly appointed, but with a great Power; and the Cities of *Thracia* before were assured unto him, such as he suspected being thrust out of Office, and others more assured unto him placed in their steads. But whilst he thus bestirred himself, one of those that were most inward with him, detesting to foul a Treason, secretly fled from him unto his Grandfather, from point to point discovering unto him all the intended Treacheries; and wistful, how that his Nephew had determined to depose him from his Empire, or otherwise to bereave him of his life if he should stand upon his Guard; but if in the attempt he should find ease success, then to spare his life; and depriving him of the Imperial Dignity, to thrust him as a Monk into a Monastery; and therefore advised him to beware how he suffered him after his wonted manner to come into the City, for fear of a general revolt, but rather for force to keep him out. Which the Emperor hearing, and comparing with other things which he had heard of others, yet founding in his Ears, deeming it to be true, stood up, and in the anguish of his Soul thus complained unto God; *Revenge my quarrel O God, upon them that do me wrong, and let them be ashamed that rise up against me; and preserve thou unto me the Imperial Power, which by thee given unto me, he cometh to take from me without my self being deposed.* And whereas he began to consider what course to take for the assurance of himself and his State in so great a danger. And first he sent unto his Nephew (came half way) to forbid him from entering the City, and to tell him, that it was a great folly for him, being so manifest a Traitor, both unto his Grandfather and the State, to think his traitorous purposes to be unknown unto the World. And beside in way of reproof to rehearse unto him, how many occasions he had given for the breaking of the League with his Grandfather; first in taking away the Money from the Collectors, wherewith the State never stood in more need; secondly by reason of the division of the Empire, which required double charge; then in that he had in the City every where displaced

A traitorous meeting.

such Governors and Magistrates as his Grandfather had sent thither, and placed others at his pleasure, with many other like facts, declaring his treacherous aspiring mind, for which he was not without cause by his Grandfather forbidden to enter the City. After that, the old Emperor by secret Letters craved aid of *Grates* Prince of *Servia*, and *Demetrius* the Despot his brother, who was then Governor of *Thessalonica* and the Countries adjoining, commanding him with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his Nephews (Governors of *Macedonia*) with all the Forces they were able to raise, and such aid as should be sent unto them out of *Syria*, with all speed to join together and to go against the young Emperor. But the Letters thus written unto the Prince of *Servia*, the Despot, and others, (as is before said) were for the most part intercepted, by such as the young Emperor had for that purpose placed upon the Straits of *Constantinople*, and the other passages; especially such as were written in Paper, yet some others in fine white linnen Cloth, and secretly fowed in the Garments of such as passed them, escaped for all their frate search, and were delivered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in *Constantinople*, but that the young Emperor was by one or other advertised thereof; whereas the old Emperor on the other side, understood nothing what the great Councils, yet and many other of the young Emperors nearest Kindredmen also; who curiously observing whatsoever was done in the City, forthwith certified him thereof. Amongst whom was also *Theodorus* the Marquis, one of the old Emperors own Sons; who many years before by the Emperors his Mother sent into *Italy*, and there honourably married, was by his prodigal course of life there grown far in debt; so that leaving his Wife and Children behind him, he was glad after the decease of his Mother, to flee unto his Father at *Constantinople*, and there now lived; who befide that he most honourably maintained him in the Court, and was many great things upon him, and also all his Debts, which were very great. All which Fatherly kindness he forgetting went about most *frivolous* like to have betrayed his aged Father. For he also dreaming after the Empire, and for many causes (but especially for that he was come a Latine) by his manner of thought he could not do him a greater despite than by revolting unto the young Emperor; so that the nearer he was in blood, the more he was his Father's unnatural Enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Despot, having received the Emperors Letters at *Thessalonica*, called unto him *Andronicus*, *Michael* his Nephews, the Governors of *Macedonia*, with whom joining all his Force, and daily expecting more aid out of *Servia*, he first spoiled the young Emperors Friends and Favourites in *Macedonia*, giving the Spoil of them in all the Cities and Towns of *Macedonia*, unto their Souldiers, who made havoc of whatsoever they light upon; and whosoever seemed any way to withstand them or dislike of their Proceedings, they took their Goods and Lands they confiscated, and drove the men themselves into exile. Neither was the young Emperor *Andronicus* in the mean time idle, but secretly sent out his Edicts, into all parts

of the Empire, yet into the very Cities of *Constantinople* and *Thessalonica*; and over all *Macedonia*; whereby he proclaimed unto the People in general, a releasement of them from all Tributes, Impositions, and Payments; and frankly promised unto the Souldiers and Men of War, the augmenting of their Penfions and Pay; which were no longer bruted; but that most men were therewith moved both in Word and Deed to favour his proceedings, doing what they could to further the same, and by secret Letters inviting him to hasten his coming into the City; who thereupon coming to *Regnum*, by his Embassadors sent from thence, requested the old Emperor, either to give him leave according to the League betwixt them, to come into the City, or else to send him certain of the chief of the Nobility and Clergy, with some of the better and more understanding sort of the Burgers and Citizens also; unto whom he might frankly speak his mind, for them faithfully to deliver the same again unto the Emperors his Grandfather, and the People. Which request the old Emperor perceiving to be full of Deceit and Treachery, for a good space answered thereunto nothing at all, but stood all silent, as doubting what to grant; for, to suffer his Nephew to come into the City, he saw was dangerous to the Citizens (as he well knew) being for the most part inclined to revolt to him to soon as they should once see him within the Gates; and to send any forth unto him, as he desired, might be (as he feared) an occasion of some tumult to be after raised in the City; for he knew that his Nephews drift therein was, openly by fair words, and secretly with great gifts and large promise, first to gain them, and by them the rest of the Citizens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the easier, and sent forth unto him two of the most noble Senators, two of the most reverend Bishops, two other grave Prelates, and the four of the chief Burgesses of the City; unto whom at their coming unto him, he in the open hearing of all men delivered this premeditated and crafty Speech.

*It is not unknown unto the World, you my Subjects, to have always been unto me more dear than of late have been unto my self; and as you have seen my ambition conceits, so I have seen your Emperors his Grandfather's good Will, gone out. For you see how that I neither spare mine own life, or my pleasure, for the care I have of you; I come unto you compassed about with a Guard of armed men, as in the manner now of Kings only, for the safety of their high places; but of others only of far meaner calling, whom I desire to comfort, banished from their Parents and Kindred, hath enforced to wander here and there, with death also before their Eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by these wounds which I yet bear in my body, but in fight with the Enemies of my Country which pass over the Walls of this Thracia; or else dwelling near unto Illyria, do with their manhoods from thence miserably waste that fide of Thracia which is next unto them? For I (to tell you the very truth) seeing the old Emperor by reason of his great years to become feeble and blockish, and not possible to be awaked out of his drowsie sleep, neither any while to grieve, whom as the poor Christians his Subjects were both by day and night, some as Sacrifices slain by the barbarous Enemies, some carried away into most miserable Captivity, and the rest poor and naked to be driven out of their Houses and Cities; not to speak in the mean time of the greater mischiefes in Asia, and how many Cities have been there lost through the old Emperors*

The young Emperors Embassadors

slab and negligence; when I saw these things (I say) broken with a piercing grief, which my heart could not endure, I went out for two causes, either by some kind of honourable death to end my grief, together with my life, or else to the uttermost of my power to stand my Country in some head. For by no means it can come to pass, but that a man, and be that hath of long time reigned, must at length become loathsome unto his Subjects, and incur their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firm; whereby it cometh to pass, as we see, that all worldly things joy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force Fortune to his desire, and strive to bind things unto a certain firm and constant course, he shall but lose his labour, and in vain strive against nature. But whatsoever is contrary unto nature, or exceedeth the just bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that caused the wife men to say, and to leave to us as Rules, Not to dwell too long upon any thing; and a measure to be the fairest virtue. For you see how that my Grandfather being grown to great years, and having reigned so long (I may almost say) as never did any but he, is become hateful unto all his people; and yet regards not either how to discharge himself of so great a burden, or how to relieve the declining State of the Empire, or so much as grieveth to see the Successors of the Empire to die before him: For my Father is dead without any fruit of the Empire, except the bare Title only; and others also nearest to him of blood, and far younger than he, are dead likewise; and happily I self may die also before I shall receive any profit thereof for the benefit of my Country. Especially unto a man that summeth no danger, and regards not his life? But some perhaps will suspect me of Ambition, for departing from the Emperors my Grandfather, and for refusing to be ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly deny, or altogether confess. For might I see the Empire increase, and the bounds thereof enlarged, I could willingly content my self, and at my ease take my rest; clearing my self up with such hope as do they that bear with their Cocks, making time to pay long for their dinner; in hope thereby to fare the better. But seeing the State of the Empire daily to decline from evil to worse, and the miserable people carried away Captives, or slain by the Enemies even at the Gates and under the Walls of the Imperial City; what deem you me then to think? For most men cast their present grief, with the hope of future good, although the same be but vain: But unto me is not left even such vain hope unto my false comfort. And can you marvel at the impotent affliction of the Great Alexander of Macedon, grievously distressed to see his Father to keep Vicers upon Viceroy, and to cut off all the hope of his Sons glory, by leaving him so few occasions of War; and not think me (to whom you see the quite contrary is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the Empire is cut off, for the waiting thereof, but even the cause of a quiet life) to be sad and grieve thereof? Moved with such, and not able longer to endure it, at length I rise up, and requested of the Emperors my Grandfather, but a thousand men at Arms, promising him by the Power of God with them to preserve the Cities in Bithynia, and to drive his Enemies further off. (Before that having them) they should pass over the Strait, and besiege the Imperial City of *Constantinople*; which I for a small request he not only denied me, but hath ever since taken me for his mortal Enemy. But this and many other things else I pass: I have now another request unto him by you, which is, That he would give me eight thousand Duckets to content my Souldiers withall, who of my share from place to place roamed up and down with me, whose lives were in uncertain Fortune: Which granted, I will no more be unto my Grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my Forces, hold my self right well contented.

Having thus said, he rose out of his Seat, and taking them apart one after another, courteously discoursed with them, and so filling them with great hopes, sent them away, every one departing from him and coming into the City, became as it were the open Proclaimers of his Praises, enslaving the people with a greater desire of him than before. Which the old Emperor hearing, and perceiving almost all his Friends in the City to be in heart revolted from him; and with all hearting to be of them, he was so much troubled, that he was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet he thought it best before any such thing should happen, to prove their minds, and to hear the Counsel of the Patriarch, and *Afanes*, and the other Bishops also; unto whom being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind, as followeth:

*Were I assured, that having deposited my self of the Imperial Dignity, I should my self live in safety, and see my people well governed, I would I should never be of the Company of the Faithful, if I did not by much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would seek for the pleasure of the mind, what can he be so contented, than to be disburdened of all Cares, and free from such dangerous, as attend high Estates? But if for my sin and the sin of my people, as also for the sin of mine Ancestors, I have the vengeance of God in manner of a violent Tempest raging against us, (whereby our Empire and I and yet the People, by the help of God reformed and quieted the State of the Empire, grievously troubled with Discord in the Church, and the often invasion of the Enemies; and taught by long experience know not how in so great hurle and tempest which way to turn my self: How can I with safety commit unto my Nephew so great a Charge, who as yet is both an untried Youth, and so careless of his own good, as that he knoweth not how well to govern his own private affairs? For how giving over his Power to young unskilful men, and having flung away his Imperial Possessions amongst them, be himself liveth in penury and want; neither regards any thing more than his Dogs and Kitts, of whom he keeps few less than a thousand Currs, and as many Hawks, and not much fewer men to look unto them. Wherefore unto such a man, how may I safely commit either my life, or the administration of mine Empire, by God committed unto me? But I will never writing and willingly cast away either my Subjects or my self. For my Nephew I have loved, not only more than my Wife and Children, but (to say the truth) more than my self; as you well know how tenderly I have brought him up, how carefully I have instructed and advised him, as purposing to have left him the Heir and Successor both of my Wisdom and mine Empire, that he might be the better pleased both God and man. But less, contemning my good counsel, hath spent whole nights in Banqueting, and Rites, and Banquets; which he hath also done with his own Brother, and to be brief, he hath risen and lifted up his hand against me his Grandfather, and a Grandfather that had of him so well deserved, attempting such a Villany as the Sun never saw. Wherefore you ought also to hate and detest his wickedness, and to strive to restrain his impudent Disobedience, and by your Ecclesiastical Counsel to denounce him unworthy of the Empire and the Communion of the Faithful, as one separated from God; that so ashamed and corrected, he may lovingly thither return from whence he is shamefully departed, and again be made Heir both of mine Empire and Kingdoms; for there is no man alive whom I had rather have promoted unto the Empire, than him who I have so often heard his own counsel, and obey my Counsel. As for the conclusion he used in his former Speech, it was altogether feigned, crafty, and malicious; for you have heard how many*

Reproaches



*Reproaches he hath given me in all that Speech, where-  
with his conclusion agreeth not; but the more to stir  
up the hearers thereof against me, did of purpose so con-  
clude his Speech.*

The Patri-  
arch with  
divers of  
the Bishop  
conspire  
against the  
Emperor.

Upon this, moſt of the foreſaid grave and learned Biſhops agreed, that the young Emperour ſhould no more be named in the Prayers of the Church, until he had better conformed himſelf. Howbeit the Patriarch and ſome others ſecretly favouring both him and his proceedings, liked not thereof, and therefore ſaying nothing thereunto, returned home unto their own houſes. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the

Patriarch's house, they there conspired together against the old Emperor ; with whom also divers of the Nobles, and of the Clergy, were secretly joined. Oath was conceived in writing, whereby they bound themselves to continue confiant in thair their wicked Refolution. Whereupon, about threethree days after, the Patriarch causing the Bells to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the Sentence of death upon the said Emperor, against his will, in their publick Prayer, omit the name of the young Emperor, or refuse to do him all Honour due unto an Emperor. Which thing not a little grieved the old Emperor, as appeared by his Speech, in saying, *If the Deutor of Peace be so maine against us, in hope of Reward promised by my Nephew, that causing us to be thus against our selves, and the Church, he should seduce us against us, the people, the attempts of the vulgar people against us, if we reflect but mans life for the Patriarch so much as in him he is, I see, the murderer of us.* So the Bishopps of the contrary Faction, moved with the notable impudency of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with the same Frolicke of the Authour of the said Faction. And on, and incited with Bribes to the troubling of the State ; for which cause also he was by the Emperors Commandment committed unto fasting keeping in the Monastery called *Manganium*. But about two days after, the young Emperor came out of the Walls of *Constantinople*, to see his Grandfather, and to receive his Blessings, came unto him ; earnestly requesting, that it might be lawful for him alone to enter into the City, to do his duty to his Grandfather. But neither he, nor he, neither his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by such as stood upon the Walls, himself, with stones driven away ; so that he could not stand, but was miserably runned down into the City, saying, All his talk to be nothing effected but deceit and fraud ; and so for that time he retired a little from the Walls. But night being come, certain buffe heads among the common people (and they not a few) secretly meeting together gave him knowledge, that about midnight, the Watchmen should be sent to the Walls, to the Watchmen in security, he should come unto the Walls, where they would be ready with Ropes to draw him up unto the top of the Bulwarks ; which done, the matter (as they said), was as good as dispatched ; for that they were overpowered, that the Citizens so soon as they heard the Watchmen call, should be ready to follow them ; so that they would forthwith all revolt unto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approaching the Walls, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiving of him into the City ; But contrariwise the Watchmen came happily with all along the Walls, and calling out to each other to be prepared, he seeing he could hope, he went *Catechumenus Synodus*, his chief Counsellors, leaving the South side of the City, in a little Boat rowed fifty all

along the Wall that is toward the Sea, if happily they might there find their Friends, and to be received in; but there the Watchmen also descrying them from the Walls, and calling unto them, but receiving no answer, began to cast stones at them, and to make a noise, so that deceived of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them further off, and to depart as they came.

But the evil success of this Exploit was shortly after with his better Fortune recompensed; for by and by after, fewer Letters were sent unto him from *Theoflancia*, requesting him with all haste to come to her assistance; and the Council of the Bishop, with divers of the Nobility, and the good liking of the people in general at his coming to open the Gates of the City unto him: Whereupon he leaving a great part of his Army with *Synadenus*, to keep off the rage of *Constantinople*, he himself with the rest of his Army went forward towards *Theoflancia*, where he in the habit of a plain Country man entered the City unsuspected; but being got within the Gate, and there calling off that simple attire wherewith he was clothed, he shewed his Rich and brave Germany, and presently appeared to the young Emperor, the people came flocking about him, and with many joyful Acclamations received him as their Lord and Sovereign; yet some few, more favouring the old Emperor, fled into the Castle, and there stood upon their Guards defended, as at length taken for traitors, and were notably defeated, was at length taken from them.

*Theſſalonians* thus yielded, *Demetrius, Andronicus, and Aſan Michael*, the old Emperors chief Captains, then lying with their Army not far off, and many well truſting one another, ſaid ſoftly to thoſe who ſtood by, *Why ſtand ye ſtill? ſee ye not the young Emperour; who departing from Theſſalonica, came to Serre, which by compoſition was delivered unto him alſo, but not the Caſtle; for that was by Baſilius Nicephorus (the Captain thereof) ſtil holden for the old Emperour. This Baſilius was a ſon of that Captain of the young Emperours of great Capacity or Wit, as the finer fort ſuppoſed, and therefore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old Emperour for his plain ſincerity, more than for any thing elſe, had made Captain of that Caſtle, and ſo ſent him to the Countre theſeſides, which he yet ſtil held, and in theſe moſt troubleſome times ſhewed himſelf wiſer than all that had to thought of him; of whom ſome died in deſpair, ſome fled, ſome were taken Priſoners, and ſo ſuffered a thouſand evils, the reſt with the loſe of a Honour, ſtood firme, and ſo the young Emperour ſaw the young; whereas he alone, looking but even forward upon his Allegiance, with his truſt in God, ſo long as the old Emperour lived, oppoſed himſelf againſt theſe troubles, and ſtood ſaſt for him, and was not to be moved with any fair Proſpect, ſo that the young Emperour, ſeeing the ſpiriting Emperour, whereof he lacked none. But having ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle committed to his Charge, there kept himſelf, until that hearing of the death of the old Emperour, he then reconciling himſelf to the young, as unto his right Sovereign, delivered up the Caſtle, and ſo ſoon as he ſaw his Fidelity gave it him again to hold for him, in as plain manner as he had before held it for his Grandfather. For wiſdom men honour Vertue even in their Enemies, as did King Philip in Demetrius, when as he ſaid, if any Athenian living in Athens, doth ſay that he prefers me before Demetrius, I will ſlay him. I ſay will much money, but not think him worthy*

The flonica yielded unto the young Emperor.

my friendship; but if any of my Country-*laks* shall hate me, him will I impute as a *Cadle*, a *flrong Wall*, or a *Bulwark*; and yet admire his *virtue*, and reckon the *City* happy in having such a man. And so in few words to conclude a long discomfite, the young Emperor *Alphonso* having received through *Macchiois*, and without much taken all the *strong Towns* and *Cities* thither, he there took also *Demetrius* the *Depots Wife* and *Children*, with all his *Treasure*, as also the *Wives of Andronicus* and *Aspar*, and of all the *Senators* that followed them: after whom the young Emperor *Alphonso* sent *Macchiois* for the most part taken and calt into prison some at *Theffalonia*, some at *Didamichum*, some of the rest afterward most miserably perishing in *exile*. Whereupon the old Emperor discouraged, was about to have sent his *Embassadors* unto *Alphonso* for Peace, whilst he was yet thus buffed; but *Macchiois* and *Alphonso* would have had not another hope arising in the mean time, quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilst the old Emperor was thus thinking of Peace, that *Michael the Bulgarian Prince*, in hope of great profit thereof to himself, sent his *Ambassadors* unto him against the young Emperor his *Nephew* *Alphonso*. Offer the old Emperor his *Nephew* accepted, and *Embassadors* were sent to and fro, about the full conclusion of the matter, so man being acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperor's most secret friends and trusty Counsellors, in the mean time disdaining to be coopt up as he was wont to be by his *Nephews Captains*, even in the *Imperial City*; sent out one *Constantinus Assen*, with the greatest part of his strength against him; who encountering him at the *River Maurus*, was there by him in plain battel overthrowen and taken prisoner. The young Emperor's *Confined Army* flying headlong back again to *Constantinople*, they thus prosperously proceeding with the young Emperor, and the *Countries of Macedonia* and *Thracia* now almost all at his Command, he returned in half with all his Power unto *Constantinople*, to prevent the coming of the *Bulgarians*; thither he sent his *Army*, and being the *City* weakly manned, should treacherously and secretly manfully, thus were about him, and so seize upon the *City* themselves; or at leastwise give him such Aid as might keep him out, and so cut off all his hope for obtaining of the *Victual* in the *City*; and so many living shut it up on the one side by *Lands*, and the *Venitians*; with their *Galleies* on the other side by *Sea*; who then at odds with the *Genoways* dwelling at *Pera*, kept all that strait *Sea* betwixt *Europe* and *Asia*, in such sort, as that neither way, either for *Merchandise* could be brought that way, either for *Provisions* to *Pera*. The young Emperor coming to *Constantinople*, and at his first coming to have entered the *City*, in hope without any great resistance to have been received; but repulsed by the *Defendants*, was glad to get him further off. About the same time, the *old Emperor* of the *Island Horlemon*, sent his *Ambassadors* unto the *Bulgarian Prince*, unto the old Emperor, who although he wanted men, and was right glad of their coming, yet remembering the harms he had before received by foreign Aid, and not now daring to trust them too far, sent them away, and desired the *City*, more than by their General and former *Advocates* the *Commanders* with him. Now the young Emperor upon the coming of this Aid, left some great

harm might befall either the old Emperor or himself, to the utter subversion of their State. He secretly sent unto his Grandfather, requesting him to be well advised how he trusted those who were so far off, offering himself to do whatever he should command, and to bear the great a harm should happen unto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the truth the old Emperor had conceived of this *Bulefaro* and his friends, he had not revealed, as he had little lifted unto his Nephew's regard, as that he had not been able to do so. He thought that, how could he well trust him that had so oftentimes deceived him? Wherewith the young Emperor much grieved, and now again almost died, till he had been by the Emperor's side, and drew near unto the place where they were. He then saw the Emperor, who lay on his back, and Horfimen lay encamped; from whence he sent certain Embassadors with great Gifts and Presents to the General, and the rest of the chief Commanders, to let them know that he would not have any more of this great trouble, if they would without further troubling themselves, turn home again; whereunto they willingly granted, and so were of him honourably feasted, and on the next day after conducted upon their way home.

It happened, that the young Emperor returning back again from the *Bulgarians*, and incamped in the place where he before lay; two of the Watchmen of the City, the one called *Germaris*, and the other *Cafellanus*, both Smiths, hid secretly unto him, who admitted to his Presence, and all others commanded to depart, excepting *Cafellanus* and the Emperor, who, concealing himself, and saying unto him, that he would under his hand writing assure them of such a sum of Money, and such Possessions as they required; which he easily granting, and the hour and manner of performing of the same, being by them declared and agreed upon, they by and by without longer stay, for fear of being taken, fled again into the City. But the Emperor staying long days in the flame place, caused certain Ladders to be made of great Ropes, which as they use in great Ships; But the appointed night being come, the two Traytors having provided great store of good Wine, liberally gave the flame by way of entertainment unto those who were their Companions near unto them; who drank for a night long thereof, that not able any longer to hold up their heads, they fell into a found a sleep, as that but for breathing they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain Soldiers of the young Emperors, with the forcible Ladders; where the Traytors by and by sawing under them by a Rope cast down, and making them fall unto the top of the Wall, received by the flame eighteen armed men; who being got to the City, without more ado broke open the *Roman Gate*, whereby the young Emperor with his Army profrely entered, no man letting him. Being now in the night marking, how things appointed to befall us, are by no means to be feared, although we he thereof before never so plainly forewarned: For the same night the City was surprised, immediately after the setting of the Sun, the Gates being that, a certain Country man came running in all haste from out of a Village near by, and knocking hard at the Gate, called for aid, saying it good to fear, that some of the Soldiers; who being come, he told them, how that a little before he had seen a great number of the young Emperors men marching towards the City, by the way that leadeth unto the *Roman Gate*; which being told unto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him. And therefore he thought it good to send out certain Scouts, to see if it were clear about the Walls

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Walls toward the Land, from Sea to Sea; which his purpose *Attochita* his chief Counselor letted, saying, It did not become a courageous mind to be upon to light an occasion so much moved; for that either the rumor was false, or the endeavour of so few vain, the Walls and Gates of the City being so filled with armed men; which happily he said not so much upon ignorance of Martial Affairs, as blinded by a certain commandment Power, that the supernal Decree given by God himself against the old Emperor, might at length take place. And again, the third part of that night yet faint past, divers other Countrymen came running unto the said Gate *Givralima*, and told the Watchmen upon the Walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Roman Gate; whereof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before, inasmuch that sharply rebuking *Attochita*, he said unto him, Thou seemest to be strangely metamorphosed into a man of Iron, which art become so secure, as not to have any feeling of the danger wherewith we are inclosed: Seest thou not that this matter requires, not that we should thus sit still and take our rest? For the noise of my Nephew foundeth in mine Ears as the found of a great drum, and disquieteth my mind. I feel a Sea of Calamity broken out against me, which overwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Nevertheless he, firm in his former Opinion, notwithstanding of those Reports; and therefore rose to go to bed, to thence indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as false alarms. But the Emperor left alone, and no body with him unto whom he might break his grief, laid him down upon a Palace, not contenting himself with a Pillow, but together with them put on extreme dejection, lay tumbling now and fro as a man in mind troubled with divers many and heavy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noise at the Court-Gate, and the report of the entering of the young Emperor his Nephew, with a great clattering of Arms; for there were above eight hundred Soldiers entered with him, and withall they of the City on every side saluted him with most joyful Acclamations. But the old Emperor hearing the great Tumult and Out-cry, rose from his Pillow, exceedingly troubled; and destitute of all the help of his Captains and Souldiers, (for wily, his Palace was altogether desolate, except of such as were his ordinary Waiters) betook himself unto his Prayers, beseeching God not to forsake him in so great a danger, but in his mercy to defend him from the fury of those wicked men. Who presently heard him, and sent him present relief; for the while he was praying, in the Palace, the young Emperor with him, calling together all his Captains and Lieutenants, frantically charged them upon pain of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the Majesty of the old Emperor his Grandfather, nor any other about him; for this Victory (said he) God hath given us, for this Victory (said he) Will ordereth all things, wherunto all things obey; the Stars, the Air, the Sea, the Earth, Men, Floods, Tempests, Plagues, Earthquakes, Showers, Deaths, and such like; sometime to our Bliss, and sometime to our Correction and Destruction; wherefore using us as the Instruments of his Chastisement, he hath given unto this present Victory, which peradventure to-morrow he will give to others to use against us, and then as we have been unto them we have overcome, such will they also shew themselves unto us again; wherefore if neither nightness

of blood, neither that we be all of one Country, may move us yet in respect of our selves less us life mercy, that we feel not the Hand of God upon us in like case. In the mean time a Courtier opened a Wicket unto the young Emperor, with this Message from his Grandfather.

*Forasmuch as God this day (my Son) hath given The pit unto thee the Imperial Scepter, taken from me, I rest Supplique of thee this one good turn, for many which I can of have even from my birth bestowed upon thee, (for Empers in this my hard estate I let pass, that I next unto his No God have been the Author of thy Nativty and In-crease) I give me my life, (for thy Fathers dead, and with violent Weapon fill not that blood from which thou thy self hast taken the Fountain of life. Man truly beholdeth Heaven and Earth, and Heaven and Earth behold mens Actions; wherefore make not the Heavens and the Earth beholders of thy wicked an Outrage as never man ever committed. If Brothers blood long ago cried out unto the Lord against Cain, how much louder shall thy Fathers blood cry unto the Lord, and declare Jo great a wickedness unto the Earth, the Sun, and Stars, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the World? Regard my miserable old age, which of it self promiseth unto me shortly death, but unto thee a Rest after long Care. Reverence the hands which have oftentimes most lovingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy Swearing-Claime. Reverence thine Lips which have oftentimes most lovingly kissed thee, and called thee my other Soul: Have pity upon a bruised Reed, cast down by Fortune, and do not then again tread upon it. And seeing thou art thy self a man, be not too proud of thy present Fortune, but consider the uncertainty and change of worldly things, taking by me Example's life in me the end of long life, and marvel, how one night having received me an Emperor of many years, leaveth me now subject unto another mans power for ever.*

The young Emperor *Andronicus* moved with this Speech, and taking great care of his Grandfathers safety, scarce abating from tears, entered the place, and coming to his Grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him, and with cheerful words comforted him. Straightway after he went unto the Monastery *Manganium*, where (as is aforesaid) the Patriarch *Eusebius* was by the old Emperors Commandment kept in safe keeping; whom the young Emperor now took from thence, and carrying him away in one of the Emperors richest Chariots, restored him again unto his Patriarchal Dignity; where in he afterwards spared not to revenge himself to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old Emperors Friends. That day from morning unto night, a man might have seen all the riches and wealth of such Noblemen as had taken part of the old Emperor, carried away, and their goodly Houses overthrowen and made the scorn of the base common people; but especially the House and Wealth of *Theodorus Attochita*, a man but the day before in greatest favour with his Prince, and of all others next unto the Emperor himself, of greatest Authority and Credit, whose whole Wealth (not that only which he had laid up in trust with his Friends, discovered by Notes found in his Study) became most part a prey unto the common people, and the rest confiscated unto the Prince. Thus he which earst of all others next unto the Emperor was accounted most fortunate, was now upon the sudden, with his Wife and Children brought unto extreme beggary; and after many years Felicity, in one day

day cast into the bottom of despair and misery; where a man might have heard many complaining, say, All that Wealth and Treasure to have been the blood and tears of the poor oppressed Subjects, brought unto him by them whom he had made Rulers and Governors of the Provinces and Cities of the Empire: to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their Slaves, he might stop them for coming to complain of their griefs unto the Emperor; and that the eye of the Revenger had not always slept, but was now at length awaked, and had of him yet cruelly taken sufficient punishment; which every where to hear, increased not a little his grief. As for himself, he was confined unto *Dysmaeleum*, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certain time poorly lived, he was sent for back again to *Constantinople*; where having nothing left to relieve himself (for his house at the coming of the young Emperor, was in the fury of the people plucked down to the ground, and the very pavement thereof digged up) he went unto the Monastery of *Clara* there by, which long before built by the Emperor *Justinian*, and become ruinous, he in the time of his Prosperity had with great charge repaired, and therein now (having made shipwreck of all that he had) quietly shrouded himself, to the great comfort both of his Body and afflicted Mind, where he not long after died.

But to return again unto the old Emperor, as yet in doubt what should become of himself, it fortuned that the same day that the City was taken, the young Emperor at night returning to the Palace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to deal with his Grandfather. Whereunto the young Emperor answering, That he would deal with him honourably and Emperor like; he was by him therefore blamed and reproved. For this *Niphon* being of a crafty sibil Wit and malicious Nature, besides that he secretly hated all them upon whom Fortune greatly either fawned or frowned, bare an especial grudge against the old Emperor: First, for that at such time as he was right worthily for his shameful covetousness and extortion, by the rest of the Bishops and Clergy thrust out of the Patriarchship, he was not by him (as he looked for) defended; and secondly, for that dreaming again after the Patriarchal Dignity, he thought it one good step thereunto, to have him (as his greatest Enemy) taken out of the way. Wherefore he said now unto the young Emperor, If thou desire to Reign without fears, give not thine Honour unto another's, but taking all the Ornaments of the Empire from the old man, cast Hair-cloth upon him, and Jo clap him fast in prison, or thrust him into exile. This mischief the matter amongst them, that although they could not quite draw the young Emperors mind from his Grandfather, yet they much changed the fame, so that he could no longer endure to take him for his Companion in the Empire. Whereupon after many Meetings and Consultations had, it was decreed, That the old man should still retain the Name and Ornaments of an Emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to

come abroad, but to sit still quietly in his Chamber, with the yearly maintenance of 10000 Ducats, for the maintenance of himself and such as tended upon him; to be raised of the filling before the City of *Constantinople*; a poor Pension for the maintenance of so great an Emperor. Of which so shameful a Decree, *Eusebius* the Patriarch was also a furtherer, who seeing an Emperor that had reigned so long, cast down, and flung up as it were in prison, was so far from grieving thereat, that foolishly rejoicing, he took thereof abundantly wrested this Text of Scripture, saying in his ministrations, *Laudatur iustus, cum viderit ultionem*. The just shall rejoice when he seeth the Revenge; calling himself, Just, and the Emperor, Revenge. But the old Emperor thus shut up in his Chamber (differing in nothing but in Name, from a Prison) was not long after the state of his body overthrowen with grief and corrupt humors distilling out of his head, first lost one of his Eyes, and shortly after the other also; and so oppressed with eternal darkness, mingled (as faith the Scripture) his drink with tears, and ate the bread of sorrow, being oftentimes (to his great grief) most bitterly mocked and derided, not of them only which were by his Enemies let to guard him, but of his own Servants also. Not long after, the young Emperor falling sick, in such sort as that it was thought he would not recover, *Catacuzenus*, and the rest of his greatest Favorites and Followers careful of their own estate, and yet doubtful of the old blind Emperor, devised many things against him, but being unwilling to one purpose for the shortning of his day, in the end all other devices left apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a Religious, or for to ever to bid the World Farewell, or else to take what should otherwise ensue; the best thereof was either Death, Exile, or perpetual Imprisonment in the infamous Castle of *Forgetfulness*: For the putting whereof in execution, *Synacelus* (of all others to him most hateful) was appointed. At which hard choice, the old Emperor as with a world of woes suddenly oppressed, lay a great while upon his bed as a man speechless; for what could he do else, except he had an heart of Steel or Adamant? being then compassed about with many barous and merciless Souldiers, and his domestical Servants kept from him, and no man left that would vouchsafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to stand. But to make the matter fatter, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themselves, polling and flaying him, and casting a Monks habit upon him, changed his name, after the name of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthony* the Monk. Glad was *Eusebius* the false Patriarch of this the hard estate of the old Emperor; for that he (seeming to be very sorry for that which was done, but purposing indeed therein to deride him) sent unto him two Bishops, to know what his pleasure was to have done therein. Unto which their demand, he oppressed with heaviness, and fetching a deep sigh even from the bottom of his heart, answered thus:

*As in poor Lazarus appeared a double miracle, that being dead, he rose; and being bound, walked;*  
R even

The old Emperor blind.

Andronicus on the old Emperor against his will blind, and called Anthony.

even so was it to be done in me, though in quite contrary manner: for loe, being alive, I am dead, as overwhelmed with the Waves of Calamity and Woe; and being loofe, I am bound, not my Hands and Feet only, but my Tongue alfo; whereby unable to do any thing elfe, I might juft as leaft bewail my Woes and Wrongs unto the Air, and fuch as by chance fhould hear me, and unto this moft awful darknefs wherein I muft for ever fit. But fume hath clofed my mouth, my Brethren abhor me, and my Mothers Sons account me for a ftranger unto them; and the very light of mine Eyes is not with him, my Friends and Neighbours ftood up againft me, and all that faw me, laughed me to fcorn; my Feet had almoft ftipped, and my Footfteps were almoft overthrown; for I fratted againft the wicked, when I law the peace of the U-edyly. The Emperors long ago gave great Priviledges unto the Church, even thofe which it at this day enjoyeth; and the Church gave to them again Power, to choofe whom they would to be Patriarchs. Now concerning him that fent you, I not only nominated him unto the Patriarchfhip, but my felf made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and moft famous men, being himfelf a man grown old in a more private life, never before preferred, or for any other thing famous; I will not fay how often I have beloved him and done him good. But now when he fhould again have relieved me in my Calamity, he joyneth hands with mine Enemies againft me, more cruel upon me than any bloody-handed Executioner; not affeared to take my life, but to remember in the Churchs figning himfelf to be ignorant and forry for mine offence, much like unto the Egyptian Crocodile of Nile, which having killed fome living Beaft, lieth upon the dead body and wafteth the head thereof with her warm tears, which the afterwards devoureth together with the body. But what to anfwer him unto this his catching queftion, I know not: for if I fhall fay, As an Emperor, I fhall forbear to be taken by them which he hath in purple have me in hold; but if I fay, As Anthony the Monk, it fhall be taken as the frank confeflion of mine efate, by them which have craftily contrived mine Overthrow; as if I had not by compulfion, but even of mine own free will put on this monaftical habit, which God knoweth was never in my thoughts.

Having thus faid, he fent them away without any other anfwer unto their demand; but fitting down upon his bed-fide, faid, My foul return again unto thy reft, for the Lord hath dealt well with thee; neither poked any one word more in declaration of his grief, his Tongue there ftaid by his fingular Wildom, or elfe with the greatness of his grief; and fo againft his will in filence paffing over his forrow, his mind with the greatness of his Woes overcome; and as it were attorned, before the humors gathered into the brain could be diffolved into tears; for as the Sun fending forth his moderate beams, draweth unto it many exhalations and vapors, but cafting the fame forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderate heat confume the fame before they can be drawn up, fo the moderate affections of the mind may have their griefs by words and tears expreffed; but fuch exceeded all meafure, and with their vehemency as it were overthrow the mind, commonly make men to ftand ftill, mute and filent, or if they fpeak at all, to fpeak idly, and nothing to the purpofe, as men befide themselves, or in an extafie; but for the refolution of the queftion by the Bifhops demanded, the devout Patriarch decreed, That in the Church-Prayers he fhould be remembered be-

fore the Emperor his Nephew, by the name of the moft religious and zealous Monk Anthony; which was done (God wot) for no good zeal to the poor blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if he weary of the World, had voluntarily taken upon him that filly profeflion. Nevertheless, within four days after, Synodemus, understanding them in every place to whipper among themselves, and fecretly to mutter againft the hard dealing with the old Emperor, who had long reigned over them, and fo by right was againft to do, if his Nephew fhould chance to die, and that the Ecclefiaftical Laws enforced him to ftand againft him, will to enter into religious Orders; he therewith enraged, fent to him certain of his own Confederacy, to exact of him an Oath in writing, That he fhould never more after that time, feek after the Empire, or yet accept of the fame if it were offered him, neither to fubftitute any other; which if he refufed to do, to put him in fear of his life; and the more to terrify him, let a guard of infolent barbarous Souldiers over him; for fear of whom, he yielded to do whatever they required; and fo his Oath being folemnly conceived into writing (another man leading his hand, becaufe he was blind) he figned the fame with a red Crofs above, and a black Crofs beneath, after the manner of the religious. Having thus lived in darknefs difgraced, fhut up in his Chamber as a man forfaken of the World, with an unfure guard yet to attend him, by the fpace of two years, it fortuned that the 12th of February towards night (a day in the Greek Church dedicated to the Vigil of St. Anthony, whose name they had given him) certain of his Friends that were fuffered to have accefs unto him, going as their manner was, once in three or four days to vifit him (among whom was his Daughter, fometimes the Princefs of Servia his Wife, but then a Widow and Nephew's Gregoras, Author of this History) he entered with them, as with his Friends, into a familiar difcourfe of many matters, wherein he fo deceived the time, that it was paft midnight before they perceived how the time paffed. But the Cocks crowing, he brake off the talk, and bidding them farewell, gave them leave to depart, pleafantly faying, That to morrow they would make an end of their difcourfe: who all thereupon took their leave and departed, no fign of any ficknefs as then appearing upon him; and after they were gone, called for meat and did eat; the meat he eat, was certain fhell-fifh, for it was with them a fafting-day, and he had not eat any thing; after which, when as he fhould have drunk a cup of Wine, for the comforting of his old ftomach, and digefting of that fo hard meat, he drank cold water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat, to drink the fame immoderately; which hurtful manner of diet he then using alfo, began by and by to feel a great pain in his ftomach, and fo prefently after became very fick, falling withal into a great loofenefs of body, fo that in the fpace of one quarter of an hour he was glad oftentimes to arife, and to go unto an homely Houfe of Office in an inner-Chamber thereby to difcharge nature's burden; where after many Evacuations, fitting down upon an homely bed fait by, and not able to recover his own Bed, having as then none to help him, there before it was day, died, after he had reigned 43 years. His death was by many ftrange figns and accidents as it were foretold; firft a great Eclipse of the Sun appeared, juft fo many days before his death as he had lived years; and after that, another Eclipse of the Moon; and with it an Earthquake, the day

The death  
of the old  
Emperor.

The Turks  
Kinglydom  
founded by  
Othoman  
in Affia,  
at fuch  
time as  
the Greek  
Emperors  
were at  
variance  
between  
themselves  
in Europe.

Prufe  
yielded  
unto the  
Turks.

before he died at night, being St. Anthony his even, whose name his Enemies had thrutt upon him; at which time alfo, the Sea with a great Tempeft rifing above the wonted Bounds, made divers breaches in the Walls of the City towards the Sea, as if it had been fome violent Enemy, and overflowed alfo divers Houfes in the City. Many Croffes and Pinacles were then alfo from the tops of Churches and other high Buildings overthrow; and with them a great Pillar, fome time one of the Ornaments of the City, ftanding before the Church, commonly called the Church of the forty Martyrs; which being very high, and below burnt and worn away with time, had put many in fear as they paffed by it, left it fhould have fallen upon them; infomuch that the Emperor upon a time paffing that way, was requested by fome of the Nobility there prefent, to ride farther off from it, for fear of falling upon him; who fmiling at their vain fear, by chance answered, O would to God I might live fo long as this Pillar will ftand; which now falling out according to his Speech gave many of them that had heard him fo fay, occafion to marvel. His dead body was honourably buried in the Monaffery of Libe, which his Mother Theodora the Empereff had not long before new built, and his Obfeques there (after the manner of that time) yearly folemnly kept by the fpace of nine days.

Thus at length having paffed through the troubled State of the Greek Empire, during the long Reign of the old Emperor Andronicus, the confiderate Reader may eafily fee the caufes of the declining and ruine alfo of this famous Empire; and how that the Greek Emperors troubled with their tempeftuous Affairs nearer home in Europe, yea in the very Imperial City it felf, and in their own Palaces, were not at leifure to look over the Strait into Affia, but glad to leave their Territories there unto the weak defence of themselves. At which time, and even in the middle of the aforefaid trouble, Othoman on the one fide, with great induftry laid the Foundation of his Empire in *Thracia* and *Bithynia*, now the greateft terror of the World; and then did thofe things which we now have of him written. The other Princes of the Turks alfo, the Succelfors of Sultan Aladin, at the fame time on the other fide, alongft the River *Meander* encroaching on as faft; until that at laft amongst them they had thrutt the Greek Emperors quite out of *Affia*, and in fine became themselves, together with the Greek Empire, Prey unto the Othoman Kings, as in the procefs of this History fhall move at large appear.

But again to return unto Othoman himfelf, who all this while (that old Andronicus the Greek Emperor was thus troubled) had with his Son *Orchanes* fought by all means on every fide to enlarge his Kingdom; the Garrifons by him left in the two late built Caftles near unto the great City of

*Prufe*, under the Charge of the two valiant Captains *Attemur* and *Bolubazack* (as is before declared) having now continued there certain yeers, had by hurting upon the paffages, and fpoiling of the Country, brought the City into fuch diftreff and penury, that many of the Citizens and other poor Chriftians fled into the City, there died of Famine. The reft now out of all hope to be relieved by the Building overthrow, and the relieving himfelf, came to Compofition with *Orchanes* (for Othoman was then fick of his old Difate the Gout) covenanting with him, that they might in fafety with life and liberty depart, and fo much of their Goods as they themselves could carry; and fo yielded to him the City. Which conditions (as moft write) were on the Turks behalf well and faithfully performed; yet fome there be that report them to have been in moft part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was *Prufe*, one of the greateft Cities of that part of *Affia*, yielded unto the Turks, in the year of our Lord, 1327, and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the Royal Seat of the Othoman Kings.

About this time, or very fhortly after, Othoman The death of Othoman, Othoman lived at Prufe, in the eighth and twentieth year of his Reign died, at the age of 69, in the year of our Lord, 1328, and lieth buried at *Prufe*, where his Tomb is yet at this day to be feen, in a certain Chappell of an old Monaffery in the Caftle, ftanding in the middle of the City, covered with a Mantle of green Chamler, and a little Tulipant or Turkish Hat (fuch as he ufed to wear) lying over his head, differing from thofe which the Turks now wear, efpecially the better fort of them, fo great that they can therewith fcarcely come in at a door. There is alfo another Monument of him to be feen at *Seygus*, fait by the Sepulchre of his Father *Ertogrul*, there made by his Sons in remembrance of him; whereof fome have reported him to have been there buried. Howbeit the Turks themselves generally fuppofe the true Monument wherein he is interred, to be at *Prufe*, as is aforefaid. He was wife, politic, valiant, and fortunate, but full of diffimulation, and ambitious above meafure; not rafh in his Attempts, and yet very refolute; what he took in hand, he was bountiful and liberal, but efpecially to his Men of War, and the poor, whom he would many times feed and cloth with his own hands. Of a poor Lordfhip he left a great Kingdom, having fubdued a great part of the lefter *Affia*; and is worthily accounted the firft Founder of the Turks great Kingdom and Empire. Of him, the Turkish Kings and Emperors ever fince have been called the Othoman Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him defended; and the Turks themselves *Osmannide*, as the People or Subjects of Othoman, or *Osmán*, for fo he is of the Turks commonly called.

Note, That in the reckoning up of certain of the great Christian Princes and Prelates of the same time, at the end of every of the Turkish Kings and Emperors Lives, the first and greatest number following their Names, sheweth the Year of our Lord, wherein such an Emperor, King, or Bishop began to Reign, or Sit; and the number following, how long he reigned or sat; As for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to Reign in the East, in the Year of Grace, 1282. and reigned 43 years; and so of the rest. Wherein we seek not the exact Computation unto a month or day (as not much material to our History, or any part of our purpose) but only the reasonable view of the great Princes of the forepassed Times, as they lived in Ages together.

Christian Princes of the same time with Otho- man.	{	Emperors	{	Of the East	Andronicus Paleologus the elder.	1282. 43.
					Andronicus Paleologus the younger.	1325. 29.
			{	Of the West	Albertus of Austria.	1298. 10.
					Henry of Lucelbourg.	1308. 6.
					Lewis the Fourth, of Bavaria.	1314. 32.
			{	Of England	Edward the First.	1272. 34.
					Edward the Second.	1307. 20.
					Edward the Third.	1327. 50.
			{	Of France	Philip the Faire.	1286. 28.
					Lewis.	1314. 2.
					Philip the Long.	1316. 5.
					Charles the Faire.	1321. 7.
		{	Of Scotland		John Baliol.	1292.
					Robert Bruce.	1306. 24.
		{	Bishops of Rome		Boniface the VIII.	1295. 8.
					Benedict the XI.	1304. 2.
					Clement the V.	1306. 11.
					John the XXII.	1317. 18.

# The LIFE of ORCHANES or URCHAN, Second King of the Turks.

**A**FTER the death of *Othoman*, his two Sons, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Urchan*) and *Aladin* his Brother, having with great Solemnity entered their Father at *Prusa*, immediately summoned a Parliament, whereunto both the Brethren came accompanied with the chief of their Nobility. This Parliament was called especially, for the establishing of the Succession in this new Kingdom, and for the division of *Othoman's* Treasures and Goods, betwixt them two, his Sons. But upon view taken, there was no Money, Plate, or Jewels found in the Kings Coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it upon his men of War; so that all the Wealth he left unto them his Sons, was, the honourable remembrance of his Life for them to imitate, large Dominions for their Possessions, store of ready Horsemans fit for service; with great Herds of Beasts and Cattel for Household Provision.

Whereupon *Orchanes* demanded of his Brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was best to be taken with those things by their Father so left? To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisite, first to establish a King in their Fathers Kingdom; which like a good Shepherd might govern and defend his Subjects, rule and maintain his men of War, providing all things meet for defence of his Kingdom: And that unto him of right belonged all these other things by their Father left, as the Patrimony of his Successor, for the common good and maintenance of his Estate. As for mine own part (said *Aladin*) I claim no interest therein, you being my elder Brother, and so unto me instead of a Father; by whom also you have been these two years, as it were already put in possession of the Kingdom, all things being committed to your Government, during the time of his late sickness. This modesty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the ancient Counsellors; by means whereof, the Kingdom in all peaceable manner descended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courtesy, *Orchanes* would gladly have made *Aladin* his Brother President of his Council; which Honour he would in no wise accept, but requested rather that he would give him the Lordship of *Fidore* in *Takenes* Country; which *Orchanes* frankly granted. In which Lordship of *Fidore*, *Aladin* most part lived a private and quiet life, and afterwards built two *Mahometan* Churches, and an Abbey at *Prusa*, there yet at this day to be seen.

Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his Reign; as that *Othoman* should have three Sons, and that *Orchanes* the youngest obtained the Kingdom by murdering of his other Brethren. A practice of late much used amongst the Turkish Princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish Monarchs embroiled his hands with his Brothers Blood; where before, they used all brotherly love one to another, as the most probable Histories collected out of the Turks own Chronicles affirm.

The Christian Princes and Captains, presently upon the death of *Othoman* recovered the City of *Nice*, with divers other Castles and Forts, out of the hands of the Turks; as it commonly chanced, that Dominions lately won with great peril, are soon again lost, the Conqueror dying before there be a firm Government established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repossessed, the Castle of *Thesspholus*, situate upon the passages of the River *Sangarius*, most grieved the Turks, for thereby their passage into that part of *Bithynia* was much impeached. Wherefore *Orchanes* desirous to recover this Castle, disguised himself with a few other of his best Souldiers, in the apparel of Christian Merchants, and came to the Castle, craving leave to pass as Merchants; the Wardens of the Castle verily supposing them by their Attire to be Merchants, opened the Gates, and let them into the Castle; who presently drew their Swords, flew the Wardens, and so by force possessed the Castle, to the great benefit of the Turks, and the hurt of the poor Christians yet left in the Country of *Bithynia*. For they now having opened a way over the River *Sangarius*, and as it were broken down the strongest defence of that side of the Greek Empire, at their pleasure foraged the Country in rich sort, as that the great City of *Nice* (for want of Victuals to relieve so great a multitude as for fear of the Turks was fled out of the Country into it) was brought to great extremity and want. For the relief whereof, and for the repulsing again of the Turks, *Andronicus* the young Emperor, who then commanded, with such an Army as he was then able to raise, passed himself in person over the Strait of *Constantinople*, into *Asia*; the greatest Strength of his Army consisting in two thousand choice Horsemen; the rest as well Horse as Foot, being for the most part Artificers taken up in the City, men altogether unacquainted with Arms (who in token of their cowardice, and that they were more mindful of Flight than of Fight, carried over with them almost as many long Boats and such other small Vessels, as they were men, to be ready to receive them at such time as they should flee) or else abject Rascals, taken up here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others most unfit for so great a Prince (as was the Emperor) to commit the defence of his Person and Honour unto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his coming, sent certain of his most expert Captains, to lordly the strait passages of the Country whereby the Emperor was to pass; following also himself after with his Army, of purpose to encounter the Emperor. Who in three days march after his landing in *Asia*, being come to *Philobrene*, a little Town in *Bithynia*, and understanding that *Orchanes* having before taken the Straits, lay not far off encompassed with his Army; he there at *Philobrene* pitched his Tents, and bled that night also. But the next morning, the Sun as yet scarcely risen, he seeing divers Companies of the Turks coming down from the Mountains

The city of *Nice* with divers other Castles recovered from the Turks after the death of *Othoman*.

The wealth that *Othoman* left unto his two Sons *Orchanes* and *Aladin*.

When that barbarous monster of men *Orchanes* the murdering brother first began among the Turkish Souldiers.



*Suscepit Orchanes defuncti Sceptra Parentis:  
Majus ut ingento, sic major Arte valens.  
Bithynus, Phrygiamq, domat, Prusamq, Superbam:  
Et populos late (Marte favente) premit.  
Sic lotus tantis Asiam turbasse ruinas:  
Transit in Europam, Gallipolimque capit.  
Rident interea Graeci sua damna: sed ecce  
Dum sua contemnunt, in nova fata ruunt:*

*His Fathers glorious Race now being run,  
The politick Orchanes mounts the Throne;  
Bithynia, Phrygia, Prusa, far and near,  
All by his prosperous Arms subjected were:  
Proud of his Asian spoils, his Banners spread  
To Europe, o'er the beauteous Aegean Sea;  
Meanwhile the Greeks th' impending Tempest scorn,  
And are by th' mighty Torrent overborne.*

fast by, put his Army into order of Battle, and so far forward to meet them; where to begin the Fight, the Turks Archers freely bestowed their piercing shot amongst the Christians, still keeping themselves aloof off, so to do the more harm. Which the Emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to have proceeded of fear, encouraged therewith, commanded certain loose Companies disorderly to march forward, and assault with the sword, his most experienced Captain liking, would have otherwise persuaded him, as to have kept his Strength together against the danger of the Barrell. Nevertheless, such was his youthful heat, as that he could by no means be otherwise intreated, but that forward needs they must. But all the forenoon spent in this light and tumultuary kind of skirmishing, and the Sun at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the Mountains receiving the Christians to be weary, and his own Army to be hot, and also skirmishing, came down from the Hills with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous cry charged the Christians on every side, some a far off with their Arrows, and some hand to hand with their Swords and other Weapons; whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly received and a great while right worthily defended themselves, having wounded and slain a number of their Enemies. Which hard Fight till on both sides grew so many and so close, that the Town being in sight, with great laughter on both sides; at what time, the Christians weary of the long Fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their Enemies, did orderly retiring toward their Trenches, and hardly pursued by the Turks, received there a great loss, as well of their Horsemen, as of their Foot; but by the coming on of the night, the Battle was at length ended with uncertain Victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperor himself was wounded, and his Army so much distressed, that it happened a wofull mishap, and a manifest token of Gods his Wrath; for *Orchanes* valour to his self made proof of the Strength and Valour of the Christians, and doubting they would the next day come on further into the Country, left three hundred Horsemen as Scouts, to attend the Enemies removing; and himself with his Army retired before hand to take advantage of such place as the Christians were to pass by. But the Emperor in the Evening sent forth his Camp, going to attend the Town, and to see how better with his Wound distressed, the rest of the Army understanding of his departure, and supposing him to have fled for fear (as if *Orchanes* with a great Army would that night have slain him all) fled themselves also out of the Camp, every Mothers Son, some to their long Boats and other little Vessells they had for that purpose brought over the Strait; some halting toward the Town Gates, were by the multitude of others running heavily after them, and some running toward the Sea; and some hanging about the Mothers Tail, like a Chain, got some part of them up to the top of the Rampiers of the Town; othersome drawn back by them that hung upon them, falling down together by heaps, and trod upon by others, there perished; some (as is reported) died there of very fear, no man either chafing or hurting them, so weak is mans Courage, when God withdraweth from him his Strength. But in the morning the Sun arising, the three hundred Turks left for Scouts, pursued the flight of the Christians, and in the forenoon came, where they found Horses, Armour, and empty Tents, yea the Emperors own Furniture, and his Horses ready falled; of all which, two hundred of these Turks took the Spoil

at their pleasure, and the other hundred pursuing the dispersed Christians, like headless men wandering here and there, flew a great number of them. The Emperor himself leading his Army thus (as it were) by the hand of God, and overhauling the dispersed, took shipping aloft, and returned to *Constantinople*. After whose departure, the Turks seizing upon many *Sas Towns* along the Coast of *Bithynia*, and there seating themselves, laid heavy Tributes upon the other Country Towns and Villages; for the benefit whereof they spared to destroy them, together with the Inhabitants, which they might at their pleasure full easily have done.

[illegible]

About this time it fortun'd, the Captains Son  
of *Scamandria* ( a Town not far from the ruins of  
the

the antiquities of *Troy*, and about a days journey from the renowned *Castle of Abydos* to depart out of this World; unto whose Funerals, being kept in the Country, whilist his woful Father the Captain with his Friends out of *Scamandria* reformed, the old crafty Turk *Accezoza* lying always in wait, as a Fox for his Prey, suddenly fell upon those heavy Christians, whereof he flew the most part, and took the Prisoners. Amongst whom he first took the Captain, and carried him to his *Castle and Country*; where he afterwards led the Prisoner unto the *Castle of Abydos*, which is one of the most famous Castles situate upon the *Sea of Coast of Asia*, over against *Sefus in Europe*; where the *Sea of Helluspont* by the narrow Strait falleth into the *Sea of Aegium*; two Castles much renowned by reason of their high Situation, and ever placed in divers parts of the World; eternized by the singing Wits of Poets, for the adventurous passage of the *Argo* to the *Sea*, to his Love *Hero*; which Castles are now called *Dardanelles*. *Accezoza* having brought the Captive Captain of *Scamandria* (lately a man of great account in that Country) so near as he could unto the *Castle of Abydos*, offered to let him at liberty if they would surrender their *Castle*, otherwise they should fee him cruelly slain before their Faces. These Turkish threats did not moved them of *Abydos*, more than to say, That they would never give up the *Castle* to a Head, feed him and eat him; but the *Castle* they intended not to deliver. The brave Captain was afterward by the commandment of *Orchebas* proferred to the Emperor of *Constantinople* to be redeemed, which he refused; yet as the last he was ransomed by the Governor of *Nicomedia*, and again fell at liberty. *Accezoza* of long time held the *Castle of Scamandria*; yet to continually move the Garrison of *Abydos*, and men of War sent from *Constantinople*, that he with his Followers were glad to see him live, he sent him back, to be always in more readiness against the attempt of their Enemies. The Captain of the *Castle of Abydos* had at that time a fair young Gentlewoman to his Daughter, who (as the fable) chanced to dream (what she had happily waking for the myrr part wished) That being fallen into a deep myrtle Ditch, out of which the could by no means help her self, a luty young Gallant coming by, did not only help her out, but also in love; and made her his wife, and conversed with her in rich and costly Attire. The danger of this dream much troubled the tender Gentlewoman, but the image of the young Gentleman was so well phantased in her brain, that waking, she thought the fill saw him, and sleeping longed fore for what he saw now. Thus whilist this young Gentlewoman with great devotion entertained this imaginary man, the old gray-headed Turk *Accezoza* came, and with a strong army of his Slaves, took the *Castle of Abydos*. During which Siege, the young Gentleman sometimes went up into the high Tower of the *Castle* from whence the might at pleasure fee the Martial Deeds on both sides, and take full view of all the Enemies Camp. But fee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great Courage and no less Bravery, approached near to the Siege of the *Castle*, the thought (upon the first sight of him) that he was the very man whom he had before dreamed of, and whose Idea was in his Heart to deeply engrave; and therefore he was fully resolved to perform what the had without any further self determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approached the *Castle*, the cast down to his Feet a Letter written in Greek, and made fast unto a Stone; which Letter he taking

up, delivered the fame to the General *Accecozza*. Wherein after the had discovered their paffionate affection, the promised to deliver the Cattle into *Abdrachman's* Power, if the Turks would raise their Siege, and *Abdrachman* himfelf with fome few would fecretly return to the Cattle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her redemption. *Accecozza* like an old Fox, which is feduced by a trap, gave a fmall credit to thofe loving lines; for fear of the fuppofted danger, who are the man (he faid he to *Abdrachman*) whom the fup on fpecial liking hath made choice of for the purpofe, will you adventure your Perfon? And he armed with a manly Courage, a full defence than any Armor of proof, incited alfo with hope of Honour, Riches, and Beauty, all worthy prizes for Martial minds; faid he would not be afhamed of the achievement of that Exploit, if it were his pleasure. The fuppofted danger, which he faid nothing should be fufpected by his fudden departure, gave a tharp Affault to the Cattle, as if he would have taken it by fine force, yer in the end retired, and prefently brake up his Siege, as defpairing of the winning thereof. The Defendants of the Cattle thinking themfelves delivered of a great danger, greatly rejoiced; and in their joy, they oftentimes falleth out, in their great joyllity furching the fuppofted danger, with excefs both of Meat and Drink. But *Abdrachman* at the time in the Letter appointed, put himfelf upon the way with certain felect Souldiers, and about Midnight came to the appointed place of the Cattle, where the young Gentlewoman was attending his coming; and he by her was conveyed into the Cattle, and fo by her direftion, he fuppofted the danger, he flew the Porter being faft afleep, and opening of the Gates, let in his Followers: which went direftly to the Captains Lodging, and there took him Prifoner, being before their coming overtaken with Wine, and faft afleep. Thus was the Cattle of *Abydos* furprized by the Turks, from whence they gave a fair profpect out of *Afia* into *Europe*. The Captain with his fair Daughter, and the greateft part of his Cattle, who the night was delivered up to *Abdrachman*, to the preference of *Orchane* at his Court, then lying at *Neapolis*. Who wonderful glad of fo good news, gave the fair Gentlewoman, with the greateft part of the Prey to *Abdrachman*. The Poffterity of this man (as they fay) yet remains among the Turks. Amongft others of the Warlike Captains there was alfo one *Cararachman*, whole name was fo dreadful to them of *Constantinople*, that when his Children cried, they would make them to men and maid his peace, by faying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforementioned worthy Captains, *Cumger-Alpes* and *Accecozza* died. After whole death, *Orchane* made his Sons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, Lords and Governors of thofe Countries and Provinces. And intending (by the perfwafion of *Abdrachman*) to befiege *Nicomedia*, he was fo overcome any where, he took divers fmall Cattles and went towards the City. *Nicomedia* was at that time governed by an honourable Lady, Kingwoman unto *Andronicus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*; but the feeling her City Befeged by the Turks, and doubting her own Forces not to be able to hold out the Siege, by a trufty Meflenger offered to yield the City unto *Orchane*, upon condition, That the wife Citizens as would, might in fafety depart with their Goods, and that fuch as they thought granted, the wife fo many as would follow her, departed out of the City by night, taking fhipping for *Conftantinople*.

Orchanes having taken *Nicomedia*, made his Son  
*Solyman*

The Empe-  
ror wound-  
ed.

*The City of  
Nice sur-  
prised by  
the Turks.*

Abydos  
besieged by  
the Turks.

Nicome-  
dia yielded  
unto Or-  
chards.



*Solyman* Governor of the fame. The Churches of the Christians he converted unto Turkish *Mechitas* or Temples. The greatest Church (being of wonderful Beauty) he converted into a College, or School, for the learned Professors and Students of *Mahomet* Law, which is yet called *Nicomedia*, *Orchanes* his School or College. And because the Country near unto *Nicomedia*, lying upon the Sea, was ever in danger to be spoiled by the Gallies of *Constantinople*, he placed in those Countries divers of his most experienced Soldiers to defend the same, appointing to every of them Possessions and Penfions, according to their degrees and merit. After this *Orchanes* by the counsel of his Brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of War to wear white Caps, which were known from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of Caps the *Tanizaries* use at this day. The Turks also in *Orchanes* Reign, and long time after, used not to cut or shave their Beards, but did wear them long; so that if the King would disgrace any man, he would in his displeasure command his Beard to be cut or shaven. The manner of cutting and having their Beards which they now use, they learned of the *Italians*; of whom they have also borrowed many other fashions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their ancient Manners and Customs. *Nice*, where he lay a long time after. There he built a sumptuous Church, appointing a Preacher to preach to the People every Friday; he erected in *Nice* also two fair Abbies, in the one of which he with his own hands served the Sengals, and Poor the first dinner. He was the first that builded Abbies or Monasteries among the Turks; whose example most of his Successors have imitated, and is amongst them used unto this day.

The Government of *Nicomedia* *Orchanes* committed to his eldest Son *Solyman* (as is before said) a Prince of great towardsness, giving him in great charge to have a vigilant Eye to the Towns of *Taraxia*, *Gomineca* and *Madurea*, which were nigh unto *Nicomedia*, yet in possession of the Christians; all which Towns, with the Countries adjoining, *Solyman* in short time got without force, by composition. This *Solyman* was of a Princely Disposition, so tempering Justice with Clemency in his Government, that many Christians allured with his Virtues, became of his Religion, and gladly put themselves under his Subjection: the politic Laws of the Country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had been of ancient time accustomed, whereby he greatly won the Hearts of the People. *Amurath* his younger Son, *Orchanes* made Lord and Governor of *Prussa*, after he had removed his Court to *Nice*. And the Castle of *Chara-chilar*, with the Seigniorie thereto belonging, he gave to his Cousin *Armenure*, the Son of his Uncle *Jundus*.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* Court a Noble young Gentleman called *Turfon*, Beg, the son of *Dharaf* King of *Charafia*; by whose persuasion *Orchanes* in Person himself with a strong Army, made an Expedition into that Country; for that his Fathers Subjects after the death of the King his Father, denied their Obedience to his elder Brother, wishing rather to have *Turfon* for their Sovereign. In whose behalf *Orchanes* taking that journey, surprised by the way many Castles and Towns to his own use. *Orchanes* was no sooner entered the Country of *Charafia*, but *Turfon*, elder Brother died at *Pergamum*, whither the Turks shortly pursued him; where *Turfon* desirous to speak with his Brother, unwarily approaching the City, was wounded with an Arrow thro' from the Walls, and there slain. With whose death *Or-*

*chanes* was so greatly offended, that he threatened to destroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally submit themselves to his mercy. The People terrified with this proclamation of so great a Prince already in Arms, yielded themselves unto his Subjection. The King Son also that was fled into *Pergamum*, upon reasonable conditions, yielded himself unto *Orchanes*, who sent him to *Prussa*, where after he had there lived two years, he died of the Plagues, after whose death *Orchanes* made his Son *Solyman* Prince of *Carafina*. Neither is this taking in of the Country of *Carafina* to be accounted a small Conquest; one of the greatest Houses of the Turks the Successors of the *iosman* Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, and their Dominions (which were not final, as containing almost *Lydia*, with some good parts of *Mysia*, *Troas*, and the lesser *Phrygia*) now united unto the *Orthoman* Kingdom. *Orchanes* upon his return, for the good success of this journey, built a Church and Monastery at *Prussa*, placing therein religious men, with all diligence sought for out of all his Kingdom; of which Religious the Turks write many Fables, better worth the smiling at, than the serious reporting. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Orthoman* and *Orchanes* his Son, was contained within the bounds of the lesser *Asia*, which the Turks call *Anatolia*.

Now it refteth to be shewed, upon what occasion *Orchanes* or rather his Son *Solyman* *Balla*, as it were fatally, with a small power first passed over *Hellepontus* into Europe; where they and their Successors have by little and little to enlarged their Dominions, that they have now long ago quite overthrown the *Grecian* Empire, with many other great Kingdoms, and are at this present a terror to all Christian Princes bordering upon them; to the perpetual Infamy of the Greeks, who for want of courage, and busied with civil discord, never sought in time to impeach their greatness.

*Orchanes* having now so augmented his Kingdom, that he might from many parts thereof out of *Asia* take view of the pleasant borders of Europe, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow Sea of *Hellepontus*; and continually incited with the insatiable and restless desire of Sovereignty, began to devise how he might possibly pass that Strait Sea, and set foot in Europe another part of the World. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his Son *Solyman*; who presently answered his Father, That if it would please him to give him leave, he would not doubt to pass the Strait of *Hellepontus*; and in time to plant the *Mahometan* Religion in those Countries of Europe possessed by the Christians. Which answer of *Solyman* much pleased his Father, who gave him leave to depart into his Country, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought best, and as occasion should best serve. *Solyman* taking leave of his Father, took his journey into *Carafina*, where riding up and down the Country, as it had been to his pleasure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous City of *Troy* sometime stood; where yet (as the Turks and some others say) are to be seen the wonderful ruins of that unfortunate City by the Sea side. In this place *Solyman* stood still a great while, as it were in a study, forecasting (as it seemed) some great matter, without speaking one word to any of his Followers. When one of his Clergymen called *Escan-Beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts, boldly said unto him, My Lord and great Sovereign, what strange thing is this, that you are so deeply drowned in these your melancholy thoughts? undoubtedly it is some great matter that you are studying upon. Truth it is, (said *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were possible to pass over this

The Country of Carafina yielded unto Orchanes.

Sea of *Hellepontus* into the borders of Europe, and to take view of that Country, and so to return and discontinue. If this be the matter, (said *Escan-Beg*) bidding him unto him one *Fazil-Beg*, a man of no less valour than himself) we two will by the power of God perform unto you this Enterprize. Then was *Solyman* desirous to know of them, about what place they would pass over; which they well knowing the Sea coast, shewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giving them leave, they departed; and shortly after making a little Boat, or rather as some suppose a Raffe, passed over *Hellepontus* by night, and arrived in Europe side, near unto a Castle of the Turks, called *Zemene* or *Zembenic*, but of the Greeks *Caridocastren*, that is to say, The Hoag Castle, not far from *Sifrus*; where going ashore, they took Prisoner a Greek in a Vineyard near unto the Castle, whom they finding to be a good sensible Fellow, without delay put him into their Boat or Raffe, and returning back again, presented him to *Solyman*. This Christian Captive *Solyman* entertained courteously, giving him great Gifts, and rich Apparel, to discover unto him the Estate of his Country; and in fine learned of him a means to take the Castle *Zemene*, before the Christians should thereof be aware. For achievement whereof, certain Boats were speedily made ready by *Solyman* Commandment, and he with eighty chosen Soldiers easily passed over them by night, with their Christian Guide the Greek; for in that place, the Strait betwixt *Asia* and Europe is not past an Italian mile over. This Guide brought *Solyman* directly to the aforesaid Castle, where was a great Dungeon, so high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his Soldiers easily got into the Castle, which they won without any great resistance; for it was then Harvest time, and most part of the People were in the Vineyards, or treading out of their Corn all night, as the use of the Country is. *Solyman* thus possessed of the Castle of *Zemene*, used no extremity against the Inhabitants thereof, seeking rather by courtesy to gain their good Wills, than by extremity to force them to his; yet such Gentlemen as he took, with some others also of the better sort, he sent by shipping into *Asia*, and by the same Ships returned Soldiers as fast as he could into Europe; so that he had in one day two hundred Soldiers more brought over unto him; and manning such small Vessels as he had left about the Castle, sent *Escan-Beg* along the coast on Europe side, to burn fish shipping or Vessels as he could find, lest the Christians should by them hinder his passage upon the Strait of *Hellepontus*. So in a few days *Solyman* had transported into Europe two thousand good Soldiers of the Turks, whom he so governed, that they did not in any violent For injury to the vulgar Christians, by reason whereof the common People began to like reasonable well of the Turks, and to converse with them without fear. This was the first coming over of the Turks into Europe, with purpose then to conquer and inhabit, under the fortune of the *Orthoman* Kings. For albeit that some of that Nation had at sundry times before come over, as men seeking after Spoil, or otherwise before for, yet formerly the Greek Emperors themselves; yet never staid they long, but having done what they came for, or else left themselves, returned back again into *Asia*; until that now conducted by *Solyman*, and possessed of the little Castle of *Zemene* (as is aforesaid) they there took to salt footing, as that they and their Posterity after them, were never thence to be since that time removed; but still more and more encroaching upon the Kingdom, have unto their *Asia* Kingdom joyned a great part of Europe also, to the terror of the rest that

yet remaineth, as in the process of this History (if God will) at large appear.

About two miles from *Constantinople* the Castle was another Castle called *Alatice*, or more truly *Madurea*, which *Solyman* also took; so that now he had gotten two Castles in Europe, both which he strongly manned. After which time, the Turks in great numbers came out of *Asia* into Europe over that narrow Strait of *Hellepontus*, to dwell in *Constantinople*; and *Solyman* induced of them, to make room for his Turks, sent Christians out of Europe to be placed amongst the Turks in *Asia*. The report of this coming over of the Turks into *Constantinople*, and of the taking of the Castle of *Zemene*, carried in post to *Constantinople*, was sufficient to have stirred up any provident or careful men, presently to have taken up Arms for the recovery of the lost Castle, and the driving out again of the barbarous Enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater Strength, or fortified themselves in those places; but such was the careless negligence and great Security of the proud Greeks, that instead thereof, they to extenuate the greatness of the loss, commonly said, That there was but a Hogsty lost; alluding unto the name of the Castle; and vainly (as said a grave Father of their own) jolting at that was not to be jested at, but lamented for, as in few years it proved, their foolish humour being not without good cause contrived to their ruin.

*Solyman* Strength to fill increasing by the daily coming over of the Turks, he proceeded further, to spoil the Country of *Calipolis*, almost as far as the little *Calipolis*, distant from the Castle *Zemene* about two and twenty miles; after which pleasant City the proud Turk began now to long. Which the Governor thereof perceiving by the Turks continued encroaching upon him, raised what power he was able to make, and sent forth against them; all the rest of the Greeks in the mean time lying still, as if they had been asleep, or that the matter had not concerned them; but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) overthrown, and for safeguard of his life glad to flee into his City; after whom the Turks following, spoiled the Country round about, and in their return, by plain force took the City, together with the Castle also; which happened in the year of our Lord 1258. Where the madness of the Greeks was again more than before to be wondered at; for the news of the loss of *Calipolis* being brought to *Constantinople*, the People there made full account thereof, although it was indeed a right great loss, and much concerned the State; but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talk thereof, in jolting wise commonly said, That the Turks had not taken from them a Port of Wine. But by taking of such Hogsties and Portes of Wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few years after had gone so far in *Thracia*, that *Amurath* (the same *Solyman* Nephew which now took from the Greeks the City of *Calipolis*) even in the heart as it were of the Greek Empire, placed his Royal Seat at *Hidencople*; and immediately after him, *Bajazet* his son (having subdued all the Country even to the Walls of *Constantinople*) for certain years laid hard Siege unto the Imperial City itself; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mighty Tartar Prince *Tamelaque* unto *Bajazet* fatal) in the mean time happened; where by (God so appointing it) the prosperous proceedings of the Turks were for a space well staid, that they should not before the time by him projected, devour the Remains of the Greek Empire. And it were to be wished, that the Christians of our time also (by their example warned) would

Orchanes removed his Court to Nice.

Orchanes invaded the Country of Carafina.

at length awake out of their dead sleep; who of late hath lost unto the same Enemy, not the Cattle of *Zemboie*, or the City of *Callipolis*, but whole Kingdoms, as *Hungary* and *Cyprus*, and are still fair in the way; I say no more for grief, and foreboding of evil fortune. But again to our purpose; *Solyman* having made this prosperous entrance into *Europe*, and there got strong footing, by speedy Messengers certified his Father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all speed to send unto him a great supply of men of War, as well for the sure defence and keeping of those Castles and Forts by him already gotten, as for the further invasion of the Country. This message was wonderful welcome unto *Orchanes*, and where-as many Families of the *Saragins* at that present were come into the Country of *Carafina*, to possess the Dwellings and Places of them, which in hope to better their Estate were before gone over into *Europe*; all these *Saragins* he commanded to pass over into *Europe* likewise; which they did accordingly, fearing themselves for a time in the Country near to *Callipolis*. In the mean time *Solyman* omitted no opportunity to enter further into the Country, winning small Forts and Holds, and still replenishing the same with his Turks. And on the other side, they of *Carafina* passed over into *Europe*, placing themselves as it were in a new World. For which cause, and for the great desire they had to extend the Turkish Dominion and Religion, they refused no pains of War; so that all things at that time prospered with the Turks, and went backward with the Christians.

In the time of these Wars, not far from *Callipolis* was a little Castle called *Congere*; the Captain whereof was by a Greek name called *Calo Johannes*, a valiant and painful man; this Captain continually molested and troubled the Turks which lay on that side of *Callipolis*, under the leading of *Ezer-Beg*, many of whom he slew and took Prisoners, as he could find them at any advantage. *Solyman* much angered herewith, by crafty and secret Espials learned a certain time when he was gone out of his Castle to do some exploit upon the Turks. Whereupon he presently to bolster the Castle with Souldiers, that he could by no means return thither, but he must first fall into their hands; and for more assurance placed others also in by-ways, lest he should by any ways escape. The Captain ignorant of all this, prosecuted his enterprise, and having taken a Turk Prisoner, thinking to return to his Castle, was hastily pursued by *Fazil-Beg*, for which cause making the more haste, he suddenly fell into the

danger of the Turks laid in ambush; where his men were all slain, and himself taken and brought before his own Castle, and had there his head presently struck off; whereupon the Castle was forthwith by them that were therein (having now lost their Captain) surrendered, and *Chazil-Beg*, a valiant Captain of the Turks, placed therein; who from thence never ceased to trouble the Country, even to the Walls of *Dydimotichum*, as did *Solyman* also out of *Callipolis*.

Thus in the space of one year, the Turks got strong footing in *Europe*, possessing divers Castles and Towns, with the Country about them, which *Solyman* gave in reward unto his Captains and Souldiers, as appeareth by the Graves and Tombs of *Ezer-Beg* and *Fazil-Beg*, the two which first came over into *Europe*, which are there yet well known.

About this time it fortuned, that as this Martial Prince *Solyman* was for his sport hawking in the Fields of *Bolayre* on *Europe* side, galloping in to his Falcon, was with his Horse overthrown in a ditch, of which Fall he being sore bruised, shortly after died. The news of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his Father, gave unto him (then being sick) of Orchanes just occasion of great sorrow; so that within two months after he died also, being fourscore years old, when he had reigned thereof 31 years; and died about the year of our Lord 1359. Some Histories report otherwise, both of his death, and of the time wherein he lived; as that he should be slain in a Battle against the Tatars; or as others write, with an Arrow at the Siege of *Prusa*, in the year of our Lord 1349. But *Joannes Leunclavius* in his History collected out of the Turks own Chronicles (whom we follow as most probable) reporteth it as before.

This *Orchanes* was wise, courteous, and bountiful, more ingenious than his Father in devising warlike Engines. He built divers Princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cells, and was in his superstitious Religion very zealous; in so much that he appointed Penfions to all such as could in the Church say the Book of *Makomet's* Law by heart; and appointed competent maintenance for all Judges of his Courts, because they should not take any thing in reward of his Subjects, for the perverting of Justice. He greatly enlarged his Kingdom in *Asia*, and not content to be inclosed with the Seas of *Euxinum* and *Hellepontus*, set fast footing in *Europe*, which some attribute to his Son *Amurath*. He was to the Christians always a most mortal Enemy, and so died.

## F I N I S.

Emperours	Of the East	Andronicus Paleologus the younger.	1325. 29.
		John Paleologus.	1354. 30.
	Of the West	Lewis the Fourth, of Bavaria.	1314. 32.
		Charles the Fourth, Son to John King of Bohemia.	1346. 10.
Christian Princes of the same time with Orchanes	Of England	Edward the Third.	1327. 50.
	Of France	Philip Valois.	1328. 22.
		John Valois.	1350. 14.
	Of Scotland	Robert Bruce.	1306. 24.
Bishops of Rome		David Bruce.	1341.
		John the XXII.	1317. 18.
		Benedict the XII.	1335. 7.
		Clement the VI.	1342. 12.
		Innocent the VI.	1354. 10.
		The	



*Servæ Amurathes, animo duci maxima venat:  
Discordias Græcos sternere Marte parat.  
Totus et intensus sineo extendere Regni:  
Europam penetrans, obvia quævisque rapit.  
Attenti trepidant, nimia formidine Thracæ:  
In medio quorum, Scæptra superba locat.  
Hinc Mæssos premit ille feros, miserrumq; Dynasten  
Cæssari in Campis, obruit atque vocat:  
Sed non longa fuit scelæris tam dira voluptas:  
A Servo cæcus, condidit ense ferax.*

*Sterne Amurath* new thoughts revolves upon,  
With armies divided Greece to overrun;  
And wholly bent to enlarge his narrow bounds,  
Europe invades, and all he meets confounds:  
The too too timorous Thracians stand amazed,  
To find his Scepter in their bowels placid.  
The fierce Bulgarians, did his fury quell,  
And at his feet their noble Despot fell:  
At last the poyard of a little Slave  
Taught him, what short liv'd pleasures Tyrants have.

# The LIFE of AMURATH,

The First of that NAME,

## Third King of the Turks,

And the great AUGMENTOR of their Kingdom.

Amurath  
succeeded  
his Father  
Orchanes  
in the  
Turkish  
Kingdom.

**A**murath the younger Son of Orchanes succeeded his Father in the Turkish Kingdom, his elder Brother Solyman being dead a little before his Father.

This *Amurath* with greater zeal than any one of the Turkish Kings, advanced the Mahometan Religion, and had therein wonderful Success. In the beginning of his Reign, he gathered a great Army out of all parts of his Kingdom, to *Præsa*, purposing to pass over *Hellipontus*, to invade the Christians in *Thracia*. But understanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in *Asia* had combined themselves against him, he was thereby enforced to leave his former determination for *Europe*, and to turn his Forces upon them. In which Wars he mightily prevailed against them, and returned with Victory to *Præsa*. But having so subdued those Confederate Princes, he the next year after profecuted his Wars before intended against the Christians in *Europe*. For which purpose having levied a strong Army in *Asia*, he passed over to *Callipolis*, accompanied with his Tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin*, whose grave advice and counsel he most followed in all his weighty Affairs, being at that time one of his chief Counsellors. From *Callipolis* he marched to the Castle of *Benatum*, which was by composition yielded unto him. From thence he went to *Taurulus*, where the Christians gave him a sharp encounter; but in the end he won the Town, and carried away the Victory. And so proceeding farther, took divers other small Castles and Towns in that part of *Thracia*, which of the ancient Roman Colonies was then called *Romania*, and now of the Turks *Rumilias*, namely *Mesine*, *Burgus*, and others; whereof some he utterly raled, and into the rest put strong Garrisons. At this time also, *Chafp-Ilbeg* and *Eurençis*, two of his most valiant Captains, took certain Forts standing upon the River *Morizus*, in ancient time called *Hebrus*; whereby they much troubled the Inhabitants of the Country therabouts. Wherewith the Captain of *Didymotichum* offended, gathered his Souldiers together, intending to have intercepted the great Captain *Chafp-Ilbeg*; in which Attempt he lost most of his Followers, and was himself there taken Prisoner. For whose Ransom and certain other Conditions, the Citizens of *Didymotichum* yielded the City unto the Turks.

Didymotichum  
yielded  
unto the  
Turks.

Shortly after, *Amurath* sent his Tutor *Lala Schahin* to besiege *Hadrianople*, now called *Adrianople*, but in ancient time *Orestias*; of whose coming the Christians hearing, encountered him

upon the way, and fought with him a great battle, wherein many were on both sides lost; but in the end the Christians being put to the worst, retired again to the City. Of this Victory *Schahin* sent News unto *Amurath*, with certain of the heads of the slain Christians; who thereupon sending *Chafp* and *Eurençis* before, he himself with a great Army followed after to the Siege of *Hadrianople*; of whose coming, the Governor of *Hadrianople* understanding, fled secretly out of the City by night to *Adria*. The Citizens seeing themselves so forsaken of their Governor, yielded their City unto *Amurath*, in the year of our Lord, 1362.

The taking of these strong Cities in *Thracia*, especially of *Didymotichum* and *Hadrianople*, is (by some of the Turks own Histories, otherwise reported; which, because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the fabul dealings of the Turks, and of themselves also received, I have thought good to fit down as their own Historiographers report the same.

The Turkish King *Amurath* had (as they say, and as truth was) in the beginning of his Reign concluded a Peace with the Christians of *Thracia*; during which Peace, the Governor of *Didymotichum* intending to fortifie his City with new and stronger Fortifications against the Assaults of the Turks, entertained all the Masons, Carpenters, and other Workmen he could by any means get; which *Amurath* understanding, secretly caused two hundred good and lusty Workmen and Labourers to come out of *Asia*, to offer their Service unto the Governor; who gladly entertained them, using their help in that his great and hasty Work. Which thing some of the wiser sort of the Citizens disliking, wished the Governor to beware of those *Asian* Workmen, as by them suspected. But he presuming upon the Peace made with *Amurath*, and considering they were but base Workmen and no Souldiers, had the less care of them; nevertheless (using their work all day) he commanded them to lodge without the Walls of the City every night. *Amurath* understanding that these Workmen were thus by the Governor entertained, sent for the valiant Captain *Chafp-Ilbeg*, and requested him with thirty other good Souldiers disguised as poor Labourers, to go to *Didymotichum* to seek for Work, and in doing thereof to spy if any opportunity might be found for the surprizing of the City. *Chafp* with these thirty according to *Amurath*'s direction, coming as poor men lacking Work, found entertainment

Hadrianople  
yielded  
unto the  
Turks.

at *Didymoteum*, where they carried stones, mortar, and such like things, ever working themselves very diligent in their labour; *Chafis* with vigilance eye still awaiting what might best serve his turn for the surpadding of the City. When night was come, the Turkish Workmen and Labourers after their accustomed manner, and as they were by the Governor appointed, went out of the City into the Suburbs to their Lodgings; from whence *Chafis* secretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and showed him how one of the gates of the City might upon the sudden be taken, if it would please him to place a sufficient number of Turks in ambush near unto the City, to join with him and the other Turkish Labourers when occasion should serve. Which being resolved upon, *Amurath* sent him back again to put this his device in execution: So *Chafis* returning to *Didymoteum*, broke the matter to so many of the *Asian* Workmen as he thought convenient, fully instructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Christians being then at dinner, these Turkish Workmen and Labourers fell all at once upon themselves, and from house to house; in which counterfeited Brawl and Tumult, they suddenly ran to one of the Gates of the City salt by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands upon the Warders Weapons, as if it had been to defend themselves against their Fellows, suddenly fell upon those Warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner and presently flew there, which done, they opened the Gate of the City, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not far off; who with great celerity entering the City, presently took the same, and there put the chiefest of their Citizens to the Sword, sparing the rest of the meaner sort.

The City of *Rhododrom* (of the old Writers called *Rhodes*) was by *Amurath* his commandment, in this time of peace, by sudden assault given in the night by the Lord *Eurenos*, taken also.

With this foul dealing and breach of League, yet in force, the Christians hardly charged *Amurath*, who turned it over to the unreasons of his Captains and Men with whom he threatened with great severity to punish; and to give the better colour that it was done without his privacy, he had fained himself sick all the while these things were in doing; but being requested to restore those Cities to wrongfully taken from the Christians, he utterly refused to do, saying, That it was against the Law of his great *Counsellors*, to deliver again to the Christians, any Town or City wherein the Mahometan Religion had been once openly taught. Whereupon Wars began again to arise on fresh betwixt the Christians and him, wherein sometime the one prevailed, and sometime the other in such sort, that those Wars at length became unto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace again with the Christians of *Hadrianople*, *Selyria*, and *Constantinople*; yet desiring nothing more in heart, than to take the City of *Hadrianople*; which the better to bring to pass, he caused *Chafis* to be a discontented Captain to fly to *Hadrianople*, pretending himself to have been hardly used by the Tyrant his Master; where having in his Company other such dissembling Fugitives as was himself, he oftentimes issued out of the City and valiantly skirmished with the Turks; who to greatly pleased the Governor of *Hadrianople*, that he thereby grew into his great favour. Many other Turks who upon pretence of like discontentment, resorted unto *Chafis*; wherewith finding himself well strengthened, he writ Letters secretly unto *Amurath*, That he would deliver one

of the Gates of *Hadrianople* unto him at a certain appointed time, if he would against the same time be ready to fend him present Succors. All things being agreed upon, *Chafis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the Gates of the City, accompanied but with ten of his Followers, as if he would have gone forth to hunt, as he had before accustomed. But so soon as the Gates were opened, he with the other ten well apprized for the purpose, furiously fell upon the Warders, whom they at the appointed time by the rest of the Fugitive Turks (which with all speed by appointment before made, resorted unto them) they possessed the Gate; until a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambush near unto the City, having knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarm, speedily came on, and by that Gate entered the City; where was fought a cruel fight all that day, even from morning until night. But in the end the Turks prevailing, took the City, which they have ever since possessed unto this day.

These great Cities of *Thracia* thus taken, or Hadrianople, and as aforesaid, I leave for the Reader to think of as he pleaseth. In the Royal Seat of the Turkish Kings in *Europe*, appointed the Seat of his Royal Court at *Hadrianople*, as a place of all others most fit for the further invasion of the Christians, and enlarging of his Kingdom in *Europe*; from whence such a world of Mischief and Woe hath since that time overflowed a great part of *Christendom*, and howing so many goodly Kingdoms in *Europe*, as that both Christians and most part of the rest that yet remain (daily in dread of like destruction) might justly accuse and detest the woful carelessness and degenerate cowardice of the Greeks; were not they themselves together with the glory of their Church and Empire swallowed up, in the flames of their own Army and Woe, and become to all others most miserable; but what avail vain Complaints, but to increase all griefs; wherefore again to that we have in hand.

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (having to his great content thus seated himself at *Hadrianople*, in the midst of *Thracia*) presently sent out his Tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great Power to invade the Country about *Philippopolis* with the Country of *Zagora*, which lieth towards the great Mountain *Hemus*, where the best Turkish Scimitars were made, giving like charge unto *Eurenos*, for the subduing of the Territory of *Ipsala*; who both notably performed what he had commanded, and in short time brought in those Countries under his Subjection, wherein he shortly after placed divers Sanzaks or Governors, for the better advancement thereof, being so lately gained.

About this time (by the suggestion of *Cara Rustem* a Doctor of the Mahometan Law) *Zinderah Chelid*, then *Cadeflor* or chief Justice among the Turks, but afterwards better known by the name of *Cairadin Bassa*, by the Commandment of *Amurath*, took order, that every fifth Captive of the Christians, being above fifteen years old, should be taken up for the King, as by Law due unto him; and if the number were under five, then to pay to the King for every Head six *Aspers*, by way of Tribute; appointing Officers for collecting both of such Captives and Tribute money, of whom the aforesaid *Cara Rustem* himself was chief, as first deviser of the matter. By which means great numbers of Christian Youths were brought to the Court as the Kings Captives, and by the counsel of the same *Zinderah Chelid*, were distributed among the Turkish Husbands, men in *Asia*; there to learn the Turkish Language, Religion, and Manners; where after they had been brought up in all painful labour and travel

ple the Royal Seat of the Turkish Kings in Europe

Bogaz took by Amurath and returned again and again by the Christians.

Bogaz was built by the Turks.

by the space of two or three years, they were called unto the Court, and choice made of the better sort of them to stand upon the Purtil of the Prince, or to serve him in his Wars; where they daily practising all feats of activity are called by the name of *Janizari* (that is to say, new Souldiers.) This was the first beginning of the *Janizari* under this Sultan *Amurath* the First, but had great increase under *Amurath* the Second, inasmuch that *Janizari* with some time, almost upon the beginning of this Order to him; which nevertheless (as appeareth by the Turks own Histories) had the beginning as is aforesaid; and hath ever since been continued by the Turkish Kings and Emperors, by the same and some other greater means, so that in process of time they are grown to be greater as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turk himself, after whose death they have sometimes preferred to the Empire such of the Emperors Sons as they best liked, without respect of prerogative or age, contrary to the will of the great Sultan himself; and are at this day the greatest strength of the Turkish Empire, and not unlike in time to be the greatest cause of the ruine thereof; the finger of the Highest oftentimes (as we have before said) turning even those helps which were by mans wisdom provided for the establishing of Kingdoms, unto their more speedy destruction; and especially these continual Garrisons of martial men, no less to be feared than Pestilence, as in the course of this History may appear.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at *Hadrianople*, determining now to return unto *Asia*, he made *Sebahin* his Tutor *Beg-Lerlog* or Vice-Roy of *Romania*; and *Eurenos* Lord Governor of the Marches; *Zinderah Chelid* he made *Veiz* *Azemes* or Lord Prefect of his Conscience, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Bassa*, that is to say, The Bassa that had well deserved, his name witnessing his good desert. After this he returned into *Asia*, where he spent that Winter at *Prusa*. These two great men *Cairadin Bassa* and *Cara Rustem* before named, sometimes two Doctors of the Mahometan Law, were (as the Turkish Histories report) the first that corrupted the Turkish Court with Covetousness and Bribery, and are therefore of them even yet much blamed.

Whilst *Amurath* thus wintered in *Asia*, News was brought unto him, That the Christians of *Servia* and *Bulgaria* had gathered a great Army for the besieging of *Hadrianople*; which caused him to prepare great Forces in *Asia*, to aid his Captains in *Europe*. But in returning out of *Asia*, he by the way took the Town of *Bogaz* where he put to the Sword all the Christians that were therein able to bear Arms, leading the rest into Captivity, and with the spoil rewarded his Souldiers. This strong Town was not long after again recovered by the Christians, which they named the Turks with like measure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raised it down to the ground; yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is: this present to be seen; which was done in the year of our Lord, 1365.

In the mean time, the Christian Army of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, in number between forty and fifty thousand, marching towards *Hadrianople*, and now come very near the same, fell in mutiny among themselves. Whereof the Turks by their Espials having intelligence, suddenly in the night set upon them; who blinded with inward hatred, and no less fearing one another, than their Enemies, neglected to join their Forces against them, but were ready to turn their Weapons one upon another; and so by their own discord, more than by the Enemies force, were made a prey to the

Turks, by whom they were put to flight, and slain with great slaughter, that the place wherein they fell lay far from *Germia*; is thereof at this day called *Zirf-Zindger*; that is to say, the place wherein the *Servians* were overthrown. The news of this notable a Victory, with the fifth part of the Spoil, and a great number of the heads of the slain Christians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) sent to *Amurath* into *Asia*, being now ready with a great Power to have come over to *Callipola*; who upon joyful news of this Victory, returned again to *Prusa*. This was done in the year, 1366. In which year also *Amurath* with wonderful Triumph circumscribed his two Sons, *Bajazet* and *Jasup*. At which time he also built a Temple, with a Monastery and a Colledge, at *Salanga*; and another fair Church at *Nepis*; at *Alpigha* he also built a stately Place in the Castle, with a great Church at the Gates thereof; in which City he also founded an Abbey and a Colledge. *Germen Ogli*, a great Mahometan Prince in *Asia* (whose Territory for the most part lay in the great *Phrygia*, and the Counties thereabout, bordering upon the *Ordouman* Kingdom) having always envied at the rising of the *Ordouman* Kings (as did all the rest of the Mahometan Princes of the *Selzucian* Family) and fearing that their Greediness might after his death grow dangerous to his son *Jasup*, being now himself very aged, thought good to the more safety of his State to join in Alliance with the Christians, and for that purpose *Jasup* (a learned Doctor of the Mahometan Law) Embassador to him, with many rich Presents, and to offer his Daughter, the Lady *Hatur*, in marriage unto his son *Bajazet*; s promising with her in Dowry divers great Cities and Towns, with their Territories in *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, adjoining upon the *Ordouman* Kingdom; and naming *Alpigha*, *Eggen*, *Tonjand*, and others. Neither was this without Dowry, but well becoming to great a Prince; the City of *Cutais* being at this day the place whereat the Turkish Emperors great Lieutenant or Vice-Roy in *Asia* is always reliant, as in the heart of his Kingdom in the latter *Asia*. Or which much to offend, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his son *Bajazet* unto the said Lady *asud* for solemnization of the Marriage, prepared all things with great Magnificence, sending his Embassadors to most of the Mahometan Kings and Princes both far and near, and to invite thereto; commanding also most of the Nobility of his Kingdom, to honour the same with their presence. The time of this Marriage drawing near, Embassadors came to *Amurath* Court, from all the Princes before invited; amongst whom, the Embassador from the Egyptian Sultan had the highest place. These Embassadors brought with them many great and rich Gifts, such as well becomed the great Princes their Masters, which they with all Reverence presented unto *Amurath*. At length amongst the Gifts of his own Nobility came the Lord *Eurenos*, whom he had before left Governor of the Frontiers of his Kingdom in *Europe*; who besides many other rich Gifts not easily to be valued, presented unto *Amurath* an hundred goodly Boys, with as many beautiful young Maidens, all Christian Captives, finely attired in Garments richly embroidered with Gold and Silver, every one of them carrying a Cup of Gold in the one hand, and a Cup of Silver in the other; the Cups of Gold having in them divers precious Stones of great value, and the Cups of Silver being filled with Gold. The richness of these Gifts was so great, that all the Embassadors of the foreign Princes much wondered thereat. All which rich Gifts *Amurath* most bountifully bestowed upon the strange Embassadors;

Embassadors; and the Presents which were sent unto him from other Princes, he liberally gave to *Eurefent*. The Learned and Religious which came to that Marriage he so bountifully rewarded also, that none came to the same poor, but he went away rich. He had before sent divers of his Nobility with an hundred Ladies and Gentlemen, and a Guard of three thousand Horsemen, to attend the coming of the Bride. On the other side, the old Prince *German-Oglu* meeting this honourable Company upon the way, valued every man of Account according to his Degree; and bringing them to one of his Cities, in most Royal manner feasted them, bestowing upon them many rich and princely Gifts; all which things with great Solemnity performed, he delivered his Daughter the Bride to two of the most ancient Ladies, whereof the one had been *Bajazet* Nurse; and so taking leave of his Daughter, sent her away, accompanied with his Wife *Yenise*, and other of his Courtiers, who conveying her to *Prusa*, he was there in most Royal manner married to *Bajazet*. The Cities and Towns promised in *Dovry*, were accordingly delivered into the Possession of *Amurath*, who shortly after took Possession of the same, and furnished them with his own Garrisons.

At this Marriage *Clasen-Beg* Prince of *Amisium* in *Galatia*, by his Embassador fold his Territory of *Amisium* into *Asia*, and to his Cities and Towns; doubting, as it was thought, how to be able to keep them, now that *Amurath* was come so near him, whom he saw not to let slip any occasion offered unto him for the enlarging of his Kingdom. When *Amurath* had in this sort spent great time in *Asia*, he gathered a strong Army to return into *Europe*; and for his attire, he committed the Government of his Kingdom in *Asia* (which the Turks call *Anatolia*) unto his Son *Bajazet*, joyning with him *Temurtas* a valiant man of great experience; and having left all things in order in *Asia*, passed over *Hellepontus*, to *Calpitolis*, from whence he marched towards *Hadrampolis*; and because he would take something in his way, he besieged *Malgasara*, which he in short time won; where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurefent* with all their Forces came to him; which two Captains he sent to besiege the City *Phere*, which was by them after a few days siege taken. But he himself to be revenged upon *Lazarn* the Despot, led his Army into *Servia*, where after he had without resistance foraged the Country fourteen days, understanding by his Captains, That the strong City of *Nissa*, being the Metropolitane City of *Servia*, was as it were the Key of that Kingdom, he profreely marched thither, and laid siege to the same; and by the advice of *Tasir-Beg* the Son of *Temurtas*, he shortly won it. Which thing he daunted *Lazarn* Despot or Lord of *Servia*, that he despairing in his own Forces, having loo lost one of his strongest Cities, forthwith sent Embassadors to *Amurath* to intreat a Peace; offering to pay him a yearly Tribute of fifty thousand pounds, and to add him with a thousand men in his Wars, whenever he should require it; upon which conditions *Amurath* granted him Peace; and he departed out of *Servia*. In this Expedition he also with much ado won the great City of *Appolonia*, near unto the Mount *Atlas*, and gave leave unto most of the Christians, with their Wives and Children to depart, and to sell part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof spoiled by the Soldiers. This done, he returned back to *Hadrampolis*, leaving *Eurefent* upon the Marches, who shortly after took *Berha*, with divers other Towns. At which time also *Lala Schahin* won *Zichne* and *Serez*, in the Confines of *Macedonia*, with many

other strong Towns upon the Frontiers of *Thessalia* and *Thrace*. In the City *Serez* *Eurefent* made his abode, as in a chief Frontier Town; and he sent the Christians for fear of the Turks were all fled out of the Country about *Serez*, great numbers of people were sent for out of *Asia*, to inhabit that Country by the Christians forsaken in the Confines of *Macedonia*. *Amurath* had not long continued at *Hadrampolis*, but that he was advertised of *Asia*, That *Aladin* his Son in law King of *Caramania*, did with Fire and Sword invade his Dominions in *Asia*; with which News he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cause sending for his Counsellors and Nobility to the Court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of Religion, Faith, Peace, and Alliance, with all Hospitality invaded his Provinces in *Asia*, whilst he with great danger of his Person, and greater terror of his Enemies, fought with honour to increase the Mahometan sincere Religion (as he termed it) in *Europe*; from which godly War (said he) I am against my self enforced to turn my Sword, in full defence of my self, against men joyning with us both in Religion and Alliance. And having thus declared his mind, he appointed *Charradin* *Bajla* his Lieutenant-General in *Europe*, and also made his Son *Alis Bajla* one of his Council, although he were by some thought too young for so great a place. And to having left all things in order according to his mind in respect of passage from *Calpitolis* into *Asia*, and so to his City of *Prusa*, where he spent that Winter. In which time Embassadors came unto him from the Sultan of *Egypt*, for the renewing of their former Amity and Friendship; which *Amurath* took very thankfully, and sent them back again laden with kind Letters, and princely Rewards.

When the Spring was come, in the year, 1387, he levied a mighty Army to make War upon the *Caramanian* King his Son in Law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no less Power to meet him, associating unto him all the left Mahometan Princes of *Asia*, which were not under *Amurath* Obedience; to whom the *Osman* Kings were now grown terrible; which Princes brought with them great Supplies to join with *Aladin*.

*Aladin* thus aided by his Friends, thinking himself now strong enough for *Amurath* his Father in law, sent an Embassador unto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in Power inferior to him, and therefore nothing less than what he pleased him to have Peace, that he could for his part be content to hearken unto the same upon reasonable conditions; but if he had rather have War, he should find him ready to dare him battle in the Field, whenever he should come. For answer of which Embassage, *Amurath* willed the Embassador to tell the perjured King his Master, That he had of late, contrary to his Faith before given, in most cruel manner invaded his Dominions, whilst he was busied in most godly Wars (as he termed it) against the misbelieving Christians; from prosecuting whereof, he was by his violence (as he said) withdrawn, contrary to the Law of their God Prophet; for which Outrages and Wrongs, he would shortly come and take of him sharp Revenge; and that therefore he was to expect nothing at his hands but War, for which he willed him to provide, as that at his coming he might not find him waiting to himself. *Aladin* by his Embassador having received this answer from *Amurath*, assembled all the Confederate Princes his Allies, with great Perfwasions and greater Promises, encouraging them to this War; and they again kissing the ground at his Feet, as the manner of that Nation is before great Princes, promised with solemn Oaths never to forsake him, but to do all things

Amurath  
Aladin  
pre-  
pare them-  
selves for  
war.

things which Princes desirous of Honour or Fame, ought by their Oath to do for their Sovereign, to whom they ought Homage and Duty.

In this great preparation for Wars in *Asia*, *Charradin Bajla* going into *Europe* directed which he should do, understanding appointed *Alis Bajla* his Son to go into *Europe*, there to be Governor in his Fathers stead. But he was stayed in his Journey by urgent occasions; which *Amurath* understanding, sent for him back again in post.

*Aladin* foreseeing the great dangers like to ensue of this War, sent another Embassador unto *Amurath*, with reasonable conditions of Peace; to whom *Amurath* answered, That if *Aladin* had made that Offer one month before, he would perhaps have accepted thereof; but for so much as he had done him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinite Charge drawn him into the field so far from home, he would not make any other end than such the chance of War should appoint. And whereas he in disgrace had called me a Herdman or Shepherd (said he) if he be not such an one himself, as he feigns to be, let him meet me in the field and there try his valor. Hereunto the Embassador replied, saying, That the King his Master made this Offer of Peace not for any fear, but to save the effusion of innocent blood; which consideration, apart, he should find him not inferior to himself, either in number of most expert Soldiers, or other War-like Provision; and that therefore if he rejected this Offer of Peace, he needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would bear themselves to valiantly in the field against his Turks, as that he should have no great cause to rejoyce, if his coming thither. Which words of the Embassador so nettled *Amurath*, that in great rage he commanded him to depart, and to will his Master, if he were a man of such courage and valour as he said, to show himself in the field with all his Forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where he doubted not but in short time to challenge him according to his due deserts. So after the Embassador was departed, marching forward three days, *Alis Beg* came unto him: of whose coming he not a little rejoyced; for why, he loved him dearly, and although he was yet of years but young, relied much upon his Council.

The Embassador returning, recounted unto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had said, committing his hard Speeches and proud Threats, and how that he hoped shortly to take from him *Iconium* and *Lareda* (the principal Cities of *Caramania*) with many things more, leaving nothing untold. Which *Aladin* hearing, laid unto the Confederate Princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatens to take from us the Cities of *Iconium* and *Lareda*; but let him take heed that we take not from him his fair City of *Prusa*. Then demanding of the Embassador, of what strength *Amurath* might be; it was answered by him, that he deemed him to be about seventy thousand men. Whereupon *Aladin* was not a little rejoycing, said, Assuredly when he shall see our Army, he will not dare to give us battle; or if he do, he shall fight upon great disadvantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and fore wearied with long and painful travel.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards *Caramania*, daily encouraging his Soldiers with Perfwasions and Gifts bountifully bestowed upon them, filling their heads with promises of greater, the War once happily ended. At length he came to the great Plains in *Caramania*, called the *French Plains*, because in former time the Christians (whom the Turks for most part call *Franks*) in these places camped their great Armies, as they were wont to the winning of *Jerusalem* (as in the former part

of this History is declared.) Into these Plains also came *Aladin* with his Army, and was now incamped within one days march of *Amurath*, and so rested that night.

The next morning *Amurath* put his Army in order of battle, appointing the leading of the right Wing to his youngest Son *Jacup*, with whom he joynted *Caluzas Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbajla*, *Egribon Subbajla*, *Serazac*, and *Cusfendil*, two Christian Princes, all Captains of great experience. The left Wing was led by *Bajazet* his eldest Son, with *Ferize* and *Blazac*, both valiant Captains; in which Wings were also placed the Christian Soldiers sent by *Lazarn* out of *Servia*, according to the convention of peace; in the main battle he stood himself; the Vanguard was conducted by *Temurtas*; and the rearguard by the *Subbajla* of *Oxyllitus* (called also *Temurtas*) and *Archemen*. *Aladin* on the other side, with no less care and diligence for his men likewise in order of battle, placed himself in the main battle, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his Allies, with his other expert Captains, some in the right Wing, and some in the left, as he thought most convenient; in such sort, as that in all mens judgment he was in Force nothing inferior to his Father in Law.

These great Enemies thus ranged with Ensigns displayed came on courageously, one directly upon the other; where approaching together, the confused noise of Trumpets, Drums, Fics, with other Instruments of War, the neighing of Horses, and clattering of Armour, was so great, that whilst Warlike sounds there rejoyced, Cowards thought Heavens fall. But the sign of battle, both sides given, *Samagance* was charged, having before obtained exceeding courage first charged *Temurtas* in the Vanguard, and broke his Ranks; at which time *Temurtas* a *Tartar* Prince, and *Farjadac* another of the Confederates, delivered their Arrows aloft upon the Vanguard, as if it had been a flower of Hell. Which *Bajazet* seeing, and how hardly *Temurtas* was charged, having before obtained leave of his Father, brake in upon the Enemy with such violence, as if it had been the lightning; whereof he was ever after firamed *Gildern*, which is to say, The Lightning. *Ferizes* and *Hozze*, which is to say, the other valiant Captains in that Wing, following *Bajazet*, with princible courage entered the battle; where for a great space was made a most dreadful and doubtful fight. A man would have thought two rough Seas had met together, swaying one against the other, doubtful which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict many thousands were on both sides slain, so that the held lay covered with the dead bodies of worthy Men and valiant Soldiers; yet at length these Confederate Princes, finding themselves overmatched by *Bajazet* and his Soldiers, referring themselves to their better Fortunes, turned their backs and fled; when *Aladin* seeing a great part of his Army thus overthrow, and himself now ready to be charged by *Amurath* his whole Power, despairing of Victory, sped himself in all haste to *Iconium*, his strong City. The spoil which *Amurath* got in this battle was great, most part whereof he gave in reward to *Temurtas* and his Soldiers, which had induced the greatest fury of the battle. *Amurath* after this Victory with all speed marched to *Iconium*, and there besieged *Aladin* the *Caramanian* King, in his strongest City, giving out Proclamation in the mean time, That none of his Soldiers upon pain of death should use any violence to any of the Country-people, or take any thing from them; to the intent it might appear unto the World, that he made that War against the *Osman* King, rather to procure Injury, and Wrong than for desire of Sovereignty or Spoil. Which

The great  
battle was  
the first  
of *Caramania*,  
between  
*Amurath*  
and *Aladin*.

*Aladin*  
flees to  
*Iconium*,  
besieged  
by *Amurath*.

*Amurath*  
invades  
*Servia*.

*Nissa* re-  
taken by  
*Tasir*.

*Appolonia*  
won by  
*Tasir*.

his to frail a Proclamation, the Christians sent by *Lazarus*, amongst others, transgressed; and therefore by his commandment suffered (many of them) exemplary punishment; which was the cause of the *Servian* War which not long after ensued, both unto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Delpot, as hereafter shall appear.

*Aladin* now on every side besieged in *Izonium*, and without all hope of escape, sent to the Queen his Wife, *Amurath's* Daughter, bewailing unto her his desperate estate, and requesting her by all the love that he so honourable a minded Lady might bear unto her miserable Husband, to adventure her self to go to her angry Father, and to crave pardon for his great Treasons and Offence. The Queen forthwith attiring her self, as was fittest for her Husbands present estate, came to her Father's; where falling down at his Feet upon her knees, with words wisely pleaded, and tears distilling down her fair Cheeks from her fairer Eyes, as if it had been from two Fountains, in most forrowful manner, craved her Husbands Pardon, imputing to the heat of Youth whatsoever he had done; and would not be comforted or taken up until she had obtained Grace. *Amurath* most entirely loved his Daughter, and therefore for her sake not only granted unto her her Husbands life (which in short time was like to have been in his power to have spilt); but also his Kingdom, which as a Victorious Conqueror might by Law of Arms have of right detained. She now assured of her Fathers promise, sent unto her Husband *Aladin*, wishing him the next day without fear to come out of the City, and in humble sort to acknowledge his fault before her Father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and prostrating himself before *Amurath*, acknowledged his unfaithfulness; of whom (for his Wives sake) he obtained Pardon, and Restoration to his Kingdom, with many great Gifts, contrary to his evil desert. The Latin Historians mistaking the man, report this *Caramanian* War, to have been fought against the King of *Caramania*, *Amurath* his own Grandfather by the Mother side; and that he was by *Amurath* then spoiled of a great part of his Kingdom; but it agreeth not with the Turkish Histories, which make *Amurath* to be the Son of *Orchanes* and *Lulifer*, the Daughter of the Governor of the Castle of *Jarcheser*, as is before declared in the life of *Orchanes*; which *Lulifer* lieth buried by her Husband *Orchanes* in *Prusa*.

This great Victory gotten by *Amurath* against the *Cosacs*, was the true beginning of the greatness of the *Orchoman* Kingdom in *Asia*; wherewith the other Mahometan Princes of the *Selazucian* Family were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselves thus hith unto *Amurath*, and after that unto his Son *Bajazet*; until that *Tamerlane* the great *Tartarian* Prince, some few years after, taking *Bajazet* Prisoner in a great battle at Mount *Sidra*, abated the *Orchoman* Pride, and restored the other oppressed Mahometan Princes to their old Possessions and Kingdoms.

*Amurath* returning homewards, by the way took the City of *Dijonopolis*, and coming to *Cutais*, broke up his Army, and so in triumph returned to his Court at *Prusa*.

*Lazarus*, Delpot of *Servia* (in old time called *Myria*) had sent a thousand armed men to *Amurath* in this late *Caramanian* War, according to the convention of the Peace not long before made betwixt them; for many of the Soldiers were with great favour (to the terror of others) executed in *Caramania*, for transgressing *Amurath's* commandment. This great War being ended, and the Army broken up at *Cutais*, they with

others were licensed to depart into their own Country. Whose General (whom they call the *Yavoyd*) returning home, reported unto *Lazarus* the Delpot, the success of that War, and withal in what cruel and tyrannical manner the men he had sent were in that Service used by the commandment of *Amurath*. With whom (said this General) you without cause have made a most dishonourable Peace; first, by giving your Faith to such a Mercenary, and then in sending your loyal Subjects, in recompence of their good Service, to be butchered at his pleasure, besides the shameful Tribute which you yearly pay unto him. Whereas if it would please you in the depth of your wisdom but to know your own strength, you should find your self in War-like force and power nothing inferior to the Tyrant; for we your Servants being in number but a handful, were in these late Wars a terror unto his Enemies, and by our valour, and not his own, he got the Victory over them. What cause is there then, that you should subject your self unto your Inferior? I know he cannot of himself bring into the field above fifty thousand fighting men; but admit he were able to bring a hundred thousand, are not you (if you so please) able to levy a far greater Power? and for all other War-like provision you are ten-fold better provided than he. Besides that, the mighty Christian Princes will send you such Aid against this hateful and common Enemy, that being united with yours, his Barbarian Forces will be nothing in comparison of those which you shall then be able to bring into the field against him; which no doubt the Christian Princes will the rather do, as men desirous to quench this devouring fire in another mans house, rather than in their own.

These words of the *Yavoyd* so much moved *Lazarus*, that he determined in himself to break that servile League which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cause sent his Ambassador with secret Instructions to the King of *Bosnia* (in time past called *Illyria*) his Neighbour; whereof the chief point was, to crave his Aid against the Turk their common Enemy. By whom the King of *Bosnia* returned this answer, That it had been much better such consideration had been thought upon before the foul contract (full of disgrace both to himself and all other Christian Princes) was upon a vain fear by him rashly made with the Turkish Tyrant; yet for so much as things done could not be undone, letting that past which was remediless, he promised to join with him his whole Forces against so dangerous an Enemy. And thereupon appointing a place for an Interview, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the Articles of their Confederation.

There was in the Confines of *Bosnia* a Castle called *Alexandria*, the Captain whereof being a Christian, was yet Tributary unto the Turk; wishing unto him such good, as men oppressed use to do to them by whom they are so wronged. This Captain under the colour of Friendship went to *Amurath*, and in great secrecy offered to him the whole State of the Kingdom of *Bosnia*; and withal, that the King thereof intended some great matter against him; for the preventing whereof he offered his own Service, and shewed some probable means how that Kingdom might be brought into his Subjection, if he would but find some worthy General with a convenient Power for the undertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleased the ambitious old Tyrant, who therefore commanded a rich Garment to be sent unto the Captain (which amongst the Turks is taken for a sure token of the Kings great Favour) and

Amurath  
marries  
the Em-  
peror's  
Constan-  
tinople's  
daughter.

*Lazarus*  
the Delpot  
by his Em-  
bassador  
craveth  
aid of the  
King of  
Bosnia.

and forthwith appointed his Tutor *Lala Schahin*, according to this Captains direction, to invade the Kingdom of *Bosnia*. Who joining himself with this deceitful Captain *Ala Alexandria*, with an Army of twenty thousand men entered into *Bosnia*; where, upon overrunning a file of the Country, he without resistance took great Booties; and seeing no apparent cause of fear, to do the more harm, by the advice of the same Captain divided his Army, which he sent into divers parts of the Country, to burn and spoil the same. Of these Messengers from the Captain advertised, had in convenient places laid strong Ambushes for the intercepting of his Enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich booty, having then with him but a thousand men, suddenly appeared in his way thirty thousand Christians, which *Schahin* seeing, thinking it folly to oppose so few against so many, would have presently fled; but the rest of the Gallants that were with him, presuming of their good Fortune, and loth to lose their rich Prey, would needs fight *Schahin* with the Christians; in which desperate Conflict they were almost all slain, and the spoil they had taken, all recovered by the Christians. As for *Schahin*, he was glad by shameful flight to save himself. The like mishap befell the other Turks in the other parts of *Bosnia*, who for the most part were likewise intercepted and slain; so that of twenty thousand, scarce five thousand returned home.

Whilst these things were doing in *Euxetie*, *Amurath* in great Triumph at *Neapolis* married the Emperor of *Constantinople* his Daughter; whose two Sisters were also given in marriage to his two sons; at which time he with great Solemnity celebrated three of *Bajazet's* Sons. At this time also returned *Jacagi Oghli*, whom he had before sent Ambassador to the Sultan of *Egypt* in request of the honourable Embassage before to him sent from the said Sultan. Now *Amurath* understanding of the loss of his men in *Bosnia*, with the revolt of *Lazarus* Delpot of *Servia*, was therewith much disquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alia Bajazet* his chief Counsellor, with all speed to send forth Commissions into all parts of his Kingdom, for the levying of a Royal Army; which was done in such post haste, that it was thought he would have taken the Field before the beginning of the Spring. At which time also the other Mahometan Kings and Princes of *Asia*, *Caraman Oghli*, *Taka Oghli* and the rest, bound unto him by Homage, with divers others of smaller Power, were sent for, to Aid him in his War; who partly for fear, and partly moved with the zeal of their Mahometan Superstition, brought their Forces with great devotion. Unto this War against the Christians, came also great numbers of the Mahometans from far Countries, as voluntary Soldiers. *Bajazet* his Son also, then Governor of *Cassia*, with a great part of *Galatia*, gathering all his Forces, came to aid his Father in this religious War (as it was by them termed). The Christian Tributary Princes were not then forgotten; of whom two came, namely *Cuspidi* and *Serazali*; other two forsaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Safmenos* Prince of *Bulgaria*, and the Prince of *Varna* and *Dobruza*; with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this so great Preparation, *Lala Schahin*, *Amurath's* Tutor and faithful Servitor, died, being a man of great years; and *Tamertafes* was appointed Governor in his place.

The revoking of the two Christian Princes, *Safmenos* and the Prince of *Varna*, much grieved *Amurath*; Wherefore he commanded *Alia Bajazet*, with an Army of thirty thousand to invade and spoil

*Safmenos* his Country, now called *Bulgaria*, and in ancient time the lower *Myfia*. *Alia Bajazet* according to that was given him in charge, falling unto him *Jacagi Beg*, the Son of *Tamertafes*, *Ulin Beg*, *Sutratza Bajazet*, with other Captains and Commanders of the Turks Provinces in *Europe*, assembled an Army of thirty thousand for the Invasion of *Bulgaria*. With this Army the *Bajazet* took many strong Towns and Castles in *Bulgaria*, as *Piravade*, *Penzazina*, *Madra*, *Soni*, and others.

In the mean time, whilst *Alia Bajazet* had thus begun the War against the Christians in *Bulgaria*, *Amurath* having gathered a great Army in *Asia*, determined in the beginning of the Spring to pass over with the same into *Europe*; commanding the Government of his Countries in *Asia*, to *Tamertafes* *Bajazet*, *Forist Beg*, *Tamertafes* *Sibbajazet*, *Culu Beg*, and *Haza Beg*; and so all things left in order in *Asia*, he drew down his *Asian* Forces toward *Hellefponus*, where he was a while stayed with contrary Winds; but was afterwards transported to *Callipolis*, by *Jenice Beg* *Sanzack* there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his Army out of *Asia* into *Europe*. But whilst he stayed at *Callipolis*, *Bajazet* his Son with a great Power came unto him thither: *Alia Bajazet* also understanding of *Amurath's* arrival in *Europe*, retired out of *Bulgaria*, and came to him at *Alcida*, recounting unto him the whole Success of his Expedition into *Bulgaria*.

*Safmenos* Prince of *Bulgaria*, seeing his Country spoiled, his strong Cities and Castles taken by the Turks, and whilst hearing of their great Preparations for War, by the advice of his Nobility, thought it best betimes again to submit himself unto *Amurath*; wherefore, sending a *Winding-sheet* about his Neck, in token that he had deserved death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at *Calcidia*, where falling flat upon the ground, at the Horles feet whereon *Amurath* sat, he in most humble voice craved pardon; offering by a certain day to deliver *Silifria* the chief City of his Dominion, into *Amurath's* Possession, as a pledge of his Fidelity; who thereupon granted him pardon, and to assure him of his Favour, commanded a rich Garment to be sent upon him, after the manner of the Turks, sending *Alia Bajazet* at the time appointed, to take possession of *Silifria*. But *Safmenos* repenting himself of that he had so largely promised, would not deliver his City, but in strongest manner he could presently fortified the same. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the *Bajazet* with Fire and Sword again to spoil and wait his Country; who according to his commandment entered again into *Bulgaria*, and struck such a terror of his coming into the hearts of the people, that many strong places were voluntarily yielded unto his Power, namely *Dirizze*, *Coslova*, with the City of *Ternova*, the Seat of the Princes Court; *Tzernovi*, *Novakofski*, *Zilifova*, with divers others; and proceeding farther, he laid siege to others; the strongest City of *Bulgaria*, upon the side of the great River *Danubius*, whether *Safmenos* was for fear himself fled. Who finding himself unable to hold out the Siege, once again (with shame enough) tying a *Winding-sheet* about his Neck, as he had done before, and taking his Son with him, went out of the City, he laid siege to another manner falling down at the *Bajazet* his Feet, craved pardon; which the *Bajazet* moved with compassion to free the misery of so great a man, and having already taken from him the greatest part of his Dominion, and now out of fear of further resistance, easily granted. And having thus ended the *Bulgarian* War, returned *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully received.

*Amurath*



Amurath had now made great Preparation for the invading of *Servia*, for which purpose he had drawn upon *Europe* the greatest Forces he possibly could; sending also for his youngest Son *Jacup*, Governor of *Carsia*, who understanding his Fathers pleasure, repaired unto him with all the Power he could make. This Army by Amurath thus assembled, was the greatest that ever was before that, brought by the Turks into *Europe*. Lazarus not ignorant of this great Preparation made by Amurath, had taken into the society of this War, the King of *Bosnia* (as is aforesaid) with *Vukcu* Prince of *Macedonia*, his Son in law, who both brought unto him great Aid; he had also by his Embassadors procured great Supplies from other Christian Kings and Princes, out of *Valachia*, *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Albania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Italy*; great numbers of other voluntary devout Christians, which all assembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great Army of the Turks.

With this Army Lazarus the Despot encamped upon the side of the River *Morava* the greater, not far from whence stood the strong Castle of *Sarkovo*, which *Alis Bajazet* had of late taken from the *Bulgarian* Prince, standing as it were between *Bulgaria* and *Servia*; this Castle being now possessed of the Turks, was thought by Lazarus dangerous to his Country, who therefore sent one *Demetrius*, a right valiant Captain, with certain Companies of select Men to take in the same. The name of this Captain *Demetrius* was a general terror unto the Turks, for he had done them so; so that they in the Castle hearing that he was come, without further resistance yielded the same unto him. Whereof Amurath understanding, sent *Eime*, and *Sarutze* Basha to recover the same; but Lazarus doubting that the Castle would hardly be kept in that dangerous War, sent *Vukcu* his Son in law with twenty thousand Men, to bring away all that was therein, and in the City near unto it, left it should become a prey unto the greedy Turks; which he accordingly did, and at the same time raised both the Castle and the City, before the coming of *Jacup Beg*, sent from Amurath to have done the same exploit; which he coming thither, found already done to his hand by *Vukcu*.

As Amurath was marching towards *Servia*, *Sarutze* and *Custendi*, two Christian Princes his Tributaries, met him with their Forces, whom he caused to march before him, as his Guides; and passing through *Custendi* his Country, was there refreshed with plenty of all things necessary; until the length passing the River of *Morava* the less, he drew to near unto the Plains of *Cassova* (where the Christian Army lay) that he with his Son *Bajazet* from a little Hill took full view of the Christian Camp, which was so great, that it covered all those large Plains from side to side, and daunted Amurath, as that returning to his Army, he presently entered into a great consultation with his greatest Captains and Commanders, what course to take against such a puissant Enemy.

These great Armies being now come so nigh together, as that they might the one well defy the other, Amurath had purposed the same day to have given the Christians battle; but being dissuaded by *Eurenesius*, both for that it was extremely hot, and his Souldiers wearied with travel, he rested that night. The next morning as soon as it was day, he put his Army in order of battle, placing his Son *Bajazet* with *Eurenesius* and *Eime Beg* Subbajazet in the right Wing; his youngest Son *Jacup* with *Sarutze* Basha in the left Wing; the main battle he left himself; Lazarus in the mean time had also for his Army in good order; giving the charge of the right Wing to *Vukcu* his Son in law; the left Wing

was led by the King of *Bosnia*, and his Sons; in the main battle stood Lazarus himself; the *Italians*, *Valachians*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Bulgarians*, he placed in both Wings; it is thought, greater Armies than those two had seldom before met in *Europe*. Lazarus as the Turkish Histories report (but how truly I know not) having in his Army five hundred thousand men; and Amurath scarce half so many.

To begin the battle, Amurath had drawn a thousand of his best Archers into the leading of *Alis Bajazet*, out of the right Wing of his Army; and the like number of Archers out of the left, under the conduct of one *Musaphas*; which he placed on both sides of the Army as he thought best, *Eurenesius* a man of great experience, told Amurath, That the Christians being for the most part well and strongly armed, and should now close together in their charge, would be like a Rock of Iron, unable to be pierced; but if in joining the battle, he would a little retire, the Christians following upon good horse, would so loose their clove standing (the chief part of their strength) and leave an entrance for his Men. Upon which resolution, Amurath commanded the Archers to give the first charge; which they courageously performed. At which time, the Turks Army gave ground a little; which the Christians perceiving, with great force assailed the left Wing of their Army, and after a hard and cruel fight put the same to flight; which *Bajazet* seeing, with such fury renewed the battle, that the Turks which before as men engaged fled in the left Wing, began now to turn again upon their Enemies; and the Christians, having as they thought already got the Victory, were to begin a great battle. In which bloody fight many thousands fell on both sides; the brightness of the Armor and Weapons, was as it had been the Lightning; the multitude of Launces as other Horsemens Staves, shadowed the light of the Sun. Arrows and Darts fell so fast, that a man would have thought they had poured down from Heaven; the noise of the Instruments of War, with the neighing of Horses, and out-cries of Men was so terrible and great, that the wild Beasts of the Mountains stood astonished therewith; and the Turkish Histories, to express the terror of the day (vainly say) that the Angels in Heaven amazed with that hideous noise, for that time forgot the heavenly Hymns wherewith they always glorified God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks prevailing, the Christians began to give ground, and at length betook themselves to plain flight; whom the Turks with all their force pursued and slew them down right, without number or mercy. In which battle Lazarus the Despot himself was also slain. Howbeit some Histories report otherwise, as that he with his Son were taken Prisoners, and by and afterwards (in revenge of Amurath's death) cruelly slain; otherwise also reporting that he died in Prison. Amurath after this great Victory, with some few of his chief Captains taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the field like Mountains; a Christian Souldier, fore wounded and all bloody, seeing him, in flagging manner arose (as if it had been from death) out of a heap of slain men, and making towards him, for want of strength fell down divers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man; at length drawing nigh unto him, when they which guarded the Kings Person would have stayed him, he was by Amurath himself commanded to come nearer, supposing that he would have craved his life of him. Thus the half dead Christian pressing near unto him, as if he would for honour sake have kissed his Feet, suddenly stabbed him

Lazarus slain.

in the bottom of his belly with a short Dagger, which he had in his Souldiers Cloak; of which wound he died. The name of this man, (for his courage worthy of eternal memory) was *Miles Cobelitz*; who before fore wounded, was shortly after in the presence of *Bajazet* cut into small pieces. The Turks in their Annals somewhat otherwise report the death of Amurath; as that this *Cobelitz*, one of the Despot's Servants, in time of the Battle, coming to Amurath as a Fugitive, offering him his Service, and admitted to his presence, in humbling himself to have kissed his Feet (as the barbarous manner of the Turks is) being himself therefore shortly after (as is aforesaid) in the presence of *Bajazet* most cruelly hewen into small pieces. Whereupon ever since that time, the manner of the Turks hath been, and yet is, that when any Embassador or Stranger is come to kiss the Sultan his hand, or otherwise to approach his Person, he is as it were for honours sake, led by the Arms unto his presence, between two of the great Courtiers; but indeed by so interrupting him, to be sure that he shall not offer him the like violence, that did this *Cobelitz* unto Amurath.

The dead body of Amurath was presently with all secrecy conveyed into his Tent by the Bashes and Captains present at his death; whether *Bajazet* was also brought with an Ensign before him, as the Successor in his Fathers Kingdom. His younger Brother *Jacup*, surnamed *Zelebi* (or the Noble) yet ignorant of that had happened, was by the great Bashes sent for, as from his Father; who calling no peril, but coming into his Fathers Tent, was there presently by them strangled, by the Commandment of *Bajazet*, as most Histories report; howbeit the Turks Annals charge him not therewith. This was the beginning of the most unnatural and inhumane custom, ever since holden for a most wholesome and good policy

among the Turkish Kings and Emperors, in the beginning of their Reign most cruelly to Murther their Brethren and nearest Kindred, so as once to rid themselves of all fear of their Competitors.

This Amurath was in his Superstition more zealous than any other of the Turkish Kings; a man of great courage, and in all his Attempts fortunate; he made greater slaughter of his Enemies, than both his Father and Grandfather; his Kingdom in Asia he greatly enlarged by the Sword, Marriage, and Purchase; and using the Difcord and Cowardice of the *Grecian* Princes, to his profit, subdued a great part of *Thracia*, called *Rossania*, with the Territories thereto adjoining, leaving unto the Emperor of *Constantinople*, little more or nothing more in *Thracia*, than the Imperial City it self, with the bare name of an Emperor, almost without an Empire; he won a great part of *Bulgaria*, and entered into *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Macedonia*; he was liberal, and withal severe; of his Subjects both beloved and feared; a man of very few words, and one that could dissemble deeply. He was slain when he was three score and eight years old, and had thereof reigned thirty one, in the year of our Lord, 1390. His dead body was by *Bajazet* conveyed into Asia, and there Royally buried at *Prusa*, in a fair Chapel at the West end of the City, near unto the Baths there; where, upon his Tomblieth his Souldiers Cloke, with a little Turkish Tulip, much differing from those great Turbans which the Turks now wear. Near unto the same Tomb are placed three Launces, with three Horse-tails fastned at the upper end of them, which he used as Guidons in his Wars; a thing in ancient time not strange. There standeth a Castle with the Tomb, made in remembrance of him, in the Plains of *Cassova*, where he was slain, and his Entrails buried; which giveth occasion for some to report that he was there also himself entombed.

Amurath buried at Prusa.

## FINIS.

Of the East	John Paleologus.	1354. 30.
	Andronicus Paleologus.	1354. 3.
Of the West	Emanuel Paleologus.	1387. 30.
	Charles the Fourth.	1346. 32.
Of England	Wenceslaus, Son to Charles, King of Bohemia.	1378. 22.
	Edward the Third.	1327. 50.
Of France	Richard the Second.	1377. 23.
	John Valois.	1350. 14.
Of Scotland	Charles the Fifth.	1364. 16.
	Charles the Sixth, surnamed, The unbelov'd.	1381. 42.
Bishops of Rome	David Bruce.	1341. 29.
	Robert Stewart.	1370.
Urban the VI.	Innocent the VI.	1354. 10.
	Gregory the II.	1364. 8.
Urban the VI.	Gregory the II.	1372. 7.
	Urban the VI.	1378. 11.

The LIFE of

## BAJAZET,

The First of that NAME,

The FOURTH and most UNFORTUNATE

## King of the Turks.

Bajazet  
seeseth  
Servia.

**B**ajazet, or as the Turks call him, *Baiaſſe*, of his violent and force Nature ſinamed *Gilderunor* Lightning, ſucceeded his Father *Amurath* in the Turkiſh Kingdom, his younger Brother *Jauſp* being ſtrangled immediately after his Fathers death, as is before declared. He in the firſt year of his Reign invaded *Servia*, and there beſieged *Cratova*, a City of the Deſpots; whereunto the Silver Mines of *Servia* (not the leaſt cauſe of that War) belonged. Which City was yielded unto him, upon condition, That the Chriſtian Inhabitants might with Life and Liberty depart. Who were no ſooner gone out of the City, but that by his commandment they were all moſt cruelly ſlain by his men of War, for that purpoſe ſent out after them. At this time he alſo won *Uſcupis*, with divers other Caſſes in the Country near unto *Cratova*.

*Siegmund* at the ſame time King of *Hungary* (a young Prince of great hope, and Brother to *Wenceslaus*, then Emperor of the Weſt) adverted from the *Servians* his Allies and Confederates, of theſe proud proceedings of *Bajazet*; by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, requeſted him, That as he was a juſt Prince, and wiſhed to live in quiet with his own, to deſiſt from doing of ſuch open wrong, and from invading of ſuch Countries of his Friends and Confederates, as he had no right in. Which Embaſſadors to ſee, *Bajazet* deſained without answer, until ſuch time as he had overrun a great part of the Deſpot's his Country, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the ſaid Embaſſadors unto him into one of the ſtrong Towns which he had in every corner filled with his own Souldiers, told them that they might there ſee, that his Right both unto that Town and the reſt by him taken, was good enough, for as much as the very Walls acknowledged the ſame; And ſo giving them leave to depart, willed them to tell their Maſter. Which his proud answer, by the ſame Embaſſadors reported unto the young King, no leſs troubled him, than if open War had by them been denounced unto him, ſeeing the Tyrant (as it ſhould ſeem) pretended Right unto whatſoever he could by force get; nevertheleſs, being himſelf not yet well ſetled in his Kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary Faction (that altogether liked not of his Election into *Hungary* for their King) he was

glad at that time to put it up, and ſo to hold himſelf content.

The next year, *Bajazet* by *Periſes-Beg*, took the City of *Vidua*, with many other ſtrong Towns and Caſſes in *Servia*, and afterwards returned to *Hadrianople*. But whiſt that he thus raged in *Europe*, the *Caramanian* King invaded and ſpoiled the Frontiers of his Countries in *Aſia*; which although he was not then at leiſure, he forgot not afterwards to revenge to the full. At the ſame time *Ewroſes*, Lord Governor of the Marches of his Kingdom in *Europe* towards *Grecia*, departing from *Serres* (where he then lay) took the City of *Sitrus* in *Thracia*. And *Periſes-Beg*, not content to have taken *Vidua* (as is aforeſaid) paſſed over the great River of *Danubius*, and grievouſly ſpoiled *Valachia*; from whence he returned laden with a great Prey. This was the firſt time (that I read of) that the Turks ever paſſed over the River *Danubius*. At this time alſo *Jegides Baſſa* entered the Kingdom of *Bosnia*, from whence he carried a great number of Captives to *Hadrianople*, where *Bajazet* ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Bajazet* paſſed over *Helleſpontus* to *Proſa*, where he built a fair Mahometan Temple, with a Colledge, and an Alms-Houſe; which works finiſhed, he returned again into *Europe*, and built a Monastery at *Hadrianople*; and ſo returned again into *Aſia*, leaving *Temurtaſes*, *Begler-Beg* (or his Viceroy) in *Hadrianople*. After he was come into *Aſia*, he laid Siege to the ſtrong City of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, which was at that time the only City in the leſſer *Aſia*, yet holden by the Chriſtians in the midſt of the Mahometan Princes; for now was the Greek Emperor by the Ottoman Kings and the other Turks quite driven out of the leſſer *Aſia*. In the beginning of this Siege, *Bajazet* gave ſtrait commandment to his Souldiers, That they ſhould not ſpoil or hurt any thing in the Country belonging to the Citizens; hoping by ſuch reſtrained courteſie to make them the more willing to yield themſelves unto his Obedience. But diſappointed of his expectation, and finding them reſolved to hold it out unto the laſt, he forthwith gave out contrary commandment, not to ſpare any thing they could waſt or deſtroy; which was accordingly by his greedy Souldiers performed.

Servia the  
ſecond time  
ſeized by  
Bajazet.Philadel-  
phia be-  
ſieged by  
Bajazet.

*Fulminis in marem celeri rapidi corpora motu  
Bajazethes, fidei pacis et imperium.*

*Regni Hadrianopolim sedes sibi legi ut esset.*

*Poſſet ut Europa jungeret regno suo.*

*Constantinopolim gemina obſidione fatigat:*

*Long Græcas vana spe sibi ſpondet opes.*

*Cum Tamerlano præbet sua terga, cæcitate*

*Victus, et in cavea probra pudenda cubit.*

*Fastideth, and furious Bajazet's armies now fly,  
As swift as Thunderbolts dart through the sky;  
In Adrianople plants his haughty Throne,  
To make all European Crowns his owne.  
Constantinople twice with sieges tires,  
And twice he takes it only in desires.  
Till Tamerlane, for all his bloody pains,  
Rewards the Monster with a Cage, and Chains.*

performed. After long Siege, the Citizens seeing the Country about them utterly wasted, and themselves unable longer to endure, and out of all hope of relief, yielded their City unto the pleasure of *Bajazet*. It is written by some, that this famous City was not besieged without the consent of the Emperor of *Constantinople*; and that the Greeks themselves, moved with envy to see that City so long held out, did help the Turks in the winning thereof.

In the time of this Siege *Aidin Oglu* Prince of *Caria*, a Mahometan, came to *Bajazet*, and yielded himself into his power as his Vassal; unto whom *Bajazet* restored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him; yet upon such condition, as that he should not from that time coin any Money in his own name, either be remembered in publick Prayers as a Prince in their Mahometan Temples, as he had before been; but that all such things should be done in the name of *Bajazet*, as his dread Lord and Sovereign. With which disgrace the poor Prince was glad to content himself, and to live as his Vassal. From *Philadelphia* he led his Army into the Country of *Saruchania*, in ancient time called *Asia Maritima*, which he subdued unto himself upon like conditions. After that, he passed farther to *Manissa*, or *Menez*, sometime called *Myndus* in *Caria*; the Prince whereof for fear fled to *Cutrum Bajazet*, Prince of *Cassama* and part of *Pontus*, leaving his Country to the pleasure of the Tyrant. And forasmuch as the young King of *Caramania* had invaded his Countries, whilst he was busied in *Europe*, *Bajazet* in revenge thereof entered with his Army into *Caramania*, and took *Cesaria*, with divers other places there; so that the young King discouraged with the loss of his Towns, and fearing *Bajazet* his greatness, was glad to hold himself contented with his loss, and to make Peace with him as it pleased him to grant it. As *Bajazet* was making this expedition into *Caramania*, another young Mahometan Prince, the Son of Prince *German*, came unto him with one of his chief Counsellors, and were both by him sent Prisoners over the Strait to the Castle of *Isfala*, where they lay in durance many years after. Thus *Bajazet* having oppressed and wronged most of the Mahometan Princes, the Successors of Sultan *Aladin* in the lesser *Asia*, at last returned again himself in triumph to *Prusa*.

The Prince of *Montesia*, who for fear of *Bajazet* was fled out of his Country, as is aforesaid, had now incited *Cutrum Bajazet*, Prince of *Cassama*, with great power to invade that side of *Bajazet* his Kingdom which bordered upon him. Which *Bajazet* understanding, gathered a great Army to go against this Mahometan Prince. At which very time the Vayvod of *Valachia*, hearing of *Bajazet* his troubles in *Asia*, with a strong Army passed over *Danubius* into those parts of *Serbia* and *Bulgaria* that were by the Turks as then possessed; where he spoiled the Country, and slew great numbers of the Turks, making Mahometan Saints and Martyrs by heaps; for so the Turks account all them whom the Christians kill in their War, which done, he retired back again into *Valachia*, carrying with him also most of the Turks Prisoners. *Bajazet* thus at once invaded both in *Asia* and *Europe*; deferred his Wars purposed against the Prince of *Pontus*, until a more convenient time, converting his Forces against the *Valachians*. Wherefore passing over the Strait to *Hadrinople*, he sent his Army from

thence to *Nicopolis*, and there passing the River of *Danubius*, entered into *Valachia*, burning and spoiling the Country before him as he went. Where the Vayvod to repress his Fury, met him in the Field and gave him Battel, but was therein overthrown, and many of his People slain; so that at last he was glad to sue for Peace, which he obtained, by submitting himself to *Bajazet*, and yielding to pay him a yearly Tribute.

Whilst *Bajazet* was thus busied in *Valachia*, news was brought unto him, That the Christians of the West with a Fleet of Gallies did great harm along the Coast of his Dominions in *Asia*. In revenge whereof, he entered with his Army unto *Thessaly*, destroying all the Country unto *Thessalonica*; in which expedition he took the City of *Neapolis* in *Greece*, and *Joannina* in *Etolia*, and after that returned into *Asia*, where he spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great Power passed the Strait of *Calipolis* to *Hadrinople*, intending to have invaded *Hungary*. But as he was upon the way, it chanced that a Constantinopolitan Spy was by the Turks intercepted, with Letters from the Greek Emperor to the King of *Hungary*, giving him warning both of the Turkish preparation and coming. By which Spy *Bajazet* also understood of another Messenger before sent into *Hungary* for like purpose. Whereupon *Temurastef* (then his great Lieutenant in *Europe*) perswaded him to desist from his intended Wars in *Hungary*, and to besiege the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, as a thing of more honour, and less danger; the City being already (as he said, and as in truth it was) surrounded with the Turkish Provinces; bringing in *Philadelphia* (but a few years before won) for example of the like exploit. Of whose Counsel *Bajazet* liking well, returned with his Army, and shortly after came and fate down therewith before *Constantinople*, laying hard Siege thereunto, first by Land, and after by Sea, with his Gallies sent from *Calipolis*. Which hard Siege continued (as most Histories report) the space of eight years; in which long time he drave the Emperor *Emmanuel Paleologus* to that Strait, that he was glad to leave his City, and himself in person to crave Aid of *Wenceslaus* the German Emperor, and *Charles* the Sixth the French King, and other Christian Princes also. At which time the Citizens were at length brought to such extremity, that they were even at the point to have yielded up the City; and happily had so done, had not *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* (assisted with a great Army of the French, and other voluntary Christians almost out of every part of Christendom, to the number of an hundred and thirty thousand, under the leading of *John* Count of *Nivernis*, and after Duke of *Burgundy*) for the relief of the besieged Emperor, passed over *Danubius* into the Turkish Dominions; and there having recovered *Valpae*, with certain other strong Holds in *Bulgaria*, laid Siege to *Nicopolis*; out of which City the Turks oftentimes sallied, and gave him many an hot skirmish. It is reported, That the young King *Sigismund* beholding the greatness of his Army, in his great joyly hearing of the coming of the Turks Army, should proudly say, *What need we to fear the Turks, who need us at all to fear the falling of the Howens? which if they should fall, yet were we able with our Spears and Halberds to hold them up from falling upon us.* But *Bajazet* understanding what Spoil the Hungarian King had made in his late gained Countries, and of the

*Thessalia* invaded by the Christians.

*Constantinople* besieged by *Bajazet*.

Siege

Siege of *Nicopolis*; commanded the Ladders and the other great provision now in readiness for the scaling and assaulting of the City of *Constantinople* to be burnt, because they should not come into the hands of the Christians; and so raising his Siege, marched with a right puissant Army to *Nicopolis*, sending *Eurenos* before, of purpose to intercept some of the Christians, thereby to learn the State of their Camp and Army. But they hearing of his coming, so well looked to themselves, that he with flame returned to his Master as he came, without any one Prisoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Bajazet*, as fearing he should have to do with a wary Enemy. *Sigmund* understanding of the approach of *Bajazet*, leaving a furious host himself, and for the continuing of the Siege, retired himself, and with the rest of his Army went to meet his proud Enemy. Of whose coming and approach *Bajazet* understanding, divided his Army into two parts; and being now come within the sight of the Christian Army, made them but of the one half, keeping himself close in secret ambush not far off with the other. The Christians deeming themselves (as they were) far more in number than the Turks which they saw, divided their Army also into two parts, purposing betwixt them to have inclosed the Turks. Of all the Christians that were there present, the French desired to have the honour of the first charge to be given upon the Turks, and in their heat upon good hope set forward (the *Hungarians*, with a great part of the Army, not yet far in order) and so began the Battle; where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruel Fight, and in a little time many thousands slain. But this Fight, which was endured, when *Bajazet* with the other half of his Army suddenly arising, came on with such violence, as well became his surname of *Gildern* or Lightning; and so hardly charged the French, that they amazed at the suddenness of the danger, and oppressed with the fury and multitude of the unexpected Enemy, stood at the first as men dismayed; but seeing no remedy, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out until they were almost all either slain or taken Prisoners; still in hope to have been relieved by the *Hungarians* and the rest. In this hard conflict divers of the French Horsemen having forsaken their Horses, fought on Foot, as their manner was; which Horses running back with-out their Riders, upon the *Hungarians*, caused them to doubt that the French were quite overthrown; wherewith dismayed, they without further coming on, all turned their backs and fled, in to great halt, as that it looked no more like a King or any other great Commander to go about to fly their Flight. The French thus by their too much haft overthrown, the Turks pursuing the *Hungarians* and the rest of the Christians, made of them a great slaughter; of whom also many were drowned in the great River *Danubius*. At which time also the French took so many Prisoners, that it was thought every several Turk had his Prisoner. King *Sigmund* himself, who but a little before had despised even the falling of the Heavens, had then also undoubtedly fallen into his Enemies hands, had he not in a little Boat by good hap got over *Danubius*; not unlike another *Nero*, who having covered the Seas with his Ships, and with a world of men passed over into *Grecia*, was afterwards by the strange change of Fortune, himself alone in a small Fish-Boat glad to get back again into *Asia*. *Sigmund* being thus got over *Danubius*, and fearing the violence of the

*Hungarians* for the loss of the Battle, fled by Sea into *Thracia* unto *Constantinople*, from whence he failed unto the Island of the *Rhodes*; and from thence sailing through the *Aegean* and *Ionian* Sea, landed at length at *Dalmatia*; and so having wandered from place to place, toiled with many Fortunes, after eighteen Months long and painful travel returned again into *Hungary*. Where he found the State of the Kingdom in his absence much troubled by the contrary Faction in the mean time having made choice of *Ladislaus* King of *Naples* for their King; who was even then with a great Army going to have taken possession of the Kingdom, had not *Sigmund* in good time by the help of certain of the chief of the *Hungarian* Nobility prevented him. In this Battle, called the Battle of *Nicopolis*, were of the Christians twenty thousand slain, and of the Turks threefold thousand. The Count of *Nivers* the French Kings near Kinsman, was there taken Prisoner, with three hundred great Commanders more; where after he had endured great contumely and reproach in the presence of *Bajazet*, he was commanded to make choice of five other of the Captains, such as he liked best, all the rest being cut in pieces before his Face, and he with the other five left alive, sent Prisoners to *Prusa*, from whence they were afterwards ransomed for two hundred thousand Ducats. This bloody Battle of *Nicopolis* was fought in the year of our Lord 1396.

*Bajazet* after this great Victory, having worthily relieved his besieged City, returned again to the Siege of *Constantinople*, laying more hardly unto it than before, building *Forts* and *Bulwarks* against it on the one side towards the Land; and passing over the Strait of *Bosphorus* built a strong Castle upon that Strait over against *Constantinople*, to impeach so much as was possible, all passage thereunto by Sea. This Strait Siege (as most write) continued also two years, which I suppose by the circumstance of the History, to have been part of the afore-said eight years. *Emmanuel* the besieged Emperor wearied with these long Wars, sent an Ambassador to *Bajazet* to treat with him a Peace; which *Bajazet* was the more willing to hearken unto, for that he heard news, that *Tamerlane* the great *Tartarian* Prince intended shortly to war upon him. Yet could this Peace not be obtained, but upon condition, that the Emperor should grant free Liberty for the Turks to dwell together in one Street of *Constantinople*, with free exercise of their own Religion and Laws, unto a Judge of their own Nation; and further, to pay unto the Turkish King a yearly Tribute of ten thousand Ducats. Which dishonourable Conditions the distressed Emperor was glad to accept of. So was this long Siege broken up, and presently a great sort of Turks with their Families were sent out of *Bithynia*, to dwell in *Constantinople*, and a Church there built for them; which not long after was by the Emperor pulled down to the ground, and the Turks again driven out of the City, at such time as *Bajazet* was by the mighty *Tamerlane* overthrown and taken Prisoner.

*Bajazet* in the beginning of his Reign, presently after the death of *Lazarus* the Despot, slain in the Battle of *Calvora* won part of *Servia*, (as is aforesaid) the other part being still holden by *Lazarus* his Son, called *Stephen* the Despot; who about this time sent an honourable Ambassador to *Bajazet* with loving Letters, and Royal Presents; by which Ambassador also the old Princess *Lazarus* his Widow, offered her

*Bajazet*  
marries  
Dolima,  
the fair  
Daughter  
of Lascaris  
the Duke  
of Thess.

her fair Daughter *Dolima*, *Stephens* Sister, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, in marriage to him, if it should please him to vouchsafe his Hand-maid (as he termed her) to him. To which this Lady was long before presented him, whilst his Father *Amurath* yet lived. Of this Ambassador *Bajazet* was very glad, but especially for the fair Ladies sake; which being known to the Princess her Mother, and the Despot her Brother, she was forthwith honourably sent to *Bajazet*, to be married to him with solemnity and triumph shortly after married. Of all his Wives he held her dearest, and for her sake restored to her Brother *Stephen* the City and Castle of *Semendrar* (otherwise called *S. Andrew*) and *Combarbarium* in *Servia*; he allured him to drink Wine, forbidden the Turks by their Law; and caused him to delight in sumptuous Banquets, which his Predecessors, *Orkhan*, *Orchamus*, and *Amurath*, never used.

As the Turkish Kingdom grew in greatness, so Corruption, the Canker of great States and Commonwealths, increased likewise; but especially in the Men of Law, and Judges of his Courts. Wherewith *Bajazet* grievously offended, commanded divers of the same Judges to be apprehended, determining (to the terror of others) to have executed them; whose dangerous Estate was much pitied, and also favoured of *Ala Basha*, and the other Kings great Councilors; yet for so much as *Bajazet* was of a furious Nature, and in his rage was ready to be spoken unto, none of them durst adventure to treat him in their behalf; so not *Ala Basha*, *Cheradya Basha* his Son, sometime Judge of *Prusa*, although he were a man in fish special Favour with him, that he was therefore of the Common People more than reverenced, but as the King himself honourable.

There was at that time in the Court an  *Ethiopian* Jester, who under some covert pleasant Jest, would many times bolt out that to the King in his greatest heat, which his gravest Councilors durst not once speak to him of in secret; this Jester, *Ala Basha*, requested to devise some means to treat with the angry King in the behalf of these Judges; promising to give him what he would reasonably desire, if he could appease the Kings Displeasure. The  *Ethiopian* without fear undertook the matter, and presently putting upon his Head a rich Hat all wrought over with Gold, after the manner of the Turks Embassadors, and fitting himself with other Apparel better becoming an Ambassador than a Jester; thus attired presented himself before the King, with a great counterfeit gravity. Whereat *Bajazet* marveling, asked him the cause why he was so gay. I have a request unto your Majesty (said he) and wish to find Favour in your sight. *Bajazet* more desirous than before to know the matter, asked what his request was. If it stand with your pleasure (said the Jester) I would feign go as your Ambassador to the Emperor of *Constantinople*. In hope whereof I have put my self in this readiness. To what purpose wouldst thou go? (said *Bajazet*) To crave of the Emperor (said he) some forty or fifty of his old grave Monks and Fryers to bring with me hither to the Court. And what shall they do there? (said *Bajazet*) I would have them executed (said the Jester) in the rooms of the old doting Judges, whom you intend (as I hear) to put to death. Why (said *Bajazet*) I can place others of my own People in their rooms. True (said the  *Ethiopian*) for gravity of looks and countenance, and so would the old Monks

and Fryers serve as well; but not so learned in your Laws and Customs of your Kingdom, as are those in your Displeasure. If they be learned (said *Bajazet*) why do they then contrary to their Learning, pervert Justice, and take Bribes? There is a good reason for that too (said the Jester). What reason? (said the King) That can be that there standeth by better tall than I, (said the Jester, pointing to *Ala Basha*) who forthwith commanded by *Bajazet* to give the reason; with great reverence before done, shewed; That those Judges so in displeasure, were not conveniently provided for, and were therefore enforced many times for their necessary maintenance to take rewards, to the staying of the due course of Justice. Which *Bajazet* understanding to be true, commanded *Ala Basha* to appoint them convenient Stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the *Basha* left under order, That of every matter in suit exceeding one thousand *Alpers*, the Judge should have twenty *Alpers* Fee for Judgment; and for every Writing and Infrument out of the Court, twelve *Alpers*; which Fee they yet take in those Courts at this day.

Not long after, *Bajazet* in his fury sent for certain of his Captains and Commanders of his Men of War, with whom he was for some small occasion grievously offended, intending in his rage to have put them all to death, which was with him to great manner. These Captains being brought before him, the Counsellors seeing him all in Choler, sat looking on the ground, hanging down their Heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to look him in the Face, nor to speak a good word for them. When suddenly the stoutest *Ethiopian* Jester stept forth, earnestly requesting the King, not to shew them any favour, but to execute them presently, as Villains and Traitors; railing upon them, as if he had known some great Fault by them. *Bajazet* thinking he could have accused them of some great Crime, because of his earnestness, asked what reason he had so to exclaim against them. Reason (quoth the Jester) because the Knaves be good for nothing; and they say that *Tamerlane* is with a great Army coming against us; if you will but take up an Ensign in your Hand, and I go before you with a Drum, I will strike up such a terrible march, and you make such a dreadful shew, that we shall need none of these bad Fellows or their Souldiers in the Field to get the Victory over our Enemies. This conceit of the Jester struck such a melancholy imagination into *Bajazet* his Head, that he stood musing a great while as it were in a deep study; at last having well considered the drift of the Jesters Speech, and his fury now somewhat assuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This  *Ethiopian* Jester, *Bajazet* upon a time sent unto the old Queen his Mother, to bring her news of the good success of his Wars against the Christians, for that the had so desired; who coming unto her, was by her commanded to sit down, she began to demand of him, how the King her Son did, and of the success of his Wars. Whereunto he answered, That he did very well, and had won the Kingdom of the Christians a great Country, and greatly enriched his Souldiers. But after a little more talk, the Queen Mother desirous to hear again the good news, (or else after the manner of some, which think nothing sufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him again, how the King

her Son did, and how he sped in his Wars. Whereupon he answered every word as before; but asking him the third time the very same question, how her Son did? Doft thou ask me to offend (faid the *Chriftian*) how he doth? *Be Caepe* (O Where, faid he) thou haft brought forth a Son like a Divel, who roaming up and down, doth nothing but burn and deftroy the World where he cometh. Whereat the Queen crying out, up ftarted the *Chriftian*, and bethinking himfelf to his Heels, was never more afterwards feen.

In the Wars which Bajazet had againft *Sigifmund*, the Vayvod of *Valachia* had given aid to the *Hungarian King*; wherewith Bajazet being offended, determined now at length to be revenged; and therefore intending to make War upon the *Valachian Prince*, left *Tamerslane* his great Lieutenant at *Anagria* in *Afia*, and fo paffed over *Hellefontus* himfelf againft the *Valachian*.

Upon whose departure, *Aladin* his Sifters Son the young King of *Caramania*, with a great Power came fuddenly in the night to *Anagria*, and took *Tamerslane* Prifoner; who then feared nothing left, than in time of Peace to be fo ftartled, and carried away in bonds into *Caramania*. But when he understood that Bajazet had ended his Wars in *Valachia*, and was with Victory returned to *Prufia*, he fearing his heavy indignation for fo great an outrage, prefently releafed *Tamerslane* out of Prifon, and appeared to him richly after the manner of that Nation, craved pardon for the wrong he had done him, and fet him at liberty to go whither he would, and withal fent one of his Noblemen with great Gifts and Prefents to Bajazet, to make his excuse in the beft manner he could; unto which Embaffador Bajazet gave in choler no other anfwer, but that he would fuffer him to come in his fight; but at the fame time levied a great Army to invade *Caramania*. Which *Aladin* understanding, and now out of all hope to appeafe this mighty Enemy, levied all the Forces he could in his own Kingdom, and withal entertained all the Mercenary Soldiers he could get, intending to try his Fortune in the Field, as a man of Valour, rather than to be thrust out of his Kingdom like a Coward; and fo in readinefs, hearing of the coming of Bajazet, met him upon the way, and at a place called *Azeac* gave him Battel; but being too weak, he was overcome and put to flight; and fo he fled with a horrid thumping, and he falling to the ground, was there before he could recover himfelf, taken by his Enemies which had him in chafe, and fo brought bound to Bajazet; his two Sons *Muhamed Beg* and *Alia Beg*, being taken in that Battel alfo, were fent Prifoners to *Prufia*. *Aladin* himfelf was by Bajazet's command delivered to his Enemy *Tamerslane*, who in revenge of the wrong he had before done him, prefently caufed him to be hanged; which when Bajazet understood, he feemed very forry that he had fo put him to death; for that he was his own Sifters Son. Bajazet following the counfel of his Victory, won *Iconium*, *Larnide*, *Nigde*, with the reft of *Aladin* his Kingdom. About this time alfo, *Amafia* the great Metropolitane City of *Capadocia*, was by the Prince thereof delivered unto Bajazet, being too weak himfelf to defend the fame againft the force of *Caf-Burachanidin*, Prince of the great and strong City of *Schabafia*, his Enemy; now grown to be a man of great Power in that part of *Afia*, and had folicited the Sultan of *Egypt* to aid him againft Bajazet. Whereupon Bajazet returning from the Conqueft of *Caramania*, led his Army

towards *Schabafia*, where the Citizens had a little before deprived *Caf-Burachanidin* of his Government, for his Cruelty, and placed his Son in his ftead; but in fhort time no lefs weary of the Son, than before of the Father, they with like incontinency fent word to Bajazet, That if he would come that way, they would yield unto him the City; upon whose approach, *Cafia* (his Son) for fear fled out of the City, to Prince *Nafiradin* his Brother-in-Law. After whose departure, the Citizens according to their promise, delivered the City unto Bajazet at his coming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldest Son Governor. And fo having in this notable expedition conquered the Kingdom of *Caramania*, and taken the great Cities of *Amafia* and *Schabafia*, with fome parts of *Capadocia*, and all that part of *Afia* which the Turks call *Rumelia Afatica*, he returned to *Prufia* and there wintered.

The next Spring, Bajazet hearing that his old Enemy *Curran Bajazet* Prince of *Cafhamna* and *Pontus*, was dead, came to *Cafhamna* with a great Army; which *Isfendar* (Curran Bajazet's Son, and then Prince of that Country) hearing, fled out of the City of *Synope*, a little City upon the coaft of the *Euxine*; from whence he fent an Embaffador to Bajazet, humbly requefting him, to fuffer him to have that little City, as his Servant to live in, (which he was fure he would otherwife fuffer to be the fame of his Servants) and not to feek the innocent blood of the Son for the Fathers offence. Which his request Bajazet, moved with pity, eafily granted; yet nevertheless took from him *Cafhamna*, with the greateft part of his Dominion in *Pontus*, which he gave to his Son *Solyman*. At the fame time he fent out his Army, which Prince *German*, and took from him the Cities of *Defpoufia* and *Mitropoli*, with all the reft of his Dominion.

The Prince of *Menefia*, long before driven out of his Country by Bajazet, (as is before declared) and having all this while made his abode at *Cafhamna*, doubting now of his own fafety, after the death of his good Friend *Curran Bajazet*, in the Habit of an Hermit fled to the great *Tartarian Prince Tamerlane*.

Bajazet returning to *Prufia*, there built a magnificent *Mahometan* Temple; during which work he with great Superftition forbore drinking of Wine, repofing himfelf with the Company of grave and learned men, and the administration of Juftice; whereby he greatly won the Hearts of his Subjects, and had now fo enlarged his Kingdom, that all Kings and Princes bordering upon him flood in great fear of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmet* King of *Bagdat* (or New *Babylon*), and *Ereaceti*, with *Jefeph* Niger King of *Calche*, enforced with the violent incursions of *Tamerlane* and his *Tartars*, for fafeguard of their Lives were glad to flee into *Syria*: where they being difcovered, were both caft in Prifon by the commandment of the *Egyptian* Sultan, who then commanded over *Syria*: from whence they afterwards hardly efcaping, fled to Bajazet's Court. Where after *Achmet* had ftaid two months, he by the aid of Bajazet recovered the poffeffion of *Eiracum* part of his own Inheritance. *Jefeph* the other *Mahometan* King having tarried in Bajazet's Court eight Months, at length procured him to invade the Dominions of the *Egyptian* Sultan; in which expedition he mightily prevailed, and having flain the *Egyptian* Sultans General, and difcomfited his Forces, took the City of *Malaty* or *Maletime* in *Armenia*, with *Dirigie*, *Derende*,

*Derende*, and *Bezene*, taken from the *Turcomans*, and fpoiled all the Country thereabouts. From thence marching with his Army toward *Erzmitzane*, the Prince thereof called *Tachmetin* met him upon the way, yielding him the City and Country into his Power; which Bajazet prefently gave to *Jefeph Niger*; who after he had fix days enjoyed this new Government, finding the People unwilling to be governed by him a Stranger, furrendered the fame again into the Hands of him that gave it. Whereupon the Citizens of *Erzmitzane* humbly requefted of Bajazet, That they might be again governed by their old Prince *Tachmetin*, now his Vaffal. Which thing he at their earneft requeft granted; but taking his Wife and Children as a Pledge of Loyalty, fent them away to *Prufia*, where they were all not long after made away.

When Bajazet had now many years thus mightily prevailed againft the Chriftian Princes in *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, *Bofnia*, *Tieflia*, *Valachia*, and other places of *Europe*, as is before declared, and inflamed with infatiable Ambition, had in worfe manner oppreffed the *Mahometan* Kings and Princes of *Afia* (of whom fome were by him flain, fome driven into exile, fome imprifoned, and otherfome brought into fuch fubjection) that they lived as it were but at his Devotion; and was now grown to that greatness, that in the Pride of his Heart he flood in fear of no man, but was (as he thought) a terror unto the World, having under his obedience great and large Dominions in *Europe*, but far greater in *Afia*; it fortuned that divers of thefe miserable and difcontented *Mahometan* Princes, by great fortune, as if it had been by appointment, to meet together at the Court of the great *Tartarian Prince Tamerlane*, where they were fled for Relief and Succor. The Prince *German Ogh*, after long imprifonment in the Caffe of *Igala* in *Europe*, brake Prifon, and with *Hiffar Beg* his great Counfellor and Prifon-Fellow, confortd themfelves with a Company of loytring Companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the Country People with their Apish Toys; in which Company he paffed *Hellefontus*, as a Bearward, and at length with much ado came to *Tamerlane* his Court; whither the Prince of *Menefia* was come before in the habit of an Hermit (as is aforefaid) with his Head and Beard flaven; *Aladin Ogh* paffing through the Country as a Pedlar, with a Pack at his Back, came thither alfo; the Prince *Tachmetin* as a Servingman, came attending upon the Prince *Isfendar*; who came alfo, but in fome better fation than the reft, as an Embaffador from fome other Prince. All thefe poor Princes, with divers others in like mifery, in fhort time arrived at *Samarand* the Great *Tartarian* Court; every one particularly complaining of his own Private grief, and altogether earneftly requefting that mighty Prince to take upon them their defence, and to revenge the wrong done unto them by the Turkifh Tyrant Bajazet. Whole pitiful complaints much moved the Noble *Tartarian*; but difpleafed by Nature in the diftreffed, and in relieving of the diftreffed, and chaffing of the proud; but coldly answered thefe Princes, That he could

not tell whether all were fo as they had reported of Bajazet, or not; but that he well knew him to be a very zealous King in ferving forth of the *Mahometan* Religion; and that he had therefore made great Wars upon the Chriftians, in which godly caufe (he faid) perhaps they had refufed to affift him, or elfe had given him fome other greater occafion of offence, to him unknown; For I can hardly believe (faid he) that fo great and religious a Prince as he, would without juft and righteous caufe, do fuch violence as you complain of, efpecially upon your Neighbour Princes, and of the fame Religion with himfelf; nevertheless, whatever I intend concerning your requeft (faid *Tamerlane*) I will fend firft an Embaffador unto him, to enquire further of him and his proceedings, before I refolve upon any thing; with which anfwer he willed them until then to hold themfelves contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to have difpatched his Embaffador to Bajazet, he was advifed, that *Achmet* late King of New *Babylon*, and *Jefeph* King of *Calche*, both by him driven out of their Kingdoms, having broken out of Prifon from the Sultan of *Egypt*, were now come to Bajazet's his Court, to crave his aid and affiftance; wherefore he deferred to fend his Embaffador, fufpecting that Bajazet incited by thefe two exiled Kings, would firft in their quarrel begin to make War upon him; and not long after, understanding that they were both again departed from his Court, as is before declared, he then difpatched his Embaffador to Bajazet, with many rich Gifts and Prefents; courteoufly requefting him, the rather for his fake to deal kindly with thefe poor *Mahometan* Princes, his Friends; as alfo with thofe *Tartarian* Princes, who were his Allies; for whom he was now become an Interceder unto him. Some report alfo, that he befides this, requefted to have the two aforefaid *Mahometan* Kings of *Bagdat* and *Calche* delivered unto him; and which feemed not a little to diflike of Bajazet his proceedings againft the *Turcomans* his Friends. But *Bajazet* being a Prince of a great and haughty Spirit, and unaccustomed to hear of any thing that ftirred not his humor, highly offended with this Embaffage, in great scorn rejected the Prefents by *Tamerlane* fent unto him, and fpecially certain Garments which *Tamerlane* offered the manner of thefe Eaftern Nations; and in kindnefs amongst other things fent him; willing the Embaffador to bid his Mafter meddle with his own matters, and to prefcribe Laws unto his own Subjects, and not unto him, with whom he had nought to do; and to fend his Rags for Prefents unto his Inferiors, and not to Princes of greater Power and State than himfelf. Adding thereto many other words full of difpight and diffdain, affording him no better Sile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*; calling him the Husband of a Whore, if he met him not in the Field; and wifhing unto himfelf again, to take unto him his thrice divorced Wife, after he had been mollified by another man (as the greateft difhonour that might be) if he failed to meet him whereforever he durft to dare him Battel. Which proud anfwer of the Turk, by the Embaffador reported unto *Tamerlane*, and aggravated by *Asalla* (a Chriftian of the Race of the *Gemawites*, born at *Capos*, and then one of the greateft Counfellors about him, and the Greek Emperors great Friend) was fo evil taken by him, that all other things for apart, he refolved to go againft the Turk, and to take in hand that War, as of all other the

Amafia  
reduced  
to Ba-  
jazet.

The Mahometan Princes of Asia, expelled by Bajazet, fled into Tamerlane for aid.

Bajazet's invincible invincible Prince of Calcutta.

himself for the increase of his Honour and Glory. Besides that, he thought it not in reason fit for the Greatness of the *Tartarian* Empire, to suffer such an under Neighbour to grow great; as till encroaching upon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding Conquests unto Conquests; and yet never the more contented, might in the end prove dangerous unto his own Estate and Sovereignty; a common care to such as be themselves great, and mounted unto the highest degrees of Honour to grow, to have in Jealousie and Distrust the fiddling rising of others near or farther off, as perilous or disgraceful to themselves, or their Estate; whose growing Greatness they therefore seek by all means to hinder; as did now the mighty *Tamerlane* the proceedings and increasing of the great *Osman* King, *Bajazet*; and the rather being continually pricked forward to do so, by the sollicitation of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppressed *Mahometan* Princes, and by the great Captain *Axalla* (as is aforesaid) a Christian; of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himself, a *Mahometan*, for the great Fidelity, Valor and Virtue he found in him, made no small reckoning, but was contented even in his great and most weighty Affairs to be by him advised, disliking of no man for his Religion whatsoever, so as he did worship but one only God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all that therein is; being himself of opinion, That God in Effusion of his Spirit, made him to be of other change or diversity; yet for the manifesting of his Omnipotency and Power, as he had created in the World sundry kinds of People, much differing both in Nature, Manners and Condition, and yet all framed to the Image of himself, so was he also contented to be of them diversely served, according to the diversity of their Natures and Manners; so that they worship none other strange Gods, but him alone, the Maker and Creator of all things; which was the cause that he suffered the use of all Religions within the Countries subject to his Obedience, were they not meer Atheists, Idolaters, or Worshipers of strange and vain gods.

Neither was proud *Bajazet* as one ignorant of the Power or Purpose of *Tamerlane*, in the mean time idle, but still prosecuted his good Fortune for the enlarging of his Empire, and increasing of his Strength; wisely deeming (as the truth was, whatsoever Messages were sent to him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meer Threatenings and Forewarnings of his more dangerous Purposes and Designs against him and his State; which he was so far from fearing as that to provoke him the more, he spared no intemperate Speech, which might move him to Wrath; wishing (as it should seem) for nothing more, than to meet him in the Field, there to try the fortune of a Battle with him. So weak is our foresight of our Fortunes to come, and the reach of our Understanding for the apprehension or declining of the fatal doom even presently hanging over our Heads; as that we overlooking that high ignorance most desirously with for those things which are unto us the chief occasions of our utter ruin and overthrow.

But here before we enter into farther Discourse of the mortal War betwixt these two puissant Princes, it shall not be much from our purpose to stop a little out of the way, to let what this mighty *Tamerlane* (of whose many Princes craved Aid) was, who living, held the East in such awe, as that he was commonly called, *The Wrath of God*, and *Terror of*

the World; which he then filled with the glory of his Name. Most Historiographers report him to have been poorly born, of base and obscure Parents; and so himself also in his Youth to have lived as a poor Shepherd, or Herdsman in the Mountains; where comforting himself with other sturdy Companions of like quality and disposition, such as there lived by robbing of Merchants and other Passengers, he became a masterful Thief amongst them; unto whom these such low Mates daily flew more and more resorting, he in due time grew (as they say) to that greatness, that he reported to have been of such power, as never man but he ever yet came unto. A matter almost incredible; for albeit that the *Roman* Empire, yea and this great Empire of the Turks also, with some others, had their birth and growth much better or greater, the one under *Kamulus*, and the other under *Osman*; yet grew they not as on the sudden, in their times to any great lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings to do so) but by many degrees, and that in long time; every of the succeeding Princes, according to their Fortunes, adding something to their State, before it could be made great; whereas he (by their report) contrary to the course of things both natural and civil (which from their small beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatness, but by degrees, and that in the long revolution of time) taking his beginning of nothing, grew upon the sudden to be the greatest and greatest unto the World. Wherein our late Historiographers seem too much to have followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their Kingdom almost in one Battle subverted, report nothing simply of him; but with what they may, detracting from his worthy praises, wrongfully charge him with many untruths, not concerning his Parentage only, but even in the course of his whole life also, making him (as they would have the World to believe) first to have been a very abject among men; and then for his inhumane Cruelty a very Monster in Nature, or (as it was long before, but more truly said of another great one much like himself) a Lump of Earth tempered with Blood. Which incredible Reports concerning so great a Monarch, I list not to follow, as too full of dishonour, especially whereas others of no less credit than they, with far more modesty and greater probability report of him the greatest honour that may be. He was (as they and the others also say) born at *Samarcand*, the chief City of the *Zagataian Tartars*, pleasantly situated upon the River *Jaxartes*; his Father was called *Zain Cham*, or as some others will, *Og*, Prince of the *Zagataian Tartars*, and of the Country of *Sachetay* (some part of the famous Kingdom of *Parthia*) third in descent from *Zingis*, the great and fortunate Leader of the *Tartars*, before in the former part of this History remembered. Which *Og*, as a Prince of a peaceable Nature (accounting it no less honour quietly to keep the Countries left him by his Father, than with much trouble and the less danger to seek how to enlarge the same) long lived in most happy rest with his Subjects no less happy than himself; not so much seeking after the hoarding up of Gold and Silver (things of that Nation not regarded) as contenting himself with the increase and service of his Flocks of Sheep, and Herds of Cattle, then, and yet also, the principal revenues of the *Tartar* Kings and Princes; which happily gave occasion to some, ignorant of the manner and custom

The best opinion some have, concerning the Birth and Raising of Tamerlane.

The cause why only few have reported him to have been a Shepherd or Herdsman.

custom of those Northern Nations and Countries, to account them all for Shepherds and Herds-men; and so also to have reported of this mighty Prince, as of a Shepherd Son, or Herdsman himself; vainly misreading his Nobility by the homely manner of his People and Subjects, and not by the Honour of his House, and Heroical Vertues, such as were hardly to be found greater in any Prince of that or other former Ages. His peaceable Father now well stricken in years and weary of the World, delivered up unto him (not yet past fifteen years old) by Government of his Kingdom, joining unto him two of his most faithful Counsellors, *Odmar* and *Ali*, to assist him in the Government of his State (retiring himself unto a solitary life, the more at quiet to serve God, and to end his days in Peace); which two his trusty Sonward and grave Counsellors he dearly loved whilst they lived, and much honoured the remembrance of them being dead. The first proof of his Fortune and Valour, was against the *Mulcovite*, for spoiling of a City which had put it self under his protection; and for entering of his Country; and for proclaiming of War against him; whom he in a great Battle overthrow, having slain five and twenty thousand of the *Mulcovite* Footmen, and between fifteen and sixteen thousand Horsemen, with the loss of scarce eight thousand Horsemen, and four thousand Footmen of his own. After which Battle he beholding so many thousands of men slain, upon the ground was so far from rejoicing thereat, that turning himself to one of his Familiars, he lamented the condition of such as commanded over great Armies, commending his Fathers quiet course of life; accounting him happy in seeking for rest, and the other most unhappy, which was the case of him; for even King sought to procure their own glory; protesting himself even from his Heart to be grieved to see such bad tokens of his Victory. With this overthrow the *Mulcovite* discouraged, sent Embassadors to him for peace, which upon such honorable Conditions as pleased him to set down, was by him granted, and so the Peace concluded. Now the great Cham of *Tartaria* (his Fathers Brother) being grown old, and out of hope of any more Children, moved with the Fame of his Nephew, after this Victory sent him divers Presents, and withal offering him his only Daughter in marriage, and with her to proclaim him his Son, as he did unto his Empire; as in right he was; being his Brothers Son, and the Daughters not at all succeeding in those Empires. Which so great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and so the marriage was afterwards with great Triumph at the old Emperors Court solemnized; and he proclaimed His apparent unto that great Empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being ever after this marriage by the old Emperor his Uncle, and now his Father-in-Law, so long as he lived, notably supported, and after his death succeeding him also in that so mighty an Empire. Yet in the mean time wanted not this worthy Prince the envious Competitors of these his so great Honours; insumuch, that whilst by the advice and persuasion of the old Emperor, he was taking in hand to make War against the great King of *China* (who had as then gon far beyond his bounds), and so was now gone on onwards in his way, he was by the conspiracy of *Calix* (a man of greatest Power and Authority in the great Cham his Court) almost thrust out of his new Empire; *Calix* with a right puissant Army having already seized upon

Tamerlane married his daughter and sister of the great Cham of Tartary.

the great City of *Cambalu*, and the Citizens also generally favouring those his traitorous proceedings, as disdaining to be governed by the *Zagataian Tartars*. For redress whereof, *Tamerlane* was enforced with the greatest part of his Army to return, and meeting with the Rebel (who then had in his Army fourscore thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot) in a great and mortal Battle (wherein of the one side and of the other were more than fifty thousand men slain) overthrow him, though not without the great danger of his own Person, as being there himself beaten down to the ground) took him Prisoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which so dangerous a Rebellion, with the death of the Traitor, and the chief of the Conspirators repressed, and his State in the newness thereof by this Victory well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended War against the great King of *China*; brake down the strong Wall, which the *Chinoises* had made four hundred Leagues long betwixt the Mountains, for the repressing of the incursions of the *Tartars*, entered their Country, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty thousand Men (whereof there were an hundred and fifty thousand Horsemen, and the rest on Foot) in a great and dreadful Battle, with the slaughter of fifty thousand of his Men, overcame him, and took him Prisoner; whom for all that he (in the course of so great a Victory wisely moderating his fury, and showing great regard at liberty; yet so, as that having before taken from him the one half of his Kingdom, and therein left *Odmar* his trusty Lieutenant, with a sufficient Power for the restraining of the proud King, if he should again begin to raise any new things; and withal imposed such other conditions as pleased himself, within the year after let again three hundred thousand Crows, he well provided for the assuring of those his new Conquests; and so in Triumph returned with Victory unto the old Emperor his Father-in-Law at *Cambalu*, not a little glad to see both him and his Daughter, who had in all those Wars still accompanied him. But leaving him, now thus by Birth great, by his Fortune greater, but by his Virtue greatest of all, (as able now to draw after him almost the whole Power of the East) let us again return thither from whence we have for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digressed.

The War against the Turkish Sultan *Bajazet* (as is aforesaid) by *Tamerlane* resolved upon, he sent *Axalla* the great Captain to his Country of *Sachetay* (called of some *Zagatay*) to give beginning to the assembling of his Forces from all parts; to the end, that with the first of the Spring he might set forward for the relief of so many distressed Princes, and the abating of the Pride of so great and mighty a Tyrant as was *Bajazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great *Tartarian* Emperor, his Uncle and Father-in-Law, an hundred thousand Footmen, and fourscore thousand Horsemen, hoping to have as many more from the rest of his own Country, besides the Lords that for his honours sake would accompany him in that his so honourable an expedition, from whom he made account also of fifty thousand men more which they would bring unto him, and divers other great supplies which he expected from other places also; with which he doubted not well to perform what he had so honourably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Osman* Pride; for which and other such like, he was (as he would oftentimes say) by God himself appointed; so taking



his leave of the old Emperor his Father-in-Law, and of the Princess his Wife (then left behind him for the comfort of her aged Father,) he departed from *Constantinople* towards *Samarand*, the place of his Birth and Seat of his Empire; leaving behind him the Forces brought from the great Emperor his Uncle, to come after him to *Osara*, where he had appointed the general meeting of his Army. At which time amongst other Princes that thither brought their own Rites, the great *Mulcovite* being requested to do so, promised to send him fifteen thousand Horse, with a certain sum of Money, and leave for his Army to pass through so much of his Territories as should be necessary; all which he afterwards performed unto *Tamerlane*, being glad that he did set upon others, rather than upon himself; and that to great a preparation should fall upon them, whose greatness was as dreadful and dangerous unto him as unto any other. All the Earth almost at that time being affrighted at the fuddain greatness of this *Osoborn* King, and the happy success he had in all his Wars; not the least cause that moved *Tamerlane* to set himself against him, deeming it much better to go and for upon him in his new Conquests; than to stay until he therein settled, were come nearer to him, and so should debate the quarrel within his own Empire, to his damage. A good and sound resolution; first in that it tended to the destruction of the Enemies part of himself, that if any thing should fall out otherwise with him than well, his Country should not thereby receive any such astonishment as if the danger were nearer or within the Bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlane* lay at *Samarand*, *Asalla* the great Captain and *Tamerlane*'s Lieutenant General, had taken the Army at *Osara*. Whereof *Tamerlane* understanding, sent for him to *Samarand*, to confer with him about the setting forward of his Army. For although he were still accompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Asalla*, whose found Counsel Master, as by his advice he did all things, and without him nothing; which his great Authority and Favour with his Prince, wanted not the envy of the Court, but that his great Vertues, and rare found Counsellor (in fo great Fortune) together with so many worthy services as he had done, supported him against the envy of the same. He by the commandment of *Tamerlane*, leaving the charge of the Army at *Osara*, with the Prince of *Thana*, another of *Tamerlane*'s great Captains, came himself to *Samarand*, and there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his Army. And shortly after, departing with *Asalla* and the rest from *Samarand*, for to go to *Osara* the place where all his Army met; being come thither, entered into a great consultation with his most expert Captains, about the taking of his journey and conducting of his Army; as whether it were better to lead the same by the Coasts of the *Mulcovite* directly towards *Capla*, or else on the other side of the *Caspian* Sea, by the skirts of *Perfia*; where after long discourse and sundry opinions with their reasons delivered, it was at last resolved (although the way were the longer) to pass by the *Mulcovite*, so to come to the *Georgians*, and to *Trebizanda*, and from thence to enter into the *Osoborn* King his Country. And fo setting forward from *Osara*, he came at length to *Masoun*, where he staid three days looking for the Forces which Prince *Osman* should send him from *Chine*, not long before

by him conquered; whereof he there received news, and there caused his Army to be paid, and a general Muster thereof to be taken. He had also there news of the aid the *Mulcovite* did send him; and caused an infinite quantity of Victuals, and most part of his Furniture to be conveyed by the *Caspian* Sea, being a great commodity and ease to his Army, which marching by Land, was of necessity to pass some twenty Leagues through the middle of both of Victuals and Water. *Tamerlane* all the way coasting along the Sea shore, passed the time in hunting, his Army not coming near him by ten Leagues, which was fo great, that it extended it fell full twenty Leagues. Coming to the River of *Edis*, he staid at *Zaravich* whilst his Army passed the River at *Melut*, and two other Bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the *Circassians*, and *Georgians*, hearing of the approach of *Tamerlane* with his huge Army, by their Embassadors offered him all the help and assistance they could in his journey as he passed that way. These *Georgians* were and yet are Christians, a great and warlike People, of long time Tributaries unto the Greek Emperors; and afterwards sometimes Tributaries, and sometimes Confederates unto the *Persians*; but always Enemies unto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but especially by *Amurat* the Third, they together with some part of the *Persian* Kingdom, have been grievously oppressed; in the process of this History may appear. Of these warlike People, glad of *Tamerlane*'s coming for the repressing of the Turks, *Asalla* drew great numbers unto the service of his Prince, who not a little esteemed of them, being all tall men, very beautiful, of great strength, and of great and wilful most expert Soldiers; as having oftentimes redified the Power of the *Osoborn* Kings, by reason of the advantage their Country afforded them, being very rough and hard to come into. By these kind People, *Tamerlane* was in every place honourably entertained, and his great Army with all necessities plentifully relieved. In passing through which Country and the rest as he marched, he took such order with his Soldiers, that none of the People whereby he passed, were any thing by them injured; inasmuch that if a Soldier had taken but an Apple, or other thing of like value from any man, he died therefore by his own or other's Commands. It is reported that one of his Soldiers, having taken a little Milk from a Country Woman, and the thereof complaining, he caused the said Soldier to be presently killed, and his Stomach to be ripe; where the Milk that he had of late drunk being found, he contented the Woman, and so sent her away; who had otherwise undoubtedly died for her false accusation, had it not so appeared. Which his fo great severity, and in other like cases, was of many accounted for extreme Cruelty; yet was it indeed the wholesome preservation of his Army, being fo great, as that it was thought almost impossible to have found sufficient Victuals for the relief thereof; whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing else necessary for the use of man, his Camp being still as a most populous and well governed City, stored with all manner of things; whereunto both Artificers and Merchants, from far Countries resorted with their Commodities and Merchandise, as to some famous Mart; and the Country People, without fear from every place brought in their Country Commodities, for which they received present Money; and so in safety again departed.

The number of Tartarians great Army.

departed. So marching on, he at length came to *Bachibech* where he staid to refresh his Army eight days, and there again took a general Muster thereof, wherein were found (as most writers say) four hundred thousand Horse, and six hundred thousand Foot; or as some others that were there present affirm, three hundred thousand Horsemen, and five hundred thousand Foot of all Nations. Unto whom he gave there a general Pay, and as his manner was, made them an Oration, in which he gave them such orders as he would have kept, to the end they might the better observe the same; with much other Military Discipline, whereof he was very curious with his Captains. At which time also, it was lawful for every common Soldier to behold him with more boldness than on other days so much as he did for that time, and such like, lay aside his Imperial Majesty, and shew himself more familiar unto them.

Now could he hardly be persuaded, that *Bajazet* having subdued the most part of *Greece*, distressed the Greek Emperors, and fo a great means to recover whatsoever he should desire in *Asia*, would be so adventurous as to come over the Straits out of *Europe*, to try the Fortune of a Battle with him; but rather warily protracted the time, to weary him at length with Wants, that in a strange Country drew such a world of People after him. Wherein he found himself much deceived; for having sent his new Conquests, and being come to *Bajabich*, *Asalla* (whom he had not seen in eight days before, because he led the Head of the Army) came unto him with such News as the knew would be right welcome unto him; which was, that *Bajazet* had raised his Siege of *Constantinople* (as indeed he had) and for to defend his new Conquests in *Asia*, and that he was certainly resolved, to come to a day of Battle, not fo much trifled, unto the multitude of his Army, as to the Valour and Experience of his Soldiers, being all men of long time well trained up in the Wars. At which unexpected news, *Tamerlane* greatly rejoiced; yet without insolence or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of such an one as judged the events of Battles to be (as they are) always doubtful; saying sometimes, that a small number well conducted, did oftentimes carry away the Victory from the confuted multitude. Three days he staid at *Bajabich*, and then ordered his Army to march forward, which at *Garga*, and *Chingis* passed over the River *Euphrates*; which he did the rather to maintain his Army upon the Spoil of the Enemy, in attending his coming, than upon himself, or his Allies. All the Cities that yielded unto him by the way as he marched, he favourably received; the other that refused to submit themselves unto his Obedience, he used with all extremity; especially the great and strong City of *Sebahia*, where certain of the Fore-runners of his Army were by the Turks there in Garrison cut off and slain, and the Gates of the City as it were in contempt of him, he burnt down; whereupon *Tamerlane* offended, sent our certain of his *Tartarian* Horsemen, commanding them on pain of his Displeasure, fo to bear themselves against their Enemies, as that he might at his coming either find the City taken, or the Gates thereof shut against him; for he had his men at fo great command, that he dared not be unto more dreadful than his Displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so severely as Cowardise; inasmuch that if in his disposal of hunting the wild Beast, any did for fear give way to the Lyon or Bear, and flew him not,

was sure to die therefore himself; and to turn his Back upon the Enemy, was no less danger than to run upon his own place of New Turks in Garrison at *Sebahia*, facing the *Tartarian* Horsemen marching towards the City, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, issued out for to meet them; where they were fo furiously charged by these few Horsemen, that they were glad to retire, and for half their place of their own men out of the City, left the Enemy following them at their Heels, though he entered the Gates together with them. Which Turks fo shut out were by the *Tartarians* slain at the Gates of the City. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his Army, and first down before the City, where he lay full seven days, not making them of any violence at all; the Defendants because the City was of great Strength, all that while thinking that he had intended by long Siege to distress the same, and the more because of his long lying still. But about the eighth day, the Walls and Towers of the City in many places undermined, were suddenly overthrown, leaving large breaches for the Enemy to enter. Whereupon the Turks in the City dismayed, forthwith yielded the City to *Tamerlane*, in hope so to have saved their lives; but he (as the Turks report) being entered the City, commanded a great number of those who were to be digged, and all the People of the City, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition, to be thrown into the same, and there buried quick. Which done, the City was by his commandment utterly raised aloft. After that, calling unto him *Malcozesin*, the Governor of the City, whom he had for that purpose only desired, he commanded him to go and tell his Master what was happened to his strong City of *Sebahia*, and what he had there himself seen. Of which tragical action, *Malcozesin* having made true relation unto *Bajazet*, as by him demanded, whether of the two Armies he thought bigger or stronger; for now *Bajazet* had assembled a mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, or as some report of three hundred thousand Horsemen, and two hundred thousand Foot. Whereunto *Malcozesin* having before craved pardon, answered, that it could not be, but that *Tamerlane* might in reason have the greater number, for that he was a Commander of far greater Countries. Whereupon proud *Bajazet* offended, in great choler replied, Out of doubt, the sight of the *Tartarian* host made this Coward fo afraid, that he thinketh every Enemy to be two.

Most of the Latine Historians report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken *Sebahia*, he put all the men to the Sword, and bringing the Women and Children into the Fields, without the City, there over-ran them with his Horsemen, excepting some few which were reserved for Prisoners. As also that *Bajazet* there lost his eldest Son *Ertogrul* (or some call *Ortobolus*) whose death with the loss of the City, fo much grieved him (as is reported) that marching with his great Army against *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a Country Shepherd merrily reposing himself with his homely Pipe, as he sat upon the side of a Mountain feeding his poor Flock; standing still a great while listening unto him, to the great admiration of many, at last jerking a cry, broke forth into these words; O happy Shepherd, which haddest neither *Ortobolus*, nor *Sebahia* to lose; bewraying therein his own discontentment; and yet wishing shewing, That worldly Bliss consisteth not so much in possessing

Sebahia besieged by Tamerlane.

Sebahia yielded to Tamerlane.

Prince Asalla in great credit with Tamerlane.

A Shepherd and more happy than Bajazet.

of much, subject unto danger, as joyning in a little, contentment devoid of fear. Howbeit the Turks themselves reporting the taking of *Scobitia*, speak not of *Orbiculo* at all, but give him loft five years before, in the War against *Caffa* *Barchanides*, and lieth buried by his Father, *Caffa* *Prinse*. In this City of *Scobitia* was loft twelve thousand Turks, Men, Women and Children, as their Histories report. The rest of the Cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the destruction of *Scobitia*, yielded themselves for fear of like danger: *Citizens* whereof he courtously used, especially the *Christians*, whom he set at liberty, in respect of *Emmanuel* the Greek Emperor, whom he scorned wholly therein to gratify. But he had not gon far into the Turks Dominion, but that he was certainly advertised, how that *Bajazet*, with a great Army was coming against him, and now within thirty Leagues of him; which caused him after that time, to march with his Army more closely. *Asalla* leading the Vanguard, sent forth *Chianfon* Prince of *Caracian*, with four thousand *Parthian* Horsemen, to get knowledge of the Turks Army, and where *Bajazet* lay, as also what Country that was beyond *Sennar*, and if he could learn any thing thereof, to make relation of it unto him. This Prince of *Caracian* was *Tamerlane* near Kinman, a man of great reputation, and next unto *Asalla*, in whose absence he had the commanding of the Vanguard, his charge; who also sent before him another *Parthian* Captain with five hundred Horsemen. So he had not ridden ten Leagues but that he heard news of *Bajazet* coming, and having surprised *Sennar*, understood there the certain estate of the Turks Army, which was then at *Tatais*, and so marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, but to did for the arrival of the Enemy, and thereof to give him advertisement every hour; being himself resolved to pass on no further, as come to a fair large Plain, and a Country of advantage for the order of his Battel; for he knew that his Army was far greater than *Bajazet*'s, and therefore he made choice of those great Plains. Yet for that his Army consisted of divers Nations, and wital considering that he was not to fight against the *Chinois*, a soft effeminate People, (as of late) but against the Turks, a most warlike Nation, and well acquainted with all manner of Fights and Martial Stratagems, he thought it good, to be well advised how he proceeded against them. Wherefore he presently sent for *Asalla*, with him view the said place, and to have his opinion, Whether it would be for his advantage or not, there to stay? who not misliking of the choice of the place, yet advised him also to keep *Sennar* so long as he possibly could; and so to fight with them, where they were, upon the approach of the Enemy to let lie upon the fame, and so to withdraw themselves from thence, to the end that the Enemy should not have any desire to incamp there, but come fill forward near to those Plains where *Tamerlane* desired to fight, especially for that he was stronger in Horse than *Bajazet*. Thus the Turks fill marching on, thought to have surprised some of their Enemies in *Sennar*; who as soon as they drew near, retired all, excepting some hundred left of purpose to fire the Town; who having performed the same, retired out of the place in great order. Now the Prince of *Caracian* had divided his Forces into two parts, and given commandment to the first, that as soon as they perceived the Enemies to pursue the hundred Horse that so disorderly of

purpose fled, they should receive them, and fo retire all together. He in the mean time with the rest of his Power stood close in a Valley, near to a Wood file, unseen at all. Where having suffered two thousand of the Enemies Horse (the Vancouriers of the Turks Army) to pass by him, he following them in the tail, charged them home, the other which before retired, now turning upon them also; so that the Turks seeing themselves thus beset, and hardly laid unto both before and behind, as men discouraged fled; in which File most of them were slain, and the rest taken Prisoners. This was the first encounter betwixt the Turks and the *Parthians*; all the Prisoners there taken, were by the Prince as a Present sent to *Tamerlane*, and among the rest the *Bassa* of *Natalia* who led these Troops; of whom *Tamerlane* earnestly demanded, what caused *Bajazet* to little to esteem of him, as to flew to great contempt of his Army, which he should find strong enough to abate his Pride. Whereunto the *Bassa* answered, That his Lord was the Sun upon Earth, which could not endure any equal; and that he rather was astonished to see, how he from to far had engaged so dangerous a journey, to hinder the fortune of his Lord, in whose favour the Heavens (as he said) did bend themselves to further his greatness, and unto whom all the world subjected it self; and that he committed great folly in going about to resist the fame. Unto which to proud a Speech *Tamerlane* replied, that he was sent from Heaven to punish his rashness, and to teach him, That the Proud are hated of God, whose promise is to pluck down the mighty, and raise up the lowly. As for thy self (said he) thou hast already felt (although I pity thy mishap) what the Valor of my *Parthian* Horse is against thy *Turks*; and thy Master has well rewarded me for the service of my Lord. And for refusing to raise his Siege of *Constantinople*, and to look to his own things here in *Asia*. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his Speech demanded, If his Master did come resolved to bid him Battel? Affure your self (said he) there is nothing he more desirous and would to God I might acknowledge your greatness, in giving me leave to assist my Lord at that Battel. Good leave have thou, (said *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy Lord that thou hast seen me, and that he shall in the Battel find me on horseback, where he shall see a green Ensign displayed. The *Bassa* thanking him, swore, that next unto his Lord he vowed unto him his Service. And for returning, declared unto *Bajazet*, how that he had seen *Tamerlane* and truly reported unto him all that he had willed him to say; not forgetting over all, to publish his Courtesy and Bounty; who besides that he had frankly let him at liberty, had also given him a very fair Horse well furnished, although he well knew he was to fight against himself. Whereunto *Bajazet* answered no more, but that he would shortly make trial of him, and that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledge his own folly. The next day the two Armies drew near together, and incamped within a League the one of the other; where all the night long you might have heard such noise of Horses, as that it seemed the Heavens were full of Voices, the Air did fo rebound, and every man thought the Night long, to come to the trial of his Valour, and the gaining of his desires. The *Syrians* (a People not so greedy than needy talkers of nothing but the Spoil) the proud *Parthians*, of their Honour; and the poor *Christians*, of their deliverance, all to be gained by the next Days Victory; every man during the Night time speaking

speaking according to his own humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this Night up and down in his Camp heard, and much rejoiced to see the hope that his Soldiers had already in general conceived of the Victory. Who after the second watch returning unto his Pavilion, and there calling himself unto a Carpet, had thought to have slept a while; but his Cares not suffering him so to do, he then as his manner was, called for a Book, wherein was contained the lives of his Fathers and Ancestors, and of other valiant Worthies, the which he used ordinarily to read, as he then did; not as therewith vainly to deceive the time, but to make use thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, and declining of such dangers as they by their Rashness or Over-sight fell into. And afterwards having a little flumbered, he commanded *Asalla* to be sent for, who forthwith came unto him, with divers other great Lords and Captains the chief Commanders of his Army; with whom after he had a while consulted of the order of the Battel, he mounted on Horseback himself, and sent every one of them to their own Charges, to put the fame in readiness. At which very instant he received News, that the Enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the Battel; whole order of march *Tamerlane* was desirous to see, that so accordingly he might marshal his own. And having called three thousand Horsemen to advance forward, with charge to begin the skirmish, himself followed after to lodge every part of his Forces in such places as he had foreseen to be fittest for his advantage. Now seeing the *Tanzaries* march in a square Battel in the midst, and upon the two Fronts two great Squadrons of Horsemen, which seemed to be thirty thousand Horse; and another which advanced and covered the Battalion of the *Tanzaries*; he thought this order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himself to *Asalla*, who was near unto him, said, I had thought this Day to have fought on Foot, but I see that it behoveth me now to fight on Horseback, to give Courage unto my Soldiers, to open the great Battalion of our Enemies. And my Will is, That my men come forward unto me as soon as they may, for I will advance forward with an hundred thousand Footmen, fifty thousand upon each of my two Wings, and in the midst of them forty thousand of my best Horsemen. My Pleasure is, that after they have tried the force of these men, that they come unto my Vanguard, of whom I will dispose, and fifty thousand Horse more in three Bodies, whom thou shalt command; which I will assist with eighty thousand Horse, wherein shall be mine own Person; having an hundred thousand Footmen behind me, who shall march in two Squadrons; and for my Reward I appoint forty thousand Horse, and fifty thousand Footmen, who shall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of ten thousand of my best Horse, whom I will send into every place where I shall think needful within my Army, for to impart my Commands. Over the first forty thousand Horse the Prince *Caracian* commanded; over the foremost Footmen was the Lord *Synaps*; a *Goussie*, Kinman to *Asalla*, and his Lieutenant over the Footmen, a Captain of great estimation; the Prince *Asalla* his own charge consisted of five Squadrons of Horsemen. *Bajazet* his Army being also both fair and great, came bravely forth, and forward towards the Enemies; who stirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the Battel; except

certain light Horsemen, *Scythians*, *Parthians* and *Mulgoonies*, who sent out as loofe men, hotly skirmished betwixt the two Armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an Elyp advertised, that *Bajazet* having before given order for the disposing of his Army, was on foot in the midst of thirty thousand *Tanzaries*, his principal men of War, and greatest Strength; wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had reposed his greatest hope. His Battel of Horse was very fair, amounting to the number of an hundred and forty thousand Horse, all old Soldiers. The Sultan of *Egypt*, having also sent unto his Aid thirty thousand *Tanzaries*, his principal men of War, with thirty thousand Foot. So that his Army marching all in one Front, in form of an Half-Moon (but not so well knit together as was *Tamerlane*, whose Squadrons directly followed one another) seemed almost as great as his; and so with injuries in terms of most horribles Outcries still advanced forward; *Tamerlane* his Soldiers all the while standing still, with great silence.

There was not possible to be seen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks given upon the Prince of *Caracian*, who had commandment not to fight before the Enemy came unto him; neither could have been chosen a fairer Plain, and where the skilful choice of the place was of less advantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the River on the left hand of his Army, serving him to some small advantage. Now this young Prince of *Caracian* with his forty thousand Horse, was in his first encounter almost wholly overthrown; yet having fought right valiantly, and entered even into the midst of the *Tanzaries*, (where the Person of *Bajazet* was) putting them in disorder, was himself there slain. About which time *Asalla* set upon them with the Vanguard, but not with like danger; for having overthrown one of the Enemies Wings, and cut it all to pieces, and his Footmen coming to join with him, as they had been commanded, he faced the Battalion of the *Tanzaries*, who right valiantly behaved themselves for the safety of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hour, and yet you could not have seen any feattered, but the one full resolutely fighting against the other. You might there have seen the Horsemen like Mountains rise together, and infinite numbers of Men die, cry, lament and threaten all at one instant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to see the event of this mortal Fight; but perceiving his men at length to give ground, he sent ten thousand of his Horse to join again with the ten thousand appointed for the Rereward, and commanded them to assist him at such time as he should have need of them; and at the very time time charged himself, and made them to give him room; causing the Footmen to charge also, over whom the Prince of *Thomas* commanded, who gave a furious onset upon the Battalion of the *Tanzaries*, wherein was yet the Person of *Bajazet*, who had sustained a great burden. Now *Bajazet* had in his Army a great number of Mercenary *Tatars*, called *Defenses*, with many thousands of other Soldiers taken up in the Countries of the poor exiled *Moslemans* Princes; in whose just quarrel, and the Greek Emperors, *Tamerlane* had chiefly undertaken that War; these *Tartarians* and other Soldiers, seeing some of their Friends, and other some their natural and loving Princes in the Army of *Tamerlane*; stricken with the terror of Disloyalty, and abhorring the Cruelty of the proud Tyrant, in the heat of the Battel revolted from *Bajazet* to their own Princes; which

The Prince of Caracian divided his Army with the Veterans of the Turkish Army.

The great and mortal battle betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

The Prince of Caracian slain.

which their revolt much weakened *Bajazet's* Forces. Who nevertheless with his own men of War, especially the *Janizaries*, and the help of the Christian Soldiers brought to his aid from *Servia* and other places of *Europe*, with great Courage maintained the Fight; but the Multitude and true Valour prevailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and courageous men, was by the *Janizaries* and the rest performed, both for the preservation of the Person of their Prince, and the gaining of the Victory. But in the end, the Horsemen with whom *Tamerlane* himself was, giving a fresh Charge, and his Avantgarde volly knit again unto him, reinforcing the Charge, he with much ado obtained the Victory. *Bajazet* himself wounded, and now mounted on Horback, thinking to have escaped by Flight, fell into the hands of *Almas*, unto whom he yielded himself, thinking he had been *Tamerlane*, who for a face knew him not, but took him for some other great Commander of the Turks. *Majsa* (surnamed *Zelibi*, or the *Noble*) one of *Bajazet's* Sons, with divers others of *Bajazet's* great Captains, were there taken also; and amongst the rest, *George* the Despot of *Servia*, who notwithstanding this misfortune, had that day gained unto himself the reputation of a great and worthy Captain, inasmuch that *Tamerlane* even in the very heat of the Battle marvelling to see him and the *Servians*, with the other Christians which he had brought to the aid of *Bajazet*, so valiantly to fight, said unto some of the Captains that were near unto him, See he countenance unto himself religious fight; supposing them by their strange Attire to have been some of the Turks superstitious Votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteously welcomed; but yet virtual reproved, for that he had fought for *Bajazet* against him, who was come in favour to the Christian Emperor, and the other poor oppressed Princes, such as the Despot himself was. Who thereunto boldly answered, That indeed it was not according to his duty, but according to the unwisdom of *Bajazet*, unto whom it seemed that all the World did bend; and that his own fidelity had caused him, though against his Will, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excused; and so without more ado gave him leave at his own pleasure to depart.

*Bajazet* also himself being afterwards brought unto *Tamerlane* as a Prisoner, and by him courteously entertained, never showed any token of Submission at all, but according to his proud Nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him with whatsoever he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moved, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to lose his life. Whereunto he answered no more, but, Do it for that, that loss should be his greatest happiness. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanded of him, What made him so proud as to enterprise to bring into his Subjection to Noble a Prince as was the Greek Emperor? he answered, Even the fame thing that hath moved thee to invade me, namely the desire of Glory and Sovereignty. But wherefore then (said *Tamerlane*) dost thou use to great cruelty towards men thou hast overcomen, without respect of Age or Sex? That did I (said he) to give the greater terror unto my Enemies. And what wouldst thou have done with me (said *Tamerlane*) had it been my fortune to have fallen into thy Hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said *Bajazet*) have included thee in a Cage of Iron, and so in triumph have carried thee up and down my Kingdom. Even

so (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou be served. And so causing him to be taken out of his presence, turning unto his Followers, said, Behold a proud and cruel Man, he deserveth to be chastised accordingly, and to be made an Example unto all the proud and cruel of the World, of the just Wrath of God against them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day delivered into my Hands a great Enemy; to whom we must therefore give thanks. Which he performed the same day; for the Battle was won at four of the Clock, and there was yet five hours of day-light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried; where among the rest they found the body of the Prince of *Circass*, dead in the midst of the *Janizaries*, where he lay inclosed with their dead bodies, in token he died not unrevenged; whose unclimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his Kinsman, and like enough one day to have done great service. Whose dead Body *Tamerlane* caused to be embalmed, and with two thousand Horcs (and divers of the Turks Prisoners chained and tied together) to be conveyed to *Semercand*, until his coming thither. All the other dead Bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at *Semercand*.

This great and bloody Battle fought in the year of our Lord 1397. not far from the Mount *Stella*, (where sometime the great King *Mitridates* was by *Pompey* the Great in a great Battle overthrowen) was fought from seven a Clock in the Morning, until four in the afternoon. Victory was that day wholly, as it were with double Wings, hovering over both Armies, as uncertain where to light; until at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* prevailed. Whose Wisdom, next unto God, gave that days Victory unto his Soldiers; for that the policy tying of the strong Forces of *Bajazet*, was the safeguard of his own; whereas if he had gone unto the Battle in one Front, as surely the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it self into confusion, whereas this successive manner of aiding of his men, made them all unto him profitable. The number of them that were in this Battle slain, is of divers diversly reported; the Turks themselves reporting, That *Bajazet* there lost the Noble *Mahmud's* Son, with two hundred thousand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer; and some other speaking of a far less number, as that there should be slain of the Turks about threecore thousand, and of *Tamerlane's* his Army not past twenty thousand. But leaving the certainty of the number unto the credit of the Reporters, like enough it is, that the Slaughter was exceeding great in so long a Fight, betwixt two such Armies as never before (as I suppose) met in Field together.

By this one days event is plainly to be seen the uncertainty of worldly things, and what small assurance even the greatest have in them. *Bajazet*, the terror of the World, and as he thought, superior to Fortune, in an instant with his fate in one Battle overthrowen into the bottom of misery and despair; and that at such time as he thought leave, even in the midst of his greatest Strength. It was three days (as they report) before he could be persuaded, but as a desperate man still seeking after death, and calling for it; neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once spoken with him, at all afterwards courteously use him, but as of a proud man caused him account to be made of him; and to manifest that he knew how to punish the haughty, made him to be shackled in Fetters and Chains of Gold, and to be shut up in an Iron Cage made like a Grotto, in such sort as that he might on every side

The Turks  
were  
divided.

Bajazet  
and his  
sons  
were  
taken  
Prisoners.

Bajazet  
was  
taken  
Prisoner  
with his  
Princes.

Solyman  
set up  
his  
throne  
at  
Constantinople.  
He  
was  
taken  
Prisoner  
by  
the  
Turks.

side be seen; and so carried him up and down as he passed through *Asia*; to be of his own Power scorned and derided. And to his further disgrace, upon Festival days used him for a Footstool to tread upon, when he mounted to Horse; and at other times scornfully fed him like a Dog, with crumbs fallen from his Table. A rare Example of the uncertainty of worldly Honour, that he unto whose ambitious mind *Asia* and *Europe*, two great parts of the World, were too little, should be now carried up and down cooped up a little Iron Cage, like some perillous wild Beast. All which *Tamerlane* did not do, much to his hatred to the man, as to manifest the just judgment of God against the arrogant Folly of the Proud. It is reported, that *Tamerlane* being requested by one of his Noblemen that might be bold to speak unto him, to remit some part of his Severity against the person of so great a Prince, answered, That he did not use that Rigor against him as a King, but rather did punish him as a proud ambitious Tyrant, polluted with the blood of his own Brother.

Now this so great an overthrow brought such a fear upon all the Countries possessed by *Bajazet* in *Asia*, that *Asakia* sent before by *Tamerlane* with forty thousand Horcs, and an infinite thousand Foot, without delay, to prosecute the Victory came without resistance to *Prusa*, whither all the remainder of *Bajazet's* Army retired, with the *Bassa Mahmud*, the Country as he went still yielding unto him. Yea, the great *Bassa* with the rest hearing of his coming, and thinking themselves not now able to stand against such a great Strat of *Ellipantia* to *Caspia*, and so to *Hadracopia*, carrying with them out of the Battle, *Solyman*, *Bajazet's* his eldest Son, whom they fit up in his Fathers place; *Mahmud* his younger Brother presently upon the overthrow being fled to *Asakia*; of whom, and the rest of *Bajazet's* his Children, more shall be said hereafter. *Asakia* coming to *Prusa*, had the City without resistance yielded unto him, which he stiled; and there with other of *Bajazet's* his Wives and Concubines, took Prisoner the fair *Dopsia*, *Bajazet's* his best beloved Wife, to the doubting of his grief.

Enacted the Greek Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane's* coming to *Prusa*, sent his Embassadors (the most honorable of his Court) thither before to *Asakia*, by whom they were there staid until the coming of *Tamerlane*, who received them with all the Honour that might be, showing unto them all his magnificence, and the order of his Camp, to their great admiration; for it resembled a most populous and well governed City, for the order of his Wars, which brought unto it plenty of all kind of Victuals and other Merchandises, as well for pleasure as for use. By these Embassadors the Greek Emperor submitted all his Empire, together with his Person, unto *Tamerlane* the great Conqueror, as his most faithful Subject and Vassal; which he did for the sake of his life, for that he was by him delivered from the most cruel Tyrant of the World; as also for that the long journey he had passed, and the difformities he had endured, with the loss of his People, and the danger of his Person, could not be recompensed but by the offer of his own Life and his Subjects; which he did for to dedicate unto his Service, with all the Fidelity and Loyalty that so great a benefit might deserve; besides that, his so many Vertues and rare Accomplishments, which made him famous through the World, did bind him to do so. And that therefore he would attend him in his chief City to deliver it into his Hands as his own, with all the Empire of *Greece*. Now the Greek Embassa-

dors looked for no less than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be so great and delicate a Morfel, as that it would not be refused, especially of such a conquering Prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindness and Friendship, was the best bargain they could make therein. But they received answer from this worthy Prince, far beyond their expectation; for he with a mild countenance beholding them, answered them, That he was not come from so far a Country, or undertaken so much pain, for the enlargement of his Kingdom, as to make himself a slave, to be a thing for him to put himself into great danger and travel for; but rather to win Honour, and thereby to make his name famous unto all Posterity for ever; And that therefore it should well appear unto the World, that he was come to aid him, being requested as his Friend and Ally; and that his upright meaning therein was the greatest cause, that God from above had beheld his power, and thereby bruised the Head of the greatest and fiercest Enemy of mankind that was under Heaven; and now to get him an immortal name, would make free to great and flourishing a City as *Constantinople*, governed by so noble and ancient an House as the Emperors; That unto his Courage he had always Faith jeyned, such as should never suffer him to make so great a breach in his reputation, as that it should be reported of him, That in the colour of a Friend he came to invade the Dominions of his Allies; That he desired no more, but that the service he had done, should be to the Greek Emper, might for ever be engraven in the Memory of his Posterity, to the end they might for ever with well unto him and his Successors, by remembering the good he had done them; That long night the noble Emperor live, happily to govern his Estate; and that before his return he would take care to consider for the relieving of the same, as that he should not lightly fall again into the like jeopardy, always assuring himself of his good Will and Favour towards him. Lastly it is to judge what Joy these Greek Embassadors received, to hear this so kind an answer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himself; who rather than he would seem to break his Faith, refused an Empire offered unto him, with one of the most stately and magnificent Cities of the World. Few Princes (I suppose) would perform such a part; but so there be likewise but few *Tamerlanes* in the World. These Embassadors by this commandment of *Tamerlane*, were by *Asakia* Royally bidden, and all the next day after, they might be seen. One of them being first back to carry these unexpected news unto the Greek Emperor, filled both him and all the City of *Constantinople* with exceeding joy and gladness, which both he and his Subjects in general shared not with Bonfires and all other signs of Joy and Pleasure to manifest him of the Joy that he showed his goodness, shortly after by the advice of his grave Counsellors, passed over the Strait into *Asia*, to see *Tamerlane* at *Prusa*, and in Person himself to give him thanks; who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the first days journey fed the Prince *Asakia* to meet him, and to satisfy him of the Joy that he conceived to have the good hap for to see him, as also to conduct him to *Prusa*; where those two great Princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so spent one whole day together. The Greek Emperor the next day taking his leave, was by *Tamerlane* with much Honour conducted out of the City. Now had *Tamerlane* had himself conceived a secret desire to see this famous

famous a City as was *Constantinople*, from which he was not now far, yet would he not go thither as a Conqueror, but as a private person; which by the means of *Asalla* was accomplished, and he thenceforth by the Greek Emperor privily received, and with all Familiarity possible entertained; the Emperor shewing unto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be seen; and the other Greek Princes desiring all the means they could to do him pleasure, and them which did accompany him; who were in a manner all appalled after the Greek Fashion. At which time the Greek Emperor himself was curious to shew unto him all the fair Gardens along the Sea Coast, a League or two from *Constantinople*, and so privately conducting him, spent five or six days with all the Mirth that might be possible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes saying, That he had never seen a fairer City, and that it was indeed the City (considering the fair and rich Situation thereof) of right worthy to command all the World. He wondered at the costly Buildings of the Temples, the fair ingraven Pillars, the high Pyramids, and the making of the fair Gardens; and oftentimes afterwards said, That he had nothing repented him of his so long and dangerous voyage, if it had been only but to have perferred from Fire and Sword to noble a City as that was. In the Greek Emperor he commended greatly his mild Nature and Courteise; who knowing him above all things to take pleasure in fair serviceable Horses, gave unto him thirty, and amongst them, some of richly furnished; and sent likewise fair Presents unto all the Princes and great Commanders of the Army, and bountifully caused to be delivered unto them all things which he thought to be necessary for the Army. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a true bond of Friendship made by solemn Oath confirmed betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment took his leave of the Emperor, and returned again to his Army at *Prusa*. Wherewith he now at his pleasure without resistance waisted and spoiled all *Bajazet* his Dominion in *Asia*, no man daring to make head against him.

The year being now well spent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* dispersed his Army into divers of the Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, expecting till when some of *Bajazet* his Sons or other Friends should make suit or means unto him for his deliverance, but none came; none fearing *Tamerlane* his heavy indignation, and other not less dreading the fierce Nature of *Bajazet* himself, who if he had been delivered, was like enough (as was thought) to have taken sharp revenge upon all them which forsook him in the late Battle; and therefore never made intercession for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day passing by him, said unto him, I marvel that none of thy Sons or Friends either come to see thee, or to intreat for thee, it must needs be that thou hast evilly deserved of them, as thou hast of others; yet how thinkest thou, if I should for thee at liberty, would they again receive thee as their Lord and Sovereign, or not? To whom *Bajazet* boldly answered, Were I at liberty, thou shouldst well see, how that I would neither Court nor means to revenge all my Wrongs and to make those disobedient and forgetful to know their Duties better. Which his proud answer, made *Tamerlane* to keep a straighter hand over him.

In this great and bloody War, wherein the *Osman* Empire had almost taken end, the Sultan of *Egypt* had (as is aforesaid) given aid unto

*Bajazet*; which *Tamerlane* took to be evil part, as that he relolved to be thereof revenged; for as he was unto his Friends of all others most kind and courteous, so was he to his Enemies most terrible and dreadful. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the lesser *Asia*, to take some good order with these his new Conquies; and finding nothing more honourable to refuse upon, he restored unto the poor Mahometan Princes (*Tachutin*, *Isfendiar*, *German*, and the rest before he led him for refuge) all their ancient Inheritance, with something more; as he did also divers Cities and Countries of *Natalia* unto the Greek Emperour, for the yearly Tribute of four hundred thousand Ducats of Gold, and eight hundred thousand Flocks of Silver, which the Emperor promised to pay unto him yearly. And so having enriched his Army with the Spoils of the *Osman* Empire in *Asia*, he turned his Forces against the Egyptian Sultan, and so passing through *Assyria*, entered into *Syria*, then part of the Sultan's Kingdom; where near unto *Aleppo* (being before yielded unto him) was fought betwixt them a great and mortal Battle, the Sultan having in his Army an hundred thousand Foot, and seventy four thousand Horse; whereof there were thirty thousand *Adamlukes*, account the Horse of Egypt and men in the World. In which Battle *Asalla* the great Captain, with the Vanguard of *Tamerlane* his Army, was hardly distressed, and *Asalla* himself taken; but forthwith again rescued by *Tamerlane*; who had he not by his coming on with new Forces, speedily restored the Battle, cunningly outbraced by *Asalla*, that was not enough to have made an end of his good Fortune. But the Victory after a long and cruel Fight (wherein were fourscore thousand men on both sides slain) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* pursuing him by the space of three Leagues. After which Victory, *Tamerlane* dividing his Army, sent *Asalla* with forty thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot to pursue the Sultan along the Coast of *Arabia*; who oftentimes shewed himself with some four thousand Horse to have hindered *Asalla*, who having the smallest Forces, followed him the nearest.

*Tamerlane* himself in the mean time, with three score thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot, marching along the Sea Coast, had all the Cities as he went yielded unto him; as *Magata*, *Aman*, otherwise called *Apamea*, *Torissae*, *Barrusa*, and *Nephthalin*; only the strong City of *Damascus* refused to receive him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamaden*, with a strong Garrison, who did what he might to have defended the same; But all in vain, for *Tamerlane* having by Battery overthrown a great part of the Wall, by Assault won the City, only the Castle yet remaining, as being of a wonderful Strength, and almost impregnable; whereinto such a multitude had at the taking of the City retired themselves, as was not possible there to live long; who in short time pinched with Hunger, and many of them dead, the rest upon safeguard of their Lives offered to yield; whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receive to mercy, to make them feel what it was to hold out against him; so that most of them dying of Famine, the rest yielded without Condition, and were for their Obstinacy almost all slain. With which Serenity towards them of *Damascus*, caused that thirty Leagues off they brought the Keys of their Cities unto him, in token of their Submission; whom he no way molested, more than in contributing unto the charge of his Army. From *Damascus*, he turned directly towards *Jerusalem*, at which time

*Tamerlane* comes to *Jerusalem*

A great part of the Sultan's of Egypt and *Tamerlane*.

*Damascus* taken by *Asalla*.

*Damascus* was by *Tamerlane*.

*Tamerlane* was now, then, towards *Cairo*.

time they of the City had driven out the Sultan's Garrison, as had almost all they of *Judea*, submitting themselves unto *Tamerlane*. At *Chebrasin* the Sultan had left six thousand men in Garrison for the defence of the place, who at the first seemed to stand upon their Guard; but afterwards dismayed to see so great an Army before it, and that *Tamerlane* having approached the Walls, was set down to have it, they submitted themselves and found mercy. In which City *Tamerlane* left certain of his men in Garrison for the better keeping of the *Mamelukes*, who with often incursions troubled his Army. So marching on, he himself with certain Horsemen for his Guard, rode to *Jerusalem* to visit the Sepulchre so much revered of all Nations, and there to make his Oblations; where he was of the Inhabitants joyfully received, and having sought out all the Antiquities of the ancient City, would be conducted unto all the places thereabouts, where Jesus Christ had preached, even as the Pilgrims do; and coming to the Sepulchre, gave thereunto, and the devout there, many rich and precious Gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to see him honour those holy places) but of the Jews only, who greatly blamed him for so doing; of whom of all others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accursed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered all his Forces, and being come into *Egypt*, was fortifying of his Cities, especially the great Cities of *Andria* and *Cairo*. *Tamerlane* his Army in the mean time by his commandment came towards *Egypt* to *Damiat*; which strong City he thought not good to leave behind him, although he was by some persuaded, as well in respect of the Castle, as of the strong Garrison that the Sultan had put therein; but he, whose Fortune nothing could hinder, would needs go thither; and so having commanded *Asalla* to set upon it, followed himself after with the rest of his Army. Now *Asalla* having summoned the City, and declared unto the Inhabitants (who were most of them Christians) the mildness and courtesie of *Tamerlane*, as also who himself was, and what Religion he held; causing many of the Greek Captains to speak unto them, and to tell them of the misery they endured under the *Mos* and *Mamelukes*; to be prevailed with them, that they all determined to adventure their Lives, to put the *Mamelukes* out of the City, with all them that favoured the Sultan. And so in the night taking up Arms, made themselves Masters of one quarter of the City, and delivered one of the Gates to *Asalla*; whereby he entering put all the *Mamelukes* to the sword, or took them Prisoners, and so gained the City. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet upon his march, was in good hope of so prosperous a beginning, to find an happy end of all his Designs in *Egypt*. For besides the good Fortune thereof, he knew that this Haven of *Damiat* might serve him with Victuals out of all the parts of *Greece*; as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promised him, and wherein he nothing failed him. Into which Port *Tamerlane* having made his entry, left there in Garrison two thousand of the Emperor *Emanuel* his Soldiers, with a Governor, of whom he took an Oath for their Obedience. So having staid a space at *Damiat*, he caused his Vanguard to march towards *Alexandria*; and having passed over the River, even in an instant turned directly unto *Cairo*, to the great astonishment of the Sultan, who made provision for the defence of *Alexandria*, as the nearest unto danger.

But understanding of these news, used such diligence, that he entered into the City with forty thousand Horse, and three score thousand Foot, even as *Tamerlane* his Army approached, purposing in Person himself to defend it. By whose coming the great City ready before he was revolted, was again in his obedience confirmed; to the great hindrance of *Tamerlane* his Affairs; for to remain long before it, was impossible, for so many Victuals for so great an Army in the Enemies Country. Yet notwithstanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbear to draw near unto it, and with all his Army to encamp near unto the same, having caused a great Trench to be made for to cover his Horsemen, and thereby to lodge his Army more safely; during which time he caused divers onsets to be given, as well to try what confidence the Enemy had in himself, as to see how the People of the City, especially the Slaves (which in that populous City are infinite) were affected towards him; who certainly informed him of the state of the City, and the Army; as glad to see the same by him shut up, and the proud *Mamelukes* fill put to the worst. But thus lying still at the Siege, one day he thought it good to shew his Army before the City, to try whether the Enemy had a desire to come to a day of Battle or not; as also to view what Forces he had, and so indeed to seek occasion to fight; in hope also, that if the Sultan came forth with all his Army into the Field, some revolt might happen within the City, as well by the Slaves (unto whom Liberty was him promised) as by the Citizens themselves (discontented with the infolency of the *Adamlukes* entered of late into the City with the Sultan) unto whom he had made it known by certain Slaves (for that purpose sent as Fugitives out of his Army into the City) how that he was not come to hurt them, but only for the destruction of the *Mamelukes*, both his and their Enemies. But betimes standing so in Battle array, no man came forth, neither was there any tumult or stir raised in the City, as he had expected. For the Sultan in so great a City well provided of all things, was resolved to weary him out with lying still, and not to put all to the hazard of a Battle. Which *Tamerlane* perceiving, and set down not to depart from thence, but victorious, resolved likewise to force him even in his greatest Strength, in the Heart of his greatest City; although it were not to be done, but with great adventure; such confidence he had in the Strength and Multitude of his Army. Now his purpose was, first to take one of the Cities (for *Cairo* is divided into three) and therein incamping himself by little and little to advance forward as he might, till fighting with the Enemy. Upon which resolution, he began his Footmen to be given, and having bidden his Footmen to give the onset (for the City was not walled, but only fortified with Ditches and Trenches) he commanded the Prince of *Thamais* with fifty thousand Footmen to begin the Assault, even in the performed, and the most valiantly fought Fight, *Asalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greatest Forces to the place where the Prince of *Thamais* fought to enter, as unto a place of greatest danger; set a compass about, and upon another quarter of the City, with final resistance passed the Trenches; where he presently left thirty thousand men to fill up the Ditches, and to make way for the Horsemen to enter; advancing forward himself, against twenty thousand

*Cairo* besieged by *Tamerlane*.

*Cairo* relieved by *Tamerlane*.

sent by the Sultan to have stopp'd his further passage; the Prince of *Thanaus* being at that time almost beaten back by the *Mamelukes*. But the way being made plain, by them that were for that purpose left by *Asalla*, and ten thousand Horse entered, which charged upon the Backs of the *Mamelukes*, where the Sultan himself was; and they seconded by ten thousand more sent in by *Tamerlane*, following himself at the Head of his Strength, which he had made in the next City. The Fight endured full the space of seven hours; wherein were slain of the Sultan his men above sixteen thousand; and of *Tamerlane* betwixt seven and eight thousand. Who contented to have dislodged the Enemy, and gained a third part of the City, caused a Retreat to be founded in hope the next day to win all the rest, as indeed he did. For the Prince of *Thanaus* the next day forcing the Enemies Trenches in one place, and *Asalla* in another, the Sultan after a great Fight finding himself hardly pressed by the obstinate Enemy, and too weak long to hold out, retired, and forthwith abandoned the City, and encamped himself along the side of the River *Nilus*, with purpose to pals the Tame, and to flee to *Alexandria* his second Strength and Refuge. Which *Tamerlane* suspecting, followed after him with his Horsemen (who only were in order), and when their Heliots were in spilling; so as he was glad to promise them especially, to regard and reward their good service. Against whom the Sultan upon a narrow Causeway, had opposed twelve or fifteen thousand men, whom he called his Slaves (to favour his passage) but were in fact dead his best Soldiers, and flood fast, the place forcing greatly for their advantage; who for at that length forced by their Enemies, still increasing upon them, (though not without great loss) cast themselves into the great River, and made a most honourable Retreat; every man having his Weapon in the one Hand, and some mingling with the other to the further Bank. The Sultan flying with some eighteen thousand Horse (for the rest were sundry waies fled or dispersed) is reported in his Flight to have comforted his men, by telling of them, that they were not men that had vanquished them, but that they were men that had great Wisdom, Force, and appeared in them to be great Warriors, and Valour; divers of the *Mamelukes* taken in the late Fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteously used, were of him demanded, if they could be content to serve him, now that their Master was fled and gone? which they all utterly refused; where notwithstanding for their Fidelity, *Tamerlane* gave them liberty to go again to their Sultan; as no less desirous to be admired of his Enemies for his Bounty and Courtesy, than feared for his Force and Valour. The wonderful Wealth of this great and famous City became a Prey unto his Soldiers; who for the space of four and twenty hours had the Spoil thereof, every man being then by open Proclamation commanded to repair to his Quarter. The Citizens he let at liberty, not suffering any of them to be taken Prisoners; and to leaving ten thousand good Soldiers, with a great number of others (whereof he carried a great multitude in his Army, planting every where as he passed as if they were new Colonies) and carrying away from him such of the Inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things necessary for the keeping of such a City, he caused his Army to pass over the River for to follow the Sultan to *Alexandria*, to the end not to leave his Victory unperpetrated; *Asalla* having before with

the Avantgard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his Forces again together, and the rest of his Army conducted by the Prince of *Thanaus*; he himself with an infinite number of Boats and Soldiers to attend upon him, going by Water, taking great pleasure to behold the fair River, and his swift course sometimes; and in an instant to become so calm as if it scarce moved. The Citizens of *Alexandria* hearing of his coming, and fearing what might betide them, besought the Sultan to have compassion of their Estate, and to withdraw himself into *Lybia*, whither *Tamerlane* for the Barrenness of the Country could not with any great Power follow him; resolved for their parts to give place unto Fortune, and to do as the time required, and no more to resist so great a force, whereof they had already made sufficient trial; promising yet to remain in Heart till his, and upon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appear. Whereupon the Sultan seeing all things desperate, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring some change; as also that *Tamerlane* his populous Army would not long remain there. And so departing out of *Alexandria* with tears standing in his Eyes, offending his People, and was angry with him and his People, and that he must of necessity suffer the fatal overthrow of his Estate, himself having done as much as in him lay, according to his Charge and the Expectation the World had of him; and yet that he hoped at length to return again, and deliver his People from the Bondage, whereunto they must now needs submit themselves. *Tamerlane* coming to *Alexandria* (before yielded to *Asalla*) there staid a great while, sending *Asalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieved that he could not get him into his Hands; and therefore still fearing some innovation to be by him raised, which caused him to deal the more hardly with them whom he suspected to favour him. Now the bruit of these Victories having with *Asalla* passed beyond *Alexandria* into *Lybia*, had brought such a fear, not only upon the People adjoining unto these Conquests, but also upon all *Africa* (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twenty of the Moor Kings sent their Embassadors unto him, to offer unto him their Obedience; the Sultan as a man forsaken of Fortune, still flying before him. Of the nearest of which Kings *Tamerlane* took Hottages; as for the other farther off, he contented himself with their Faith given, and with the other outward signs of their good Wills.

Now after this long travel and pains taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than he had before used, to see the pleasures of his own Native Country; the rather thereunto moved by the request of his Wife, then longing for his return; and the News he heard of the Sickness of the old Turkish Emperor his Father-in-Law; besides that, Age it self began to bring unto him a desire of rest; with whom also, the desires of his Soldiers well agreed, as men now weary to have run so many and divers Fortunes. The only stay was, that he expected for the coming of *Calicut*, an old and faithful Servant of his, whom he for his good desert had of his own accord appointed Governor of all his new Conquests in *Egypt* and *Syria*; a great Honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had so well deserved. So mindful was he of the good desert of his faithful Servants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance,

The Sultan then from Alexandria.

Tamerlane then from Syria into his country.

The miserable death of Bajazet.

brance, were they never so far off, as was now *Calicut*, who at this time was with the third part of his Army making way for him along the great River *Euphrates*, for the Conquest of *Mesopotamia*, and *Perfia*; whose coming was now with great devotion looked for of the whole Army, desirous to return. Which their expectation he long delayed not, but being sent for, came to *Alexandria*, whither the whole Army was now by the commandment of *Tamerlane* again assembled. Upon whose coming, *Tamerlane* departed from *Alexandria*, having there left the Prince *Zamalek* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand Horsemen, and six thousand Foot, as Governor of that place, and Lieutenant General under *Calicut*; whom *Tamerlane* (as I have said) had now appointed to command over all *Egypt* and *Syria*, together with the Countries newly conquered in *Lybia* and *Barbary*; and now conducting him unto the great City of *Cairo*, and there taking the best order he could for the preservation of his new Conquest, left him with forty thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot. And so having sufficiently instructed him how he would have those Kingdoms governed, dismissed him, not like a Master, but as a Companion, seeming very sorry to leave him destitute of his presence. So setting forward with his Army, conducted by the Prince of *Thanaus*, *Tamerlane* himself, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside unto *Jerusalem*; Where he remained eleven days, daily visiting the Sepulchre of Christ Jesus (whom he called the God of the Christians) and the ruins of *Solomon* his Temple; much wondering thereat, and at *Jerusalem*, the Seat of *David* Kingdom, and of that great *Solomon*; but grieved that he could not see them fully in their former Beauty. He only despoiled the Jews, which had committed so cruel a Murder against him that came to save them. And to show his devotion towards the Holy City, commanded it to be free from all Subsidies and Garrisons of men of War; and gave great Gifts unto the Monasteries, and honoured them so long as he remained there. Departing from *Jerusalem*, he came to *Damascus*; which great City, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Jesides* (accounted an arch Heretic among the *Mahometans*) as also evil affected to his proceedings, he caused to be rased, and the Bones of *Jesides* the false Prophet to be digged up and burnt, and his Grave before much honoured, in despite to be filled with Dung. So marching on, and blasting the World before him as he went (for long it were and from our purpose, to recount all his Victories) he passed over the River *Euphrates*, and having conquered *Mesopotamia*, with the great City of *Babylon*, and all the Kingdoms of *Perfia*, laden with the Spoil of the World, and extorized for ever, he returned at length to *Samarand*, the famous place of his Birth, and glorious Seat of his Empire.

Now had *Bajazet* (but a little before one of the greatest Princes on Earth, and now the scorn of Fortune, and a By-word to the World) with great with patience lain two years in most miserable Thraldom, for most part shut up in an Iron Cage, as some dangerous Wild Beast; and having no better means to end his loath'd Life, did violently beat out his Brains against the Bars of the Iron Grate wherein he was inclosed, and so died about the year of our Lord 1399. Yet of his Death are divers other Reports; some saying, that he died of

an Ague, proceeding of Sorrow and Grief; others, that he poisoned himself; and the Turks affirming, that he was set at Liberty by *Tamerlane*, being by him before-hand poisoned, whereof he dyed three days after he was inclosed (a Report not like to be true); but howsoever it was, his end appeareth to have been right miserable. His dead Body at the request of his Son *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* sent to *Aspraphia*, from whence it was afterwards conveyed to *Prusa*, and there lieth buried in a Chapel near unto the great *Mahometan* Temple without the City Eastward; where also lieth his beloved Wife *Deflane*, with his eldest Son *Ertogrul*. And lastly in a little Chapel lieth buried his Brother *Tacup*, whom he in the beginning of his Reign murdered.

These two great and mighty Princes, *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, (both of them whilst they lived, a burthen to the World) as they took their beginning from the *Scythians* or *Tartars*, so were they of like honourable Progenitors descended; *Bajazet* being the fourth in descent from the Warlike *Osman*, the raiser of his Family; and *Tamerlane* in like degrees from the great *Zingis*, the first and most fortunate Leader of the *Tartars* (his Countrymen) unto the pleasures of the East; both Princes of great Power and like Spirit; wild, hardy, painful, resolute, and most skillful in Martial Affairs; but ambitious above measure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raised, to the astonishment of the World. Howbeit, the great Vertues and other the honourable qualities of *Bajazet*, were in him by his choleick and warlike Nature much obscured; which made him to exceed both in Cruelty and Pride; being also much more hand-fast than were his honourable Predecessors. For which causes he was much feared and less beloved of his Soldiers and Men of War in general, and of them at his most need forsaken; He used commonly to say, That his Treasures were his Childrens Meat, and not his Soldiers Pay; which by way of reproach was a Common Soldier cast in his Teeth, when he rag'd to see himself by them forsaken in the great Battle against *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ran not away, but went to seek his Pay, wherewith to provide his Children Bread. Whereas all the aforesaid Vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with divers other of like Nature, no man being to his Friends more courteous or kind, either unto his Enemies more dreadful or terrible. The good service of his Servants he never forgot, either left the same long unrewarded; being thereof so mindful, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalf, to be put in remembrance thereof; having always by him a Catalogue both of their Names and good Deserts, which he daily perused. Oftentimes saying that day to be lost, wherein he had not given them something; and yet never bestowing his Preferences on such as ambitiously sought the fame (as deeming them in so doing unworthy thereof) but upon such as whose Modesty or Deserts he thought worthy those his great Favours; so tempering the Severity of his Commands with the Greatness of his Bounty, as that it is hard to say, whether he was of his Nobility and Men of War, for the one more feared, or for the other beloved; both of the greatest of Princes States; Fear keeping the Obstinat in Obedience and Love, the Dutiful in Devotion. But with

A comparison between Bajazet and Tamerlane.

with Bajazet it was not so, who deeming all done for him but Duty, and by Nature cholerick and proud (after the manner of Tyrants) desired above all to be of his Subjects feared, not much regarding how little he was of them beloved; not the least cause of his great fall and misery, and that therein he was of his own so finally regarded; wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great Conqueror his Enemy, having ever since in the lineal descent of himself, had one of the greatest Monarchs of the World to succeed still in his Kingdom and Empire; as he hath even at this day. Whereas the glory of *Tamerlane* his Empire, even in his own time grown to the height thereof, and labouring with the

greatness of it self, and by him divided amongst his Sons, shortly after his death decayed, rent in sunder by Ambition and Civil Difcord; and not long after, together with his Posterity, rooted out by *Uzun-Casim* the *Perfian* King, to the World's wonder, took end; nothing of the huge greatness thereof now or since then remaining, more than the fame thereof; as doth also the misery of the other so brought low. But leaving this mirror of mishap (*Bajazet*) unto his rest, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in *Samarcand*; let us now proceed in the course of our History, yet not forgetting by the way to remember such Christian Princes as then lived together with these two great Monarchs.

Bajazet  
is his  
first name  
Tamerlane.

		Of the East	Emanuel Paleologus.	1387. 301
Christian Princes of the same time with Ba- jazet the First.	Emperors	Of the West	Wenceslaus, Son to Charles King of Bohemia.	1378. 221
			Rupertus Duke of Bavaria.	1400. 10.
	Of England	Richard the Second. Henry the Fourth.		1377. 231
				1399. 12.
	Of France	Charles the Sixth, surnamed, The wellbeloved.		1381. 421
	Of Scotland	John Stuart, otherwise called Robert the Third.		1390. 164
	Bishops of Rome	Urban the VI. Boniface the IX.		1380. 111
				1390. 141



The LIFE of

# MAHOMET,

The First of that NAME,

## Fifth King of the Turks,

And RESTORER of their fore shaken Kingdom.



*Vindicibus Mahomet patrium sibi vindicat armis  
Imperium, et fractas feruidus augeat opes.  
Quod patri abstulerat violentia Tamberlani,  
Imperio reddidit Marte favente suo.  
Ille sagittiferosque Dacos, validosque Triballes  
Contudit, et populos iter amane tuos.  
Turcica sic rursus sublata potentia stragem  
Attulit imperio. Romule magne tuo.*

*His Fathers Throne by chance, of War impair'd,  
Bold Mahomet, with gallantry repair'd,  
That from the Father Tamberlane had won:  
Was wrested from him by the valiant Sonne.  
The Davians, and the Servians strength he broke,  
And thou (fair iter) feltst the dreadfull Stroke:  
Prosperity to the Turkish State is come,  
And now great Romulus attend thy doom.*

*Divers  
opinions  
concerning  
the Succession  
of Bajazet.*

**H**ow wonderfully the Turkish Kingdom was by the Violence of *Tamerlane* shaken, and the Majesty thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Histories of that time, as well those of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the Successors of *Bajazet*, their late unfortunate King. Some writing, that he had two Sons, *Orchanes* (otherwise called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*; and that *Calepinus* in the second year of his Reign was slain, and his Kingdom possessed by *Mahomet* his Brother. Others reporting, that *Bajazet* had two Sons, namely, *Calepinus* and *Musapha*; and that *Calepinus* succeeding his Father in the Turkish Kingdom, when he had reigned six years, died, leaving behind him two Sons *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*; and that *Orchanes* being young, was slain by his Uncle; whom *Mahomet* in revenge of his Brothers death, afterwards slew, and possessed the Kingdom himself. Others reckon up seven Sons of *Bajazet*: *Jofua*, *Musulmanes*, *Mafes*, *Calepinus*, *Jofua* the younger, *Musapha* and *Halas*; with an uncertain Succession amongst them also. This diversity of Opinions, full of no less uncertainty; as I mean not to follow in report of this History, so will I not spend any time in refuting the same, although much might be said in the matter, but leave these Reports, together with the History following, to such credit as they shall hap to find with the considerate Readers.

The Greek Historiographers (best like to know the Turkish Succession, as well by reason of their nearness, as in that they were by them as their bad Neighbours, so much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Historie Musulmana Turcorum*, diligently gathered out of the Turks own Histories by *Jo. Leunclavius* (a learned Physitian, and himself a great Traveller amongst them, and therefore deserving the more credit) do not so much as name the Succession of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the Captivity of *Bajazet*, but rejecteth them both as Counterfeits. But in my opinion (without prejudice to any, that upon better reason may deem otherwise) the great confusion of the Turkish Kingdom, in short time wrought by the mighty *Tamerlane* and his *Tartars*, with the civil Discord and War afterwards arising among the Sons of *Bajazet*, striving all as it were at once, for the restless room of Sovereignty, which suffereth no Partners; and every one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand upon some one part or other thereof, and bearing himself therein for a time as King, in Countries so far distant; never

leaving, until they had like the Earth-born Brethren, wrought one anothers destruction; might give just occasion of such diversity of Reports as is before spoken of, concerning the Succession of that time, in that troubled and rent Kingdom; some reckoning one, some another; and some, such as never were, to have succeeded in the Government, and so truly augmenting the number of the Turkish Kings. Wherefore leaving *Calepinus* and *Orchanes* unto them that first found them, with that little, which without any good ground and less probability is written of their supposed Reigns; I (following the authority of the Turkish History) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the youngest Sons of *Bajazet* (of whom we are now to treat) Fifth King of the Turks; who after great and dangerous Wars as well against his own Brethren, as his foreign Enemies; was at length solely invested in the Turkish Kingdom, about ten years after the Captivity of his Father *Bajazet*, as shall hereafter be declared.

*Bajazet* after the manner of the Turkish Kings, having laid up the hope of his Pottery in the common Treasure-house of Nature, rather than in the body of one lawful Wife, had by divers Wives and Concubins seven Sons, *Ertoghul*, otherwise called *Orkhanides*, *Emur-Solyman*, *Musapha-Zelebi*, (that is to say, the Noble) *Jofa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Cafan-Zelebi*. Of whom *Ertoghul* the eldest was lost in the Wars against *Caf* *Burchanden*, as is before said in the life of *Bajazet*. *Musapha* was slain in the great battle against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the Bed of Fame. *Cafan* the youngest was a Child in *Bajazet*'s Court, when his Father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* delivered as Hostages, by their Brother *Solyman*, unto *Emanuel* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, where they both happily became Christians, and so shortly after died.

*Solyman* was by *Alius Bassa* President of *Bajazet* his Council, and other great Captains, conveyed out of the battle against *Tamerlane*, into *Europe*, and so by them at *Hadrinople* saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battle to *Amasia* in *Capadocia*, where he was in his Fathers time Governor. *Jofa* hearing of his Fathers Captivity, after the departing of *Tamerlane* with his *Tartars*, settled upon *Prusa* a City of *Bithynia*, the ancient Seat of the Turkish Kings, with the Country adjoining, and there reigned as King. *Musapha-Zelebi* was taken Prisoner with *Bajazet* his Father, and afterwards fed at liberty by *Tamerlane*. But of their Fortunes more shall be said in this History following.

*Mahomet*

Mahomet  
General  
of Armia.

Mahomet was but fifteen years old when his Father Bajazet in the unfortunate battle of Mount Stella was taken Prisoner, and was at the same time by his appointment Governor of Amasia, with a great part of *Capadocia* adjoining; which places became so troublesome after the great Victory of *Tamurlane*, that the Turks in that Country were glad day and night for the favour of themselves, their Wives, and Children, to keep continual Watch and Ward; inasmuch that many of them wearied with those Troubles, and desiring of better Times, went into voluntary Exile, because they were not free from Grievances; which thing much grieved young *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling unto him his most faithful Counsellors, to consult what course to take in the midst of so many dangers, it was by general consent thought best (for so much as they could not without apparent danger continue near unto *Tamurlane's* Forces), to get themselves further off into places of more strength, and from thence to expect the departure of their Enemies, and in the mean time to content themselves with such advantages as occasion and chance of War might minister; cutting them thence by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain Field, and so by little and little to weaken or weary their mighty Enemies. For albeit that *Tamurlane* himself was not near him, as then lying in *Caria*; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious Army, at their pleasure spoil and forage the Countries far and near all over the lesser *Asia*. Upon this Resolution he with all his Forces departed from *Amasia*, to *Dady* in *Phrygia*; where by reason he was incommode with *Caria Fabia* a young King-friend to the Prince *Lisandrus* of *Cassimonia*, his Enemy; whom he put to flight with great slaughter of his Men. This was the beginning of *Mahomet's* good Fortune. From thence he went to *Kereken*, and there staying certain days, sent a Spy into *Tamurlane's* Camp, to see how all things went there; and afterwards entered again into their Council with his Captains, concerning his further proceedings. In which Consultation some were of opinion, That it was best for him to withdraw himself into the Mountains of the lesser *Asia*, as a place of good safety, until the departure of *Tamurlane*, which was shortly hoped for; for that it was not to be thought that *Tamurlane* would with his huge Army pursue him in that Mountain-Country, lying from Hill to Hill, and as it were from strength to strength. Others better advised, thought those Mountains to be no places to trust unto, and therefore that it were more honourable, and as free from danger, for him to return again to *Amasia*, thence to live amongst his Subjects, proceeding then in their sort as he might, and not to leave them to a prey to every stragling Company of the rude *Tartarians*; which counsel he followed, as most reasonable; and being ready to set forward, the Spy returned by him sent into *Tamurlane's* Camp, returned, certifying him that he had seen his Father *Bajazet* in good health in the *Tartars* Camp, but could not by any means speak with him, by reason of the straight Guard set over him; and that all that part of *Asia* was by *Tamurlane* possessed, who then with his Army wintered in *Caria* and *Licia*; whereupon *Mahomet* returned back again into *Amasia*; where he had not long fled, but that News was brought unto him, That one of the *Tartarian* Princes called *Caru Dulet* (which is to say, the fortunate black King) was with an Army of twenty thousand coming to spoil his Country, being given him by *Tamurlane*. With which News he was ex-

ceedingly troubled; wherefore with all speed calling together his Forces for the safeguard of his Country, sent before a Spy to discover the Enemies' doings. This diligent Spy returning in all haste, told *Mahomet*, That *Caru Dulet* lay at the Town of *Asigul* in *Galaria*, in great security, having about him but a small Force; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time dispersed his Army, to seek after Pillage abroad in the Country. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunity, marched thither with great celerity, and suddenly setting upon *Caru Dulet*, overcame him. In which conflict *Caru Dulet* himself was thro' through the Heart with an Arrow and slain, and his Army utterly discomfited. *Mahomet* returning back to *Amasia* with Victory, refreshed and rewarded his Souldiers, yet no less careful for the safety of his Kingdom than before.

Shortly after, he was advertised that *Cubad Oglu* with a great Army laid siege to the City of *Cesaria* in *Capadocia*, and was like in short time to take it, if it were not speedily relieved. By taking of which City, that *Tartar* Prince was like to make a great Entrance, to the hazzarding of the whole Country. Wherefore *Mahomet* having his Army always in readiness, marched day and night with such speed to *Cesaria*, as that he was upon *Cubad Oglu* before he was aware of his coming, and there flew most of his Souldiers, and put him with the rest to flight. After that, he returned into *Cubad Oglu's* his Country in *Pontus*, and grievously spoiled and destroyed the same; at which time he also by force won the strong Castle *Pelie* in the Confines of *Phrygia*.

Immediately after that, *Inal Oglu* another of *Tamurlane's* Captains (which at their pleasure without let foraged all the Countries of the lesser *Asia*, during the time that *Tamurlane* made his abode within the Turks Dominions) upon the sudden entered into *Capadocia* with an Army of twenty thousand fighting men, killing the Inhabitants, and spoiling the Country before him; so that the people for fear left their dwellings, and fled into the Woods and Mountains to hide themselves from his fury. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieved, and wrote unto him as followeth:

Sultan Mahomet, unto the Prince Inal Oglu.

Whereas without any just or lawful Cause, or any War proclaimed, you have invaded our Kingdom, and cease not cruelly to kill our Subjects, to spoil our Cities; but Pretending a name to live Wealth and Labours, to the great disturbance of the Mahometan Commonwealth; and make no end of your malice and cruelty; you do therein quite differ from the Manners and Laws of the true Mahometans, or right Believers. For if thou wouldst not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Muslim-man, thou shouldst forthwith depart out of my Kingdom with some Army; then shouldst thou immediately return, or without cause thus wrong my people; but forasmuch as thou knowest not what belongeth thee, neither wilt listen unto good Counsel, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpose, falsely persuading thyself, that my Kingdom to be despoiled of a lawful Inhabitant, and therefore dost I great Wrong and Injury unto the Defenders of true Religion; I would thou shouldst know, that I with my so often Victorious Army will shortly by the Power of God come against thee, and in plain Field, according to thy desert, chastise thee. Therefore whilst thou art maist, reclaim thy Self, and proceed not too far in thine obstinacy.

Caru Dulet slain.

Inal Oglu his answer to Mahomet.

obstinacy; too late Repentance did never man yet good. Thus much We thought good to advise thee, that thou shouldst not be ignorant of Our purpose, but mightest so better consider and dispose both of thy self and thine affairs. In the year after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Unto which Letters Inal Oglu returned this Answer in writing:

Prince Inal Oglu, to Mahomet.

Why dost thou Mahomet with such Letters threaten me, being thy self but a Boy, and in truth a very Child? It belongeth thee not to have entered into these Countries, or to lay hands thereon, wrongfully grasping thyself with the Title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cause why thou shouldst complain, that I should be in wait or seek after thy Life, thy Kingdom, or any thing that thou art. I challenge unto my self this Kingdom, but none of thine, one of which is it reason for thee, as a wrongful intruder of thy self, to depart; whom otherwise I will forthwith thrust out, and join the same unto the rest of my Territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and cease to oppose thyself against my designs, I denounce unto thee all the Cruelties of War, and with thee will proceed to prepare thy self to battle, for that I mean shortly to meet with thee. This year of our great Prophet, 806.

Inal Oglu ever thrown by Mahomet.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promise meeting with this *Tartar* Prince, by plain force overthrew him, and had of him a notable Victory.

The like good hap he had also not long after, against *Coslu Oglu* and *Kusku Oglu*, two other *Tartarian* Captains, at the Battle of *Cheba-chisar* and the Plain of *Aruck-Oza*. And hearing that one *Majlus* a Turk, had fortified himself in the Ruins of *Schafnia*, and from thence spoiled the Country round about, he sent *Bajazet* one of his Baffians against him; who in short time took him and brought him bound unto him; by whom he was adjudged to die. But seeing in the man an invincible courage, and contempt of death at such time as he should have been executed, moved thereon he gave him his pardon, for which he ever after continued unto him faithful, and did him great Service.

*Mahomet* having many times thus vanquished the stragling *Tartarian* Princes, which had fought the spoil of his Country, became thereby famous amongst the great Commanders of *Tamurlane's* Army; inasmuch that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamurlane's* Ear, yet lying in the lesser *Asia*; who as he thought it not worth his Greatness and Labour, himself in Person to go against so great an Enemy; so he thought it not good or convenient quite to neglect him, but by some other means (if he could) to overcome him. For which purpose he began to name many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valour and forwardness in so tender years. And calling for *Bajazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his Son *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore very desirous to see him; where if he found that true which was reported of his great Vertues, he would bestow one of his Daughters upon him in Marriage, with many other great Preferences; and therefore willed *Bajazet* to write unto him, Nor to doubt to come unto him, to the great good both of himself and his Father. Which thing *Bajazet* at the first doubting the

worth, requested *Tamurlane* not to believe that of his Son, being yet so young, and not worthy of so great a Favour. Nevertheless partly perwaded by *Tamurlane's* Protestsations, and importuned by him that might now command him; he with an evil will wrote to his Son *Mahomet* to such effect as *Tamurlane* required. With which Letters, and letters of like purport from himself, with many rich Presents, *Tamurlane* sent *Hozza Mahomet* (one of his secret Counsellors) Embassador to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honourably received, and likewise entertained. But having read the aforesaid Letters, and thereby understood the cause of his coming, he entered into Council with the great Baffians about him, whether he were left to go to *Tamurlane* or not. Where his Counsellors were all clear of one Opinion, that it was not good for him to adventure his Person to the danger of such a Journey, or the mercy of so mighty an Enemy, of whose Faith he had no assurance. And if he (said they) should go, the thing which will by force seek to have you, we at his coming will take the refuge of the Woods and Mountains, and there shroud our selves until he be departed again; for that he with his huge Army cannot here long stay in this bare Country, for want of Necessaries. Nevertheless *Mahomet* hoping that his Journey might be to the good of his Father, and his own Advancement; contrary to the mind of all his Counsellors, resolved to go; and so having prepared all things needfull for the honour and safety of his Journey, set forward. But as he was upon the way in the Matches of *Pontus*, *Caru Fabia* whom he had before overthrown, by the hearing of his coming that way, thinking now to be revenged, and having got unto some of the Prince *Lisandrus's* Forces, set upon him by the way; but with as evil Success as before, most of his Men being there by *Mahomet* slain, and himself glad shamefully to fly. So travelling on further, he understood that *Alu Beg*, a great Lord in those Countries, went about to intercept him also; which caused him in such haste to go on, that he was upon *Alu* before he was aware of his coming, or well provided for him; so that for fear he was glad to betake himself to flight. *Mahomet* considering the danger he had escaped in that Journey, and that he was now come to *Tamurlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamurlane's* knowledge; by the advice of his grave and faithful Counsellors, resolved to go no further. Wherefore calling unto him *Tamurlane's* Embassador, he thus spake unto him:

You see the Dangers and Injuries I endure in this Journey, and my mind forbiddeth greater to ensue; for which cause I pray not you any further, but here return: Commend me therefore I pray you unto the most mighty *Tamurlane*, with my Father; and tell them what dangers have happened unto me upon the way, which considered, I hope they will have me excused. For which purpose I will also send in your company an Embassador of mine own.

*Mahomet* at that time had with him a grave, wife, and learned Man, called *Sophis Bajazet*, sometime his School-Master; whom he sent Embassador to *Tamurlane* and his Father, to have him unto them both excused; and so departed he homewards, leaving the way he came (for fear of further danger) and they towards *Tamurlane*, who honourably received *Mahomet's* Embassador and Letters. But taking pleasure in the man sent unto him, gave him honourable Entertainment, but would never after suffer him to return again unto his Master.

Mahomet  
sent to  
visit into  
Tartary  
Tame  
lane his  
Camp.

Mahomet  
but Speech  
to Tamer-  
lanes Em-  
bassador.

The great  
Tamerlane  
conquered  
Egypt.

It was not long after, but that old Bajazet died of impatience (as is aforesaid) whose dead body Tamerlane left at *Arpops*, with the Prince *Germes*, to be delivered unto his Son *Mahomet*; with *Adia* his elder Brother (who all this while had been kept Prisoner with Tamerlane) if *Mahomet* should require them. And to the mighty Prince Tamerlane, after he had long time waited *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, with the most part of the lesser *Asia*; and conquered all *Syria*, *Judea*, *Egypt*, and *Perth*, with many other great Countries and Provinces, returned at last into his own Kingdom, unto the great City of *Samarand*, which he wonderfully enlarged, and beautified with the Spoils of a great part of the World, before him waited; where he afterwards in great Peace and Glory reigned, no less honoured than feared of all the Princes of the East. To the terror of whom, and for the affuring of his Estate, he kept always a standing Army of forty thousand Horse, and threecore thousand Foot ready at all places; beside other his great Garrisons which he kept in *Syria*, *Egypt*, *China*, and *Cambrala*; as also against the *Moscovites*, and *Turks*, being commonly in every place threecore thousand strong, though not still in field, but as occasion required. Until that at length hearing of the rising again of the Turkish Kingdom, under the Ottoman Princes, the Sons of *Bajazet*, with whom the oppressed *Mamelukes* of *Egypt*, and the Greek Emperors (and doubtless of *Asia*) had now also for fear of him combined themselves; he by the persuation of *Asalla* (then General of his Imperial Army) made great preparation for a second Expedition to be made for the utter rooting out of the Ottoman Family, and the Conquest of the Greek Empire. But having now all things in readiness, and also given a good beginning unto these his intended Conquests, (one of the great Turks Baffles being by *Asalla* his Lieutenant in a great battle overthrow, and thirty thousand of the Turks slain) he in the midst of these his great hopes, as also of his greatest Power, died of an Ague the 27th day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, 1402. A little before whose death, appeared a great and terrible Blazing-Star, portending as it were to the World the death of so great a Prince. He was a man of a middle stature, somewhat narrow in the shoulders, otherwise well limbed, and of a great strength. In his eyes shone such a rare Majesty, as a man could hardly endure to behold them without clotting of his own; and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumb; which caused him oftentimes with a comely modesty to abstain from looking too earnestly, such as spake such a him, or discomfited with him. All the rest of his Village was amiable and well proportioned; he had but little hair on his Chin; and wore the hair of his Head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the *Tartars*, who have their Heads, having the face always covered; whereas he contrariwise was for the most part bare headed, commanding his Son also to be so by his Tutors brought up; his hair was of a dark colour; somewhat drawing toward a Violet, right beautiful to behold; which his Mother coming of the Race of *Sampson* (as he gave it out) willed him to nourish, in token of his descent; the cause that made him to be so much respected of his Men of War; most part of them believing that in those hairs was some rare virtue, or rather some fatal destiny; an old practise of many great Commanders of former Ages, to fill the heads of their Soldiers with some strange Opinion conceived of them, to be the

The death  
of Tamerlane.

The description  
of Tamerlane.

more of them honoured; as if in them had been some one thing or other more than in other men.

This great Empire by himself divided betwixt his Sons, was by their discord, and the ambition of some of their disloyal Subjects, in short time after brought to great confusion, and his Posterity utterly rooted out by *Ufyn-Cajames*, the *Armenian* Prince, as in the process of this History may appear. But to return again to our purpose; *Mahomet* delivered of his greatest fear, by the departure of Tamerlane out of those Countries, determined to go to *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, where his Brother *Ila* as then reigned; but understanding that *Ila* had before taken the Straits whereby he should pass the Mount *Horminus*, he took another way about, and came to *Pado-Caffas*, where the valiant Captain *Eimelech Sub-bajazet* then remained; who with all honour and gladness received him, and there for certain days refreshed both him and his Army. Afterwards greater Forces still repairing unto him, he marched thence to *Ulakad*, called in ancient time *Lopadum*. Of whose coming *Ila* before understanding, and having assembled his Army, marched thither also, and encamped on the other side of the Town towards *Prusa*, ready to give him battle. But *Mahomet* seeing his Brother so forward, consulted with his Captains what were best to be done; where *Eimelech Sub-bajazet* a man of great experience, and of late one of his great Councilors and Captains, told him, That it was not for their Honours, being Brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others blood; but to assay if the quarrel might by some other good means be compased, and they made Friends. For which purpose, *Mahomet* presently sent Letters unto his Brother *Ila*, concerning the partition of their Fathers Kingdom in *Asia* betwixt them: offering unto him the Provinces of *Adidia*, *Saruchania*, *Germania*, *Charsia*, *Choramania*, with other Countries to them belonging; so that he might have *Prusa* with all other Provinces about the same. Which Letters, when *Ila* had read, and saw that *Mahomet* offered him but Titles for Kingdoms, and such Countries as were rather sometimes Tributaries unto their Father *Bajazet*, than any part of his Kingdom, and now of late by Tamerlane again reformed unto their ancient Liberty and Governors, shaming out the best and strongest part thereof unto himself, he brake forth into choler and said:

What, dost my Fathers Kingdom of right belong unto me being the elder Brother? *Mahomet* is yet of *Ila* but a Youth, and scarce exempt out of the swill; by what right then can he claim my Fathers Kingdom as his Inheritance? If he can by the Sword win it, let him take it, and so hold it.

*Mahomet* having received his Answer, prepared himself to the field, where his Brother as ready as himself stood expecting his coming; and having first Army in order of battle, gave the first Charge; which was the beginning of a most cruel and bloody fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtful Battles, many were on both sides slain. At last the fortune of *Mahomet* prevailing, *Ila* his Army began to retire; which he seeing, left nothing undone for the encouraging of his fainting Soldiers, which belonged to a poltroon General, or valiant Slave to do so; but pressing into the thickets of his Enemies there with his own hand flew the ancient and valiant Captain *Eimelech Sub-bajazet*, who had many times been General of the Footmen in old *Bajazet* his Wars. But what prevaileth courage against evil fortune? *Ila* must either fly or die. And therefore having done what he could in so desperate

Mahomet  
gave a  
gainst his  
brother.

The body of  
Bajazet  
honourably  
buried at  
Prusa.

desperate a case, being himself on every side forsaken, in the end was glad himself to fly to the Sea-side; where finding a Ship ready bound for *Constantinople*, he passed over thither in safety, and there yielded himself unto the Protection of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*. In this chafe *Mahomet* his Soldiers took the valiant Captain *Temurais* Prisoner, another of *Bajazet* his great Commanders, and brought him to his great Brother *Mahomet*; who in revenge of the death of *Eimelech*, commanded his Head presently to be smitten off, and his Body to be hanged upon a Tree by the High-way side. Of this Victory, *Mahomet* certified his Brother *Solyman* at *Hadrinople*, and in token thereof sent him many of his Head. This battle was much spoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two Brethren; and also for the death of the two famous and old Captains *Eimelech* and *Temurais*, who both together as loving Friends had fortunately fought many great battles under *Bajazet* his Ensigns; and now as it were by predestiny, and against their wills, without any private grudge, were both drawn into contrary Factions and slain; both whilst they lived withing a good Peace betwixt the ambitious Brethren. But as the Turks like to say, What is by God written in a mans forehead before his Birth, cannot in his life be avoided.

After this Victory, *Mahomet* thinking himself now in full possession of all his Fathers Dominions in *Asia*, led his Army to *Prusa*, where he was of the Citizens joyfully received as their Sultan; and for his great bounty, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to *Nice*, and so to *Negropolis*, and there reformed unto him all the Garrisons of *Carafina*, *Saruchania*, and *Adidia*, with other the Inhabitants of those Countries, with all Loyalty submitting themselves unto him, with such Honour and Reverence as belonged to their King.

All things thus sorting according to his desire in *Asia*, he sent to the Prince *Germes* for the Body of his Father *Bajazet*, and for his Brother *Musa*, which were there left by Tamerlane, as is before declared. This Body was by the same Prince at the request of *Mahomet*, with great Solemnity sent to *Prusa*, and there sumptuously buried, with all the Turkish Obsequies and Ceremony, being read seven days upon his Tomb. All which time great cheer was kept for all Commers, and much given to the Poor (upon the Turkish devotion) for *Bajazet* his Soul; but above all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the Posterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*, which are known from others amongst the Mahometans, by the colour of their Apparel, which is all green, and not lawful to be worn of any but of them; so that they were by the bounty of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly desired. He also endowed the Abbey which his Father had there lately built, with great Lands and Possessions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the Solemnity past, he went in Progress to all parts of his Kingdom, and was in every place joyfully received; and so afterward returned to *Amasia*; and there in great pleasure spent the Summer. Where we will see a while leave him, to see what *Solyman* his eldest Brother in the mean time doth at *Hadrinople*.

*Solyman* the eldest Son of *Bajazet* (who kept his Court at *Hadrinople*, there peaceably Reigning all this while over the Countries which his Father *Bajazet* sometime possessed in *Europe*) hearing what his Brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently against all Right he had driven

*Ila* out of *Prusa*, and made him glad to fly to *Constantinople*; was with this his outrageous dealing much offended, and thereupon calling unto him his Baffles and faithful Counsellors, declared unto them the unnatural proceedings of *Mahomet* against his Brother *Ila*. Wherein (said he) he doth me also great wrong in taking upon him the Sovereignty over those great Dominions and Countries in *Asia*, which of right belong to me his elder Brother, and not to him the youngest of six. In revenge of which Injury and Wrong, I intend in mine own Right, to pass over into *Asia* with a strong Army, and by force of Arms to recover mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwise come to it. Unto which Speech one of his grave Counsellors replied, That in his opinion it was not the best course for himself to go in Person into those Wars. For although (said he) your Brother *Mahomet* be but young, and therefore by your greatness left accounted of; yet is his Prime great, and his experience above his years. None have yet had to do with him, but they have had enough of him; yet it is worth the noting, how politically he hath bin himself for his own safety, and the safeguard of the Countries which he governed all the while that the great and mighty Tamerlane with his innumerable Forces covered the face of the Country full by him; most part valiant. *Mahomet* hath now since his departure, again recovered. Wherefore it were best for you to send for your angry Brother *Ila*, to *Constantinople*, and to make him General of the Army you intend to send into *Asia* against *Mahomet*. In which War, it is not unlike, but that one of your Brethren will be lost, whereby you shall have one Competitor of your Kingdom the less. So shall you afterwards with less trouble subdue him that is left, or at leastwise please him with some part of that which they have so mightily feared from this. This Counsel was of *Solyman* and all the rest well liked of, and approved. So was *Ila* presently sent for unto *Constantinople*, and a great Army levied. Who being come to *Hadrinople*, was by *Solyman* courteously welcomed, and made General of his Army; and therewith shipped over the Strait of *Helluspontus* into *Asia*. Where at his first coming, he possessed the whole Country of *Carafina* or *Lydia*; and passing further; in all places where he came, was received of the people with great Reverence, they all promising him their Obedience, if it were his fortune to prevail against his younger Brother *Mahomet*; wherewith he held himself well contented. So coming to the City of *Beg-Racer*, otherwise called *Deopolis*, he there wintered with his Army. In which time, he wrote many kind and loving Letters still directed to *Mahomet* as his younger Brother, seemed to be glad that he was so well obeyed and liked of by his Subjects; and that presuming of his Love and Favour, he was as his loving Brother, and not as an Enemy come into *Asia* to intrate with him in such matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diffimulation answered, That he was right glad of his coming; for which he needed not (as he said) to make any excuse, for that he was entered into a Kingdom, in part his own, and the rest open before him; in token whereof he commanded a rich Garment to be cast upon the Messenger as a favour, finding also divers rich Presents unto his Brother, with great Provisions of Victuals, and other necessities for his Soldiers.

But Winter past, and the Spring come, *Ila* marched with his Army to *Prusa*; and there shewed unto the Citizens the loving Letters he had at sundry times before received from *Mahomet*; and telling them that he was in good hope that they should in short time right well agree; re-  
Y 2 quitted

Good cause!

*Ila* with a  
great army  
sent by his  
brother  
*Solyman*  
into *Asia*  
against  
*Mahomet*.

quelted to have the Cattle delivered unto him, sometime their Sovereign; whereinto the better fort of the Citizens had retired themselves, and made fast the Gates against him; but when he saw that he could by no fair words or policy gain the possession of the Cattle, enraged with that repulse, he set fire upon that goodly City, and burnt it down to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his Brother *Ifa* roamed up and down his Kingdom, using all kindness to such as yielded unto him; and exercising no less cruelty upon such as refused his Obedience; and now that he had rased the Royal City of *Prusfa*; having gathered a strong Army, marched in ten days from *Amasia* to *Prusfa*, and by the way meeting with his Brother *Ifa*, in a great battle overthrew him with all his Forces. *Ifa* himself accompanied with no more than ten persons, fled unto *Castamona*, Prince *Ispendiar* his City; who hearing of his arrival there, entertained him with all the Honor he could in recompence of the great Friendship he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble Suitor in his Father *Bajazet* his Court.

*Mahomet* coming to *Prusfa*, grieved exceedingly to see that fair City so destroyed; yet to comfort the poor Citizens, he gave exceeding Sums of Money to be bestowed amongst them, and took order for the new building of the City, and there continued certain days himself to see the Work begun.

*Ifa* in the mean time having incited the Prince *Ispendiar* in his quarrel to invade his Brother *Mahomet*, and going thither himself in Person, was by him now the third time overthrown and put to flight. Nevertheless he with some small Forces twice afterwards entered into *Mahomet's* Dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his evil Fortune, was glad at last to fly to the Prince of *Smyrnia*, by whom he was both honourably entertained, and comforted.

This Prince of *Smyrnia* moved with *Ifa* his pitiful Complaints in so manifest a wrong, did not only promise him what help he could of himself, but also by his Embassadors solicited the Princes of *Adimia*, *Saruchania*, and *Montesia*, to give him Aid in so just a quarrel, for the relief of *Ifa*, against his usurping Brother. These Princes pitying the case of the distressed Prince, and moved with the Request of the Prince of *Smyrnia*, and fearing also the ambitious Ambitions of *Mahomet*, amongst them sent first Aid, that being all assembled together, *Ifa* had now twenty thousand men in Arms. *Mahomet* understanding of this great Preparation made against him, and having raised a strong Army, thought it not best to expect his Brothers coming into his Country (where perhaps many might join themselves unto him, being so strong in the field) but entered the Prince of *Smyrnia* his Country, with swift speed, that he was upon him and the rest of his Enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloody Fight he obtained of them a notable Victory. *Ifa* having lost the battle, and therewith his hope also, fled into *Caramania*, and there in such obscurity ended his days, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, always of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of *Smyrnia* the chief Author of this War, humbling himself to *Mahomet*, obtained his Favour. The other Considerate Princes which gave Aid to *Ifa*, were shortly after by *Mahomet* for most part spoiled of their Dominions. Which done, he returned with Victory to the building of *Prusfa*, hoping now to live more at quiet.

But whilst *Mahomet* after this Victory dreading

no danger, was in the midst of his Pleasures at *Prusfa*, he was certainly advertised, That his Brother *Solyman* had raised a great Army in Europe, to invade him in *Asia*. Upon which advertisement he furnished the Cattle of *Prusfa* with a strong Garrison, and all things needful for the enduring of a long Siege, and placed *Jacup-Beg* the Son of *Firofiz*, Captain therein; and afterwards departed himself, because that City (lately before burnt by *Ifa*) was not as yet to be defended, much less to be accounted of as a place to retire unto if need should so require. From *Prusfa* he came to *Ancyra*, and from thence directed Commissions for the taking up of Soldiers in all parts of his Kingdom. At which time he wrote Letters also to *Doiran* a Tartar Prince (whom he had many times greatly pleased) for Aid; who presently came unto him with certain Troops of brave Horse, promising him his faithful Service.

Not long after, hearing that his Brother *Solyman* was with a puissant Army now come over *Hellepontus*, he consulted with his best Leaders, what course first to take; being himself of opinion, without delay to meet his Brother in the Field, deeming it great shame, not to offer him present battle. But he was by his more expert Captains advised, to consider that he was to fight against his eldest Brother, of whose good or bad Fortune he had as yet no experience; and many secretly favoured his Quarrel and Claim, as the eldest Son and right Heir of his Father *Bajazet*; and therefore it were better for him to retire further off into the strength of his Kingdom; and so temporizing, to await all good opportunities that might chance, as it doth in nothing more than in Martial Affairs; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battle, wherein if Fortune failed him, all were then utterly lost. Upon which Reflection he retired from *Ancyra* towards *Amasia*, which time *Doiran* the false *Tartarian*, marching out at the other side of the City, fell to robbing and spoiling of *Mahomet's* Subjects as an Enemy, burning the Country Villages as they went; which thing when *Mahomet* understood, he with his Horsemen pursued him, and overtaking him before he was looked for, slew most part of his men, and recovered all the spoil which he had before taken; at which *Mahomet* gave to his Soldiers. *Doiran* himself fled escaping by flight. And so *Mahomet* having revenged himself upon his dissembling Friend, held on his way towards *Amasia*.

*Solyman* being come into *Asia*, led his Army towards *Prusfa*, where the Citizens understanding of his coming, went out of the City to meet him, and having done unto him such honour and Reverence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the City. But *Jacup-Beg* stood upon his guard, and would by no means deliver unto him the Cattle, which was before by *Mahomet* committed to his charge; for which cause *Solyman* laid hard siege unto it, and gave thereunto divers sharp Assaults, whereby the Defendants were greatly weakened, many of them being slain, and the rest for the most part wounded. Whereupon *Jacup* by Letters sent by one *Ene Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things stood, and that the Cattle could not long be holden against the furious Assaults of *Solyman*, except it were with speed relieved; upon which News he in all haste made towards *Prusfa*, recovering the same Messenger before him, with Letters to the Captain of the Cattle, if happily he could find means to deliver the same; wherein he highly commended him for faithful Service, and

The Cattle of *Prusfa* besieged by *Solyman*.

and promised him speedy relief. This Messenger with his Letters chanced by *Solyman* his Soldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Bassa*, *Solyman* his chief Counsellor, a man of a sharp conceit, who of nothing could make something, but having any thing to work upon could do wonders; and having frantically examined the Messenger, and perused the Letters, suppressed the fame, and presently wrote others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the Captain for that he had already done in his Service; but yet so far as he could possibly in time relieve him, he would him therefore to deliver up the Cattle, and to provide for the safeguard of himself and his Garrison, by such conditions as he could best obtain. These counterfeit Letters *Alis Bassa* found means to be as cunningly delivered unto the Captain, as they were craftily indited; who having read the fame, and now out of all hope of relief, expecting also every hour to be assaulted by the furious Enemy; upon reasonable conditions yielded the Cattle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought unto *Mahomet*, now come within one days march of *Prusfa*, exceedingly grieved him; but seeing no remedy, he returned back again to *Amasia*, whither *Solyman* (now possessed of the City and Cattle of *Prusfa*, and having thereby got a great Name in *Asia*) shortly after came with his Army, and hardly besieged his Brother in *Amasia*, but seeing no hope to win the City, he retired back again to *Prusfa*, and there after his wonted manner spent his time in riot and excess, whereunto he was exceedingly given. *Jacup-Beg* for yielding of the Cattle, was afterward by *Mahomet* frantically imprisoned, and in danger to have been put to death, had not the great Baffles become earnest Intercessors for him.

*Mahomet* lying at *Amasia*, was by his secret Espies advertised, That his Brother *Solyman* having dispersed his Army, lay in great security at *Prusfa*, guarded but with a small Power, pursuing his time in all voluptuous pleasure, his common Exercise. Whereupon he in all haste marched with his Army thitherwards, to have surprised him before he should be able to call together his dispersed Forces. But when he was come to the River *Sangarius*, he was discovered by *Solyman* *Sulbasla* a great Captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had sent for the taking up of men in that side of the Country. Who reported in all haste, gave *Solyman* knowledge of his Brothers coming, with which sudden news he was so dismayed, being now of small strength, that for the avoiding of the imminent danger, he would presently have fled into Europe, had not *Alis Bassa* otherwise persuaded him; telling him, That if he should so cowardly fly away, it would not only blemish and defame his Honour, but discourage his Friends also in *Asia*, and encourage his Enemies to pursue him, perhaps unto the Gates of *Hedemania*; and that therefore it were better with swift Forces as he had to take the Straits of *Neapolis*, and so to stay his Brothers further passage into that Country, until such time as he might assemble the rest of his Army. According to which good Council he first took the beforenamed Straits and Passages, whereby *Mahomet* was of necessity to pass, and there strongly fortified himself. *Mahomet* coming thither, with great force entered the Straits, but was still valiantly by *Solyman* repulsed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gave, for that he knew himself to be at that time too strong for his Brother; but *Solyman* having the advantage of the place, with little danger or loss frustrated those his Brothers brave Attempts, although he

were then a great deal the weaker. *Alis Bassa*, whose wild head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters, in the mean time was not idle, but (making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings) gave a secret Messenger (one of his own truly Servants) to *Mahomet* with Letters; certifying him, That most of his Nobility and great Captains had secretly conspired to betray him into the hands of his elder Brother *Solyman*, as the undoubted Heir of his Father *Bajazet*; and so with the price of his Head, to make their own Peace and Atone-ment with him; and that for the performance thereof they had bound themselves first unto *Solyman*, and afterwards one to another, by solemn Oath. Which Treason he discovered unto him, with great protestation of his love and good will, as he that had a long time eaten Bread and Salt (as the Turks use to say) in his Fathers Court, and therefore could not but with well unto him, being one of his Lord and Masters Sons. These Letters something troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit; for all that, he ceased not for six or seven days space, to give many a hot Skirmish for the gaining of those trait passages, but all in vain. In which time it chanced, one of his Servants near about his Person, to fly unto the Enemy; which caused him the more to suspect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Bassa* had forewarned him. Which consideration, and that by lying there he prevailed nothing, but lost and sweated his Men (for it was all that while exceeding foul Weather), and withal doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to *Amasia*. And *Solyman* glad also of his departure, retired to *Prusfa*, giving order into all parts of his Kingdom, for the assembling of a great Army; but understanding that the King of *Caramania* had made a League with his Brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to join their Forces against him, for the driving of him out of *Asia*, he forthwith drew all his Forces to *Ancyra*, as a place of more safety.

Whilst *Solyman* thus lay at *Ancyra*, it befell that *Masfa* (which had all this while remained with his Brother *Mahomet*, since he was set at Liberty by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether well pleased with his own estate) one day by way of talk, thus spake unto his Brother; *I see (said he) how our elder Brother Solyman cautieth not to leave his own duty, and is not unlike in this to prevail against us, to our utter destruction: Now if it might please you to give me leave, I would go to Ispendiar Prince of Castamona and Pontus, our Brothers Enemy, and of him procure shipping to pass over the Euxine Sea into Europe; where I doubt not to find opportunity to make some great Innovation in that Kingdom, now in my Brothers absence; by reason whereof Solyman shall of necessity be driven to leave Asia, to be again by you solely possessed; or else be brought in danger there to lose his Kingdom in Europe. Which if I find be my good hap, to gain out of his hands, by your supportation, I promise you faithfully to hold the same of you as of my Lord and Sovereign. This greatly pleased *Mahomet*, and thereupon not long after they concluded betwix themselves, one to stand fast unto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the same with great Solemnity of their Turkish Faith given and taken. Whereupon *Mahomet* furnished his Brother *Masfa* with a great Sum of Money, and other things for the taking in hand of so great an Enterprise.*

*Masfa* thus furnished, taking his leave of his Brother, set forwards towards the Prince *Ispendiar*; who hearing of his coming, met him on the

Prusfa burnt by Ifa.

Ifa fled into Caramania, and there ended his days in obscurity.

the way, and entertained him as a great Prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpose for paſſing into *Europe*, and had obtained grant of his help therein, he took his leave of him for a time, and went to viſit the King of *Carmania*; who alſo moſt honourably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman*. But whilſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in *Carmania*, it happened that *Mark*, Coſt of ſome called *Mereus*, Prince of *Valachia*, having his Country much ſpoiled by *Solyman* his Garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Bajazet* his Sons was with the Prince *Iſſendiar*, he writ unto him, promiſing to beſtow his Daughter and Heir in marriage upon *Muſa*, if he would come over into *Europe*, and revenge the wrong done unto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Muſa* advertiſed by the Prince *Iſſendiar*, gladly returned out of *Carmania*, and was by him tranſported over the Euxine or Black-Sea, into *Europe*; where the Prince of *Valachia* glad of his coming, received him with great Honour, and according to his promiſe gave him his Daughter in marriage.

*Muſa married the Prince of Valachia his daughter.*

*Muſa in the alliance of Solyman received at Hadrianople as King.*

The fame of *Muſa*'s coming into *Europe* and of his Marriage, was in ſhort time bruſhed through all *Solyman* his Kingdom in *Europe*, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (always deſirous of Novelty) that they all as it were with one conſent ſubmitted themſelves unto him, as unto their Lord and Sovereign; in ſo much that coming to the Royal City of *Hadrianople*, in the abſence of his Brother *Solyman* he was there received as their King.

*Solyman* now lying at *Ancrea* in *Aſia*, underſtanding theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in *Europe*, and that he was poſſeſſed of a great part of his Kingdom there, was thereupon exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leaving his Deputy in *Ancrea*, he with all his Army came to the Strait of *Bosphorus*, and there of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore unto him certain places before taken from him in *Aſia*; for *Muſa* had ſo provided, that he could have no help of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his Commandment all before brought over unto *Europe* ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arrival in *Europe*, made towards him with a great Power; but after that both their Armies were come the one within view of the other, and now ready to joyn battel, many of *Muſa* his Captains forſook him, and fled to *Solyman* the elder Brother, and their undoubted King; which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to fly, and to take the ſafeguard of the Woods and Mountains for his Refuge. After which Victory, *Solyman* returning to *Hadrianople*, took again poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and there without meaſure gave himſelf to riot and exceſs, according to his wonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of *Aſia* *Jacop-Beg* (but lately before again received into *Mahomet* his Favour, and now left as *Solyman* his Deputy) delivered *Ancrea*, with the Caſtle of *Pruiſa*, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in *Aſia*, to *Mahomet*; who theroſely after led his Army through the Countries of *Carolia*, *Aydin*, *Savacania*, *Tekeliſ*, and *Germania*, reducing them once again unto his Obedience; and afterwards returned to *Pruiſa*, where he now the ſecond time took poſſeſſion of his Fathers Kingdom in *Aſia*.

*Muſa* ſtill aided by the *Valachian* Prince his Father in law, gave many great Attempts againſt him, but was ſtill put to the worſt. At length having gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better Fortune, drew near unto the place where *Soly-*

*man* lay; who at that time was (as his manner was) banquetting with great pleaſure in his Camp, and full of Wine. Infomuch that when News was brought unto him, that his Brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great Power, he in his Drunkenneſs cauſed the Meſſenger that brought the News, to be beaten; and when he had with greater earneſtneſs than was to his liking, affirmed that his Report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlain for troubling his Mirth. But ſhortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo near, that the Vantcouriers of his Army did Skirmiſh with ſome of *Solyman* his Soldiers; when as *Chafis Eurenjes* one of his Fathers old Captains, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had ſkirmiſhed with part of his Army. Whereof *Solyman* (now far in Wine) had no regard, but ſaid, Good Tutor do not trouble me no more; my Brother *Muſa* dares not come ſo nigh me; if I do but hold up my Cap, he is gone. With which anſwer the old Captain going out difcontented, ſent in *Chafan*, Ağa of the *Femizaris*; who boldly coming unto him, told him plainly of the imminent danger, and ſharply reproved him for his Intemperance and Security. With whole free Speech *Solyman* moved, in great rage commanded his Beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſſage amongſt the Turks. *Chafan* preſently coming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, This is the Honour wherewith Sultan *Solyman* in his Exceſs rewards his moſt faithful Servants. Wherefore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerve *Muſa*, a Prince of greater Temperance and Diſcretion; who ſo will follow me, come and welcome. So mounting to Horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Janizaries (of whom he was greatly beloved) went over to *Muſa*; as did many other great Captains alſo with their Companies, moved by his Example ſo to do. But when *Solyman* underſtood that *Chafan* with moſt part of the Janizaries, and many other worthy Captains, with the greateſt ſtrength of his Army, were revolted to *Muſa*, then ſaſt by, and ready to ſet upon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly; and finding no other remedy now to eſcape, hid himſelf until it was dark night; then taking Horſe, accompanied only with *Caratz-Beg* and *Carra Muſchil*, two of his Noblemen, and one Country Turk whom they had retained for their Guid, thought to have fled to *Conſtantinople*. This malicious Clown having of purpoſe led him by unknown ways all that night to and fro, as it were in a maze, (obſcuringly miſmanaging unto them the place where they paſſed by, as if they had been in the right way) brought them in the morning to a Village not far from the place from whence they departed the evening before; and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gave warning to a ſturdy Peaſant or two of his Acquaintance, that *Solyman* was coming after him; willing them to make way of him. The rude Country Churls, with ſome other of like breed, running out with Bars and Staves, and ſuch other homely Tools as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratz* and *Carra Muſchil*, which would not yield unto them, but ſtood upon their Guard, and took *Solyman* alive; where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples fury, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the Wars; ſome like wiſe to burn him and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſave him; every one ſo his rude affection led him. In the heat of this Country uproar *Muſa*, who glad to find his Brother *Solyman* ſo hardly beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when he had reigned in *Hadrianople* fix year and ten months.

This

*Solyman ſitteth.*

*Solyman begg'd by his Brother Muſa.*

This *Solyman* is that ſame whom ſome call Celeſtine, and other ſort, Caliphan, and when him for the fifth King of the Turks.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt Son that *Bajazet* left alive. A man much given to Exceſs, otherwiſe indued with many great Vertues, being both of great valour, and exceeding bountiful. In his time lived the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, which wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander the Great* in Turkiſh Verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelf; for which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead body of *Solyman* himſelf, was by the commandment of *Muſa* conveyed to *Pruiſa*, and there lieth buried ſaſt by the body of his Grandfather *Amurath*. So now of theſe *Ademian* Brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*, the one reigning in *Aſia*, and the other in *Europe*, divers parts of the World, and well bounded with the ſureſt bounds of Nature; yet not ſufficient to content their ambitious minds, until that the younger had moſt unaturally devoured the elder.

*Muſa* preſently after the death of his Brother *Solyman*, took upon him the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*; who in the beginning of his Reign diſplaced moſt of them which had born great Offices before in the time of his Brother *Solyman*, and had now of late revolted to him; fearing to be by them betrayed or forſaken, as his Brother was, and in their rooms placed other of his own Creatures. And not ſo content, proceeded further, upon ſmall cauſes moſt unkindly to impriſon and put to death many of them who had of him well deſerved. Which cruel dealing diſalienated the minds of his Nobility, that many of them kept themſelves out of the way, doubtfully expecting the end of ſuch his Tyranny. Government. *Chafis Eurenjes* the old and renowned Captain, to eſcape his hands, was glad to feign himſelf blind, fo to abſent himſelf from Court. At this time he alſo by his Embaſſadors demanded of divers Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, ſuch Tribute as they had in times paſt either payed or promiſed to pay unto his Father *Bajazet*; and in that Quarrel invaded many of them, namely the Princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. Amongſt other he ſent *Bradam Baſſa* (a learned man of great experience, and ſometimes one of his Fathers grave Counſellors) unto *Emanuel Paleologus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, to demand the like Tribute of him. Who ſo ſoon as he was come to *Conſtantinople*, from thence by Letters advertiſed *Mahomet* of the undiſcreet Government of his Brother *Muſa* in his new gotten Kingdom; and what untimely this he began to make here he was therein well ſetled, loſing the love both of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes; with much other matter concerning his miſgovernment. Which things when *Mahomet* underſtood, he ſent a Meſſenger with Letters back again to *Conſtantinople*, requeſting the *Baſſa* to come over unto him into *Aſia*, and in token of his great Favour ſent him divers rich Garments, with many great and princely Promiſes; wherewith the *Baſſa* moved, and deteſting the cruel Government of *Muſa*, went over unto him to *Pruiſa*, and there was to him honourably entertained, and ſworn one of his Privy Council; in which Place of Honour he long time afterwards ſerved him faithfully; and after him, his Son *Amurath* alſo.

*Mahomet* thinking upon the advantage of his Brothers evil Government, to find means to thruſt him out of his Kingdom, and ſo to draw the whole Government of the Turkiſh Empire unto himſelf, as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*; aſſembled an Army of fifteen thouſand choice Soldiers to invade his Brother in *Europe*, before he were there well eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom.

And ſo ſhocking down towards the Straits of *Bosphorus*, by his Embaſſador concluded a League with *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, That one of them ſhould never wrong or damage the other; and that if *Mahomet* ſhould hap to obtain the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*, he ſhould always Honour and Reverence the Emperor as his ſpecial good Friend; but if he ſhould chance him to be diſtreſſed or overthrow by his Brother *Muſa*, that then the Emperor ſhould preſently tranſport him and his Army back again unto *Aſia*. This League was with great Solemnity of words on both parts confirmed. And ſhortly after, *Mahomet* with all his Army was by the Emperors ſhipping at the Strait of *Bosphorus* near unto *Conſtantinople*, tranſported over unto *Europe*; for *Muſa* poſſeſſed of *Callipolis*, had ſtooped all the other paſſages.

*Muſa* having before knowledge of his Brothers coming, was forthwith in readineſs to meet him with a ſtrong Army. So that *Mahomet* had not marched far from the Sea-ſide, but that the Vantcouriers of his Army met with his Brothers, at a place called *Unages*, and there began a light Skirmiſh; wherein *Muſa*'s Fore-runners were by *Mahomet* put to flight, and chaled unto *Muſa* his Camp. Whereof ſuch a ſudden fear aroſe in the Army, that they were almoſt ready to fly, thinking *Mahomet* had been upon them with all his Power; but underſtanding the truth of the matter, both Armies reſted that night, which as then drew ſaſt on. The next day theſe two Brethren, armed with equal hope, brought their Armies into the Field, and gave the ſignal the barrel, whereupon began a mortal and bloody Fight; in the Fury whereof *Michael*, old *Baſſa* of *Romania*, and certain other of *Muſa*'s great Captains, upon ſeveral difcontentment revolted to *Mahomet*; wherewith many of *Muſa* his Soldiers diſcouraged, fled. Which *Mahomet* his Soldiers ſeeing, purſued the chafe with ſuch earneſtneſs and fury, that few were left with himſelf; yet with ſuch as were left, in hope of good hap, he ſet upon his Brothers who although he was half difcontented with the ſigue of the greater part of his Army, whom the *Euxines* had yet in chase, yet ſtood he ſaſt himſelf with 7000 Janizaries, his beſt Soldiers; ſo taking the unexpected good hap, preſented unto him by his Brothers cowardneſs, valiantly received his Charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, and himſelf too weak to withſtand the fury of the Janizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were following the Charge, was now for ſafeguard of his life glad to fly himſelf to *Conſtantinople*; whither he came accompanied ſcarcely with two hundred men; and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperor, ſpeedily ſhipped over unto *Aſia*. *Muſa* having thus put his Brother to flight, with great laughter of his men, preſently took his Tents with all that was therein, and there encamped himſelf. They of *Hadrianople* and *Ancrea*, which enjoyed the Chance of ſuch a ſaſt flight in the beginning of the barrel, not knowing what had happened to *Mahomet*, returning to the Camp, doubting no peril, and finding it at their return poſſible by their Enemies, ſtood as men amazed, and utterly diſcouraged; at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his Soldiers to put them to the Sword, as they would ſaſt have done, but commanded them to be diſpoſed of their Tents and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this Overthrow, whilſt *Mahomet* lay ſaſt at *Pruiſa*, the Prince of *Smyrna* privately entred into *Aidin*.

*The battle betwixt the two brethren, Mahomet and Muſa.*

*Adina*, purposing to pass through into *Sarmacia*; which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great Army, and entering into the Princes Country, made much spoil as he went, and so disaffected the Prince himself, that he was glad to submit himself unto him; and from thenceforth to his Dominion of him, as of his Lord and Sovereign, and so returned *Mahomet* into *Asia*.

*Mahomet* could not well digest the loss he had lately received in *Europe*, and therefore levied an Army of choice Souldiers out of all parts of his Kingdom, once again to try his fortune against his elder Brother *Musa*. For the better Success whereof, he by his Letters craved Aid of the Prince *Dulghader Oglis*, written to this effect:

Sultan *Mahomet* unto the Prince *Dulghader Oglis*, his Father in Law.

*M*Y purpose is to lead mine Army into Romania in *Europe*, and there again to try my quarrel with my Brother *Musa*. My hope is, that you will not writ your Aid be wanting unto me your Son in Law, in my so great Affairs, neither for want of good will to binder this my purpose. Fare you well. In the year of our great Prophet Mahomet, 814. From Amalia.

Whereunto the Prince returned this kind Answer:

Prince *Dulghader Oglis* unto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

*I* Doubt not most mighty Monarch, but that whithersoever our desires shall draw you for the undertaking of any great Exploit, be that ruleth above in Heaven, will be always your Aid, prosper your Attempts, minister unto you by Occasions, and bring all your Actions unto a most happy end, with most approved Victory. Wherefore (seeing God so disposing our Affairs) I cannot my self in Person come unto you with my Power, and give you my truly help in this your intended War; yet will I in no self safe with all speed to send my Son your Servant, to Aid you with our Forces, in this War. Fare you well. This same Year of our Prophet, 814.

And so shortly after, the Prince sent unto him his Son, according to his Promise, with a Company of brave Souldiers, excellently furnished; for the welcoming of whom, *Mahomet* his Brother in Law made a great and royal Feast; and there in his mirth gave unto the young Prince the rich Apparel he wore himself, with the Horse he rode upon, and all the rich Plate of Gold and Silver wherein they were served at that Feast, a matter of great value. And to every one of his Noblemen he gave a rich Garment, made for that purpose, with some other Gift, as a Favour; and afterwards gave them all to understand, That he intended forthwith to pass over into *Europe*, and there to recover all his Fathers Kingdom, or else there to end his days; as for the spoil and prey (said he) it shall be theirs that can win it; one Horse, one Sword, one Horsemans Mace shall content my self. So having furnished his Army with all things needful for so great an Enterprize, he set forward and came to the Strait of *Bosphorus*; and from thence gave knowledge of his coming to the Emperor of *Constantinople*; who glad thereof (for the displeasure he bare to *Musa*) transported him and all his Army over that Strait into *Europe*, and there

in one of his Country-Palaces royally feasted him. At which time *Mahomet* requested the Emperor to join with him in that War against their common Enemy; but he excused himself by reason of his great age; yet nevertheless, afflicted him with certain Companies of valiant Christians, whose Service afterward stood the Turk in great stead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leave of the Emperor, marched with his Army to the River *Wyzan* in *Thracia*, where by the way he received Letters from the ancient Captain *Chaspi Eurenjes*, advising him to be very circumspect in his marching, and not to make too much halt to join batel with his Brother; counselling him also (if he could by any means) to allure *Jegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forsake his Brother, and to follow his Ensigns; for that in those men consisted *Musa*'s his greatest strength; and promised in good time to come unto him himself also, if he were not too halty. This Messenger that brought this News, *Mahomet* bountyfully rewarded, and so sent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching towards *Hadriampole*, part of the Enemies Army began to show it self under the leading of *Cara Calis*, and was presently charged by *Michael Oglis*, and put to flight. So holding on his way to *Hadriampole*, he laid siege to the City; where the Citizens sent out to him certain of their gravest and most substantial Burgeesses, to certify him, That by reason of the Garrison there left by *Musa*, they could not as then deliver the City unto him; but if it should please him to go and try his Fortune in the Field against his Brother, who should be the Commander thereof, he should find them ready to follow his good Fortune, and to yield themselves, the City, and all therein, to his pleasure, if it were his good hap to carry away the Victory. With which answer *Mahomet* contenting himself, raised his Siege, and took the way towards *Zagora*. In that place *Musa* is reported to have come secretly disguised unto *Mahomet* his Camp, and to have taken full view thereof; but perceiving himself too weak to encounter his Brother, withdrew his Army into the safe-guard of the great Woods and strong Places; and so from thence retired with his Army towards *Philippolis*, and so marched along the River *Meritze*, called in ancient time *Hebrus*; where *Jegides Bassa*, with *Hamza Beg*, and *Ysmir Oglis* (three of *Musa*'s his great Captains) set upon *Michael Oglis* repulsed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to *Sophia*; where as he went, *Musa* divers times from the Mountains made shew of his Army, but durst not come down into the Plain to give him batel. *Mahomet* having refreshed his Army at *Sophia*, marched to *Sarkiroe*, where he received Letters from *Jegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all secretly perswaded by old *Eurenjes* to revolt unto him; the tenor whereof in brief was this:

*Jegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, unto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

*WE* are three young men (most mighty Monarch) and have with us three thousand choice Souldiers, men of incomparable valour, such as the World hath scarce the like; draw your Forces near unto us with as much speed as you can, and we shall find us ready to come over unto you. Fare you well.

Where-

*Musa* his chief Captain revolted to *Mahomet*.

Whereupon he marched all the next night after, until he came to the River *Morava*, and there encamped; where the three aforementioned Captains, according to their promise joynted themselves unto him with all their Souldiers. Thither came also old *Eurenjes*, of all others the most famous Captain amongst the Turks, and now no longer blind, brings with him a great company of most expert Souldiers. *Mark* the Despot of *Servia* (for the displeasure he bare unto *Musa*) sent him Aid thither also. By which Supplies, *Mahomet*'s Army was greatly increased; who after he had courteously welcomed all these new come Captains, he began again to march farther until he came to *Ciflova*, the unfortunate Plain; where *Hamza Beg* the Prince of *Smyrna* his Son, having forsaken *Musa*, came unto him with five hundred Horse, certifying him, that all the Nobility had forsaken his Father; so, as he march from place to place, his Forces still increased, by the revolt of his Brothers. *Musa* seeing his Souldiers thus daily fall from him, infomuch that he had almost none now left, but the Souldiers of the Court (which were indeed his best men of War, and always unto him faithful, because he had been since unto them exceeding bountiful) thought it best to attempt something, before he were left himself alone. Wherefore having yet with him five thousand of those expert Souldiers, he drew nearer unto his Brother, seeking to have taken him at some advantage. But *Mahomet* having knowledge of his purpose, and contented to be advised by his old expert Captains, had ever a vigilant eye unto him. Yet at last, whether it were upon good hope, or else tricked forward with despair, *Musa* upon the sudden, valiantly set upon his Brothers Army; but his Souldiers oppressed with multitude, rather than overcome with true valour, after a hard and bloody Fight were put to the worst; which he seeing, desperately brake into the midst of his Enemies, seeking there for death amongst the thickest of them. But being known by *Bajazet Bassa*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant General, desirous to take him alive, he was before on every side; where seeing himself in more danger to be taken than slain, he with great courage brake from amongst the midst of them, and fled. In which flight his Horse falling into a deep muddy Ditch (or as some others say) hoaxed by *Sarutzes* his own Servant, and himself wounded) overthrew him, and there before he could again recover himself, was taken by *Bajazet Bassa* (the great Lieutenant) *Michael Oglis* and *Barac Beg*, which had hardly pursued him out of the batel; and so with his hands bound, by them brought through the midst of the Army. Which pitiful sight, grieved not a little the hearts of many; so to see him but even now so great a King, and one of the Sons of great *Bajazet*, by the strange change of Fortune, found like a Captive Slave led forth to Execution; yet some most part glad thereof, hoping these long Civil Wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came unto him a Nobleman called *Balta Oglis*, sent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himself; who after he had in few words bitterly reproved him, for the cruelty by him before shewed unto his Brother *Solyman*, in like case, caused him presently to be strangled with a Bow-string. His dead body was by and by after presented to his Brother *Mahomet*; who by a secret way, shed a few Catechisms tears over it. He reigned three years seven months, and was afterwards conveyed to *Prusa*, and there lieth buried by the body of his Brother *Solyman*, in the same Chappel with his Grandfather *Anurath*.

*Musa* strangled.

*Musa* strangled.

*Mahomet* after the death of *Musa*, now free from all Competitors, took upon him the sole Government of the Turkish Kingdom, as well in *Europe* as in *Asia*. And here the Turkish Histories begin the Reign of this *Mahomet* fifth King of the Turks; accounting the troublesome time from the Captivity of *Bajazet*, unto the death of *Musa*, as a time of vacancy or Anarchy, wherein the Turkish Kingdom was not at any time wholly possessed by any one of *Bajazet* his Sons; *Ila* possessing one part, whereof he was by *Mahomet* dispossessed; who afterwards usurped all that part of the Turkish Kingdom in *Asia*, being the right of his elder Brother *Solyman*; who at that time reigning in *Europe*, was deposed and strangled by his Brother *Musa*, who was in like manner served by his youngest Brother *Mahomet*, the only Son of *Bajazet* then left, as is before declared. Which divers Mutations, and interrupted Successions, was the cause that the Historiographers do so greatly differ upon the Successor of *Bajazet*; some reckoning one, some another; and some more, some fewer; and some, such as never were. But forasmuch as *Mahomet* held all or most part of the Turkish Kingdom in *Asia*, during his troublesome reign, and in the end possessed the other part thereof in *Europe* also, I'vecked him for the fifth King of the Turks, and Successor to his Father *Bajazet*; including also in this History of his life, all that Intestate and Serpentine-like Tragedy, wherein he himself was the principal Actor.

Whilst *Mahomet* was (as is aforesaid) thus busied in his Wars in *Europe*, against his Brother *Musa*, the King of *Caramania* taking the advantage of his Troubles there, with a great Army invaded his Kingdom joyning upon him in War, burning and spoiling all before him as he went. *Eivades Bassa*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant, then lying at *Prusa*, not able to withstand him; and fearing his coming thither, because it was the Seat of the Ottoman Kings in *Asia*, caused the Citizens to bring the greatest part of their Wealth into the castle, whereinto he also received to many of the Citizens as he conveniently could, willing the rest to shirk for themselves as they might, in such case of extremity. Shortly after, the King of *Caramania* (according to his expectation) came to *Prusa*, and without resistance took the City, not as yet fully fortified; which he, without delay caused the second time to be burnt down to the ground; and afterwards laid siege to the Castle, giving many great Assaults there by the space of thirty days, but was always valiantly repulsed by *Eivades* the Bassa, who ceased not continually to encourage his Souldiers, till putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* having now overcome his Enemies in *Europe*, would in few days undoubtedly come to their Relief. It chanced at the same time that the dead body of *Musa*, sent to *Prusa* to be buried, was honourably conveyed upon the way, with much people following it. The *Caramanian* King hearing of the coming of such a multitude, and fearing it to have been *Mahomet* with his Power, raised his Siege, and with speed departed; whereas the Turks long time after jeffed, saying, If the *Caramanian* King run away for fear of the dead body of the Ottoman King, what would he do if he had come against him alive? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* his Power.

*Orismes* the Son of *Solyman* (yet a Boy) having lived at *Constantinople* ever since the death of his Father, about this time departed thence, because of the League lately made between the Emperor and his Uncle *Mahomet*, purposing to have

I. 15.

Prusa taken by the *Caramanian* King.

Z. gone



gone into *Valachia*; but by the way as he was travelling, the Turkish voluntary Soldiers underriding that he was the Son of their late King *Solyman*, reformed unto him in great numbers, offering him his Quarrel to spend their lives. Of which Inturrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all haste, with a great Power to suppress the fame, of whose coming the Soldiers with *Orchane* understanding, dispersed themselves and fled. As for *Orchane* himself, he was by the unlawful Tutor *Zagoras* betrayed unto his Uncle *Mahomet*, who recently caused his Eyes to be put out, and so sent him to *Prusa*; allowing him great Revenues to live upon, and ever after used him with great Honour. The Sister of this *Orchane* he gave in marriage to one of his Noblemen, with a great Dowry. This is that *Orchane*, whom former Historiographers reckon up among the Turkish Kings, as one of the Successors of *Bajazet*; and that he was betrayed to his Uncle *Mahomet*, erring as I suppose, both in Succession and the Name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the Injury which the *Caramanian* King had done to him in his absence, returning to *Prusa*, assembled a great Army to revenge himself of that wrong. At which time, he sent to the Prince *Ispendiar* for Aid, who sent him his Son *Cafama*. He commanded also the Prince *German* *Oglu*, to make provision for the Victuals of his Army, as he should pass by his Country, which was accordingly done. And so provided of all things necessary, he with his Army entered into the *Caramanian* Country; where he took the Cities *Aspropolis*, *Delphopolis*, *Hierapolis*, and besieged *Iconium*; but by reason of the immoderate rain which at that time fell, he was glad to make Peace with the *Caramanian* King, called also *Mahomet*. And so raising his Siege, departed towards *Pontus*, where he had not long layed, but that News was brought unto him, That the *Caramanian* King renouncing his League, was again up in Arms. Wherefore returning into *Caramania*, and to *Iconium*, he there overthrew the King in battle, and took both him and his Son *Mahmud* Prisoners; who redeemed themselves by delivering many of their strong Cities and Castles into his hands; and afterward concluded a Peace, they receiving from him an Engage (as the Turkish manner is) in token they were now become his Vassals.

The *Caramanian* War thus happily ended, he went over into *Europe*, and passing over *Danubius*, foraged the Country of *Valachia* *Tamali-pina*, making there great spoil; for redress whereof, the *Valachian* Prince by his Embassadors sent him such Tribute as he demanded, and himself also to leave him in his Court. About which time happened a great Earthquake in *Prusa*, and other places of *Asia*; whereby many Houses and Towns were overthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of *Asia*; howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept all his Dominions in peace and quietness.

*Ispendiar* Prince of *Cassanania* and part of *Pontus*, refusing unto himself *Cassanania*, with a little part more of his Dominion, gave the rest unto *Mahomet*, upon condition, that he should restore no part thereof again unto his Son *Cafama*; who having long time served in *Mahomet* his Court and Wars, could not be persuaded to return again unto his Father's; and therefore was by him thus disinherited. Which great Gift, *Mahomet* thankfully accepted, and in lieu thereof assigned unto *Cafama* other great and large Possessions within his own Kingdom.

*Mahomet*, after the death of his Brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheichs* *Bedredin* (his Brother *Adelischer*) to *Nice* in *Asia*, as unto a place of exile, allowing him nevertheless a great Pension whereunto to live. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burgulax*, *Muslapha* his Steward; these two conspired together, how to raise some Tumult or Rebellion to trouble the peaceable Government of *Mahomet*. For which purpose, *Burgulax* (according to the Plot by he was laid) came into *Adinidia* (sometime called *Caria*) and there pretending great Zeal of Reformed Religion, with a wonderful Gravity began to broach divers new and strange Opinions, far differing from the Turkish ancient Superstition, yet very plausible and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which means he was in short time required for a famous learned devout Man, and had many Followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin some great Innovation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans success, fled from *Nice* into the Prince *Ispendiar* his Country, from whence he took shipping over the *Engage* into *Valachia*, and there withdrawing himself into a great Forest, as if he had been some devout and religious Man, allured unto him a great number of Outlaws and Thieves which there lived. When whom he had sufficiently instructed and framed to his purpose, he sent them in the habit of Religious Men into the Country of *Zagoras*, and other places in the Frontiers of *Mahomet*'s Dominions, near unto him, as his Disciples; who with great boldness and confidence, published *Bedredin* his Doctrine and Authority; and how that he was by God appointed to be the King of Justice, and Commander of all the World; whose Doctrine in manner of a Government was (as they said) already received (as they gave it out) in *Asia*, being for forth but by one of his Scholars, *Burgulax*; whose Fame was now dispersed throughout all the Turks Dominion; and that therefore if any were desirous of Preferment, they should repair to *Bedredin*, who would in short time show himself to the World, and promote his Followers according to their Deserts. Many of the Country people deluded with this phantastic and crafty of these seditious Seed-Men, resorted to *Bedredin* in hope of Preferment, and with them some of good Calling also. At last, out of the Forest cometh this great Prophet, who displayed, attended upon with a great multitude of the seditious vulgar people, which daily resorted unto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repressing of these dangerous Tumults, sent his Son *Amurath*, and *Bajazet* the great Baffa, with two thousand Men to apprehend *Burgulax* in *Adinidia*; but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thousand Men well appointed, ready to adventure their Lives in defence of their foolish Prophet. Nevertheless, *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not dismayed with the multitude of those uplandish people, for upon them where was fought a right bloody Battle, for the number, and many fall on both sides; yet at last the Rebels fled; in which flight *Burgulax* himself was slain, and hewn all to pieces. After which Victory *Bajazet* from thence hasted to *Magnesia*, and there executed *Torlas Kemal*, another seditious Turkish Monk, which with two thousand, by him seduced, did much harm in the Country thereabout. At the same time also, *Mahomet* sent another Power against *Bedredin*; but most of his Followers seeing in him no such matter, as was by his Disciples and himself promised, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him, so that of that great multitude which before followed him,

Bedredin  
begged.

Mahomet  
died at  
Hidilano-  
Pie.

The death  
of Mahomet  
cunningly  
concealed  
from the Jani-  
zaries, by the  
three great  
Baffas.

him, few or none were left with him, whereby he was easily apprehended by them that *Mahomet* sent against him; and so being brought to *Mahomet* *O Serrai*, was there in the Market-place before a Tavern-door, fairly hanged, without any further harm.

*Mahomet* in the short time of his Reign finished the great *Mahometan* Temple at *Hadrianople*, before begun by his Brethren *Solyman* and *Musa*. With the same he built a Privy Palace, the Seat of the Turkish Kings in *Europe*, until the taking of *Constantinople*. He also built another Temple, with a most sumptuous Abbey, and a publick School thiereto adjoining; endowing the same with great Revenues, such as had by him and those his Brethren of late been taken from the Christians. He gave also great Summs of Money, yearly to be paid at *Medina* and *Mecha*, for the relief of poor Pilgrims travelling from far to the Sepulchre of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, at *Medina*, or his Temple at *Mecha*.

Shortly after *Mahomet* fell sick at *Hadrianople*, and perceiving himself in danger of death, by his last Will appointed his eldest Son *Amurath* to Succeed him in his Kingdom, and sent *Elwan Beg* (a man in great Favour with him) in post to *Anafia*, to will him with all speed to repair to the Court at *Hadrianople*. But feeling death to approach, and that he could not possibly live until the coming of his Son, he frantically charged his Baffas with all secrecy to conceal his death, until his coming, for fear lest any Trouble should rise upon the bruit thereof, before his coming thither; and so having fed all things in Order, he departed out of this World unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Saviour Christ, 1522, when he reigned seven and twenty years; accounting in his Reign that troublesome ten years next after the Captivity of *Bajazet*, in which time the Turks Kingdom was by his ambitious Sons rent in sunder, (as is aforesaid) until it was at length again by this *Mahomet* restored to the former Integrity, about seven years before his death, which the Turks account for the whole time of his Reign; and the other troublesome ten years as a vacancy or Anarchy of their Kingdom, as is aforesaid.

*Mahomet* being dead, the three great Baffas, *Eroffis*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim* (so did themselves of the death of the Janizaries, and such of the Soldiers of the Court) called a Divan or Council for the Wars, as if the King had been alive; wherein it was pretended, That *Mahomet* had determined to make War upon the Prince of *Smyrna*; and that for that Service, it was his pleasure, That the Janizaries should forthwith pass over into *Asia*, to the Castle of *Baga*. Whereupon Press-money was presently given them, and they set over with Letters directed to the Viceroy of *Anatolia*, for the assembling of an Army for *Baga*. In the mean time, the great Baffas of the Court sat daily in Council, placing and displacing, promoting and disgracing whom they thought good, as if the King had yet commanded the Kings Physitians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their Potions and Receipts, as if they still in Cure; and Letters were sent in post to *Elwan Beg*, for speedy dispatch of the business for which he was sent into *Asia*. Yet for all this cunning dissimulation, the Pensioners and other Soldiers of the Court, went to be near unto the Kings Person, and some of them always of the Privy-Chamber, began to suspect the matter; and coming to the Baffas, said they marvelled that the King in so long time did never shew

himself, as he had always before done. Whereunto the Baffas answered, That he had been dangerously sick, and was now but a little recovered, and that therefore the Physitians would not suffer him to look abroad, or take the Air, for fear of catching him down again. Then will we our selves, said the Pensioners, go and see his Majesty; and with that they were ready to force in upon the Baffas. *Eroffis* seeing their importunity, desired them to wait themselves contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day, as he said, taken Physick; but to morrow (said he) we will request his Majesty, if he so please to shew himself, that you may see him; wherewith they for that time held themselves contented. Now among the Kings Physitians there was one *Gowdron*, a Persian, a man of a quick spirit and subtle device, which he found means to deceive the Pensioners; he devised, that the dead body of the King being apparelled in Royal large Robes, should be brought betwixt two, as if he had been led into an high open Gallery, and being there set, to have a Boy so neatly placed behind him under his large Robes, as that he unperceived, might move the Kings hand up to his head, as if he should stroke his Face or Beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead King being accordingly brought forth by the Baffas in his robes, and wrapped with Clothes about his Head, as if it had been for fear of the Air, or of taking cold, and so placed in an high open Gallery, as was before devised, suddenly the Physitian came running in, fuming and raging as if he had been half mad, ready to tear his Clothes for anger; and in great choler casting his Coat against the ground, asked the Baffas if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open Air? We (said he) have with great pains, in long time, a little recovered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him down again? Pardon us good Doctor (said *Eroffis*) for these Gowdemen (pointing to the Pensioners) were so importunate to see his Majesty, that to satisfy their desires, he was content to be led forth of his Chamber; whereof we hope shall ensue no harm. The Pensioners seeing the King many times moving his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his Beard, held themselves well contented, supposing him to have been alive, although but weak, and therefore not willing to break upon them. The Physitians taking him up amongst them, carried him into his Lodging again, which was but fast by, making as if they had carried an extream sick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty days, until the coming of *Amurath* his Son.

This *Mahomet* was both wife and valiant, and withal exceeding bountiful, but Ambitious above measure; and may of right be accounted the Restorer of the Turks Kingdom; for he recovered again all those Countries in *Asia*, which *Tamerlan* had taken away and given unto other *Mahometan* Princes, after the Overthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the Kingdom of the Turks was rent in pieces, and almost brought to nought by Civil Wars, and the Ambition of himself and his Brethren; he at length got possession of the whole, and so left it to his Son *Amurath* an entire Kingdom, in the former greatness, although not so much by him augmented. His body being buried in a fair Tomb made of artificial stone, very beautiful to behold, in a Chappel at the East side of *Prusa*, where we leave him at his rest.

Christian Princes of the same time with Ma- homet the First.	Emperors	Of the East	Emanuel Paleologus.	1387. 30.
		Of the West	Rupertus Duke of Bavaria.	1400. 10.
			Sigismund King of Hun- gary.	1411. 28.
		Of England	Henry the Fourth.	1399. 13.
			Henry the Fifth.	1413. 9.
	Kings	Of France	Charles the Sixth, surnamed, The welbeloved.	1381. 42.
			John Stuart, otherwise called Robert.	1390. 16.
		Of Scotland	James the First.	1424. 13.
			Boniface the IX.	1391. 14.
	Bishops of Rome		Innocent the VIII.	1405. 2.
			Gregory the XII.	1407. 2.
			Alexander the V.	1410. 1.
			John the XXIII.	1411. 5.
			Martin the V.	1417. 13.

The



*Europam luctu et funestis cladibus implens,  
Savus Amurathes totus in arma ruit.  
Major at Haniades virtute et fortibus ausis,  
Cogit cum trapida vertere terga fuga.  
Concilia Eugeny bellum furialia suadent,  
Sacerorum antistes Martia ad arma ruit:  
(Arma viri tractent, curret sua templa Sacerdos)  
Europæ exitium res tulit ista grave.*

*River Amurath, vers't in marr, do's next arise,  
And fill poor Europe with laments and crise,  
Till by the brave Haniades outdone,  
The dastard Sultan's was compell'd to run.  
The Priest Eugeny's dismal Wars peremates,  
The privilege of Buff the Gowne invades:  
Had the Priest prayd, and let alone the Drum,  
Europe had not to such confusion come.*

The LIFE of  
**AMURATH,**  
The Second of that NAME,  
Sixth King of the Turks,  
And the great ESTABLISHER of their Kingdom.

*Murat is  
the same  
that we  
call Deli-  
derius.*

*Mulapha  
the Sup-  
posed Son  
of Bajazet  
raised Re-  
bellion a-  
gainst A-  
murath.*

**A**FTER that the death of *Mahomet* had been politically concealed one and forty days, by the three great Bassas *Bajazet*, *Ertuques*, and *Ibrahim*, *Amurath*, or *Murat* (as the Turks call him) his eldest Son, at that time coming to *Prusa*, was by them placed in his Fathers Seat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the same time published, whereupon great Troubles began on every side to arise.

The Princes of *Smyrna* and *Mentese* rose up in Arms; and at *Thebalonica*, an obscure Fellow crept as it were out of a Chimney-corner, took upon him the Name and Person of *Mulapha* the Son of *Bajazet*, which was slain many years before, in the great battle against *Temurlane* at Mount *Stella*, as is before declared in the life of the unfortunate Sultan *Bajazet*. This counterfeit *Mulapha* animated by the Grecian Princes, and going from *Thebalonica* to *Vardarium*, set so good a Countenance upon the matter, with such a Grace and Majesty, that not only the Country people (apt to believe any thing) but men of greater Place and Calling also, as *Temur Beg* the Prince of *Smyrna* his Son, with the Sons of old *Eureses* Bassa, persuaded that he was the very Son of the great *Bajazet*, repaired unto him, as unto their natural Prince and Sovereign. From *Vardarium* he went to *Serra*, and from thence to *Hadrinople*, (*Amurath* being as then at *Prusa*) where he was received as if it had been that noble Prince *Mulapha*, whom he feigned himself to be; so that in short time he was honoured as a King in all parts of the Turkish Kingdom in Europe.

*Amurath* to repress this so great and dangerous a Rebellion, sent *Bajazet Bassa* a man of great Authority in his Court, with a strong Army into Europe. This great Bassa passing over *Hellipontus*, found all the Country revolted unto their new *Mulapha*; but marching on towards *Hadrinople*, with purpose to have given him battle, he was first forsaken of the European Souldiers which he brought out of *Asia*, and afterwards of all the rest also; and being left alone, with his Brother *Hamze Beg*, was for safeguard of his life glad to yield himself to *Mulapha*; of whom he was graciously entertained, and upon promise of his Loyalty, sworn one of his Privy-Council.

*Mulapha* thus now possessed of the Turkish Kingdom in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, levied a great Army to make War upon *Amurath* in *Asia*. And as he was upon his way, at a place

which the Turks call *Saffiders*, or the place of Willows, his other Counsellors repining at the great Honour he gave to *Bajazet Bassa*, advised him to beware that he trusted him not too far, of whose small Faith he had sufficient trial already, and was like enough when occasion should serve, to revolt from him to *Amurath*, and to draw after him some great part of his Army, to the great peril both of himself and all them his faithful Servants and Followers. Upon which jealous conceit, this great Bassa *Bajazet* was there forthwith as a Traytor apprehended, and without further trial executed; at which time his Brother *Hamze* was with much ado spared. This done, *Mulapha* proceeded on his Journey, and passed over with his Army at *Callipolis* into *Asia*. *Amurath* understanding of the proceedings of *Mulapha* in Europe, and of his preparation made for his Invasion of *Asia*, created three new Bassas, *Omer*, *Urugs*, and *Alis*, all three the Sons of *Temurises*; these he joyed with his old Bassas *Ibrahim* and *Ertuques*. All these five he used as Counsellors for the War; by whose advice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, a famous *Michael Oghis*, who in the time that *Musa* reigned was Vice-Roy in Europe, and therefore a man well known to most principal men in *Mulapha* his Army, but had been kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Amasia*, from the time that *Amasia* was depopled and put to death by his Brother *Mahomet*, until now that he was after eight years imprisonment, for this special purpose enlarged and received into Favour.

About the same time that *Mulapha* set foot in *Asia*, *Amurath* having gathered his Army, set forward from *Prusa* to meet him; yet with such distrust in his Forces, which were thought to be much inferior to the European Souldiers that followed *Mulapha*, that he was glad upon a superstitious opinion or zeal, to prostrate himself at the feet of an Emir (one of the false Prophet *Mahomet's* Posterity) to receive at his hypocritical Hands a graceless Blessing for his better speed; by whom he was made to believe, that after two Repulses, he had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, that he should prevail in that War; and thereupon had his Sword girt unto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vain and superstitious Ceremonies. Yet for all these Charms, he marched on with his Army in fear enough, until he came to the River of *Ulubud* (otherwise called *Rindac*;) where having Intelligence of the approach of *Mulapha*, he for

feared

feared the Bridge over the River there to be broken down, and incamped himself on that side the River. Not long after came *Mulphaba* and finding the Bridge broken, incamped on the foot thereof on the other side; so that nothing parted the two Armies, but the breadth of the River only. Whilst they lay thus near incamped together, that the Soldiers might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talk together; *Mahomet Beg*, firmamed *Michael Ogli*, but lately delivered out of his long Imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the River side, and with a loud Voice called by name upon the great Captains and old Soldiers that were in *Mulphaba*'s Army; asking by name for many of his old Friends and Acquaintance; many of them being there present, rejoicing to see that Honourable Man (whom they supposed to have been dead in prison many years before) came gladly to the side of the River, to hear what he could say.

Then with a loud Voice he began to perfwade them, that the man whom they followed was not the Honourable *Mulphaba*, but some base high-minded fellow set up by the *Grecians*, abusing the obscurity of his Birth, as the Vail under the covert whereof he went craftily about to intrude himself into the Honourable descent of *Bajazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit Titles of stolt Honour, had misled them from their Duty to their natural King and Sovereign, to follow him a meer Deceiver. And further assured them, that *Mulphaba*, *Bajazet*'s Son, was dead and buried in the Bed of Fame 22 years before; Honourably ending his days in defence of his Country, in the great battle of Mount *Stella* against *Tamercian*, wherefore they should do well to forsake that supposed *Mulphaba*, and again yield their dutiful Obedience unto their true and undoubted Sovereign *Amurath*. These words delivered unto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both revered and trusted, wrought such effect in their minds, that some presently adventured to swim over the River, and joynted themselves unto him; and many others that stayed still, began now to doubt lest they had worshipped a wrong Saint. At the same time also, *Eroafes Bajla*, to terrify *Mulphaba*, sent unto him Letters as in great secret, advertising him, that *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his Army to pass over the River above the broken Bridge; at which time the chief Captains of his Army being (as he said) corrupted, had promised to deliver *Mulphaba* into his hands, and with his Head to pay the Ransom of them all. This he coloured with such fair glosses, that *Mulphaba* partly believed the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eroafes* with certain Troops of Horsemen passed over the River, at the very same place he had in his Letters named; and that with such a noise and tumult, as if *Amurath* with his whole Army had been coming. *Mulphaba* seeing things begin thus to work according as *Eroafes Bajla* had before written; and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayed, and carrying about him a guilty Conscience (the Mother of Fear and Distrust) took Horse, (flenderly accompanied but with ten persons of his whole Army) and fled in haste, no man pursuing them, until he came to the River of *Boga*, and there with a great Sum of Money obtained passage, by corrupting the Captain that dwelt in the Castle upon the passage of the River; and the third day after passing over the Strait of *Hellefponus*, landed at *Callipolis*. The flight of *Mulphaba* once known in his Army, they all yielded them-

selves unto *Eroafes Bajla*, who taking possession of *Mulphaba*'s Tent, caused the broken Bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* passing with his Army, joynted himself with *Eroafes*. The other *Bajla Ibrahim*, counselled *Amurath* to put to the Sword all those Rebels that had followed *Mulphaba*; but by the mediation of *Eroafes* (to whom they had yielded themselves) they were generally pardoned.

*Amurath* departing from *Ullah* or *Espadum*, came to *Boga*, and there langed up the Captain that had given *Mulphaba* passage. From thence he held on his way to *Lampacum*, intending to pursue *Mulphaba* into *Europe*; but being come to the Sea side he could find no passage, for that *Mulphaba* had caused all the shipping on that side, to be brought over into *Europe*. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chanced upon a great *Grenavy* Ship, which he hired for four thousand Ducats to transport his Army, and so with much ado at length landed in *Europe*. *Mulphaba* seeing that *Amurath* was now come over, fled to *Hadrianople*, where he found such cold Entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to speed himself thence, thinking all the World too little to hide himself in; and so came to an obscure place in the Country of the *Turks*, called *Kilid-Begaze*. *Germin*, where the Soldiers came to pursue him, overtook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at *Hadrianople*; by whose Commandment he was shamefully hanged from the Battlements of one of the highest Towers of the City, and there left to the Worlds Wonder.

This *Mulphaba* is of some Writers reported to have been in deed the Son of the great *Sultan Bajazet*, and that he was kept in prison all that long time, and thus at length set by the *Greeks* to trouble the State of the Turkish Kingdom; but the Turkish Histories report as before, calling him *Dufne* or counterfeit *Mulphaba*. And it is very likely, that if he had been one of the Sons of *Bajazet*, he would have found some means to have made some great stir long before that, as all the rest of the unquiet Brood of *Bajazet* did, which never rested until they had, like the Earth-born Brethren, one destroyed the other's besides that, their bloody Natures considered, it is very like, that *Mahomet* his younger Brother, who reigned in *Hadrianople* almost eight years, and was in League all that time with the Emperor of *Constantinople*, would for his more safety have got him into his own Power, if he had been in prison with the Emperor; or else have dispatched him, if he had been in prison with himself. All which I am the rather persuaded to think, for that *Orchame* a Child, the Son of *Solyman*, could find no safe place of abode at *Constantinople* in the Reign of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*; much less is it like, that *Mulphaba*, being a Warlike Prince, and his elder Brother, could have been so long preserved and kept in prison from his fury.

It fortuned in these late Broils (as oftentimes it doth with others in like case) divers of the Rebels *Alapi*, or Common Soldiers (whom he for his greater Countenance had apparelled and armed like Janizaries) to fall into the hands of the true Janizaries. *Amurath* his faithful Guard; whose lives indeed they spared, but using them with all the Delight and Indignities possible. Amongst the rest, one of the Janizaries being an hungry, brought two of these *Alapi* his prisoners unto a Cooks Shop, offering to sell them unto him for a little Victual; which the Cook refused

refused to give him, as having no use for such unnecessary Servants. Wherewith the proud *Janizary* enraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their Heads, and to give them for him, for ought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeem them. And like enough he was to have done, had not the Cooks, moved with pity, offered him for them both a sheep head; which the *Janizary* took for them, fearing that the Cook had given for them more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace so long since done unto these *Alapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproach in great contempt, by the malterful and insolent Janizaries, objected unto the whole body of the *Alapi*, the greatest part of the *Turks* huge Armies; of whom for all that the proud Janizaries make final reckoning, accounting them scarcely for Men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a fadden sheeps head.

*Amurath* having at length with much ado thus pacified the dangerous Rebellion raised by the counterfeit *Mulphaba* both in *Europe* and *Asia*, was yet not a little grieved, to think how the fame had, to the great hazard of his Estate, been first plotted by the *Greeks*, and afterwards countenanced by the Greek Emperor, of whom he thought now to be revenged. And therefore sending before him *Michael Ogli*, his Lieutenant General in *Europe*, with his *European* Soldiers to invade the Country about *Constantinople*, followed himself after with the Janizaries and his *Asian* Forces; and incamping before the City, filled all that neck of land which lieth before it, from Sea to Sea. And so incamped, began right suddenly to batter the Walls, in hope so to have made a breach, and by the same to have entered the City; but finding the Walls of greater strength than he had before supposed, and the Defendants still repairing whatsoever the fury of his Artillery had beaten down or shaken, he ceased his Battery, and coming on with all his Forces, desperately attempted by Assault to have gained the City; wherein his Fortune was not answerable to his Desires; for approaching the City, with Arrows as showers falling upon the Defendants, and scaling-Ladders in the mean time clapt up to the Walls, and the Janizaries with other of his best Soldiers valiantly mounting the same, they were by the Defendants notably repulsed and beaten down, losing some of their hands, some their Arms, some their Heads, but most their Lives, no Shot falling in vain from the Walls. Which *Amurath* beholding and grieved to see (though unwilling) commanded a Retreat to be founded, and the Assault given over; and shortly after seeing no hope to prevail, in great rage raised his Siege and departed. Unto whom for all that the Greek Emperor not long after sent his Embassadors to intreat with him for Peace; whereof he would by no means hear, but proudly threatened to be ere long of all his wrongs revenged; which caused the Greek Emperor to devise what he might for the troubling of his Estate, so to keep him otherwise busied; as he did shortly after with the *Caramanian* King, by countenancing another *Mulphaba* (surnamed *Cutuzog* or the Little) *Amurath*'s younger Brother, against him, to the raising of new Stirs, and *Amurath* his no small trouble.

*Mahomet* the late King had five Sons and five Daughters, who *Amurath* was well beloved, and succeeded in his Fathers Kingdom; *Mulphaba* the second, firmamed the Little, *Aschmet* the third, who died before his Father; the other two; *Joseph* and *Machmet*, both died of the

Plague, being but Children, after the death of their Father. Three of their Sisters were married to the three Sons of the King of *Caramania*, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Ija*; the other two were bestowed upon the Sons of the Prince *Ispendiar*, *Ibrahim*, and *Cajimer*; the sixth was given in marriage to *Cezar-Beg* Vice-Roy of *Anatolia*; and the seventh, pity, offered him for them both a sheeps head; which the *Janizary* took for them, fearing that the Cook had given for them more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace so long since done unto these *Alapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproach in great contempt, by the malterful and insolent Janizaries, objected unto the whole body of the *Alapi*, the greatest part of the *Turks* huge Armies; of whom for all that the proud Janizaries make final reckoning, accounting them scarcely for Men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a fadden sheeps head.

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his Wars in *Europe*, against *Mulphaba* the supposed Son of *Bajazet*; the younger Son of *Mahomet* (called also *Mulphaba*) being but thirteen years old, and *Amurath* his Brother indeed, was set up to raise new Troubles, by the King of *Caramania* and other Princes, as well *Mahometans*, as the Christian Princes of *Grecia*; who thought it good policy, by that means to impeach the greatness of *Amurath*. This young Prince *Mulphaba* strengthened with the Forces of his Friends, entered into his Brothers Dominions in *Asia*, and besieged *Nice*, which was at length yielded unto him. *Amurath* advertised of this new Rebellion, by great Gifts and large Promises corrupted *Ilan Beg*, the young Princes Tutor, to betray the Prince into his hands. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celerity set forward with his Army from *Hadrianople*, and in nine days came to *Nice*, where he entered the City with small resistance, as was to him before promised, where *Mulphaba* was by his false Tutor to him presented; who because he would not spill one drop of the sacred *Osman* blood, (as the *Turks* call it) commanded the Executioner presently to strangle him with a Bow-string; which was done accordingly, and his body afterwards buried by his Father at *Praga*.

*Amurath* having suppressed these two Rebellions, and now out of all fear of any Competitor, thought his five Counsellors too many by three, and therefore removed the three *Baffaces*, *Onure*, *Uruzi*, and *Alis* (the Sons of *Temurafes*) into honourable Places, retaining of his Council, only the two old *Baffaces*, *Ibrahim* and *Eroafes*. But shortly after, *Eroafes* was severely accused to *Amurath*, that he fought by his Favorites, the Soldiers of the Court, to aspire unto the Kingdom himself, and to depose the King; and that intending some such matter, he did usually wear a Privy-Court. This suspicious Report troubled the jealous Tyrant; wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eroafes*, he cast his Arm about him, as if it had been in kindness; but finding him secretly armed, would needs know the cause thereof; whereunto *Eroafes* answered, That it was for fear of some Enemies he had in the Court; but this Excuse could by no means serve his turn; wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the Commandment of *Amurath*, and both his Eyes burnt out with a hot Steel glass.

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in fubduing Rebellions at home, *Machmet*, the *Caramanian* King besieged *Antiochia*, a great City in *Syria*, by the space of six months, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-Beg*, *Amurath*'s Lieutenant there; at which Siege the unfortunate King himself, as he was taking view of the City, was slain with a great shot out of the City; whereupon *Ibrahim*, which succeeded him in the Kingdom, brake up the Siege, and returned home to bury his Father. At this time also, *Dracula* Prince of *Valachia*, passing over *Danubius*, did the *Turks* much harm about *Silistra*, but was afterwards enforced to submit himself to *Amurath*, and become his Tributary.

About this time also *Tamiet*, the Prince of *Smyrna*,

Constantinople is taken by Amurath.

Mulphaba betrayed and hanged.

Mulphaba betrayed and hanged.

Eroafes Bajla's eyes put out.

The King of Caramania slain.

Mulphaba flies.

*Smyrna*, which had before aided the Rebel *Musapha*, did by all means could vex and molest *Jasir-beg*, (*Amurath* his Lieutenant in *Adonia*) and having by chance taken his Brother Prisoner, put him to death. This Prince of *Smyrna* was defended of the ancient Princes of *Adonia*, and therefore pretended an interest in that Signiory; which his Claim the people of the City, secretly favoured, so far as they durst for fear of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harms that this Prince of *Smyrna* did, commanded *Hamze-beg*, Vice-Roy of *Anatolia*, with all his Power to make War upon him. The Vice-Roy without delay assembled a great Army, and invaded the Princes Country; and the Prince being well provided for his coming, meeting him upon the way, gave him battle; wherein *Hafan* the Princes Son, leading a great part of his Fathers Army, had put one part of the Turks Army to flight; and pursuing them with too much fury, left his Father at the same time so hardly beset by the Vice-Roy, that he was glad to fly to his Castle of *Hafly* left by *Hafan* returning from the chase of the Enemy, not knowing what had happened to his Father; was by the Turks in his return overcome and taken Prisoner. After which Victory the Vice-Roy presently laid Siege to the Castle wherein the Prince was. This Siege continued a great while; at length the Prince brought to extremity, and yielded himself to the Vice-Roy, upon condition he should use no violence against the Person of himself or his Son, but to send them Prisoners unto *Amurath*; which thing the Vice-Roy by solemn Oath promised, whereupon the Prince came out of the Castle, and yielded himself Prisoner to the Vice-Roy. *Jasir-beg*, the Count by which the Prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the Vice-Roy to his Tent, where finding *Hafan* the Princes Son sitting upon the ground, as the manner of the Turks is, took him by the choler with great fury, and drawing him along to the Feet of the Prince his Father, threw most cruelly from off his head; and in the same rage laying his bloody hands upon the aged Prince, struck off his head also, to the great dishonour of the Vice-Roy, who had before given his Faith for their safety. The heads of the Prince and his Son were set upon two Laurels, within the sight of the Castle; which the Defendants seeing, and now despairing of all rescue, yielded themselves with the Castle. This infamous *Trajan* was the last Prince of *Smyrna*, after whose death all his Territory was united to the Ottoman Kingdom. After all these Troubles, *Amurath* with great Triumph married the Daughter of the Prince *Isfendiar*.

The Thessalonica being.

*Amurath* having laid up in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian Princes had done, in giving Aid to the Rebels aforesaid, thought it now high time to take revenge of that wrong; and for that purpose gathered a great Army, wherewith he ranged at his pleasure through *Macedonia*, until he came to *Thessalonica*, surpising by the way divers Cities and Castles, at that time belonging to the *Constantinopolitan* Empire. This famous City of *Thessalonica*, now called *Salonica*, for beauty and wealth sometime not inferior to any of the greatest and most renowned Cities of *Grecia*, is situate upon the Borders of *Macedonia*, close unto a Bay upon the *Archipelago* of the Sea *Egeum*; which Bay was in ancient time called *Thermaen-Sinus*, and now the Bay of *Salonica*. To the Christian Congregation there dwelling, St. Paul wrote two Epistles, in the latter whereof, he forewarneth

them of a great Defection to come before the latter day. Before this Christian City, then in the Protection of the *Venetians*, *Amurath* encamped his great Army of misbelieving Turks; and laid hard Siege to it with most terrible Battery; at which time he by secret means corrupted certain of the wicked Citizens, to have betrayed the City by a secret Mine, and to have let him in, which Treason was by the *Venetian* Governors perceived, and the Plotters thereof for safe-guard of their lives glad to leap over the Walls, and to fly into the Turks Camp.

*Amurath* having greatly battered the Walls of the City, the more to encourage his Soldiers, promised to give them all the Spoil thereof, if they could by force win it. The greedy desire of this rich Prey, wherein every common Soldier promised unto himself whatsoever his foolish fancy or unbridled affection could desire, so inflamed the minds of these barbarous Soldiers, and especially of the Janizaries, that giving a most terrible Assault to the City, they by force entered the same, and won it. The *Venetian* Soldiers fled to their Gallies, lying at Anchor in the Haven, and so got to Sea; but the infinite miseries which the poor Christian Citizens endured in the fury of that barbarous Nation, no Tongue is able to express, or Pen describe; death was left pain to them the ignominious Outrages and unfeeling Villanies which many of these Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die, and could not; and yet the furious Enemies sword devoured all the people, without respect of Age or Sex, except such as for strength of body, or comeliness of person, were reserved for painful labour or beastly lust; which poor souls were afterwards dispersed into most miserable servitude and slavery, through all parts of the Turkish Kingdom. The infinite Riches of that famous City, became a spoil unto the barbarous Soldiers; the goodly Houses were left desolate, void of Inhabitants. Thus the beautiful City of *Thessalonica*, sometime one of the most glorious Ornaments of *Grecia*, the late pleasant dwelling-place of many rich Christians, was by the Tyrant given for an habitation to such base Turks, as at their pleasure repaired thither to sat themselves, and to is by them at this day polluted. This Calamity happened to *Thessalonica*, in the year of our Lord, 1539.

The Thessalonica taken by Amurath.

*Thessalonica* being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to *Hadrinople* himself, and at the same time sent *Caratz* with the greatest part of his Army into *Aetolia*. *Charles* Prince of that Country dying a little before the coming of *Amurath* to *Thessalonica*, and having no lawful Issue, had divided the Country of *Aetolia* amongst his three base Sons, *Mamon*, *Ternus*, and *Hercules*, leaving all the rest of his Dominion to his Brothers Son, called also *Charles*. But shortly after, such discord fell among these Brethren, that *Amurath* sending his Turks to Aid one of them against the other, as he was by them requested, in time brought all that Country of *Aetolia* into Subjection to Himself, leaving nothing for the foolish Brethren to strive for, more than the bare titles of imaginative Honour. The other Grecian Princes of *Athens*, *Phocia*, *Beotia*, and all the rest of *Grecia*, unto the frast of *Corinth*, terrified by their Neighbours harms, were glad to submit themselves to the barbarian Yoke, and to become Tributaries unto the Turkish Tyrant; under which slavery they of long time most miserably lived, if intolerable slavery joyed with Infidelity may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians lost their Liberty, which their Ancestors had many times before, to their immortal Praife,

Praife, worthily defended against the greatest Monarchs of the World, and are now so degenerate, by the means of the Turkish Oppression, that in all *Grecia* is hardly to be found any small remembrance of the ancient Glory thereof; inasmuch that whereas they were wont to account all other Nations barbarous in comparison of themselves, they are now become no less barbarous, than those rude Nations whom they before scorned. Whom many with a thousand more, they may justly impute to their own Ambition and Difcord.

At this time, amongst the distressed Princes of *Macedonia* and *Grecia*, one *John* mightily reigned in *Epirus*; who seeing how mightily the Turk prevailed against the Princes his Neighbours, and considering that he was not able by any means to withstand so puissant an Enemy; to obtain Peace, he was glad to deliver into *Amurath* his Possession, his four Sons, *Stanislaus*, *Reposius*, *Constantine*, and *George*, for Hostages; whom *Amurath* faithfully promised, well and honourably to entertain. But as soon as he had got them within his reach, he falsified his Faith, and caused them to be circumcised after the Turkish manner, and to be intruded in the Turkish Superstition, to the great grief of their Christian Parents; and afterwards, when he understood of the death of *John* *Cyprian* their Father, he poisoned all the three elder Brethren; and by *Sebaly* (one of his great Captains) seized upon *Crovia*, his chief City, and all the rest of his Territories, as if they had by good right devolved unto him. But *George* the youngest, whom the Turks named *Scander-beg*, or *Lord Alexander*, for his excellent Feature, and pregnant Wit, he always entirely loved, as some thought, more passionately than he should have loved a Boy. Him he caused to be diligently instructed in all kind of activity and feats of War, wherein he excelled all other his Equals in *Amurath* his Court; and rising by many degrees of Honour, came at last (being yet but very young) to be a great Sanzack or Governor of a Province, and was many times appointed by *Amurath* to be General of his Armies; in which Service he so behaved himself, that he got the love of all that knew him, and increased his credit with *Amurath*; until at last he found opportunity by great policy and courage, to deliver both himself and his native Country from the horrible slavery of the Turkish Tyranny, as shall be afterwards declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus danted the Princes of *Grecia*, he turned his Forces into *Servia*; but the Prince of *Servia* unable to withstand so mighty an Enemy, to procure his Favour, sent Embassadors, offering to pay him a yearly Tribute, and to do further what he should reasonably demand. *Amurath* before the yearly Tribute, required to have *Mary* (his Princes fair Daughter) in marriage; and that he should not suffer the *Hungarians* to pass through his Country to invade him; and further, not at any time to deny passage unto the Turkish Army, when he should send forth the same for the Invasion of the Kingdom of *Bosnia*. All which unreasonable conditions the Prince was glad to agree unto, and sent his fair Daughter by *Saratz*, who was afterwards married to *Amurath*.

A Plague among the Turks.

About this time, *Josephus* and *Macchabeus*, *Amurath* his Brethren, and *Orchanes* the Son of *Solyman*, who had his Eyes put out by his Uncle *Malomet*, with many other Men of great account among the Turks, died of the Plague at *Prusa*.

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in his Wars in *Europe*, the King of *Caramania* his Brother in

law, invaded his Dominions in *Asia*; for so it was agreed between the Christian Princes of *Europe*, and the Mahometan Princes of *Asia*, to whom the greatness of the Ottoman Kingdom was now become dreadful, That whenever he invaded the Christians in *Europe*, the Mahometan Princes should invade his Countries in *Asia*; and that whenever he should turn his Forces into *Asia*, the Christian Princes should spoil his Countries in *Europe*. Against this *Caramanian* King, *Amurath* transported his Army into *Asia*; and as he went, seized upon the Countries of *Sarcania*, *Mantolia*, and other Princes, which were before but Tributaries unto him, driving out the poor Princes before him; and to enter into *Caramania*, and enforced the King so far, that he was glad to agree to such conditions of Peace as he pleased him to propound unto him, and to send his Son to wait at his Court. And at the same time picking a Quarrel with *Isfendiar* Prince of *Caspiana*, caused him to become his Tributary, and to send his Son to his Court also. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan Princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his Troubles in *Asia*, he returned to *Hadrinople*; and understanding that the *Hungarians*, having overcome *Danubius*, had in his absence made divers Incursions into his Dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in Revenge thereof first sent *Atis* *Bassa* the Son of *Eurenjes*, with an Army to invade *Hungary*, which he performed according by the space of a month, and returned from thence with rich Booty. Not long after, he himself in Person made another Road into *Hungary*, commanding the Prince of *Servia* his Father in law, to give his Army free passage through his Country; and charging *Dracula* Prince of *Valachia* to aid him with his Forces in that Expedition; which his Commandment both the Christian Princes (more for fear, than of good will) diligently performed. So *Amurath* having enriched his Soldiers with the spoil taken in *Hungary*, returned home and wintered at his Court at *Hadrinople*.

The secret Confederation between the *Hungarians*, and the Mahometan King of *Caramania*, was not unsuspected of *Amurath*; which he was rather induced to believe, for that whenever he invaded the one, he was presently set upon by the other, either in *Europe* or in *Asia*; of which Plot he doubted not but that *George* Prince of *Servia* (his Father in law) was chief Author, although in they he was therein the least Actor. Wherefore *Amurath* intending to spoil the Play, sent for the Prince his Father in law to come to the Court of *Hadrinople*; but he doubting some Turkish Tragedy, pretended great occasions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fell out, fortified and manned all his strong Cities and Castles by all means he could possibly, especially his chief City *Semendre* (otherwise called *Spendervia*), and left therein his Son *Gregory* (or as some call him, *George*) as Governor; for his other Son *Stephen* was long before in *Amurath* his Court, with the Queen his Sister. The Prince of *Servia* himself went into *Hungary* to procure from thence some Aid, having there also himself certain Territories, which he had in exchange of *Sigismundus* (late Emperor and King of *Hungary*) for the City of *Belgrade*. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the Affinity and League he had with the Prince his Father in law, entered with a great Army into *Servia*, destroying all before him, and hardly besieged *Semendre*; where

A a

Amurath contrary to his Faith invaded Servia and killed it.

after long Siege the young Governor (the Princes Son) doubting to fall into the Enemies hands by fudden Assault, yielded himself, with the City; which thing discouraged the rest of the *Servians*, that in short time, *Sophia*, *Novomont*, with all the rest of the Cities of *Servia*, were yielded into the Power of *Amurath*. After which Conquest he returned to *Hadrinople*, and hearing that the Prince of *Servia* with the *Hungarians*, were making head against him, and that the two young *Servian* Princes, *Gregory* and *Stephen*, his Wives Brethren, had Intelligence with their Father, he commanded them both to be caft in prison at *Dydemetium*, and their Eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a brazen Baton made red hot; a common unmerciful practice among the Turks.

About this time, *Albertus* Duke of *Austria*, having before married *Elizabeth* the only Daughter of *Sigismund* the Emperor, and succeeding his Father in law both in the Empire and Kingdom of *Hungary* (unto which Title of highest Honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigismund*) in the second year of his Reign, before he was well settled in those new achieved Honours, died of the Flux, as he was making great preparation against *Amurath* the Turkish King, who having lately driven *George* Prince of *Servia* and *Rascia* out of his Dominions, had now extended the Turkish Kingdom even unto the borders of *Hungary*. This *Albertus* dying, left his Wife great with child. The *Hungarians*, in whose minds the remembrance of *Sigismund* was yet fresh, could have been contented to have lived under the Government of the Queen his Daughter, the Widow of *Albertus* (then great with child); but that Turkish King was now grown to great, and come to high, that it was thought more than needfully by *John Hunyadi*, and other of the *Hungarian* Nobility, for the defence of that Kingdom, not wholly to rest upon the devotion of the people toward the Queen, and the expectation of her Issue, whereby they should be nothing strengthened; but to make choice of some great Prince, by whose Power they might the better defend themselves and the Kingdom against their dangerous Enemies. Whereupon with consent of the Queen, it was resolved upon, to make choice of *Uladislaus*, the young King of *Polonia*, then a Prince of great Power, but of far greater Fame and Expectation; and by Embassadors to offer unto him the marriage of the Queen, and with her, the Kingdom also. This Embassy being sent unto *Uladislaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the *Polonian* Court, Whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to speak of the inequality of the Match, considering that the King was but in the prime of his Youth, and the Queen well steep into years, urging favours, that nothing was feared in that Match but Wars; and that the *Hungarians* therein fought for nothing more, than by the *Polonian* Forces to defend themselves against the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion, said, That the uniting of those two mighty Kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great Honour of the King, whose very name would thereby become terrible unto the Turks; and that it were greater policy, by the Forces of both the Kingdoms, to keep the Turkish King from entering into *Hungary*, than to leave that Kingdom to fight for a prey, and afterward be informed to fight with the same Enemy in the heart of *Polonia*. And as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not so great a matter, that in

regard thereof to honourable and commodious Alliance should be rejected; for as much as Princes do more regard the Vertues of their Choice, with the increase of their Honour and Wealth of their Kingdoms, than the Summer-Fruit of Youth and Beauty, which of it self in short time doth rot and perish, although it be never so carefully kept and preserved; and that for as much as there can be but one King in a Kingdom, such choice was to be preferred of Kings as had not therein the greatest hope of many Children. After long deliberation, *Uladislaus* gave answer to the Embassadors, That he would accept of the Offers by them made, whereupon they then returned to make Relation to the Queen, and some of them stayed behind to haften the King forward. But whilst these things were a doing, the Queen in the mean time was delivered of a fair Son, whom she caused to be baptized and named *Ladislaus*. After the birth of this Child, the Queen moved with a Motherly affection, began to repent her self, that she had given her consent for the calling in of the *Polonian* King, to the prejudice of her. And being animated by some of the *Hungarian* Nobility (who presuming of the good Grace they were in with the Queen, hoped to grow great therein, if they might first draw the Government of that Kingdom to the Queen and her young Son) determined now by all means to exclude the *Polonian* King; but the greater part of the Nobility better considering what was most expedient for the present Estate, and that they could neither with Honour or Safety fly from that which was before (for the common good) by the Embassadors concluded, continued firm in their former Resolution for the bringing in of *Uladislaus*; so that by this means, some taking part with the Queen and her young Son, and others standing fast for *Uladislaus*, the Kingdom of *Hungary* was divided into two Factions, and as it were rent in pieces, and so grew to Civil Wars. The Queen with such as favoured her Claim, the more to gain the minds of the common people (which are many times no less carried away with shews than matter) caused her Son *Ladislaus* (being then but three months old) solemnly to be Crowned King at *Alba Regalis*, the usual place for the Coronation of the *Hungarian* Kings. But after that the *Polonian* King had entered into *Hungary* with a goodly Army, and joyined his Forces with his Friends, most part of them which before followed the Queen and her Son, revolted unto *Uladislaus*. So that when the had done what she could, she was glad at last to commit the tuition of her Son, together with the Crown of *Hungary*, unto *Frederick* the Third, then Emperor; never ceasing for all that, to the uttermost of her Power, to trouble the Government of *Uladislaus*, continually uniting a great Wars against him both at home and abroad, until that at the last by her death her quarrel took end, together with his life.

In the middle of these Civil Wars, *Amurath* thought a fair opportunity presented unto him, to make an Entrance unto the Conquest of *Hungary*, which Kingdom he had in his ambitious mind already devoured. And therefore gathering a great Army, he marched along the River *Danubius*, until he came to the strong City of *Belgrade*, called in ancient time *Taurunum*, and of some *Alba Graeca*, but now commonly *Grecia Weisenburg*. This City is inhabited on the East side with the famous River of *Savus* or *Save*, which runs forth into *Danubius*; and on the other two sides is defended with strong Walls, with deep

Belgrade  
in vain  
afflicted.

deep and large Ditches; and was then accounted the Gate or Entrance into *Hungary*. Unto this City *Amurath* at his first coming gave two terrible Assaults, and was in good hope to have won the same, but yet was both times valiantly repulsed, with great laughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at the first supposed, he began to raise Mounts against the City, and high Towers of Wood to annoy the Defendants, and furiously battered the Walls. At this time also he caused great numbers of Gallies and small Pinnaces to be brought into both the Rivers of *Danubius* and *Savo*, to assault the City on those parts where was least feared, and by that means also to keep them of the City from all Succors to be sent that way out of *Hungary*. Yet for all he could do or devise, the City was still valiantly defended by the Christian Soldiers, which under the leading and conduct of *Johannes* *Uranus* a *Florentine*, Governor thereof, with often sallies and continual Shot flew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this Siege, *Uladislaus* King of *Polonia*, and lately Elect King of *Hungary*, was fore troubled by the Queen and her Faction in *Hungary*; which thing the Turkish King knew right well, and thereupon continued his Siege, although Famine began greatly to increase in his Camp; hoping in nothing more, than that the Defendants despairing of help from the King, would in short time yield up the City. *Uladislaus* being so intangled with Civil Wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such Force as might relieve the besieged City; yet forasmuch as the Turkish King lay not long before by his Embassador required to join with him in League and Amity, he thought good now to assay if he could raise the Siege, by sending unto him the like Embassage. Whereupon he sent *Dobrogosius*, *Othorogemus*, and *Lucas* *Gersicus*, three of the *Polonian* Nobility, Embassadors unto *Amurath*; declaring unto him, That for so much as he had offered by his Embassadors, to join with him in League before he came out of *Polonia*, the remembrance thereof had taken such deep impression in his mind, that he would not take up Arms against him, although it were in his own just defence, before he had offered him reasonable Conditions of Peace; wherefore if he would desist from invading *Hungary* (whereof *Uladislaus* was now by God his permission, and consent of the people, chosen King) and to raise the Siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree upon the desired Peace; in concluding whereof, he should not find *Uladislaus* inferior to himself in any manner of Princely courtesy; but if he had rather proceed in Arms, and to make proof of his strength, he would then do the best that he could, to make him know that he was of sufficient Power, in so just a quarrel to withstand his greatest Forces, and to revenge the Wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had received this Embassage, he appointed the Embassadors to withdraw themselves for a while to *Synderovia* (a City of *Servia*, not far off) until he might better consider of their demands; pretending, that he did it for their safety; but as appeared afterwards, secretly resolving with himself, presently to do his utmost devil, for the gaining of the City, and upon the Success thereof to shoop them answer accordingly. Wherefore to soon as the Embassadors were departed to *Synderovia*, he first by his Messengers assayed the minds of the Citizens and Soldiers with magnificent Promises of large Liberties, and infinite Rewards and Preferments, if they would yield up the City;

Belgrade  
in vain  
afflicted.

and many Arrows with Letters made fast unto them, full of like Promises, were at the same time shot into the City. But when he saw no hope to prevail by that means, he called together the Captains and Commanders of his Army, and there in the presence of them all, spake unto them as followeth:

Although I know it is in mine own Power, to the same grant, or not to grant, the Peace whereof our Enemies have made a motion; yet it is my pleasure (worthy Soldiers) to know your minds also. For I have much as we have that War in hand, wherein with my sorrowful Felicity, (whereof amongst you I hold the chief glory) I also enlarged our Religion, and purity of Belief of Life; the defence and care whereof equally begrade longed unto us all; for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our Vocation, and living here, yet after death we all hope for one and the self same Felicity. And therefore I would have you to understand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine own Private, but upon the consideration of the Common Good of you all. For as concerning mine own Estate, I possess so large Countries in Asia, such great Dominions in Europe, that either part thereof (in good time be it said) might form a sufficient Kingdom; so that perhaps it might be better band with my Estate, to take more care, for keeping of that I have, than to travel for the gaining of more; but you are to consider with your selves, whether you have every man sufficient to suffice himself or not, and how long you think your selves assured of the same; and moreover, that together with these worldly things, we shall be driven at length to forsake our Profession and Religion, if we shall now lay down Arms. For our Enemies require, that we should first cease from War, and then afterwards they think it meet to talk of Peace. I will not speak of the Indignity, that men besieged, and in evil plight, should propound conditions of Peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should promise Peace unto courageous and expert Soldiers; I omit what labour and pains we have taken in laying our Siege, in raising of Mounts, in making of Shipping, all which our Enemies command us to forsake, as if they had us already bound or caged up in hold, as we have them. All Bulgaria, and the greater part of *Rascia* is now by us conquered, and most part of *Servia* is at our Command; all which places are by us either to be kept, or else all the rest of that we possess in Europe, is with them to be quite lost and forsaken. Whosoever shall have in their Power this City which we besiege (and that our Enemies know right well) shall have not only as it were a Fortress and Bulwark of defence for his own, but also a Caffle and Entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdom of *Hungary* is now divided in it self, and full of domestic Sedition; neither is it so much strengthened by the uniting of the Kingdom of *Polonia*, as it is by itself division weakened. And in this motion of Peace nothing is sought for, but to gain time for the raising of their private Quarrels, that they may afterwards with their double Forces set upon us. For if we shall break up our Siege before we have won the City, they will easily find delays so long to protract the conclusion of Peace, until that either *Uladislaus* his good Fortune, or else the *Hungarians* wearying of themselves, better advised, shall make an end of their Civil Wars. What manner and conditions of Peace will they then require of us, when they are at Unity amongst themselves, and in Arms against us; seeing that now being in danger with mutual Discord, and almost by us vanquished, they think it reasonable (as if they had won the Field) that we should first raise up our Sieges, and then intent of Peace? Their proud Demands for the Restoration of Bulgaria and *Rascia*, with other



Countries and Cities won by our travel and danger, already found in mine ears; which if we shall refuse to grant, not only the Hungarians being then at Unity among themselves, but also the Poles, joined with us, will bring those Wars home to our doors, which we now at great advantage make upon them, troubled with discord and civil broils. And if for desire of Peace we could be content to yield unto such shameful and miserable Conditions, and restore unto them all they should or reason could desire, as you see the Prince of Servia did, who contented with his own subjects languish mind (I am sure) being inflat with the combining of two such mighty Kingdoms, thinketh not only of the recovery of that he hath lost, but even now gazeth at all that is Ours in Europe. He will not think himself satisfied, before he (having brought the Hungarian and Polonian Forces against us) shall see the same havoc and spoil made in our Kingdom with Fire and Sword, which he hath before seen made by us in his own. Where if his Fortune should answer his Designs (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) desire all the miserable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angry Conqueror, is accounted with them for a godly and religious Work, to use all cruel and unchristianlike Violence against our Nation, except we will forsake the Faith and Religion delivered unto us by our Ancestors, and follow their new and incredible Ceremonies. Neither do they think they can more easily and effectually procure the Favour of God with any kind of Sacrifice or Service, than by overthrowing and profaning our Temples, by setting on fire our Cities, and by Rites and Ceremonies, by forswearing our Religion and Princes, and that you may know all the Fury whereunto they rage against us and our Religion, they account all them for holy Saints (whom dead in fight against us). There is no cause (valiant Soldier) that upon the vain hope of Peace, we should expect whilst the Enemy doth rage and unrelenting Violence against us, especially such an Enemy as propounds not spoil and worldly Honour, but Immortality itself, as a reward of his Victory. We have already taken much more labour than we have to take, we have filled the Ditches with refuse; labour, we have cast up Bulwarks equal with the Walls, and part of the Walls we have beaten even with the ground, so that you see the Town hath opened; and that Town, by gaining whereof, all that Ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our Enemy possesseth, subject to our spoil and prey. If you will but a little enslave your selves, as men mindful of our good Fortune and forwardness, you shall find our Temples, our Sacrifices, our Religion, all worldly and heavenly felicity to be then assured unto us, when as you shall tomorrow overthrow the very Foundation of the Enemies Wall. Then (courageous Soldier) we may cry, Victory, not for the present, but for ever. If this War should bring unto us nothing else but an assured security of our Estate, it were sufficient reward; for which we might cheerfully be content to encounter all dangers, and to challenge in Combat even death itself. But at this Victory doth defend all our things, as with a deep Trench, or sure Wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our Enemies Dominions unto danger and spoil. Hitherto we have striven with Nature herself in the rough and abrupt Mountains of Bulgaria and Rascia, where we were to strive with Hunger, Thirst, Labour, and Disparation; all them we have overcome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attain unto the Wealths of fruitful Hungary, from whence we must fetch the garden of our Victory, and the ground of our Glory. We are come to the Gates, which being laid open, we are not to pass over unscathed Rivers, or marsh Deserts, but we shall go through most pleasant places, as they by Nature her self, and the industry of man; where the temperateness of the Air, and lively Springs, with

the fruitfulness of the Soil, doth every where yield plenty of all manner of food both for Man and Beast, not only to serve for Natures necessity, but even to give our soldiers desire. What thing soever curious and desirous hardly brought forth in other places, the fertility of the Soil yieldeth plentifully of it self; so that it is to be thought, that Nature adorned Hungary with a certain extraordinary Care, when as she would set forth a pattern of good Husbandry for other Countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place been more bountiful in bestowing her rich Gifts; for besides the Corn, which she plentifully gives up, and Gold, which other men most painfully dig up, and in few places, the Hungarians gather to their use, as if it were a growing Plant. It is in your power (worthy Soldier) whether you will to tomorrow open a way to all these good things for your selves for ever, or else leave the way open for your Enemies unto all that you hold. I would that you could remember when they you hold, that all the floor of happy Fortune is laid open unto you for a Prey, without any other defence, without any other Garrison, without any other Keeper; and that behind you are your Wives, Children, your Houses, your Temples, and Religion, together with the rewards of all your former Victories, over whom, except you save this City, the fury and insolency of the victorious Enemy will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the Breach to morrow, shall easily perceive how you are set down to Command as Conquerors, or else as Slaves to be commanded; and also what to answer to the most insolent Demands of the proud Embassadors. In the mean time make up your minds, and together with your Armour have all the fury of kings, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the Breach.

The Turkish Captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been already assured of the Victory, and so they took good things which Amurath had so lively before their eyes. The next morning very early, Amurath commanded the Assault to be given to a great Breach which he had made in the Wall with continual Battery: the Soldiers with great courage assailed the Breach, especially the Janizaries, who under the leading of *Malik Basha* valiantly won the fame, and were entering the City with assured hope of Victory. The Christians seeing all in danger, were to be lost, running to the Breach from all parts of the City, so forcibly charged the proud Janizaries on every side, that they were glad to retire with more haste than they before retired; in which Retreat many of them were slain, and the rest flying out at the Breach, were either slain, or burnt to death in the Town-Ditch with Wild-fire; whereof the Defendants had cast great store upon the Turks at the Breach, which having taken hold upon the Faggots, Hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had taken the sudden made their way over the Town-Ditch, did so terribly burn the Turks, Janizaries which had entered the Breach, being again repulsed, were in that fiery Lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this Assault Amurath is reported to have lost 8000. of his best Men, beside 7000 others overwhelmed or strangled in the Mines, by the Countermine of the Christians. The other party burnt Turks, which at the same time assaulted the City by Water, out of their Gallies and small Ships, had as evil or rather worse Success; many of them were sunk with great Shot, and some burnt by the fire cast from the Walls, and so fired one another; and divers of them in that sudden fear, for avoiding of that present danger, ran a ground upon the shells in the River, ready to slip. Amurath wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter

Amurath  
his answer  
to the  
Embassadors.

slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the Assault, returned to his Camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped from some great shipwreck. And thus partly by Famine, and partly by the Defendants force, having lost the greatest part of his Army, he determined now after seven months Siege to return home. Yet because he would not encourage his Enemies by shewing his fear, he sent for the Embassadors into the Camp, and with stern Countenance answered them in this sort:

We will (said he) then talk of Peace, when Uladislav shall deliver unto us all that part of Rascia which he yet holdeth, and also this City of Belgrade as a pledge of the League. And for this time I will raise my Siege, to give Uladislav time to advise himself; yet I would wish him rather to accept of my friendship upon these Conditions, than by denying that little which he demandeth, to hazard the State of both his Kingdoms. I bid him that when it shall come by Law of Arms, before Uladislav was called into Hungary, and the Hungarians cannot transfer unto him that Right which they had not themselves. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to strive for that which is other men's, than quietly to possess his own, I will in good time repair hither again, with my God the Beholder and Revenger of Wrong.

With this Answer he dismissed the Embassadors, and forthwith rose with his Army, fore-representing his coming thither; yet because he would take something in his way, he left his Nephew *Ira-Beg* with certain Troops of Horsemen at *Scopia* in Servia, who he troubled the King of *Bosnia*, that he was glad to require Peace of Amurath, and to promise unto him a yearly Tribute of five and twenty thousand Ducats.

Uladislav newly elected King of Hungary, seeing that part of his Kingdom which is called *Transylvania* or *Emilia*, was by certain Troops of Horsemen to the Incursion of the Turks (who having got into their possession all the Country of *Moldavia*, and grown insolent by continual Victories, ceased not to invade and spoil the Country of *Transylvania*) for remedy of that daily mischief, created *John Huniades* Vayvod, or his Vicegerent in *Transylvania*. This *Huniated* (as some write) was Earl of *Bispha*, born in *Poland*; others say, that he was born but of mean Parents, and called *Huniated* of the Village wherein he was born, and grew to be great by his Vertue and Prowess. Whatsoever his Parents were, he himself was a politicque, valiant, fortunate, and famous Captain, his Victories so great, as the like was never before by any Christian Prince obtained against the Turks; so that his Name became unto them so dreadful, that they used the fame to fear their crying Children withall. This worthy Captain, according to the trust reposed in him, began to keep the Turks short, by cutting them off, whenever they presumed to enter into his Country; and also by shutting up the Passages whereby they were wont to forage the Country of *Transylvania*; and when he had put his own Charge into good safety, he entered into *Moldavia*, and never rested until he had won it quite out of the Turks hands: And not contented with this, passed many times over *Danubius* into the Turks Dominions, making havoc of the Turks, and carrying away with him great Booty, with many Captives.

Now were two great and worthy Captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniated* in *Transylvania* and the next part of *Hungary*, and *Ira* in *Rascia* and the upper part of

Servia; the one lying at *Temeswar*, and the other at *Sinderovia*; both Men of great spirit, and desirous of Honour. Of these two, *Ira* in great favour with Amurath, and by him highly preferred, to increase his credit with the Sultan his Uncle, and to enlarge the Bounds of the Turkish Kingdom committed to his Charge, continually foraged the Country about *Belgrade*, to the intent that having wearied the Inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, and brought the City into great wants, he might so at length gain the fame, for the most part abandoned then of Citizens, which Amurath could not but force obtain, and so to open a way into Hungary. Thus was the Country by him spoiled, the Villages razed and burnt, and great numbers both of Men and Cattel daily carried away; yea sometimes not contented to have spoiled the open Country, he assailed the very Suburbs of the City, and was thence hardly repulsed; and finding *Huniated* the only man that hindered his further proceedings, he requite him and provoke him the more, brake sometimes into his Country, laying in every corner as he went, strong Ambushes, so to have circumvented that wary Captain, if it had been possible. But he grieved to see the Country thus spoiled, and purposing thereof to be revenged, secretly raised a strong Power both of Horse and Foot, and with his Companion *Nicolaus Vitch*, a right valiant Captain, passing over *Danubius*, came and incamped between *Belgrade* and *Sinderovia*, being about twenty miles distant. Of whose coming *Ira-Beg* understanding, forthwith set forward with a great Army against him, lest he should by longer delay learn to stand in doubt of his Enemy, whom he had by many Injuries so often provoked. So marching on with his Army ranged in order of battle, he found *Huniated* as ready for battle as himself; who in both wings had placed his light Horsemen, and behind them his men at Arms, with certain Companies of Cross-bows on Horse-back; in the midst forth his armed Men, with his Archers, and other Soldiers more lightly armed, ready at all assaults, all strongly guarded with Men at Arms; after whom in the rearward followed also a strong Squadron of valiant Footmen. The signal of battle being given, there began a great and cruel Fight, as amongst men desirous either to overcome, or to be honoured, and end their days. At the first encounter the Wings of *Huniated* his battel were by the Turks enforced to retire; but coming to the Men at Arms, their fury was there staid, and a cruel battel fought, wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks more, who trusting to their agility and nimbleness of body, were unable long to endure the flock and strength of the Men at Arms, but were there by heaps overthrowen, and most miserably slain. Which *Ira-Beg* beholding, and perceiving the Hungarians courageously to fight, as men almost in possession of an assured Victory, to save himself, turned his back and fled to *Sinderovia*. The rest beholding the flight of their General, betook themselves to flight also, and whom the Hungarians fiercely followed, especially by *Huniated* himself, who by his example to animate the rest, left not the chase until he was come almost to the Suburbs of *Sinderovia*; few of the Turks escaped, the rest being either taken or slain. *Huniated* after so great a Victory, with a rich Prey and multitudes of Prisoners returned to *Belgrade*; having now sufficiently revenged himself of the wrongs he had before received. After which time *Ira* the Turk was more quiet, as having sufficient proof of his valour. The same

fame of this Victory increased not a little the fame of *Hunades*, the report whereof coming to *Buda*, filled the City with joy and gladness; but most of all King *Uladiſlaus*, who thereupon caused publick Prayers, with Thanksgiving to be made in every Church; and by his Letters Gratulatory, with many rich Presents encouraged *Hunades* to the prosecution of the Religion. Was himself was propounded unto him not only the increase of his Wealth (a bafe regard in the honourable) but the immortality of his name, and hope of eternal bliss.

1440.

Transylvania  
invaded and  
spoiled by  
Mefites  
Baffa.

Hunades  
died.

Hunades  
and the  
Bishop of  
Alba Julia  
carried by  
the Turks.

Not long after this Victory, *Hunades* obtained a far greater in *Transylvania*. For *Amurath* much grieved with the loss he had first by the death of his Baffas called *Mefites* (his Vice-Roy therein, a man of great Wildom, Experience, and Valour) with a puissant Army upon the sudden by the way of *Valachia Transilvania*, to invade *Transilvania*. This worthy Captain according to his charge departing out of *Servia*, and passing from *Danubius*, suddenly entered into *Hunades* his Country, burning and spoiling whatsoever came in his way, and killing all that he light upon, Man, Woman, and Child, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition, filling all the Country as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Hunades* (but lately come into the Country) understanding, and having as then no sufficient Forces to oppose against the Fury of so puissant an Enemy either means to raise any in so great a confusion and fear, was wonderfully grieved thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turn himself. At length he took his flight into *Alba Julia*, unto his old Friend *George Lepi* Bishop of that City, a man of great Vertue and Gravity; but whilst he there flayeth with his Friend, about the raising of a tumultuary Army, the Enemy was now come near unto him; who having overrun the greatest part of the Country, had scraped together such a Boory, and taken such a multitude of Prisoners, that furcharged as it were with the spoil, he was glad to march off; yet still burning the Country before him. Which *Hunades* and the good Bishop beholding out of the City, so much grieved thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themselves, with an handful of men taken up in haste hand over head, too weak to encounter with their Enemies yet thought it better, with such Power as they had to go out, and to in defence of their Country honourably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destruction of the same. But whilst they upon this Resolution (carried forth with too hot a desire of Revenge) march unduly forward, without any Scouts or Lifpals sent out before them, they fell before they were aware into such ambushes both of Horse and Foot, as the crafty Enemy had in the secret Woods and Vallies whereby they were to pass, laid of purpose to intercept them; which now with great loss and horrible Cruelties breaking out upon them on every side, difmayed them with a great fear. *Hunades* and the Bishop seeing themselves so entrapped and beset with the multitude of their Enemies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer fly, fled incontinently back again after whom followed all the Army of the Turks, and at their heels the eager Turks who spared none of the flying Christians they could overtake, but put them all

to the Sword; nevertheless most part of them escaped back again to *Alba Julia*. The Bishop thinking to have saved himself by the swiftness of his Horse, coming to a River, in taking the fame was overthrown, and there by the Enemy slain. With whose death the Baffa encouraged, as also with the present Victory, began now more at liberty to range abroad; and at his pleasure with Fire and Sword to waste the part of the Country which yet remained unspoiled; leaving in the mean time (as a man out of fear) the rich Prey he had taken, together with his Baggage and Carriages, to be carried all together, as a notable Testimony of his Victory, unto his great Lord *Amurath*. *Hunades* in the mean time with wonderful celerity running about the borders of his Country, and out of every Town and Village taking such Soldiers as he could, periwaded also the *Sicilians* (or people commonly called *Siculi*) in defence of their Wives and Children to take up Arms; who all in respect of the present necessity cheerfully did whatsoever he commanded. With this tumultuary Army he followed the Baffa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the spoil of the whole Country) with purpose to set upon him as time or place should give him occasion. In the mean time *Mefites* being told, that *Hunades* with a coming after him, and now even at hand is reported to have made no reckoning thereof, but to have proudly answered unto him that brought the News, *Let him come, and with the spoil of himself enrich our Victory*. There was present when he said this, one *John*, one of *Hunades* his Elfpals; who discovered unto him many of the Turks designs concerning the joyning of battel with him; but especially that the Baffa had commanded through his Army, That above all things, they should in the beginning of the battel assail the Person of *Hunades* himself, for that he being once slain, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction; and that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certain Companies of his best Souldiers, giving them certain Tokens whereby they might know both him and his Horse. There was then in the Army one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and courageous Gentleman, not much unlike to *Hunades*, with whom he changed both his Horse and Armour, appointing unto him a strong Troop of his choice Horsemen to attend upon him; neither was this counterfeite *Hunades* unwilling to expose himself unto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might save the life of his Friend, and preserve to worthy a Defender of the Commonwealth. *Hunades* following fast after, the Baffa marching before him, fought by light Skirmishes, sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the rearward, to stay him, and at some advantage, if any such were given, to fight with him before he should get out of the Country. At length finding such an opportunity as he thought good to lay hold upon, he with all his Forces, as if it had been a violent Tempest, came upon the Turks so suddenly, as that they had not time to put themselves in order of battel, but were glad confidently to rise, to fight with him without order; in which disorderd fight many fell on both sides, but far more of the Turks. But whilst both Armies with like obstinacy encountered together, certain Troops of the most valiant Turks deservyng *Simon* the counterfeite *Hunades*, and by the signs he delivered out to them, both of his Horse and Armour, supposing him to have been *Hunades* indeed; with all their Power made

A great  
battel be-  
twixt  
Mefites  
and Hunades.

towards him, to have slain him, according as they had in charge, where meeting with right valiant Men, of no less courage than themselves, there was fought a most terrible and bloody battel, in such sort, as if in that very place should have been ended the whole Fortune of the Turks. But the Turks still bending their Forces more and more thither; for the killing of him of whom they stood in more dread than of all the rest; at length by plain force made a way unto him, and having slain them that were about him, though not without their own great loss, furiously assailing him, they fled almost supposing it to have been the very General himself; who had he there perished (as like enough it was he should, had he not been before warned of the Baffas purpose) no doubt but that the whole Country had been with him, or shortly after gone lost. But *Hunades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the Army, encouraged his Souldiers not to forsake the Victory they were now as it were in possession of, nor leave unrevengeed so many slaughters and harms so lately committed by their Enemies, but to remember as they were fighting, that they carried in their hands their Wives and Children, and were in that one battel to revenge the wrong by them done both to God and Man. Sometime he with new Supplies encouraged such as were overcharged, and even now ready to fly; otherwise he with cheerful words staid, that had already turned their backs; performing in every place all the parts both of a worthy Commander and valiant Souldier, as the necessity of the time and place required. In the heat of this battel (Fortune yet favouring neither part, but both fighting with all their Power) the *Transilvanian* Prisoners that in great number were kept in the Camp, willing rather to die, than to be carried away into Captivity, and thinking it now or never time for them to attempt their deliverance; with one confent brake asunder their Bonds, and with such Weapons as first came to hand, set upon their Keepers, of whom they slew a great number, and so desperately lifting out into the battel, encouraged their Countrymen, and discouraged their Enemies. Yet was the battel hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause; for why, the *Transilvanians* fought for their Country, their Wives, their Children, their Lives, their Liberty, their Religion, and *Albans*; but the Turks, for the rich Prey they had before taken, and that they were by Victory in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the Prisoners (who laid about them like desperate men) out of hope of the Victory, began by little and little to retire; and the other on the contrary part by the unexpected Aid encouraged, and quickly finding the Enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Mefites* seeing his Army thus in every part wavering, was therewith exceedingly troubled; but presently after, beholding some of his men retiring as if they had fled, and other some flying outright, and no means to stay them, for safeguard of his life turned his Horse and fled also; after whom the *Hungarians* followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the blood of them that had done them so great harm. In this chase *Mefites* himself with his Son were both slain; and the support of whole death in the pursuit, added swiftness unto the *Hungarians*, to the encreasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whom for the desire of Revenge they ceased not for certain days to pursue, unto the top of the Alps. In this battel were slain of the Turks 20000, and of the *Hun-*

garians about 3000. *Hunades* with this Victory recovered all the Prey the Turks had taken of the spoil of the Country, together with their Tents and Baggage; unto whom at his return into the Camp, a wonderful number of the poor Captives came, and falling at his feet, and kissing them, gave God thanks for their deliverance by him; some called him the Father, some the Defender of his Country; the Souldiers, their invincible General; the Captives, their Deliverer, the Women, their Protector; the young Men and Children, their most loving Father. In all which joyful Acclamations, no honourable Additions were heard, which in the judgment of his Men, worthily agreed not with his deserts. He again with tears standing in his eyes, courteously embraced them, rejoicing at the publick good; and himself giving most hearty thanks unto God, commanded the like to be done in all Churches of that Province. Sometime he commended the Souldiers Valour, and in general, he commended the Nobility and worthy Captains he extolled by name, according as their deserts had been in that notable Battel, nor detracting any thing from any mans worthy praises; part of the spoil of the Turks he appointed unto devout Uſes, and the other part he divided amongst the Souldiers; and willing as it were with the Fruits thereof to gratify King *Uladiſlaus*, and the Despot of *Servia*, then present with him, he sent a great Waggon, with ten Horses which they could scarce draw, laded with the Turks Ensigns and the chief of their Heads, where the Heads of the Baffa and his Son stood foremost, and above them was placed an old Turk, sometime well known unto the Despot; who in this order presented unto them, is said to have thus delivered his Message, as followeth:

*Hunades your Majesties most humble Servant, The Spirit of an old Turk, in delivering this part of the spoil gained by this late Victory, left the treasure unto the King.*  
*I should seem to defraud you of the honour of the battel, happily fought under your good Fortune. These heads of the Alban Nobility be sendeth you for a Present, that you should not want the assured Testimony of so notable a Victory; these are two Princes heads, the one of Mefites Baffa the General, and the other of his Son; the rest are the heads of the other great Commanders and Sanzacks. All these witness the greatness of the late slaughter, and exhort you to greater achievements. What your Royal Majesty for the natural insatiable of Fury and what an occasion of Immortality and Glory is offered unto you, Hunades, weigheth you hereby to consider; and humbly requesteth, that general Supplications may be commanded, and a great one provided, forasmuch as all men suppose, that the Turk will gage his whole Forces, and leave nothing unattempted, in revenge of so great a slaughter of his people.*

Having ended his Speech, he shewed unto them the grisly mortified heads; which the Nobility and others there present, earnestly beheld, and wondered at, especially the King and the Despot; who by Letters further understanding the whole proceeding of the War, and fortune of the Battel, highly commended the discreet valour of *Hunades*, together with the glorious Victory; whereby his Son was both slain; and the support of whole death in the pursuit, added swiftness unto the *Hungarians*, to the encreasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whom for the desire of Revenge they ceased not for certain days to pursue, unto the top of the Alps. In this battel were slain of the Turks 20000, and of the *Hun-*

Great re-  
joicing for  
this victory

and requesting him, with like courage and care, to prosecute the War, so happily begun; promising him, That he should neither want Men, nor Money, or any thing else needful thereunto. Upon this Victory, the Countesses of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, before Tributaries unto the Turks, now revolted again unto the Hungarians, to the great grief of *Amurath*; and the fame of *Huniades* was in short time dispersed through all *Europe*, and a general hope conceived of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest Champions of the Christian Commonwealth, as in his time undoubtedly he was.

The report of this late Overthrow, with the death of the *Bassa Mesier*, and the loss of his Army, being brought to *Hadiarnople*, much troubled the Turkish Tyrant; but most of all, the Revolt of the two Countesses, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*. So that full of wrathful Indignation, and desire of Revenge, he commanded a great Army to be raised against the next Spring, with intent to have gone therewith himself; but afterwards upon better advice changing his purpose, he committed the leading thereof unto one *Sheeh Albedin Bassa* (commonly called *Siegehim Bassa*) an Eunuch, and yet nevertheless a right valiant and expert Captain, and his Vice-Roy in *Europe*; with Charge first to enter into *Valachia*, and there having done what harm he could with Fire and Sword, to do the like in *Moldavia*; and after that, with all his Power to break into *Transylvania*; there to Revenge unto the full, the Losses before received, and with the slaughter of the Hungarians to Sacrifice unto the Ghosts of their dead Friends and Companions. The *Bassa* according to his Charge, departing out of *Macedonia*, and marching through *Myfia* and to passing over *Danubius*, with an Army of four thousand fighting Men, wherof four thousand were of the best Janizaries, entered into *Valachia*, filling the Country with fear and tumult; the *Valachians* now altogether in despair to be able to defend themselves against the fury of the Turks, and force repenting them of their revolt from them, unto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades*, comforted with cheerful words, willing them betime to retire themselves unto the safest places of the Country, and not to expose themselves with their too weak Forces against the fury of the Barbarians; promising in good time to come himself to their Relief, not doubting by the Power of Jesus Christ, that there he would bated in the plain Field, and to have of them a glorious Victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The *Bassa* dividing his Army into two parts, foraged the Country far and near, burning the Country Towns and Villages before him, spoiling whatsoever came in their way, or killing whatsoever they light upon Men, Women, or Children, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition. But the *Valachians* for the most part had retired themselves, some into the Mountains, some into the strong Towns, and some into places further off, so that few fell into the Enemies hands, but such as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently had the Enemies coming, and so perished. *Valachia* thus spoiled, the Turks passing over the Mountains, descended into *Transylvania*, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpose there to have done the like or greater harm, if possible it had been to have so done; but there was *Huniades* with 15000 chosen Soldiers ready to encounter them. A small Power indeed, in comparison of the multitude the *Bassa* led; but all men of great Experience and Re-

solution, in valour countervailing the great number of their Enemies; Men resolved rather to die than to fly. Of whose approach the *Bassa* (unto whom the name and fortune of the Man was dreadful) by his Espials understanding, stayed his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to do, without farther proceeding, encamped himself with his Army, to see what power and courage the Enemy had. But certainly informed by his Scouts, for that purpose sent out, That he was at no more than a quarter so many as the Turks, but lay strongly encamped with his Waggon and Carriages, as in a fire Fort, in such order, as that he could not without great danger be assailed, and yet might at his pleasure come forth, and so if he need were retire again, as into a strong Hold; he wondered at his courage and stillist manner of encamping; yet presuming of his own multitude and strength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battle. Being come within half a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither side unwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great Victory, they thought it not best to attempt any thing rashly, but took themselves both unto the highest of their wits, as willing in so great a Conflict, as well to shew the utmost of their policy and skill, as of their courage and valour. The Turk thought it best not to join battle with his Enemies in one front, for fear of confounding his great multitude; but to divide his Army into certain Battalions, and so to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable; or if he could not do so, then with his multitude to enclose the Christians round, and so to overwhelm them. On the other side, *Huniades* charged his Souldiers above all things to keep their order, and in no case to suffer themselves to be divided by their Enemies. The next day, being come unto a place which they call *Vajpase*, both the Armies by the break of day began to dislodge; at which time the *Bassa* sent a good space in the marshalling of his great Army, as did also *Huniades*, seeking by provident fore-sight and policy to match the multitude of his Enemies. And so having left all things in order, calling unto him his chief Captains and Commanders of his Army, with cheerful countenance encouraged them as followeth:

No courage (believe me) worthy Companions, and the most valiant in Arms, could have induced me to encounter Civilians so great a multitude, did not necessity itself enforce Speech of humbles to your approved Valour persuade, and the assured hope I have in Christ Jesus above all things: encourage his firm me; having made choice of us to fight this Soldiers his sacred battle, and by our right hands to revenge the dishonour of his holy Name, in which his special choice we are to consider how much he hath loved us; and for the same to praise his infinite Goodness and Mercy. Three such Commodities hath God liberally even this day propounded unto us; if we will be the same men we have been in times past, as that the least thereof were sufficient to encourage men of worth, for the same to lay down their Lives, hold they them never so dear. First, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your Children, Wives, and Country, joined with your whole Estate; then, for eternal Glory and Renown in this World; and last of all, for Immortality and a Crown that shall never be taken from you, in the World to come. How many victories and triumphs we have in former times, and of late received from the Turks, would to God you had rather bated thereof by report, than seen the same with your eyes, and indeed them in your selves. You had long since been benefi-

of your beloved Wives and Children, whom most miserable Servitude had overclouded; you had had neither House nor Church, wherunto due or to serve God, had not the Divine Power of God, and your rare Presence been at hand for present relief; your Country, your Gods, your Honour, your Liberty, you could not have kept, had not your Valour, confirmed by assured confidence in the Highest, preserved all these things unto your selves. The terrible fury of the Turk had not brought all these things into your power of self, had they not been by your Arms defended, and as by so many bloody overthrows repelled. He could not before be slain, the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest Commanders) the old Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirotes, and Dalmatians, could not abide their Force; The Athenians, the Thubans, the Lacedaemonians, Authors and Masters of the antient Discipline of War, willingly gave place unto these. Unto us, is the Praise and great Glory of this Victory by God assigned, who oftentimes with a small Power, and that sometimes against all hope, have with a small Slaughter overthrown them, conquered them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the World whom they more fear and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they have by their daily Slaughter and Losses, learned no less to fear, than if you were many. And now to trye the utmost of their power, they are come with their invulnerable Legions; but are not for that if you any thing else are to be feared than before; seeing that we all bear Arms under the conduct of the most mighty God, and are by daily Victory, long Experience, and approved Valour taught, what we are to dare; besides that the greatest part of their Army is of common Soldiers, Slaves, or rude Country Fellows, so men by force by them compelled; more than the Janizaries, are we good Soldiers among them, the rest as men enforced, serve them for fear, and against their Will, and for their Covardise brought into that Bondage and Slavery. What Greeks, Macedonians, or Slavonians forever are sent to their Aid, for as much as they are not yet received from the Christian Faith, deem them not to stand for them, but for us; they long for us the Revengers of their Wrongs, and for you as victorious Conquerors; in this War they have given unto the Turks their Names, but unto us their Hearts; and Power; and pray heartily for our Victory; wherfore you ought so much the more valiantly and courageously to fight, by how much greater you see the Victory, the Honour, the Praise before your Eyes. We are to fight for other Mens Houses and Altars, but for our own; so our present necessity requireth, in such sort, that if we our selves deliver not our selves, and bear our selves upon our wonted bow and valour, we shall this day be enforced to endure the greatest misery that men may possibly suffer, the loss of our Name, and Subjunct, the Captivity of our Children, the deflowering of our Daughters, the ravishing of our Houses, the slaughter of our Parents, the burning of our Houses and Churches; and that which worse is than all this, the scorn of our Saviour Christ Jesus, and his Saints; whose images you shall see in slight broken, or dragged in the dirt, or wilfully and converted into some prophane use; all Religion trodden down, and God himself (if it were possible) with violence and despair driven out of our Hearts, if we stand not manfully unto it as becometh worthy Champions. God is able with his little Finger, if he so will forthwith, to destroy all the Turks in the World, but seeing he hath committed unto our right Hands the defence of his Name, he maketh manifest proof of our Courage and Valour, that finding the same faithful and ready, he may strengthen and defend it with his own right Hand. He never yet forsook any faithful or devout man, neither will our Saviour Christ be wanting unto you, if you be not wanting to your selves; in the power of his Name

which is above all Names, he shall read down his rebellious Enemies, and seal the Righteous that prefer their trust in him. Moreover, the comfort that they and we combat for, are drivers, and our hopes much greater; They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, Author of all Impiety, for Spoil and Prey, for the destruction of Nations and Countries, for other Mens Kingdoms, for the enlarging of their Dominions and Territories, for worldly Wealth and Glory; but we contrarily bear Arms for the salvation of the World, for our Faith and Religion, for the Christian Commonwealth, for our Native Country, for our Wives and Children, for our Fortune and State; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid up for them in Heaven which have worthily protected or delivered their Country, or laid down their Lives in defence of their Faith and Religion? Neither, having often proved, are we ignorant, that God will never forsake them that honour, fear, and serve him. Wherby (I follow Souldiers) you may plainly perceive, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Believe our Saviours, promising unto you an eternal reward; and show your Fidelity and Valour unto God and your Country together. Wherfore, seeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the signal of Battle be given, I beseech you Collonels, Captains, and Lieutenants, by your official and Christian Exhortations to your Regiments and Companies, to encourage your Souldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords Battle, and for the Lord, every man by taking a little Earth in his Mouth, to prepare himself according to the necessity of the time, as it were to the receiving of the Lords Supper; so having cleansed your Souls, embrace you one another, plight your mutual Faith with your right Hand and a Kiss; and make a personal Covenant among your selves, none of you to forsake one another in the daily Battle, but for your Religion and Country valiantly to fight it out, even to the last man. And a little refreshing your selves with a short repose as you stand, upon the signal given, thrice calling aloud upon the mighty name of Christ Jesus, fight with the like Valour and Courage so near as you can, that be the agonie of Death struggle for your Redemption and Liberty which you will willingly do, I beseech and charge you this for our Saviours sake, for the Love of our Country, and for the Faith you owe both to God and Man. I also pray and beseech you, so to fight, as men resolved either to gain a most glorious Victory (wherof I doubt not) or else if it should otherwise chance, the day to purchase unto you (Jesus a blessed life in the Kingdom of Heaven) not to slip in Hell with the Turks, but with the blessed Wrights in Heaven; for Christ Jesus our Saviour will be always present with us, who (believe me, and so hope) will this day not only deliver us out of the Hands of the Turks, but our immortal Glory shall be the rich Spoil of our Enemies, and so in safety bring all home again with much Joy and Triumph.

The *Bassa* on the other side likewise encouraged his Souldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former Victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their wonted valour and themselves, by whose great Valor the Glory and Empire of the Turks had been so mightily increased; and unto whom their great Prophet Mahomet, the Interpreter of the gods, had foretold the Empire of the whole World to be by all the gods allotted; and had by divine inspiration prophecied, that ancient and sturdy Nation in time to become the terror of the World, the scourge of the Wicked, and Commander of all Nations. He farther declared unto them, what an increase of Kingdoms they had got in that short time, since which they first passed over into *Europe*, and filled them with the hope of a great Spoil, promising unto them that should in the



of the Wrong done them, fir them up to take in hand this facred Expedition. So fit an opportunity is now given unto you, that at one and the felfe time you may fee your Bodies in perpetual Safety and Happinefs; your Souls in Quietnefs and Reft, and unto both give Eternal Glory and Happinefs. You lack not (worthy Captains) Money, the Sineurs of the War, which fhall be brought unto you from all parts of the Chriftian Common-wealths, not fuffi- and courageous Soldiers, not Policy, not Fortune, not the might of the Heavenly Powers, which have made choice of you for the defence of the true Faith and Religion; you want nothing (worthy Princes) but Will. It is an Expedition neceffary, religious, profitable and honourable; wherein are propounded moft ample Rewards both in this Life, and in the Life to come. Wherefore (moft mighty Prince, and you right worthy Princes all) I pray and befeech you by the Faith of Chrift Iefus, by the Love of your Children, by the Health of your Kingdom, and deliverance from your prefent diffinition, with valiant Courage, and one Confeft to take this facred War in hand, and fo thereby to enrol your Names in the Eternal Book of Fame, And fo that you are to go, not fo much to a Worldly as a Spiritual War againft the Enemies of Chrift and his Truth, take up your Arms with fuch Zeal, Courage, and Cheerfulnefs, as the Expectation and Hope of Men, as your Valour, the prefent Danger, and the Mercies of God towards you, feem of right to require.

This Legate having made an end, forthwith exhibited the miferable Supplication and Tears of the Delpot; perfwading them of the neceffity of that Expedition to be taken in hand, declaring unto them the Cruelty of the Turks, their Torments and frango Torments, his Sons deprived of their Sighs, and spoiled of their riches, many half mangled, and more cut in funder with Saws; fome flain quick, and others buried alive, with many other ftrange kinds of death, fuch as would abhor any Chriftian Ears to hear. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to look to themselves, told them, That they were but by the River *Savum* divided from the Turks; which in Summer was oftentimes to be waded over, and in Winter hard frozen, and fo to be paffed; that the Country beyond *Danubius* lay all open upon them; and that he, fometime the rich King of *Servia*, was now driven into exile by the power of the Turk, deprived of his Kingdom, of his Children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his Wealth and Fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to find any fave place to reft in. Firft he fled (as he faid) to *Ragufina*, where by and by he was fought after, and endangered by the Turks; then into *Hungary*, which was alfo forthwith by them on every fide infested; and whereof the *Barbarian* King now asked Tribute, to have fome colour for the invasion thereof; which dreadful Enemy was not far off from it, but fill hovered even over it; as well as *Valachia* and *Transylvania*, two of the greateft and richest Provinces of the Hungarian Kingdom; which had not the Valour of *Hunades*, the Fortune of the Common-Weal, and above all, the Mercy of God, delivered out of the Hands of this rithy Nation, the State of *Hungary* had now been utterly forlorn. The Events of War, he faid) were divers, Fortune uncertain, and that God would not every day be tempted, Wherefore with many Tears abundantly running down his aged Face, he befeought King *Uladiflaus* and the reft, not to let flip this fair occasion, neither by Cowardice or Negligence to break off the courfe of their good Fortune and Victory; but

to make choice rather to become Revengers of other mens harms, than of their own, and to fatisfie the good opinion the World had conceived of them. He was (as he faid) a fufficient Example to all Men. Befides that, he offered a great fum of Money himfelf towards the de-fraying of the Charges of the War, affuring them alfo of great fupplies both of Men and Money from divers other Chriftian Princes. Which opinion of the Legate Delpots being generally liked and approved, a Decree was made by a whole Court of Parliament there afsembled, That the King fhould himfelf in perfon, with all fpeed poffible entertain that honourable War. So that though it were now upon the approach of Winter, yet were Men taken up in every place, and Embassadors fent unto the Emperor and the other Neighbour Princes, to pray of them Aid againft the common Enemy. Who for the moft part excufed themselves by their own particular Affairs, but few no Aid at all. Nevertheless many devout Chriftians both out of *France* and *Germany*, for the Zeal they bare unto Chrift and the Chriftian Religion, forfaking Wife and Children, and whatever they had elfe, came and worthily ferved upon their own Charge. The Spring being come, and Supplications made in all places, for the prosperous fucces of this Religious War, King *Uladiflaus* the firft of *Moy Danubius*, and marching far and felly, and coming to the River *Tiflus*, there he ftayed three days for the coming of his Army. Departing thence, and marching on along the fide of *Danubius*, until he came within the fight of *Bulgaria*, he there at a place called *Cobu*, over againft *Sindoravia*, paffed over *Danubius* with his Army, which was now grown very great; and fo marched directly to *Sophia*, fittate about fix days march from *Danubius*, in the Frontiers of *Bulgaria*, fo called of a moft fumptuous and magnificent Temple there built by *Iufinian* the great Emperor. Which City being then old and ruinous, and but badly fortified, was eafily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandment burnt, as were all the other Country Towns and Villages thereabouts, to the terror of the reft. Marching thence, he came unto the River *Morava*, and there he incamped; where the plain Country eafily rifeth and falleth in manner of the Sea, when it is moved with a little Wind. Here five hundred Horfemen being fent over the River, not fo much to feek after Prey, as to view the Country, which was the Army might moft fafely and eafily paff, happened upon the Turks Scouts, of whom they took four; and understanding that them, that two thoufand of the Turks were coming at hand, knowing themselves too weak to encounter them, they retired back again with all fpeed they could, unto the River; where many of them for fear leapt headlong from the high and broken Banks, and fo perished in the deep; the reft terrified with the mifortune of their Fellows, flood fill, doubtfully expecting what fhould become of themselves. Beyond the River was another Hill, upon the top whereof the King with a great number of Horfemen were hunting; whom the Turks a far off defcrying, and doubtful to fall into fome ambush, of purpofe laid for them betwixt them and the River, without coming on further, beyond which the before fearfully ftand on the further fide of the River, perceiving, and now encouraged by the coming of the King down to the River, followed a while after, fo to increafe their fear; and fo having well feared one another, retired on both fides worfe afraid than

Hunades  
with ten  
thousand  
Horfemen  
affaileth  
the Turks  
by night.

than hurt. The next day the King paffed over the River, fending out his Scouts to fee if all were clear before him; by whom he was advertised, that the Turks were at hand, having placed certain Ambushes falfly, expecting but a fit time to feize upon him. Whereupon entering into Council with his beft and moft expert Captains, what were beft to be done, it was refolved upon, That *Hunades* the next night with ten thoufand choice Horfemen, fhould upon the fuddain fet upon the Enemy, then fearing nothing. Who conducted by the Efpials, was in the firft Watch of the Night brought very near unto them. The Moon by chance, as favouring his great attempt, did then fhine out, fo that he might well difcern how the Enemy lay incamped, and which way for to charge them for his beft advantage; which was by the fane way they were moft like to flie, if they fhould be put to the work; unto which place he led his men, and there with a moft hideous outcry entered the Camp, as then for moft part buried in Sleep and Security; when as the Turks awaked with the fuddain noife, as it were out of a dead fleep, and difmayed with the horror of the cry, began to beate them, fome to their Weaprons, fome to their Heels. Of whom fuch as fled, lighting upon the Enemies Troops ftanding in their way, ran as faft back again; the other fcarce yet well awake, and overcome with fear, and now fearfully themselves, had much ado to make themselves ready to fight. *Hunades* in the mean time riding up and down amongst his men, cheered them up, fill crying out and calling upon them, courageously to affail their fleepy, naked, and fearful Enemies, and not to let flip fo fair an occafion, and fo notable a Victory now already in their hands. At the firft encounter the Turks rather made a fir, than fought; but after that they heard that *Hunades* was there, as men difmayed with his Name, they turned their Backs and fled, finding, which way fooner they took, their Fellows half dead or wounded; yea, fuch a confufion was raifed amongst them with the greatnefs of the fuddain fear, that thurfting together, with an inconfiderate defire of Flight, they trod one another under foot, and thruft themselves one upon others Weapons; the greateft part of them driven headlong into the Thickets and other Straits, and not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious Enemy, fiercely purfuing of them, flain. All that night the fearful Turks were with great laughter held in chafe; but as foon as it was day, the reft that remained of them, ran alfo the fane fortune with their Fellows. A far greater Slaughter was there made, than a man would think that fo few men could have made, when as but with ten thoufand Horfe, thirty thoufand Turks were in one night flain, and four thoufand taken, with a number of their Ensigns. Of *Hunades* his men were not many loft, for the greatnefs of the Slaughter; moft report not above five hundred, for few of them found any Enemy to refit them. There was taken alfo the Spoil of a moft rich Camp, the Enemy having carried with them nothing out of it. *Hunades* having in fo fhort time gained fo notable a Victory, and enriched his Army, returned to the King in great Triumph; neither was that day more joyful unto thefe victorious Soldiers, than unto the reft of the Army, who moft joyfully expected their return. The King moft joyfully expected the approach of *Hunades* and the Delpot hearing of the approach of *Hunades* from the Slaughter of the Turks, with the great applaufe and joyful acclamation of the other Legions, went to meet him three miles;

and at fuch time as at their firft meeting *Hunades* was about to have lighted to have done him honour, he would in no cafe fuffer him to do, but taking him by the right Hand, joyed with him for the Victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole Army, that he of his mercy had given him fuch a Captain, as without Envy, in all mens judgments was worthy to rule the Roman Empire. In brief, he fhewed how much his Country, his Kingdom, yea the Chriftian Common-Weal, was bound and indebted unto him, gave him his due Praifes, exhorting all others to imitate his glory; the like honour did alfo all the reft of the Nobility unto him. As for the Common Soldiers, they could not be fatisfied with beholding of him, but embracing one another, as if they would have died one in another Arms, welcomed their victorious Friends. So with Joy joyning their Forces together, and fending the rich Spoil of the Enemy, with the Prifoners chained together in long ranks before them; the King and *Hunades* in great Triumph returned into the Camp, where they caufed general Prayers, with Thanksgiving unto Almighty God for fo great a Victory, to be made throughout the Army.

The Legate *Tullian*, General of the voluntary Chriftians, which for Devotion felfe ferved of their own Charge, after fo great a Victory moft earneftly perfwaded the King and the reft of the great Commanders of the Army, to profecute their good Fortune, and in God his fo great Favour not to loiter, but dayly to march forward, and to take in the reft of *Bulgaria*. Now had *Hunades*, by his Effails learned, that from *Scopia* it was but three days journey to *Philippus*, a great City of *Thracia*; and the like diftance from thence to *Hadrampole*, the chief feat of the Turkifh Tyrant, and as much more to *Constantinople*. The only difficulty was how to pafs the great and fearful Mountain *Hemus*, which running a marvellous way in length, even unto the *Euxine* Sea, and mating almoft the Skie, divideth the Countries of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, from *Macedonia* and *Thracia*; and for the great height and roughnefs thereof, is not to be paffed over but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Trayan* and the Romans, where as yet is to be feen a mighty ftrong Gate built of great fquare Stone, whereby the paffage that way was opened or fhut at the pleasure of them that had the keeping thereof; the other near unto a little River, which the *Bulgarians* now call *Salizna*. By either of thefe ways, if he fhould find them open, *Hunades*, unto whom the King had committed both the leading and conduct of the Army, purpofed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they took all fuch Towns of *Bulgaria* as ftood in their way; fome by force, fome by compofition; wherein was no fmall help, the conformity of the Chriftian Religion; the horrible Cruelty of the Turks, the great Affair being Language, the moft effectual means to win the Love of Strangers; for the *Polemans* and the *Bulgarians* both defended of the *Salavonians*, and using the fane Language, the *Poleman* Horfemen came to no Town, but it prefently yielded. But being come unto the Mountain *Hemus*, to have entered into *Thracia*, the Winter weather being now very cold, they learned by their Efpials, that the aforefaid paffages were both faft fup with great Stones, Timber and fuch other like matter, fo ftrongly, as that they were very hardly to be forced. Wherefore *Hunades* leaving the ftraiter way made by the hand of man (which befide the former fortification at the great Gate, the Turks had in many places, with abundance

The meeting of the King and Hunades after the victory.

of water poured down the steep Hill in the night, and hard frozen with the coldness of the Weather, made so slippery, as that it was not possible either for Man or Beast there to stand, or to get up that way. *Chelvis*, who came to the other, by which the River *Salutia* runs, the which he found likewise thut. Here they met with many inconveniences; first, the difficulty of the passage, which *Amurath* had (not without great reason) thut up, and there placed four Garrisons, for at ease, and without danger of Batul (so often by *Chelvis* unfortunately proved) to defend his Kingdom in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, from the invasion of the *Hungarians*, who now of all Nations he most dreaded. Beside that, in the Army was such want of all things, as that the Soldiers were ready to forsake their Engines, and to rise up in a general mutiny; for the Country near unto the Mountain *Hemus*, rising high, with broken Rocks, and inaccessible places, was altogether barren; and Victuals failing in the Camp, they were glad to live with a little Wheat and Flesh boiled together, and that sparingly, as that the Soldiers began now generally to grow weak and faint. Besides that, the Winter was exceeding cold, and the Frost so great, that many times they could not go out of their Tents to seek for Forrage or Water. So that the Army enforced with Hunger and Cold, and the difficulty of the passage, began to retire, and had undoubtedly been dissolved, had it not been for the often earnest persuasions of *Hunades*: for he daily told them, that great difficulties were past, that that which remained, was with their wonted Valour and Courage to be endured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult; that they should forthwith come into the borders of *Thracia*, where they should find plenty of all things; that they were come so far, that if they did go back again, they should in those waste Countries through which they were to pass, find greater difficulties and dangers, than in going forward; that these Straits once opened, remained no more travel, but cheerfully to fall to the Spoil of a most rich and pleasant Country. They were not (as he said) to lay in the midst of their Fortunes, for that it was not always permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods favours caused them to be oftentimes taken from us; all that was yet done (he said) was nothing, if they proceeded not further; for that whatsoever they had already won, was easily by the Enemy to be recovered, except that which yet remained (for that most part of them, as he said, were slain, with their Houses burnt over their Heads) were driven out of *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, and to quite out of Europe. So whilst the Soldiers heard *Hunades* speak, every man was well encouraged; but when they remembered the miseries wherewith they were invironed, they cursed all the rash Attempts of ambitious Princes. In the mean time News was brought by the Scouts, that the Turks were coming after them; but then began they to rejoyce, as deeming it much more honour, manfully to die in Batul, than to starve with Hunger and Cold. Again these Turks were *Hunades* sent with certain Troops of Horsemen; who, encountering with them, easily enforced them with loss to retire. Eight times he encountered them (as the Soldiers there present reported) and as often put them to Flight. In retiring back from the impregnable Mountain, the King with the greatest part of the Army went before; *Hunades* followed *Hunades* and the Despot, a good days march; when the Turks that kept the passage upon the Mountain, understanding of their return, followed them down the Hill, in good

hope to be of them well revenged, before they should get out of *Bulgaria*. *Carambey* the *Bassa* of *Romania*, and Brother to *Caly-Bassa* (a man of all others in greatest Favour with *Amurath*, and his Brother-in-Law, as having married his Sister) was General of this Army, and by him appointed for the keeping of the Straits, with express charge upon no occasion whatsoever, although it made shew of never to assured a Victory, to fight with the Enemy; for he thought it Victory enough, without any loss to have kept the Straits, which the old Kings Command, *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope, by a notable Victory easily to answer the contempt of that he was commanded. The Christian Army descending down the broken Mountain, was come to a great Mountain, which the *Bulgarians* call *Cunobiska*, and part of the Mountain *Hemus* at whose Heels followed *Carambey*, with his Turks, still hovering over their Heads, to take them at some advantage; whom the Christians beholding, could not by their Captains be stayed, but that they would many times by Companies fly forth upon them, and desperately fight with them in places of great advantage, saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to starve with Hunger and Cold. Here *Carambey*, being himself a man of great Courage, and desirous of Honour, and by the rashness of his Enemies allured to fight; and withal, beside the advantage of the ground, perceiving himself to exceed his Enemies both in Strength and Number, could not be staid, but would needs give Batul, with such a desire, as if he had been already assured of the Victory. *Hunades* and the Despot had before perceived, that the Turks, provoked with the braving of their men, would assuredly fall upon them, and were therefore most ready with the absence of the King, who (as is before said) was gone a days march before they saw they could neither shun Batul, neither if they could have so done, would their desperate Soldiers be staid, for the desire they had to fight. Yet seeing *Carambey* coming down upon them, they put themselves (though unwillingly) in left order they could to receive him; persuading their Soldiers not rashly in fury to run upon their Enemies, as desperate men prodigal of their Lives, but to keep their ranks, and orderly to fight, and to like valiant men to carry away the Victory, or to leave unto their Enemies a bloody remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* sent his Horsemen down the Hill, and the Batul was begun, where both the Armies met together with great fury, and a cruel Fight was made both at the foot of the Hill, and amongst the Hills and Vallies also; in which hard encounter many were slain, as well on the one side as the other. The *Polonian* men at Arms (whom the King but a little before had left with *Hunades* against all Events) with the *Hungarian* light Horsemen (of whom the Despot had the leading) fought so that day, as if they had fought for nothing more, but how honourably to die; and the Turks for a space stood hard to it, so that many were there slain; yet at length finding themselves hardly laid to, as by desperate men, resolved to fill their Lives dear, they began to faint and to give ground; when as *Carambey* coming in behind them with new supplies, rased the cowardly, flaid them that were flying, and sometime with rough Speeches, sometime with fair persuasions, made them wavering, and restored the Batul, before almost quite lost. Neither did *Hunades* and the Despot less lofe them, but as soon as they perceived the Enemy a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victory;

The Hungarians  
enforced  
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of the pas-  
sage of the  
Mountain  
*Hemus*, re-  
tire.

The Turks  
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thrown,  
and Ca-  
rambey  
takes Pri-  
soner.

A great  
Battle be-  
tween Hu-  
nades and  
the *Bassa*  
*Carambey*

with cheerful Speech encouraging their men, still calling upon them, to keep their Ranks firm, and to urge their present good Fortune, assuring themselves, that they fought against those Infidels under the favour and protection of the Almighty; and forthwith sent certain Companies of Footmen, who climbing up the Hill amongst the Buffes, with their half Pikes and Back Spears, panned the Turks Horse as they passed by them. These loose Companies did the Turks Horsemen much harm, and here began their Batul to decline; they which were coming down, for fear of the danger retiring back again unto them that were left above for the keeping of the Straits; and the bolder sort of them, which were come down into the Vallies, compassed about with the Men at Arms, hardly recovered the rising of the Hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them, one while calling back them that fled, another while relieved them that fainted, and to the uttermost of his parts restoring the Batul, performed all the parts both of a valiant Soldier and worthy Captain, courageously fighting himself in the thickest of his Enemies, and by his own Valour staid for a time the lost Batul. At length performing his last endeavour, deceived by the Snow, he fell into a Bog, where sticking with his Horse, and not able to help himself, he was taken Prisoner by a common Soldier. The rest that escaped out of this bloody Batul, retired themselves unto them that were left above upon the Mountain, for the defence of the passage. After whom the Christians followed, through the untract and rough places, until that hindered of their further pursuit by the approach of the night, and the abruptness of the way, they were glad to found a Retreat, and to retire unto the Camp. Many other great men were taken beside *Carambey*, but many more slain in the Batul, and most of all in the Flight; few escaped, but such as fled back again up into the Mountains. In the Retreat, *Hunades* seeing to gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether unknown) unworthily bound, and led Prisoner by a common Soldier, asked the Soldier, if he would sell his Prisoner? who said, he would; and asked for him ten Ducats, (a poor price for so great a man.) unto whom *Hunades* commanded to be given four hundred, as to fent him to his Tent, comforting of him up with cheerful words, and willing that he should be well used. The Despot the same Night coming to *Hunades* his Tent, to confer with him about the remainder of the War, and seeing to brave a man standing among the reft by the fire side, began to talk with him in the Turkish Language, wherof he had some knowledge, by reason of the nearness of the Nation, and such matters as he had sometimes to do with them; and having some guests by his talk, what he was, and prying his Estate, asked *Hunades*, how he would ransom him? who said, that he would him four hundred Ducats; but that he valued him four hundred Ducats the Despot offered to pay him. Thus by the strange chance of Fortune, was *Carambey*, of late so great a Commander, and so near allied unto the great Turk, valued and prized twice in one day by his Enemies, as a mirror of the uncertainty of Worldly Bliss and Felicity. The *Polonian* report somewhat otherwise of this Batul; as that *Uladislavus* should himself therein be present, and the chief that therein commanded; howbeit the *Hungarian* Writers, whose credit herein we follow, report it as before, not to have been fought under the good Fortune of the King then absent, but under the leading of *Hunades* and the Despot.

Out of this Batul (or as some others report, a little before, out of the Batul of *Morava*) fled the great Captain *Gorge Gabris*, otherwise of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now seeking to deliver both himself, and his Native Country of *Epirus*, out of the Thraldom of the Turks, as presently after he did; whose unwonted Flight not a little terrified the rest of the Turks Army, and much furthered the Christians Victory, whose (as it was thought) secret intelligence with the great Captain *Hunades*, who not without instructions from him (as some say) gave that great overthrow unto the Turks at *Morava*. But of him and his worthy Acts done for the deliverance and defence of his Country, more shall be said hereafter.

Shortly after this great overthrow and discomfiture of the Turks, the two great Captains, *Hunades* and the Despot, together with the King, consulted for the removing of the Turks Garrisons, left above for the keeping of the strait passages of the Mountain, and the prosecution of the War. Which *Uladislavus* (considering the difficulty of the matter, and his Soldiers necessity) thought it not good further to prosecute, but forthwith to return. But *Hunades* and the Despot, the one thirsting after Honour, and the other in no less hope, by the good success of this War, to recover again his lost Kingdom, said, That the Turks were in any case to be removed, the passage opened, and the sparks that yet remained, for fear of raising a greater Fire, extinguished; opposing against the difficulty by the King alleged, the invincible Courage of his Soldiers, wherunto (they said) nothing was impossible or difficult. To which opinion the King also (left he should seem distrustful of the Valour of his Captains or Soldiers) easily yielded, and so commanded on Gods name to set forward. The first that mounted the Hill was the Kings Battalion, which by the roughness and abruptness of the Mountain hindered, oftentimes flaid. But *Hunades* his Victory, and leaving nothing unattempted, in search of about found a crooked turning way, whereby he with his men, more easily and readily got up to the top of the Mountain, even with their Enemies, undefied or molested, by reason of the broken cover of the place; from whence they were in good hope easily to have come unto their Enemies. But being come up to the place they desired, they found such a deep and wide gaping of the Rock betwixt them and the Enemy, as was neither to be passed, or attempted; yet being come very near, they attempted by Cross-Bow shot, and great Stones cast out of Slings, and other Engines, to have removed the Turks from their places, who were therewith, and with their unexpected approach, at the first to greatly both annoyed and discomfited, that they were almost at the point to have forsaken the passage, had not *Alis Bog* (but the night before chosen for their General instead of *Carambey*) encouraged them, and taught them how by shrouding themselves under the broken Rocks and Parapets with tumultuary labour cast up, to save themselves from the flor of their Enemies. In the mean time also *Hunades*, by another more high and steep way, whereby the Enemy was also to be approached, had sent up other Companies of Soldiers, and fighting at too much disadvantage, were by the Turks easily rejected. So at length, seeing the vain attempt given by himself upon the top of the Hill; and the desperate danger of the others in climbing the inaccessible Mountain, where one might keep down

Scanderbeg real-  
ly from the  
Turks.

*Uladislavus*  
in person  
to open the  
passage of  
the Mountain.



down an hundred, despairing to enforce the Enemy, he by the Kings Command caused a Retreat to be founded, and so again retired down the Mountain, to the great rejoicing of the Turks. The next day the Winter cold raging, and wants in the Army still more and more increasing, the King, with the rest of the great Commanders entered into consultation for the halting of their return out of that rough and barren Country, into places of greater plenty, before the Army were brought into any greater want. Whereunto *Himade* (giving place unto necessity, which always suffereth not to be regarded that is feebly) now easily yielded; only the Despot spake against it, blaming them, that having taken the General, and put their Enemies to Flight, and Victory now as it were in their hands, they would not prosecute the final rout of the War, but cowardly turn their Backs unto their vanquished Enemies: promising that he himself would find Money enough for the providing of all things needful for the relief of the Army. So said the Popes Legate also. But so far as the Wants in the Army were great, and the Soldiers presently pinched with Hunger and Cold, they could with no hope of any profit; were it never so great, be persuaded to stay; openly crying out, that it was not their Captains and Lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poor Soldiers that starved for hunger; as for the Despot, that he in hope of recovering his Kingdom, persuaded things impossible, and no Work to be performed; neither to be any thing moved with the death of their Men or Carrel. Need (they said) could not be vanquished; but that when Winter was past, they would willingly return again unto the sacred War. In the mean time, Winter raging, and Hunger commanding, they gave over (aid they) and departed into more fruitful places, there to refresh our Bodies, spent with Labour, Cold and Hunger. For which reasons, the King finding before his Baggage, retired again by the same way he came. Which the Turks from above beholding, and strengthened with new Supplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled; oftentimes assailing them in the Rearward, and setting upon them sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, with often skirmishes both did and received much harm. Whole manner of Fight was, to retire which they were themselves charged, and presently by great Troops to charge against their Enemies, their Backs once turned to them, and so troubled the Army, that it was constrained oftentimes to stay; besides that, looded with the rich Spoil of the Enemy, and much Baggage, it could not of it self make any great halt. Now was he by the way come into a great thick Wood, full of deep Bogs and Water-courses, hard to be passed through; where the rest of the Army going before, in the Rearward, at the entrance of the Wood were left certain strong Companies of Men at Arms, as a Wall against the pursuing Enemy; whom the Turks with their ready light Horsemen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the Wood was fought a great Fight, and a great Tumult raised; unto the noise whereof, which marched before hastily returning, in skirmishing, many of them fell into those deep Bogs and queasy Places, out of which they could hardly rid themselves again. Besides that, there were many crooked and troublesome turnings and windings, and sudden descents, so fiery, as that in going down the flane, their Horses came tumbling heels over head, and there lay overthrow together with their Riders in such sort, as that to avoid these difficulties, they were oftentimes enforced to

fight on foot. In which troublesome skirmish about fourcore Men at Arms were lost; but of the Turks, beside them which were slain, were taken an hundred and seventy, all whom *Himade* caused presently to be slain. In this War the Christians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the Enemies Affairs. Wherefore Wants daily more and more increasing in the Army, which by reason of the multitude of their Carriages, abundance of their Baggage, and often Assaults of the Turks, was able to make no way for the King, for fear his Army should in so long and low march through those troublefome and barren Countries, be consumed with Hunger and other Wants, caused all the Carriages and Baggage to be brought into the midst of the Army, and of it, all such things as served rather for burthen than use, so be there burnt; and the Arms as well of such Soldiers as he had there lost, as of the Enemy, to be buried in the ground; and all the weak Beasts that served for burthen, to be killed. So the Army well discharged of such unprofitable burthen, marched much more speedily, neither was so much subject unto the Assaults of the Turks, as before. And so at length by long Journeys, *Uladiflaus* with his Army arrived at *Belgrade*, where he was of his Subjects honourably received. And having there staid certain days, and well refreshed his Army, departing thence, and passing the River *Sava* came to the Royal City *Uladiflaus*, where he was of all his Subjects joyfully received; and the Legate and *Himade* going on his right Hand, and the Despot on the left; after whom followed other Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants with their Companies; who at their first meeting with the Citizens, more than a mile out of the City, in token of their mutual Joy, gave together joyful acclamations and such shouts, that the Heavens seemed to resound, and the Earth to shake with the noise thereof. Before the King, at his coming unto the City, went a long Company of the notable Turks Captives; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in Chains; upon whom all mens Eyes were fixed. With them were also carried the Enemies Ensigns, and such Spoils as had been faved. Behind the King came *Himade* in a triumphant Robe, in the midst betwixt the Legate on the right Hand, and the Despot on the left, as he that next unto the King had best deserved the Honour of the Triumph. Next unto them followed the devout Christians, that for the Zeal of Religion had most honourably for their own Charges voluntarily served in those Wars; and on both sides of them the Civil Magistrates and best of the Citizens; behind them came the rest of the Legions, and about them both upon the right Hand and the left, the promiscuous common People, doubling and redoubling the Praises of the King, and *Himade*. Before all these went the Prelates and Priests in solemn Procession, singing Hymns and Psalms of Thanksgiving unto Almighty God. *Uladiflaus* coming to the Gate of the City, acknowledging God to have been the Author of so great a Victory, alighting from his Horse, on foot went first unto the Cathedral Church of our Lady; and there giving most hearty Thanks unto Almighty God, hanged up the Enemies Ensigns, and part of the Spoil, in perpetual remembrance of so notable a Victory; which he afterward caused to be most lively depicted in a Table of most curious work, and there in the same Church to be hanged up; as were also the Arms of all the notable Christians that served in that most famous Expedition, which there long time after remained. Which Solemnities ended, he went

went to his Palace in his Castle, and there having given to every man, but especially to *Himade*, his due Commendation, gave them leave to depart. Thus the *Hungarians*, with whom also the *Polonians*, almost past his Son in law, and this notable Expedition of their King *Uladiflaus*, howbeit the Turks (notable defiblers of their own Losses) confessing the great Overthrow, call the Baffa to overthrow, not by the name of *Carambey*, but of *Cajanus*; and the noble Prisoner that was taken, by the name of *Melchior Beg*, called *Amurath*, Amurath his Son in law, and Sanzack to *Cah-Baffa*, *Amurath* his great Cousin-fellow, of some called *Carambey* after the name of his Father.

Out of this late slaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, escaped that valiant Prince and famous Warrior *George Cajanus* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared; whose noble mind had long time desired to break out of the golden Fetters of the Turkish Tyrldom, and to be revenged of the intolerable Injury by *Amurath* done to his Country, his Parents, his Brethren, and himself. Although he had always most warily defibled the Arms of the old Tyrant; being oftentimes solicited and animated thereunto by secret Letters and Messengers from his Friends in *Epirus*, knowing right well that the least fortune thereof had been unto him present death. But finding no fit means for the accomplishment thereof, wisely defibled the fame, with all the shews of Love and Loyalty to *Amurath* that might be; until that now in this great Overthrow of the Turks Army, under the leading of *Carambey*, and in so great a confusion, he took occasion to put in practise what he had long before in his deep conceit plotted, for the delivery both of himself, and his Country from the Turkish Bondage, and Slavery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for so from henceforth we call him) having a little before imparted the matter unto some of his trusty Friends and Country-men, no less desirous of liberty than himself, but especially unto his Nephew *Amefia*, the Son of his Brother *Reposin*, a young man of great courage (in great confusion of the Turkish Army, when every man was glad to thin for himself) had ever in his sight a vigilant eye upon the Baffas Principal Secretary; whom accompanied with a few Turks, he with his Nephew *Amefia*, and other of his faithful Friends closely followed; as he fled from the slaughter; but when he had got the Secretary with his few Followers in place most convenient for his purpose, he set upon the Turks and flew them every one; and carrying the Secretary away with him, he thought good, with great Threats, to compel him (soe against his will) to write counterfeited Letters, as from the Baffa his Master, unto the Governor of *Croia*, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, forthwith to deliver unto *Scanderbeg*, the new chosen Governor, the Charge of the City with the Garrison there; cunningly entangling many other things in the same Letters, whereby the matter might seem more probable. Which Letters so extorted, he presently flew the Secretary, and as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpose that his doings might be the longer kept from the knowledge of *Amurath*, who not hearing what was become of him, might reasonably conjecture that he was slain by the *Hungarians* among the rest of the Turks.

Whilst the fame of this great Overthrow was going to *Hadriampole*, and there filth the Turks Court with sorrow and heaviness, in the mean time *Scanderbeg* having with him three thousand

*Epirus* Soldiers which followed him out of the battel, as men desirous rather to fight for the liberty of themselves and of their Country, than in the quarrel of the Turk, was with incredible celerity came into the upper Country of *Dirva*, from *Croia*; into which Country he was most joyfully received, where he stayed but one day, and chose a few of those three hundred which he brought with him, to wait upon him when he went to *Croia*, as if they had been his domesticaly Soldiers; the rest, with other three hundred lusty Soldiers, which were then come unto him out of *Dirva*, he appointed to be led by secret by-ways through the Woods and Mountains by perfect Guides, until they came fo night *Croia* was so possible for them to come, unperceived; and there to stay until he might find opportunity to convey them into the City to oppress the Turkish Garrison. So he with a small Company of his Followers, as if they had been his private Retinue, took the way towards *Croia*. But when he began to draw near to the City, he sent *Amefia* before with two Servitors attending upon him, as if he had been his Secretary, to certify the Governor of his coming. This young Gentleman, as he was of a most good wit, and well spoken, so had he framed his Countenance and Air, that he seemed to be a natural Turk; who as soon as he was come into the City, he went unto the Governor, whom after he had saluted according to the Turkish manner, he delivered his Message as from *Scanderbeg* his Master, with so good Grace, and words so well placed, that all he faved was verily believed for true. But when *Scanderbeg* himself came, and had delivered the great Commanders Letters, the Governor made no further question of the matter, but presently delivered unto him the Government of the City, and the next day departed out of *Croia* with all his Household towards *Hadriampole*. *Scanderbeg* having by this policy got the Government of the chief City of *Epirus*, the night following found means in the dead time of the night, to receive into the City the Soldiers of *Dirva*, who were by this time come, according as he had before appointed; most part of them he placed in most convenient places of the City, and for the speedy suppression of the Turkish Garrison, he with the rest, first set upon the Turks which kept the Watch upon the Wall, and flew them; and afterwards breaking into their private houses, flew many of them in their Beds; the Christian Citizens also taking up Arms at the same time, helped to increase the slaughter of the Turks, so that in the space of a few hours, except some few, which were content to forsake their Mahometan Superstition, and to become Christians. Many of the Turks might have faved their lives, and would not, chusing rather to die, and (as it is reported) also to kill themselves, than to forsake their damnable Superstition; for small is the regard of life unto resolute Minds, in what quarrelsoever.

The City of *Croia* being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recovered, wherein appeared both the greatest difficulty, and hope of his good or bad Success in so great an Attempt, he presently sent *Amefia* back again into *Dirva*, and other speedy Messengers likewise into all the parts of *Epirus*, to disperse the News, and to stir up the people to take up Arms for the recovery of their lost Liberty; but flying Fame, the speedy Post, had prevented the Messengers by him sent, and already filled every corner of *Epirus* with report of *Scanderbeg* his coming, and of all that was done

Scanderbeg, being with all diligence, his desire for the delivery of himself and his Country.

Uladiflaus, where he was of all his Subjects joyfully received; and the Legate and Himade going on his right Hand, and the Despot on the left; after whom followed other Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants with their Companies; who at their first meeting with the Citizens, more than a mile out of the City, in token of their mutual Joy, gave together joyful acclamations and such shouts, that the Heavens seemed to resound, and the Earth to shake with the noise thereof.

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done at *Croia*. And the oppressed *Epirots*, which had long wished to see that happy day, were now up in Arms in every place, wanting nothing but Leaders, whose coming although they greatly desired, yet they stayed not thereupon, but running together in heaps (as the manner of the common people is in all great Tumults) they set upon the Turks Garrisons which lay abroad in the Country, and slew most part of them; whereby it came to pass, that no Turk could stir in the Country, but that he was flung upon and slain, so that in few days there was not a Turk to be found in *Epirus*, but such as lay in Garrisons in strong Towns. In this fury of the people, the Governor of *Croia*, with all his Retinue, was by the Country people by the way as he went, set upon and slain, and all his Goods taken as a Prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recovered *Croia*, and scourged the Country, yet to remove the Garrisons, which *Amurath* had put in every strong City, was thought to be a matter of great importance, and more difficulty. For which purpose he commanded those whom he had appointed for Captains, speedily to repair unto *Croia* with all the Power they could make. At which time also, diverse Noblemen his high Kinmen, referred to him with their Followers, so that within a few days, he had together at *Croia* twelve thousand Soldiers well appointed. With this Army he marched from *Croia* to *Petrelle*, a strong City 15 miles distant from *Croia*, and encamped before it. This City is strongly situate upon the top of a steep rocky Mountain, as all the rest of the Cities of *Epirus* be, and was by the Turks well furnished with Men, Munition, and other things needful; yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope that the Turkish Garrison there, terrified with the fortune of the Garrison of *Croia*, and the slaughter of the Turks in the Country round about, would be glad to hearken unto reasonable Conditions. Which to make proof of, althon he was encamped, he sent one of those Soldiers which had followed him out of *Hungary* (a faithful and wife Fellow) unto *Petrelle*, to offer unto the Soldiers, that if they would yield up the City, it should be at their choice, either to continue in Service with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they should find most bountiful Entertainment, or else to depart in safety with Bag and Baggage at their pleasure, with an honourable Reward to be divided among them. The faithful Messenger coming thither, and framing his Tale according to the present occasion, and necessity of the time, first declared unto them, how that *Amurath* of late vanquished by the *Hungarians* in a great Battel, and looking every day to be set upon by divers other Christian Princes, was so befuddled that he had no leisure to look into *Epirus*, or to send them any Relief's after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the Conditions here related; finding for the same forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to consider the dreadful misery that but the other day befel to the Garrison at *Croia*, and other their Fellows abroad in the Country, whose dead bodies as then lay in every Corner of *Epirus* for a prey to the hungry Dogs and greedy Wolves; which thing was easily believed of them of the Garrison, for that divers of the Turks lately fled out of the Country into the City, had themselves seen the same to be true. The Governor having a little considered of the matter, was content to give up the City, upon condition that he with the Soldiers might in safety depart with such things as they had; not covenanting upon any further Re-

ward, because it should not be said that he had sold the City. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promised to perform, the Turkish Governor coming forth with all his Garrison, yielded up the City; and *Scanderbeg* mindful of his promise, gave unto them both Meat and Money, and sent them with a sufficient Convoy of Horsemen in safety out of *Epirus*.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained *Petrelle*, he placed therein a convenient Garrison, and set all things in order as he thought good; but suffered none to enter into the City, more than the appointed Garrison, although it was then very cold and frosty Weather. This done, he presently raised his Camp, and following his good fortune, marched towards *Petra-Alba* in such haste, as if the City had been running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be evermore precious, yet never more than in martial affairs, wherein the least moment is oftentimes of such power as to effect or frustrate mens greatest designs. *Petra-Alba* is a City in the Country of *Emathia*, distant from *Petrelle* three miles, strongly situate upon the top of a Mountain, near unto the River *Emathia*. *Scanderbeg* had scarcely well encamped himself before this City, but that the Governor thereof, terrified with the fortune of *Croia*, and *Petrelle*, offered to deliver up the City, on the same Conditions as were granted at *Petrelle*; which being agreed upon, the City was forthwith delivered, and the Conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

*Petra-Alba* being thus taken, and all things set in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the countenance of his Victory, without delay came to *Stellusa*, which is also a strong City of *Emathia*, 15 miles distant from *Croia*, pleasantly (as it were of purpose) built upon the top of an high Hill, standing in the midst of a pleasant and fruitful Valley, with great Plains round about it. There *Scanderbeg* encamped a little before the going down of the Sun, and rested that night. In the morning he sent a Messenger to the City, with like conditions as were accepted at *Petrelle* and *Petra-Alba*; which most part of the Garrison-Soldiers of the Turks would gladly have accepted, but that *Desd* the Governor of the City, which some few others earnestly withstood the rest; whereupon a great Contention arose amongst the Garrison Soldiers. But the greater yield desirous to yield up the City, when they could by no means persuade the Governor and those few which took his part, to yield to their desires, they violently set upon him, and delivered him with the rest to *Scanderbeg*, fast bound, and so yielded up the City. For which Fact, fearing to return to *Amurath*, some of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwards became Christians; the rest were either honestly provided for, or else well rewarded, and suffered to depart whether they would. All the other weaker places of *Epirus* wherein any of the Turkish Garrisons lay, hearing that the strongest Cities were already delivered unto *Scanderbeg*, in short time yielded themselves upon like conditions; only *Spirigade* (otherwise called the holy City) remained in the possession of the Turks; which City is placed in the upper Country of *Dibra*, in the Frontiers of *Epirus*, upon the top of an high and steep Hill, as if it were an Eagles nest. Unto this City came *Scanderbeg* with all his Army; and having placed his Tent, he began first to assay if he could gain it by Composition, as he had done the rest; and the rather to move them by the examples of others, he caused his Embassadors to declare unto them all that had happened at *Croia*, *Petrelle*, *Petra-Alba*, and *Stellusa*, specially how he had used the Gar-

Petrelle yielded unto Scanderbeg.

Petra-Alba yielded.

Stellusa yielded by the Garrison.

rison of *Stellusa*, which yielded unto him, with all bounty and courtesy; and how that on the contrary part he had the Governor in bands, with all his wilful Partakers, whom they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith delivered not the City. This Message troubled the minds of all the Garrison, but especially of the Governor, seeing before his eyes in the woful example of another man, what might by and by happen unto himself. Wherefore fearing to deliver his own opinion, and to give answer unto the Embassadors, he desired the inconstant multitude and unknown minds of the people, he first entertained the Embassadors honourably, and afterwards turning himself unto the Citizens and Soldiers, said unto them, *Worthy men and most faithful Soldiers, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answer to these our Enemies demands? Then one of the Soldiers that stood by (a rough bold spirited Fellow) unwilling for his own part to give up the City, and deeming the Governor to be of the same mind, in that he had termed them worthy and faithful, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an Enemy, drawing out his Sword, and with his right hand flaking it on high, answered:*

*Most valiant Governor, this same and the like, shall I make answer for us. Nothing was to left purpose, then with premeditated words to seek to terrify the Soldiers the rest of men, first with the divers Fortunes of *Croia*, the rest of men, and then of *Stellusa*; for as the faces and countenances of men are divers, so are the minds, and the dispositions. Every man wisely directeth his own actions, according to his own proper humor, and by the same plays the Fool or Beelam. We prescribe no Laws to them of *Petrelle*, nor to them of *Stellusa*, neither let them prescribe any unto us. Let never so base example of cowardly Slaves ever enter into the thoughts of courageous men, to leave minds to yield to other men in their base Actions, much less in their Cowardise. And why? for every man liveth after his own fashion. Wherefore let *Scanderbeg* proceed, let him kill the Governor of *Stellusa*, before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow Soldiers, do you therefore think that we shall die in their Bodies? Shall our living spirits be there extinguished? Shall our blood there be spilt? But O happy Bodies, O ghosts of men ever to be revenged, which in worthy defence of your Liberty and Faith have indifferently contemned Gold, Silver, Death, and Torture, and whatsoever else miserable Worldlings hold dear or dimal! Wherefore carry you back again unto us? After this Answer from a Common Soldier, if he seek to impose these conditions: upon us, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage fear not so much as he thinketh. He may peradventure enforce us to these conditions of his, if God for sake us; but assuredly persuade us unto them, shall he never. And yet for all that, your Master *Scanderbeg* is not the man we have long since heard him reported to be, of an honourable mind, easy to forgive, and such a one as will indifferently judge betwixt the Enemy and himself; for why then doth he hold in bonds the Governor of *Stellusa*, for that he freely yields, and honourably food in defence of his King, his Faith and Liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deserved the same, although he hath voluntarily offered himself thereto for defence of his liberty?*

All they which were present, listened with great attention to the Soldiers speech, which was interrupted by any, until he had said what he would. Then the Soldiers thronging about him, and beating their Swords and Targets together, withal gave a great shout, in token that they all approved his Speech for answer. So

the Governor encouraged with the cheerfulness of his Soldiers, returned the Embassador without other Answer than that of the Common Soldiers, and presently appointed every man to his Charge, and with great confidence ordered all things for the better defence of the City. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the Answer that was sent him from the City, delivered by the mouth of a Common Soldier, he smiled thereat, and said, *He is undoubtedly a valiant Soldier, if his Deeds be answerable to his Speeches; but if his words be not, I will make him happy amongst the happy ghosts of them of *Stellusa**; and by him commanded the Governor of *Stellusa*, with the other Captives, to be brought before him, and there caused some of them which were content voluntarily to forsake their Mahometan superstition, to be presently baptized, to the great grief of the other Turks. *Desd* the Governor with the rest, to the terror of the Defendants, were in their fight put to death; whereupon the Garrison-Soldiers with great Indignation gave a shout from the Wall, and bitterly railed upon the Christians.

*Scanderbeg* considering the strength of the City, with the time of the year, unfit for Soldiers to keep the Field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Adis Galemus*, a most valiant Captain, with a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, to keep in the Turks Garrison at *Spirigade*, and to defend the Borders of *Epirus*, until he might at more convenient time himself return again to the Siege; and for the rest of his Army repaired to *Croia*, when he had in the space of little more than one month, to his immortal Praise, recovered his Kingdom, and driven the Turks out of every corner of *Epirus*, excepting only *Spirigade*; which City also not long after was by composition delivered unto him. During all this time, from his first coming into *Epirus*, he never slept above two hours in a night, but with restless labour prosecuted his affairs. He ever fought against the Turks with his Arm bare, and that with such fierceness, that the blood did oftentimes burst out of his lips. It is written, that he with his own hand slew three thousand Turks in the time of his Wars against them. But of his great and worthy Victories obtained against the two mighty Turkish Kings, *Amurath* and *Mahomet* his Son, more shall be said hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force and policy wrung his Inheritance out of every corner of *Epirus*; he proceeded further, and overran part of *Macedonia*, making furious Incursions into the heart of that Country, being then in the Turks possession; whereby he so enriched his Soldiers, that they desired of him no better pay. Which was so usual a thing with this restless Prince, as that it began to grow into a Proverb in most Princes Courts, That the spoil of *Amurath* his Dominions, was *Scanderbeg*'s Revenues. Complaint hereof came daily to *Amurath* Court, which the crafty angry Sire (being then troubled with the *Hungarians* War) feared at the first to make no great account of, but as so that he could easily and at his pleasure remedy; although he was therewith inwardly grieved at the heart. But when the certain report of one mischief as it were in the neck of another, continually founded in his ears, and that he saw no sign to be expected of these miseries, he sent *Adis Bagla*, one of his greatest men of War, with an Army of forty thousand select Soldiers, at once to subdue the Country of *Epirus*, and to bring it again under his Obedience. The setting forth of this great

Scanderbeg his first answer to the Soldier's speech.

Desd the Governor of Stellusa executed.

Macedonia first taken by Scanderbeg.

Adis Bagla with an Army of forty thousand select Soldiers sent first against Scanderbeg.

Army, under the Conduct of so famous a Captain, replenisht the minds of the Turks with such an assured hope of Victory, that a man would have thought *Scanderbeg* had been already taken, and now brought to execution; yea the Common Soldiers before their setting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the division of the spoil they were never like to have: *Scanderbeg* was ready to promise his Soldiers, that if they would follow him, he would give them as much as they could desire. And on the other side, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the small Country of *Epirus*, with great terror and fear of *Ali* *Bassa* coming. The Country-men with their Families fled into the strong Cities, and the Citizens within their Walls left no other care, but to keep continual Watch and Ward, as if the Enemy had even then lien fast by them: the aged Men and Women commended themselves and all their trust to God by prayers, and then to the courage of the lusty Soldiers with tears, as in case of extreme peril and danger. Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moved either with the terrible report of the Bassas coming, or the vain fear of his Subjects; but always kept the same cheerfulness both of countenance and speech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkish Wars, and having (as was supposed) certain Intelligence before from his secret Friends in the Turks Court, of all *Amurath*'s designs. So that having felt all things in order for the safety of his Country, he began to levy an Army at *Croia*; at which time most part of his Subjects of *Epirus*, which were able to bear Arms, repaired unto him; the Confederate Christian Princes also, his Neighbours, and for most part his Kinsmen, sent to him great Supplies; beside other devout and War-like minded Christians, which voluntarily resorted unto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he chose only 5000 Horsemen and seven thousand Foot, when as he might have raised a far greater Army; and placing some few in Garrisons in the frontier Cities where he thought most convenient, all the rest he sent home again to their dwellings. At which his confidence, his Friends, yea and his Enemies all much marvelled, that when he might have had so many, he would take the field with so few; with which small Army of fifteen thousand, he marched from *Croia*, fourscore miles to *Dibra*; where hearing by his Espials, of the approach of his Enemies, after he had with cheerful Speech encouraged his Soldiers, he encamped with his Army in the lower Country of *Dibra*, near unto a Wood side, right in the way where the Bassa must needs pass. In which Wood, he placed *Gue* *Mulachet*, and *Amela* in ambush with three thousand men; commanding them to stand close, until they saw he had thoroughly joyned battle with the Bassa, and then with all their Force to break forth upon his rearward. The Bassa marching forward, came and encamped near unto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going down of the Sun, and there rested that night, making great show of mirth and joy, with great fires in every corner of the Camp, as the Turkish manner of encamping is. Whereas in *Scanderbeg*'s Camp, all things were silent, and no fire of any fire at all; for so *Scanderbeg* had commanded; which made the Turks the more careless, deeming thereby the Christians as good as already discouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his Army in order of battle, placing *Amela* in the left Wing, with fifteen hundred Horsemen, and as many Foot; and *Mela* in the right with like number; and leading the main

battel himself, the rearward was committed to *Uranotes*: a man renowned in those days, both for his gravity in Counsel, and for his valour in Arms, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongst the rest most famous, for the worthy defending of *Croia* against *Amurath*, being then there himself in Person. *Ali* *Bassa* contemplating the small number of *Scanderbeg*'s Army, feeling nothing therein to be feared more than the good order and discipline, which he saw in a small Troop of Horsemen, who at the first encounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpose that the Christians hastily pursuing their untimely hope, might disorder their battel, and so give occasion to their own overthrow. But by the commandment of *Scanderbeg* (who easily perceived the Bassas meaning) their dangerous forwardness was warily wayed, and all with safety kept in good order. So both Armies coming on, the Wings began the battel afresh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his main battel in the face of the Bassa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the Battels were thoroughly joyned, *Mulachet* and *Amela* suddenly issued out of the Wood, and fiercely fell upon the rearward of the Turks Army, where they made great slaughter, and forced many of the Turks for fear to fly. Thus was the Bassas great Army driven to flight both before and behind, being hardly able to lay down with such a small number. The Bassa had placed his best Soldiers nearest unto himself in the main Battel, as his most assured strength and last refuge; these valiant men stood fast, and renewed the battel, before almost lost. And here *Scanderbeg*'s fortune was even as a fland; until that the well advised and valiant Captain *Uranotes* having received the wearied Soldiers into the rearward, and setting all things there in safety, accompanied with certain Troops of fresh Soldiers which he brought out of the rearward, brake through the Bassas Army with such slaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the rest of his Army. The Turks discomfited with the invincible courage of these old Soldiers, and the slaughter of their Fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, brook themselves to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued, and slew of them two and thousand others taken Prisoners, with four and twenty of the Turks Ensigns; whereas of the Christians were slain not past an hundred and twenty. The Enemies Tents with all their Carriages, were at the same time taken also. After this great Victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his seven thousand Footmen, Horsemen, being unto them the Horles of the slain Turks, he brake into the Enemies Country, and entered far into *Macedonia*, where he filled the desires of his Soldiers with the wealth and spoil thereof, sparing nothing that Fire and Sword could devour; and so with Victory returned to *Croia*, where he was of his Subjects joyfully received. *Ali* *Bassa* with the remainder of his discomfited Army, returned to *Hadrinople*, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardice and want of discretion, for that he had lost so puissant an Army to so weak an Enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himself by the modest rehearsal of his former Victories, and the testimony of all the other Captains present with him in that battel, he was pardoned, and so again received into favour, and that great Overthrow imputed to the chance of War.

*Amurath* having received two fo great Overthrows, first from *Huniades* and the *Hungarians*, and

The battel between *Ali* *Bassa* and *Scanderbeg*.

A great slaughter of the Turks.

*Amurath* by the persuasion of *Caly* *Bassa*, to which for Peace, of King *Uladislaus*.

The Capitulations of the ten years peace concluded between *Uladislaus* and *Amurath*.

*Amurath* overtook *Caramania*.

and now from *Scanderbeg*, and seeing himself else-where beset with so many Mischiefs, as that he could not tell which way to turn himself; tormented with Despair, and desire of Revenge, whereof he saw small possibility, fell into such a Melancholy Rapture, that overcome with the dark conceits thereof, he was about to have become the bloody Executioner of himself, had not *Caly* *Bassa* by his grave advice comforted up his dying spirits; by whose persuasion (contrary to his haughty nature) he yielded by his Embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire Peace of *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary*; using the exiled Despot of *Serbia* (his Father in law) then present with the King, as a mean therein. Who at the first gave small credit unto the Embassadors, or unto such things as they told him, until that at length better perswaded of the true meaning of the Turk, he so wrought the matter both with the King and the rest of the Nobility, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable Peace concluded. The Capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* with drawing all his Forces and Garrisons, should clearly depart out of *Serbia*, and restore the same unto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right Lord and Owner thereof; delivering also freely unto him his two Sons, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their fight, he had long time kept in strict prison. Also, That from thenceforth he should make no Claim unto the Kingdom of *Holideria*, nor to that part of *Bulgaria* which he had in the last Wars lost. And finally, That he should not invade or molest the *Hungarians*, or any part of their Kingdom, during the whole time of that Peace; and to pay 40000 Ducats for the ransom of *Caraman*. Unto which hard conditions when the Turkish Tyrant had readily assented, he will condescended a Peace full five years was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemn Oath confirmed; King *Uladislaus* taking his Oath upon the holy Evangelists, and *Amurath* (by his Embassadors) upon their Turkish Alcoran. This was the most honourable Peace that ever Christian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish Kings, and most profitable also, had it been with like fidelity kept, as it was with Solemnity confirmed.

*Amurath* with this Peace delivered of his greatest fear, converted all his Forces against the *Caramanians*, who were the Injurers by him done whilst he was occupied in the *Hungarian* Wars. This King of *Caramania* knowing himself unable to withstand so great an Enemy, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himself to the strength of any his Cities or strong Castles, but fled into the Mountains, there fortifying himself more sure than in any other of his strong Holds. *Amurath* entering into *Caramania*, made great spoil in the Country as he went, and took great Booties. At last coming to *Iscim*, he laid hard siege to the same. The poor King seeing his Kingdom thus spoiled, and his chief City in danger to be lost, sent Embassadors, and with them his Wife also, which was *Amurath*'s Sister, to intreat for Peace; offering to pay unto him yearly the double Tribute which he before paid, and for the Performance thereof to give his Son in Hostage. Upon which conditions *Amurath* granted him Peace, and so returned. In this War, *Amurath* lost his Son, due to the great grief of his aged Father, being slain with a fall from his Horse as he was hunting.

Old *Amurath* thoroughly wearied with continual Wars and other Troubles incident unto restless Wars, resolved now to retire himself to a

more private and quiet kind of life; and therefore sent for his Son, *Mahomet*, being then but fifteen years old, to whom he voluntarily resigned his Kingdom, appointing *Caly* *Bassa* his Tutor, with one *Chesre* a learned Doctor of their Law, to be his trusty Counsellors and chief Directors. And so taking himself to rest, great one of his Noblemen in whom he took greatest pleasure, departed to *Magnesia*, and there as a man weary of the World, gave himself to a solitary and monastical kind of life, in the company of certain religious Turkish Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, glad before of the *Hungarian* Victory, were now led less lothy to hear of the late concluded Peace betwixt King *Uladislaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*; as being of opinion, that the prosecution of this War so happily begun, would have been the utter ruine and destruction of the Turkish Kingdom. Whereof they fought by all possible means to induce the young King *Uladislaus* to break the League he had so lately and so solemnly made with the Turk; especially *John* *Paleslogus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, did by Letters importune the King to remember the Confederation he had made with the other Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the Wars against the common Enemy of Christianity; which Princes were now prest, and ready (as he said) to assist him with their promised Aid; adding moreover, That whereas *Amurath* had driven times fought to ruin him in Arms, and yet he had utterly rejected that Offer of Peace, preferring the Universal profit (like to infinite to all Christians) by that Religious War before his own private Security and Profit, being for his part in readiness to joy his Forces with the Kings, if he would presently enter into Arms; which he could never do in better time than now, whilst *Amurath* terrified with his late Overthrow, and still beset with doubtful War, had drawn his greatest Forces out of Europe into Asia, in such disorderly halt, as that it should seem he rather fled for fear of his Enemies in Europe, than marched to encounter his Enemies in Asia; and now being weary of all, had broken himself to a private kind of life. To conclude, he requested the King, not to leave him and the other Christian Princes of small Power, as a Prey to the Turk; who if he would assufully with all Hostility invade them, so soon as he thought himself free from the danger of the *Hungarians*. At the same time also, and upon the departure of the Turks Embassadors, for the performance of such things as they had promised, Letters came from *France* the Cardinal of *Florence*, General of the Christian Fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* having left almost none in Europe, was without all Power he could make, gone over into Asia against the *Caramanian* King, leaving a most fair occasion for the Christians, easily to recover whatsoever they had before lost in Europe; and that he was in good time come with his Fleet unto the Straits of *Hellipontus*, according to promise, and ready to invade the Turk, if they would pass back again out of Asia. Both these Letters being read in the Council, so much moved the King, with all the wealth of the Nobility of *Hungary* there present, as that they were never more sorry or ashamed for any thing they had done in their lives, than for the League so lately with *Amurath* concluded; for which they saw that all the Plot they had laid for their Immortal Glory, was now by this hasty Peace that they had made with the Turk, without the good liking

In conclusion, having much spoken of the Authority and Power of the great Bishop, he in his Name diannulled the League whatsoever, by the King made with the Turks; and absolved him, with the rest whom it might concern, from the Oath they had given, and the Promise they had made. Which so well contented both the King and the rest, that they desired no more qualification of the Oath, or the lawfulness of the War, but a Decree made for the continuation of the League with the other Christian Princes their Confederates, and for the prosecution of the Wars against the Turks, as was with them before agreed; whom, they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leave them as a Prey unto the Turk, their great Enemy; now for none thing more in danger, than for their request they had taken up Arms in their behalf. Unto which unfortunate Decree, both the Despot and Humiades (the chief Authors of the late Peace

The cunning Speech  
wherewith  
Julian the  
Cardinal  
perswadeth  
King Ulla-  
dislaus to  
break the  
League he  
had before  
made with  
Amurath.

had neither the means to leave unto your Kingdom and Scepter, (as unto his Son, then living in his Enemies Power) either was able, nor Persuaded to push aside for his Affairs. And would to God this your Father, most happy in such a Son, might have till now lived's joyful felicity had in that surmounted all others, if he might have seen you before his death. For as you seem unto me above all other Princes in the World (without offence be it said) most accomplished with the good Graces and Persuasion both of body and mind, as you inclined also with a certain divine and wonderful Fortune, under the good Conduct whereof, not only the whole Kingdom of Epirus may think it self in security, but all the rest of the other Nations also, lately by the detestable fraud and violence of the Ottoman Kings driven from the Realm of Macedonia, may also recover the former beauty of their ancient Laws and Liberties. For (to say nothing of those things which even from your Childhood having continually made you envious, have heretofore purchased unto you an immortal Fame and Glory even amongst the Barbarians themselves) what can be more glorious than this Victory which (as we have heard, and believe) you, to your singular admiration, have obtained, by the overthrow and utter discomfiture of Alis Bassa, with his so great and mighty a Power? But now O Scanderbeg (God go appointing it, who in his deep and secret Will hath reserved unto thee so dangerous times for the Publick Good, and Comfort of the Christian Commonwealth) there offers it self unto you an object of far greater Glory, with a fair and fit occasion for you to revenge your self of all the Wrongs and Injuries both new and old, by Amurath the Turkish Sultan done, not in private to the person of your self only, but unto the whole State of Kingdoms of Epirus also, and not the detestable and cruel Miseries of your own Country only, but the Publick Calamities also, and those obprobrious Disgraces done against the Christian Faith and Religion in general, now oppressed (I will not say extinguished) and that is, if you with your victorious Forces will succeed in this extremity of our Affairs, not yet altogether desperate. Hereunto do all the Princes of Hungary and Polonia, and all other men of courage invite you, with all those devout and courageous Christians, which long since here with us, and ready in Arms, with far nothing more than the presence of your Christian Forces, have been so far from occasion (as God himself now offers) if you refuse not, will in all mens judgement be a sure mean to vanquish and overthrow our Common Enemy the Turk, and to drive him quite out of Europe, wrongfully by him so long time possessed. I need not therefore (as I suppose) to use any kind of persuasion unto you in this Cause and Quarrel, the defence whereof doubt purchase unto us health, light, and liberty; but being neglected, I fear and abhor to forbode what may ensue thereof. We Christians have been too too slack and backward in helping one another's flame both new and well near consumed in all, whilst no man thought it would have come home himself. I know as well as the Greek Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Servians? yet, mine own self, and many Calamities already, and yet also to be endured, who is able to recount? The brave and most valiant Princes, the trusty Bulwarks and Defences of the Kingdom of Hungary, from time to time lost; and the puissant Armies with us the South and West, who were so long consumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon up? Informed that there is no House, Wife, nor Altar, in all Hungary, which is not in some measure partaker of this heaviness. All this do the Christian Princes bear of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their Allies can nothing move any one of them, but suffer us thus as a Sacrifice

for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and fury of the common and merciless Enemy. Only Eugenius the most holy Bishop of Rome, and Philip Duke of Burgundy, have not refused to bear a part of the burden of this our afflicted Fortune; the one hath sent hither his Legate Julian the Cardinal, with notable and puissant Succours; and the other with his Fleet at Sea, and come as far as Hellespontus, so much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks passage into Europe. And who else together there is, not now far from us, and that is your best, where we are so desirous, which we require of you, moved thereunto partly by your valour so well known, and partly in regard of the imminent peril and common danger of us all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how evil you may be at leisure to take such an Expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your Affairs, and how you recovered Kingdom, as yet scarcely well established; yet notwithstanding, let it not withhold you, or keep you back's assuring you, that as this Expedition cannot be unto you most honourable, even so your present desert shall not be befouled upon ungrateful and thankless men; but that which you shall now first begin and undertake for your Preservation and Dignity, we will from henceforth and ever continue for your glory, and for the increase of your greatness, Fare you well. From our Regal City of Buda the fourth of July, 1444.

Of this the Kings motion Scanderbeg liking well, and thinking it far better now in so fit a time, with his own Forces joined unto the Hungarians his Friends, thoroughly to buffet Amurath, than in short time after, himself alone to sustain his whole Power; by the general consent of the Ottoman Princes his Confederates and Allies; yielded unto his request; in liberal terms promising him by his Letters, in good time to be present with him with thirty thousand good Souldiers. The Copy of which Letters I thought it not amiss here to let down also.

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirot, unto Vladislavus King of Hungary and Polonia, greeting.

YOur Letters, most invincible King, I have with Scanderbeg like joy and contentment received; which I in beg his the General Assembly of my Christians having caused to be publicly to be read, there was not any one of them that said which was not of opinion, but that so just an occasion of War by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalf also embraced. And so every man doth both publicly and privately affirm, That nothing could have happened unto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable Service testify their grateful Minds, and bind unto them so excellent a Prince; as also to give so fit Succours unto the Christian Commonwealth. In which forwardness of my people I myself took great contentment and pleasure, both in regard of your self, and in the behalf of the Publick and Common Cause; seeing my men of War, and all other sorts of Subjects, of what state or degree were (without any persuasion used on my part) to be so cheerfully and courageously minded in defence of the Faith, and of the Christian Religion; and so well affectioned towards your most Royal Majesty. And to say the truth, Who is it that hath so lately hated God and man) albeit there were no question of Religion or of the common danger, that would refuse so just and lawful a War? for such a King, as unto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Christians do not only reign, but even live, breathe, and enjoy the liberty of our Speech. Who would not willingly take up Arms, and adventure himself into most manifest

and certain danger for the People of Hungary; by whom in all Ages the Christian Commonwealth, and whose Blood, been so mightily supported and defended? who even from the very cradle have been continual Enemies unto our Enemies, and have as it were even vowed themselves for the Honour of the Christian Religion and Name. Would God (most mighty and redoubted Vladislavus) and those many Christian Kings, might unite unto such Forces to the honourable War, as were answerable to my Courage and Desire; then happily Europe should not longer lie in this inglorious Estate, oppressed by Amurath; neither should the Fields of Varna or Bassia so often smother with the Blood of the Hungarians; nor every Corner of Macedonia with the Blood of the Epirots; both Nations being as it were become the Expiatorie Sacrifices of others Sins and Offences; we all now by turns perish, whilst every man thinketh himself born but for himself alone. But why do I unto my self pour forth these vain complaints? Truly, it neither repents me of my Forces, neither (as I suppose) if I shall please God that our Forces may once meet and join together in so happy a War) shall the Christian Commonwealth have any cause to sorrow or be grieved with the issue and event of our Fortune. For unto those fifteen thousand good Souldiers which lately discomfited Alis Bassa on the Borders of Macedonia, my purpose is to join as many more as may be, with all which Strength as soon as conveniently they may, I will begin to set forward, ready to follow your Example in all Events whatsoever. And so fare you well. From Croia the third of August, 1444.

These Letters being dispatched away unto the King Scanderbeg forthwith began to levy his Forces. And first of all he caused with new Supplies to be made strong, all those Companies wherewith he had overthrowen Alis Bassa; not suffering any one of them to absent himself from this Expedition. Unto whom being in number fifteen thousand, all men of approved Valour, he joynted other fifteen thousand more, no less valiant than they; such a Power as he never either before or after raised for the Recovery or Defence of his Kingdom. And so furnished with all things necessary for to honourable a War, cheerfully set forward, accompanied with the Vows and Hope of all his most faithful and loving Subjects. But being come to the Borders of Servia, he found the fright and difficult passages of that rough Country shut up by George the Despot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the Graces of Nature, but otherwise a wicked damned Atheist, and a Christian but in name only) who but lately before restored unto his Kingdom by the help of King Vladislavus, having changed his mind, did now mightily cleave unto the Turk his Son-in-Law (by whom he had been before himself extirped) and in favour of his quarrel, and despiteful to the Hungarians, but the great of Humaidar, had stopped up the wales and passages whereby Scanderbeg was with his Army to pass; who by his Ambassador sent of purpose unto the Despot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in mind of the perjurious dealing of Amurath with him, notwithstanding he had married his Daughters unto the great Pleasures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proof; requesting him if it were but in regard of the common cause of Christianity to give unto him (as unto his Friend by whom he was never in any thing wronged) passage; and would to that him with the perpetual note of Infamy. That he being a Christian Prince, and of late so mightily oppressed

by the Turk, should now to the great Hindrance of the Christian Commonwealth, Weal part with him, against his Friends and Deliverers. But what availeth Prayers or Requests, be they never so reasonable, with a man set down to mischief? Scanderbeg out of hope by any other means to open his way, but by plain force, resolved so to do; although it much grieved him to spend those Forces upon a Christian Prince, which he had prepared against the capital Enemy both of himself and all good Christians, old Amurath the Turkish Sultan.

But whilst he thus discontented, spendeth his time with his Army upon the Borders of Servia, beset with many difficulties, Vladislavus pricketh forward by the continual felicitations of Julian the Cardinal, or else drawn on by his own inevitable Destiny, having assembled a great Army of valiant and courageous Souldiers out of Hungary and Polonia (yet in number far inferior to that he had the year before, for that month which he of the voluntary Souldiers were returned home) set forthward from Segedinus; and in the beginning of November (a time unfit for Wars) passed over Danubius, and entering into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropolitane City of that Kingdom (but then in possession of the Turks) where he burnt the Suburbs thereof, and in that fruitless attempt, he was refreshed his People three or four days, where he also mustered his Army, and took a view thereof. At which time Dracula Vayvod of Valachia, a man of great experience in Martial Affairs, being then present, and considering the small number of the Kings Army, began to persuade him to retire, saying, He had sufficiently learned by his own harms, to deem aright of the Power of the Turkish Sultans; who (as he said), was wont many times to carry more men with him into the Fields in to his Disport of Hawking and Hunting, than was there in the Kings Camp; wherefore he should do well, not to expose those his small Forces unto so manifest peril, in such unseasonable time of the year, but to reserve them to a more fit opportunity, when he might with greater Power encounter his puissant Enemy. This his Counsel most men of greatest Experience, and not carried away by other private respects, thought wholesome; but the Cardinal, Author of this fatal War, extolling with great words the last years Victory obtained against the Turk, with glorious promises of great Aid, as well by Sea from the Pope, and the Pontians, as by Land from the Emperor of Constantinople and other Christian Princes; augmenting also the great Troubles in Africa, and promising an easy and happy success unto these Wars in Europe; persuaded the King that Dracula his speech proceeded either of ignorance, upon a superficial Judgment which he made of the Kings Power there present, without regard of further Strength from his Friends; or else of the private respect of his own security, in regard of a commodious League made a little before betwixt him and the Turk. So that the poor Prince seeing his Counsel mightily impugned by the Cardinal, and not so well taken, as it was nearly by him, stood in doubt whether to leave him to his Fortune, and himself to his quiet Peace, or casting off the Turkish League, to join with the King in this chance of War; but at length resolved as a Martial minded Man, preferring the uncertain Glory of the Field before his own assured rest, laid unto the King.

Seeing that either your Princely Fortune, which hath ever hitherto favoured you, or high Attempts, or else the hope of Friends help, which I pray God fail you not at your need, or the secret designment of your Destiny, unable to be avoided, draws your Majesty into a different opinion from me; that your resolution, which I cannot by reasonable persuasion alter, I will as the judgement of time, and my small ability will permit, most gladly follow.

And therewith presented unto the King, his Son, with four thousand Horsemen well appointed, to serve him in those Wars; wishing unto him such good success as he himself desired. Afterward when he was about to take his leave of the King, he presented unto him two lusty young men, perfect Guides for that Country, with two Hosts of incredible swiftness, and with tears standing in his Eyes said unto him:

Take this small Gift in good part, as a poor refuge to the unto, if your Fortune hap to fail you, which I tremble to think upon; I pray God they be given in vain, and fail you fully, if my Prayers may prevail. Use it wisely, shall tell you to use them, you shall find them serviceable at your need.

And so taking his last Farewell of the King, returned into Valachia. Uladislavus marching on from Nicopolis toward Thracia, took many Towns and Forts by the way, which the Turks for fear yielded unto him: at last he came to *Savimium* and *Pezecinium*, where the Turkish Garrison trusting as much to the Strength of the places, as to their own Valour, stood upon their Guard; but the King laid Siege to both the said places, and took them by assault; where he put to the Sword five thousand of the Turks.

The Turks *Rajah's* terrified with those unexpected troubles, advertised the Emperor, beseeching him to leave his obscure Life, and to levy the greatest Power he could in *Asia*, for the defence of the Turkish Kingdom in *Europe*, which otherwise was in short time like to be lost; blaming also his disobedience, for committing the Government of so great a Kingdom to so young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his Son, unto whom many of the great Captains did half scorn to yield their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awakened, as it had been out of a dead sleep, left his Cloister, and with great speed gathered a strong Army in *Asia*, and came to the Straits of *Hellepontus*, where he found the passage flopped by the *Venetian* and *Popes Gallies*, and was therefore at his Wits end. But marching along the Sea side unto the Straits of *Bosphorus*, he there found means to convey over his whole Army; using therein (as some write) the help of the *Genovay* Merchants Ships, paying unto the *Genovays* for the passage of every Turk a Ducat, which amounted to the sum of an hundred thousand Ducats; or as some others affirm, corrupting with gifts and Bribes them that were left for the defence of this passage. And being now got over, joined his *Asian* Army with such other Forces as his *Bassahs* had in readiness in *Europe*; and so marching on seven days, encamped within four miles of *Varna*, a City pleasantly standing upon the *Euaxine* Sea side in *Bulgaria*, where the Christian Army lay for *Uladislavus* hearing of *Amurath* his coming with so great an Army, had retired thither, having but a little before taken the fame City of *Varna* from the Turks, with *Calachium*, *Galatz*, *Macropolis*, and others upon the Sea Coast.

Upon the first report that *Amurath* was with such a mighty Army come over the Straits of *Bosphorus*, *Uladislavus* who before was in good hope that he could not possibly have found any passage, entred into Council with the Commanders

of his Army, what course he was now best to take; where many which before had been moit for coward in that action (presuming that *Amurath* were now so discouraged, with the fame of his coming, that they advised the King in time to retire home, and not to oppose so small an Army against such a number of People as was reported to follow the Turk. But other Captains of greater Courage, and especially *Humides*, said, it was not for the Kings honour left to invade his Enemies Dominions, and presently to turn his back upon the first report of their coming, without first to remember the good Fortune of his former Wars, and that he was to fight against the same Enemy whom he had victoriously overcome the year before; as for the multitude of his Enemies, he had learned by experience (as he said) not to be moved therewith, for that it was the manner of the Turkish Kings, more to terrify their Enemies with the show of a huge Army, than with the Valour of their Souldiers, which were nothing to be accounted of, but as effeminate, in comparison of the *Hungarians*. Whereupon the King resolved to try the fortune of the field.

*Uladislavus* understanding by his Espials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within four miles, was now putting his Army in order of Battle; committed the ordering of all his Forces unto the valiant Captain *Humides*, who with great care and industry disposed the same, garding the one side of the Battle with a Pen or Marlin, and the other side with Carriages, and by the Rearward of his Army with a deep Hill. Therein politely providing, that the Christian Army being far less than the Turks in number, could not be compassed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks Army approaching began to skirmish with the Christians, which manner of Fight was long time with great courage maintained, and that with diverse Fortune, sometime one party prevailing, and sometime the other; but with such slaughter on both sides, that the ground was covered, and stained with the dead Bodies and Blood of the slain. At length the Battle being more closely joined, At length the Battle began to incline to the Christians, for *Humides* had most valiantly with his *Transylvanian* and *Valachian* Horsemen, put to Flight both the Wings of the Turkish Army, and made great slaughter wherever he came. Infomuch that *Amurath* disuained with the Flight of his Souldiers, was about to have fled himfelf out of the main Battle, had he not been staid by a common Souldier, who laying Hands upon the Rains of his Bridle, staid him by force, and sharply reproved him of Cowardice. The Captains and Prelates about the King (whom it had better befemed to have been at devout Prayers in his Oratories, than in Arms at the bloody Battle) encouraged by the prosperous success of *Humides*, and desirous to be Partakers of that Victory, foolishly left their safe Stations, where they were appointed by him to stand fast, and disorderly pursued the chase, leaving that side of the Battle where they stood, open unto the Turks; but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountered by a great part of the Turkish Army, for such purpose placed in a Vally fast by.

In which Fight *Levo* one of the most valiant Captains of the *Hungarians* was slain; and the Bishop of *Veradum*, a better Church-man than Souldier, and the first man that disordered the Battle, seeking to save himfelf by Flight through the Pen, was there strangled in the deep Mud, after

after he had with his Horse therein struggled a great while. The Bishop of *Agria*, a man of greatest Authority with the King, was at the same time also lost, with many other Church-men more. The Cardinal with some other of the expert Captains retiring toward their former standings, were hardly assailed by the Turks, who by the coming in of the King and *Humides*, were with great laughter forced to retire, and even ready to fly. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and all brought into extrem danger, beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the displaced Ensigns of the voluntary Christians, plucked the Writing out of his Bosom, wherein the late League was comprised, and holding it up in his Hand with his Eyes cast up to Heaven, said:

Behold thou crucified Christ, this is the League thy Christian in thy name made with me; which they have without cause violated. Now if thou be a God, at they say thou art, and as we dream, revenge the wrong done unto thy Name, and me, and shew thy Power upon this perjured People, who in their death deny thee their God.

The King with *Humides* furiously pursued the chafed Turks, with bloody execution a great space; when as the King in his heat hardly persuaded by *Humides* to return again unto his Camp, in his coming thither found the Cardinal *Julian*, with *Elif*, one of his chief Captains, and others overcharged with the Turks, which had again made head against that part of the Christian Army; and there yet fought courageously, by reason of their multitude, being also backed by the *Fanariaries*, which all this while had stood fast with their old King, as his last and most assured hope, but were now come in. There began a most cruel and fierce Fight, where the fucuffs whereof, the Turks well saw the whole state of their Kingdom in *Europe* to consist, many were there slain on both sides; the Turks feeling their loss less than indeed it was, by reason of their Multitude; and the Christians, by reason of their Courage. A great while the Victory fought doubtful, infomuch that at length the Turks began to shrink back, in that part of the Battle where the King and *Humides* fought. But in the left side they prevailed so upon the Christians, that they were even ready to have fled. Which when *Humides* (having a vigilant Eye unto every part of the Army) perceived, he with speed made thither, and there again, with his presence reformed the Battle almost before lost. Which done, he returned again towards the King, who in the mean time had most valiantly repulsed a great number of the Turks, and now was come unto the *Fanariaries*, *Amurath* his last hope. There was to be seen a thousand manners of death by which both the Armies fought more like wild Beasts in their rage and fury, than wary and politic Souldiers. In this confused medly the young King *Uladislavus* with greater Courage than Care of himself, brake into the Battle of the *Fanariaries*; at which time, *Amurath* himfelf was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the *Akshut* first wounded with a Pike, and after assailed with his Sword, and had there ended his days, but that he was speedily rescued by his Guard, by whom this worthy Knight after great proof of his Valour was there slain in the midst of his Enemies. *Uladislavus* being got alive in among them valiantly performed all his parts as a worthy Souldier, and was slain as his Horse being slain under him, he was forthwith oppressed by the multitude of his Enemies and slain; his Head being struck off by the *Fanariaries*, one of the old *Fanariaries*, was by him

presented unto *Amurath*, who commanded it presently to be put upon the point of a Lance, and Proclamation to be made, that it was the Head of the Christian King; which was afterwards so carried through the principal Cities of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, as a Trophy of the Turks Victory. *Humides* after he had in vain given divers brave attempts, to have rescued the Kings Body, retired with a few *Valachian* Horsemen, and fleeing no hope of recovery, (for all the Christians being discouraged with the death of the King, had now taken themselves to flight) gave place to necessity, and referring himself to his future Fortune, fled over the Mountains, into the thick Woods, from whence with much difficulty he got over *Danubius* into *Valachia*, and was there taken as some write, by *Dracula* Prince of that Country Prisoner; in his revenge whereof, after he was enlarged by the *Hungarians*, he aided *Danus* against *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his Son were both slain, and *Danus* placed in his room. *Julian* the Cardinal flying out of the Battle, was found by that worthy man *Gregory Samfo*, lying in the desert Forest by the way side, mortally wounded, and half stripped, by whom he was in few words sharply reproved, as the wicked Author of that peridious War, and there left giving up the Ghost. Many of the Christians which fled out of that Battle, fell into the Enemies hands, and so were slain; but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the Fens, or that of the Cold perished in the Woods, or else after long and miserable travel, finding no passage over *Danubius*, fell at length into the Turkish Slavery. This great and mortal Battle, as it was with diverse fortune fought, so was also the present report thereof more uncertain; for the Turks that were at the first put to flight, returned in the Towns there by as they fled, that the Battle was lost; and they which had all the day endured the Fight, not altogether assured of the Victory, and not knowing whether the *Hungarians* had retired themselves, whilst they suspected some deceit in the Kings Camp, by reason of the great silence therein, staid two days before they durst adventure to take the Spoil thereof. The number of them that were slain in this Battle, as well on the one side as the other, was great; as the Mounts and little Hills, raised of the Bones and Bodies of those that were buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certain number was not known, some reporting more, some fewer. Yet in this most agree, that the Christian Army, being not great, scarce the third part escaped; and that the Turks bought this Victory with a far greater loss, although it was of their less felt, by reason of their multitude; least thereof affirm, by their own words. Which may well seem rather to be so, for that *Amurath* after this Victory, neither farther prosecuted the fame, nor showed any tokens of Joy at all, but became very melancholy and sad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after so great a Victory, he was no merrier; answered, That he wished not at so great price, to gain so many Victories. Yet in memorial thereof he erected a great Pillar, in the same place where the King was slain, with an inscription of all that was then done; which, as they say, is yet there to be seen at this day. This bloody Battle was fought near unto *Varna* (an ancient time called *Dionisopolis*) (a place fatal unto many Warriors, and therefore of them even yet abhorred) the tenth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord Christ, 1444.



Some maliciously impute the loss of the Battle of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Hunniades*, who (as they said) fled out of this Battle with ten thousand Horsemen; but this report agreeeth not with the noble disposition of that courageous and valiant Captain, but seemeth rather to have been devised, to excuse the foul dealing of the Clergy; who as most Histories bear witness, were the chief Authors both of the War, and of the lamentable calamity ensuing thereof.

From the Battle of Varna *Amurath* returned to *Hadrinople*, having lost the greatest part of his best Soldiers, and there with great Solemnity buried the body of *Caracasia*, Vice-Roy of *Europe*, slain in that Battle; and then calling together all his Nobility, again resigned up his Kingdom unto his Son *Mahomet*, retiring himself into *Adagusa*, where he lived a solitary and private life, having before vowed so to do, in the great fear he was in, in the Battle against *Uladiassus*; but after he had a short time performed these his Vows in that obscure and melancholy Life, he weary thereof, as some suppose, as not a little revived with the late Victory, or else solicited by *Calil Baffa* and other great Counsellors, returned again to *Hadrinople*, returning unto himself the Government of the Kingdom, to the great discontentment of his ambitious Son *Mahomet*.

*Scanderbeg* yet sticking in the borders of *Servia*, and hearing what had happened unto King *Uladiassus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieved; and having now lost the hope whereupon he had undertaken that so great an expedition, resolved to return home again into *Epirus*. Nevertheless, to be in some part revenged of the wicked Despot, he with his Army forcibly brake into his Country, and there did exceeding great harms. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polesians, lately escaped from the slaughter at *Varna*, repaired unto him, whom he (according to the extremity of their Fortune) courteously relieved; and furnishing them with such things as they wanted, provided them shipping to *Ragusa*, from whence they might in safety return into their own Countries. Thus by the Dilloyalty and Treachery of the faithless Despot of *Servia*, was *Scanderbeg* staid from being present at the bloody Battle of *Varna*, to the unpeakable loss of the Christian Common-wealth; for it could not be, but that many thousands of most resolute and expert Soldiers, under the leading of so worthy a Chieftain, must needs have done much for the gaining of the Victory. And what more glorious fight could a man have wished for, than to have been so puissant an Army as this, to fight against the sworn Enemy of Christendom, directed by two such valiant and renowned Chieftains, as never, either before or since their time, was seen the like in one Battle against the Enemy of Christ and the Christian Religion? They were both men of invincible Courage, of exceeding Strength and Agility of Body, with prudent and subtilty both of long time exercised in the Turks Wars, the greatest terror of that Nation, and most worthy Champions of the Christian Religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Hunniades* was at that time accounted the better Commander, and the more politic; as a man in greater experience in Martial Affairs, by reason of his greater years; which was well counterbalanced by *Scanderbeg* his perpetual good Fortune, still as it were attending upon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the course of his History well appeareth.

*Amurath* advertised of these proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as also of the great harms by him done in *Macedonia*, and that the Frontiers of his Dominions bordering upon *Epirus*, were by his Fury utterly wasted and spoiled, and his People there for most part slain, and that the rest had for fear forsaken their Dwellings, and left the Country desolate and unpeopled; was therewith exceedingly moved. Yet for so much as he fill flood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himself clogged with years, and therefore more desirous of rest; considering also the young years of his Eldest Son *Mahomet*, as yet unfit for the Government of so great and troublesome a Kingdom; with the perpetual good Fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and Malice of *Hunniades*; he thought it not best to convert all his Forces upon him, but to prove if he could cunningly draw him into some dishonourable Peace for a time, that he might afterwards at leisure be the better revenged of him. For which cause he wrote unto him Letters, mixt with grievous Threats, and some feigned Courtieses, as followeth:

*Amurath* Ottoman King of the Turks, and Emperor of the East, to the most ingrateful *Scanderbeg*, withith neither Health nor Welfare.

I Never wanted honourable Preferments to bestow the while upon thee all the while thou didst live in my and create Court, of all others most unkind *Scanderbeg*, but *Amurath* now I want Words wherewith to speak unto thee; thou hast so highly offended my Mind, and touched mine Honour, that I know not in discretion what Words to use unto thee, but of late one of my Domestic Servants. For neither will hard speech mollify the natural fierceness of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthy of better, which hath far exceeded all Hospitality. And because thou wouldst omit no occasion to provoke me, half of late proceeded to that point of folly, that thou hast had thine own Affairs, and the Welfare of thine own Subjects, in small regard, by confederating thyself in Arms with the Hungarians against me. It grieveth me to rehearse of thy unkindness, and as it were to touch these sores, if my mind would ever suffer me to forget the same; that thou time by time, didst send me such insolent and horrible Treasons, and strange examples of a most unthankful mind, were to be covered with silence. Yet I thought good to advertise thee (although perhaps too late) lest that thy unkind heart do unthinkingly overthrow thee, with thy unthankful Kingdom; and then thou wouldst make humble confession of thy long transgressions, when thou hast left thyself, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperate Estate. We have hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold injuries: thou hast sufficiently provoked the Majesty of the Ottoman Empire, with wrong and contumacious despights; and with patience have born all these thy contempt. Thinkst thou that my army by thee betrayed unto the Hungarians shall be unrevenged? Thinkst thou that so many Cities and Towns in *Epirus*, by thee rent from the body of my Empire, with my Garrisons there slain, shall be forgotten? Or thinkst thou with thy late committed Outrages to escape my revenging Hand? Remember that the destruction of mine Army was my sin; that the wasting and burning of my Dominions; and lately, the Hungarian Wars, by thee so far as in thee was, commenced; with the Territories of *George*, the Despot of *Servia*, my Father-in-Law by thee spoiled. At length amend, thou graceless man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will break out.

Let not these trifling allurances of thy good Fortune, so puff up thy foolish desires, and shorten thy conceits, that thy miserable Fortune afterwards may move even thy greatest Enemies, or my self to compassion. I would thou shouldst at length remember my Courtieses (if any spark of humanity remain in thy savage Nature) and make me not longer sorry, that I have so evil befalven thee. For to let pass it is not the part of an honourable mind, to rehearse those things which we have in bounty bestowed upon any man; yet is it the token of a most unthankful Nature, so easily to forget all kindness past, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof. Wherefore *Scanderbeg*, I cannot bestow thy hope, and lament this estate; For to let pass the health of thy Soul (which thou a very Reprobate, esteemst as nothing) not to speak of the Laws of *Mahomet* by thee despised, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the zeal thou hast unto the Christian Superstition; what hast thou (which now holdst thy poor and base Kingdom in such price) ever wanted at my hands of all these things which most delight the desires of men? Didst thou ever want Armor, Horses, a great Train of Followers and Servants, Money, or other Superfluities, the allurances of all Ages? Or didst thou want matter to exercise thy Valor, for increase of thine Honour? Wast thou ever denied Preferments, Dignities, and Honours of all sorts, for thine Aims, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my Court dearer unto me, than thyself? what growing Wit, not of Strangers only, but of them that were nearest unto my self, was better welcome unto me than thine? With what careful instruction did I cause thee to be brought up? When thou wast delivered unto me almost a Child, I deeply cherished and increased thy hopes, towards wisdom with Learning and Nurture; I have at all times honoured thee with rich Rewards, magnificent Praises, and Honours of the Field (which of all worthy things is most glorious) so that in all Feats of Arms no Soldier was to me better known, or Captain of me more beloved. For all these great benefits, *Scanderbeg*, thou now thrustest thyself just as one, that I may be thought not to have brought up such a man as I hoped for, but a very Serpent in mine own Bosom. But the love of thy Country did move thee; which if thou hadst asked of me, would I have denied the same unto thee? which (if thou dost well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily proffered unto thee? But thou hadst rather to gain the same by Treachery, than to receive it at my Hands of Courtieses. So time be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good Will. And verily, according to my accustomed Clemency towards all them whom I have once well known, and been familiarly acquainted with, I now pardon thee all thou hast offended me; not for any thy present deserts, which are none, but because in this publique enmity it pleaseth me to remember my former kindness in private towards thee, and thy faithfulness (sometimes in my Affairs; especially for that time when thou hast been longer with myself, than the time wherein thou hast offended me. Croia and thy Father: *Kingdom* (although thou hast gained the same by foul Treachery) I give unto thee, upon condition thou willingly restore unto me the other Towns of *Epirus*, which by no right belong unto thee, but are mine by Law of Arms, by my self donously won. What more thou hast received from my Father-in-Law the Prince of *Servia*, thou shalt forthwith restore, and make him an honourable recompense for the other harms thou hast done unto him; and for ever hereafter, thou shalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our Friends, as to any our Enemies. So shalt thou for ever avoid the displeasure of the Turk and his Friends. Do thou call me necessary assisting, a perpetual Treachery; my native Country by my Policy and Valour recovered, dost thou object to me as a Villany?

than in vain cry for mercy, when thy furious outrage shall have me in *Perjan* an implacable Revenger. Thou knowest thy Forces, thou knowest the Strength of mine Arms; thou hast before thee Ezy, the fifth example of the Hungarian Forces, so that thou needest no further admonitions. Yet I would thou shouldst write at large, what thou intendest to do. Thou shalt also confer with *Ayradin* thy Son, who truly and faithfully Messenger, of whom thou shalt understand more than are in these Letters comprised. Farewell if thou be wise. From *Hadrinople*.

To these Letters *Scanderbeg* gave final credit, and left to the Messenger, but least of all to the old Fox himself, whom he well knew to have written nothing simply of good meaning, but only to gain a cessation from Wars, until he might at better leisure set upon him with all his Forces. Wherefore calling *Ayradin* the Messenger unto him, whom he rather held for a crafty Spy, than an honourable Embassador, after he had many times both publicly and privately discoursed with him, to far forth as was possible to found the depth of his coming, and had also further entertained him with all his Courtiers, he shewed him all his Campaign, with the strength thereof, which he did, because he would not have the crafty Messenger to think, that he was any thing afraid of his Masters greatness. And at last, greatly complaining of *Amurath* his cruel and perfidious dealing against his Father, his Brethren, and himself, he sent him away with such answer in writing, as followeth.

The Souldier of Christ Jesus, *George Castriot*, surnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, to *Amurath* Ottoman King of the Turks, sendeth greeting.

How hast in times past, as thou writest, exceeded the use in many kinds of Courtieses; and at this present I will exceed thee in modest and temperate Speech; for I for I think there is no greater token of a base mind, than not to be able to forbear to give railing and opprobrious words, even unto our most mortal Enemies. Wherefore we have with patience received and seen both thy Letters; and Messenger; and to confess a truth, they have ministered unto me greater occasion of Smile than Choler; whilst at the first thou shamest not to accuse me of much Ingratitude and Treason; and presently following, in milder passions, somewhat of my Souls health, being ignorant of thine own Estate, as a studious Defender of a most damnable error. And at last, keeping neither Law of Arms, nor orderly course answering to our Affairs, dost most insolently and unadvisedly, as a valiant Conqueror to his vanquished Enemy, propound me Conditions of Peace, of such quality and condition, that mine Ear scorn to hear the same. Truly *Amurath*, although thy immoderate railing might move a man of greatest patience to intemperate Speech; yet I limpe the same partly to thy great Age, and partly to the unweariness of thy Nature; and the rest, to thy conceived grief, which I know thou canst hardly moderate; and the rather, for that I have not yet down my self to contend with thee in foul and unseemly Language, but with Arms, and the just Fury of War. Yet I pray thee, wherefore dost thou so exclaim against me before God and Man? as though thou hadst suffered wrong and injury from me and that thou hadst not true just cause to do the same. Dost thou call me necessary assisting, a perpetual Treachery; my native Country by my Policy and Valour recovered, dost thou object to me as a Villany?

object the same still and spare not charge me with such crimes for ever, I care not. The long Catalogue of thy kindness towards me, which thou rememberest, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it the useful remembrance of my greater miseries; which if they were to be compared together, the greatness of thy good deserts would be overwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater Tyrannies which I had rather thou shouldst count with thy self, than blaspheem I repeat again. Every man that knoweth thee, may marvel how I had power to endure them, or that thou wast not weary at last of thy Cruelty and secret Hatred. Thou tookest away my Fathers Kingdom by force; thou didst murder my Brothers, and my self thou didst most wickedly vow to death, when I least feared any such Cruelty; and dost it now from strange to thee. O Amurath, that an invincible mind, devoid of Liberty, should seek to break out of the bonds of so great and infernal Slavery? How long at length dost thou think I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many years endured, and refused not thy command. I exposed my self to publick and private dangers, both voluntarily, and by thy diffidence; I received great calamities daily by thy self, and the administration of my Friends concerning thy deep Treachery, was risen mine Enemies; yet for all that, of long time I simply believed both thy words and deeds to have been devoid of all Fraud until thy cankered malice began to too apparently to show it self; then began I also to gloze with thee, which was manifestly one time one conceits, until I found occasion to recover my Liberty. Therefore there is no cause thou shouldst now grieve, if thou be well beaten with thine own rod. But these are but Trifles, Amurath, in comparison of those things which I have laid up in hope and resolution of mind. Therefore hereafter foresee thine angry threats, and tell not us of the Hungarian Princes every man hath been a resolution, and every man a partner. We were of his actions; and so will we with patience endure such Fortune as it shall please God to appoint us. In the mean time, for direction of our Affairs we will not request Counsel of our Enemies, nor Peace of thee, but Victory by the help of God. Farewell. From our Camp.

When Amurath had read these Letters, and further conferred with Ayradin, he was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great resolution of so small a Prince, presently calling in his mind (as was thought) the difficulty of that War. Yet because he was otherwise coken of Fear, oftentimes stroking his white Beard, as his manner was when he was thoroughly angry, with a dissembled cheerfulness of countenance said,

Thou dost (wicked man) thou dost the title of some favourable death. We will give it thee (because thou leave us) we will give it thee, we our selves will be present at the burial of our sister Child, and in person (though unbidden) honour the funeral Pomp of the great King of Epirus, that thou shalt never complain among the damned Ghosts, that thou dost die a base or obscure kind of death.

And because at that time, by reason of many great occurrences, he could not convert his whole Power into Epirus, he sent Feris one of his best Captains, with nine thousand choice Horsemen, to keep Scanderbeg in doing, and to spoil his Country so much as he could. Which was with such speed done, as it was thought Feris would have been in the heart of Epirus, before Scanderbeg could have had knowledge of his coming. But for all his haste, he could not so prevent the flying fame, but that Scanderbeg

hearing thereof, and having his men always in readiness, placed fifteen hundred good Footmen in ambush upon the rough Mountains leading into the Valley of *Mosca*, whereby the Turks thousand Horsemen, as he thought most fit and convenient for his purpose. Feris descending from the high Mountains fall of Woods and Buthes, by the broken and stony ways leading into the Valley, was in that troublesome and ready Footmen, suddenly assailing out of ambush where the Turks having no use of their Horses, but rather by them encumbered, were as in a Deer enclosed in a toyl. In this conflict seven hundred and sixty Turks were taken Prisoners, and a great number slain, and Feris himself, with the rest, enforced to flee, crying fill out as he fled, *Better some Javelin, than all lost.* Scanderbeg having thus overthrown Feris, pursued him into Macedonia, and with the Spoil there taken, rewarded his Soldiers, as he had all many times before done.

Amurath grieved with the overthrow of Feris, presently sent *Musapha* a politic and hardy Captain with a new Supply of six thousand Soldiers, to take the charge from Feris; commanding him in no case, nor upon any occasion to enter far into Epirus; but only to burn and spoil the frontiers thereof, saying, That he would account it for good service, if he might but understand, that the Trees and Fruits of that Country had felt the force of his Anger. *Musapha* having received his Charge, came to the Camp to draw near the Borders of Epirus, continually sent out Scouts before his Army, to see if the passages were clear, and so warily entered the Valley of *Mosca*, where Feris not long before was overthrown. In this fruitful Valley, being the Frontiers of Scanderbegs Dominion, *Musapha* entrenched his Army, upon the rising of a hill, and placed Espials upon the top of the high Mountains round about, by them to discover the coming of the Enemy, and to have notice thereof by signs into the Camp; then referring four thousand Horsemen with himself, to keep his Camp, he sent forth the rest of his Army, about nine thousand Horsemen, to forage and spoil the Country; giving charge before, That every man upon pain of Death should presently retire to the Camp, upon sign given from thence, as to a place of Safety and Refuge. The Turkish Army ranging over that rich and pleasant Valley, burnt the Villages, cut down the Trees, spoiled the Vineyards, and made havock of all things that Fire and Sword could destroy; in that point executing Amuraths command to the full. At length Scanderbeg drawing near to this Valley with four thousand Horsemen and one thousand Foot, was advertised of all the Enemies doings, by an Epirus Soldier, who grievously wounded, had hardly escaped from the Turks; of him he understood, what number of Turks were burning and destroying the Country, of the Camp also kept by *Musapha*, and how Espials were placed upon the Mountains. Scanderbeg having well considered *Musapha* his wary proceedings, and seeing no Policy to be used against so careful an Enemy, resolved to vanquish him by plain force, by assailing him suddenly in his Trenches, before his dispersed Soldiers could repair to the Camp; and having to this purpose with effectual persuasions encouraged the minds of his valiant Soldiers, ready of themselves to follow him through all dangers; when he had set all things in order for the attack, the Epirus Soldiers, speedily entered the Valley, and warily presently

Scanderbeg's valiant resolution for the defeating of *Musapha* his Camp.

presently discovered by the Enemies Espials, from the tops of the high Hills, and a sign given to the Camp, from whence also the appointed sign was given for the dispersed Soldiers to retire; but most of them being afraid from the Camp, and busied in taking the Spoil of the Country, heard not or saw not the sign given. Those which were within the hearing thereof, retired to the Camp, and at their Heels followed Scanderbegs Soldiers, terrifying them with calling upon the Name of Scanderbeg. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slain in the entrance of the Camp, with their Booties in their Hands, and presently the Turks Trenches were now by Scanderbegs Soldiers courageously assailed, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They having won the Trenches, prevailed fill upon the Turks, filling all their Camp with fear and slaughter. There was no use of Shot in that medly, by reason of the straitness of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Musapha* seeing his Soldiers put to the worst, and that the Camp was not long to be defended, took horse and fled by the Port which was furthest from the Enemy. The rest of the Soldiers fled also, making such poor shift for themselves as they could. In this Battle five thousand Turks were slain, and but three hundred taken; for the Christians enraged with the Spoil of the Country, revenged themselves with the slaughter of the Turks. Scanderbeg lost in this conflict but twenty Horsemen and fifty Footmen. The rest of the Turks Army dispersed in the Country, hearing the tumult in the Camp, misdoubting the fortune of their Fellows, fled also; yet many of them were in that Flight pursued and slain.

After this overthrow, *Musapha* returning to Amurath, the best excuse the misfortune of himself and the other Captains before sent, greatly commended the invincible Courage of Scanderbeg, and his wonderful skill in feats of Arms; perceiving Amurath, either to send a greater Power against him, or else none at all; saying, That to send such small Armies, was but to diminish matter to the increase of his Glory, and the Infamy of the Turks; and to use Policy against him, the Matter of Policy, was but meer Folly. It grieved Amurath to hear the Praises of his Enemy, although he knew the fame to be true, by the continual Fortune he had always against his great Captains, *Als Bassi*, *Feris*, and *Musapha*; he wherefore he determined for a time not to provoke him further, but to suffer him to live in Peace; yet commanded *Musapha* to renew his Army for defence of the borders of his Kingdom towards Epirus, against the innovation of Scanderbeg; but itrailly commanding him, in no case to invade any part of Epirus, neither upon any occasion offered, or conceived hope of Victory, to join Battle with Scanderbeg; for fear of such evil success as before.

At this time also the Grecians of *Peloponnesus*, (now called *Morea*) having before fortified the Strait of *Corinth* from Sea to Sea, with a perpetual Wall which they called *Hexamilia*, and deep Trenches about the same Wall, and also built five strong Castles in the same Wall, of purpose to take away all passage by Land into that rich Country, and began now not only to deny the yearly Tribute they were wont to pay unto the Turkish King, but also to invade the rich Princes of *Achaia* their Neighbours, as were contented to maintain still the Turks Tributaries; among whom *Nessus Prince of Athens*, and *Tarant Governor of Theffalia for Amurath*, ceased not by continual Complaints to incense him against them of *Peloponnesus*. Who having

his Army in readiness, although it was now Winter, and he himself very aged, set forward from *Hadriampole*, and marching through *Theffalia*, came into *Achaia*, where most of the Grecians were before fled for fear into *Peloponnesus*. So passing on with his Army, he came to the famous City of *Corinth* sometime flooded; and there incamped his Army near unto the strong Wall and Castles, lately before built, hoping that the Grecians of *Peloponnesus*, terrified with the multitude of his Army, would without resistance submit themselves; but when he perceived them to stand upon their guard, and to trust to their Strength, he laid battery to the Wall four days, and having made it assailable, broke through the same with his Army. The Grecians having lost the Wall (their chief Strength) fled, some to one strong Hold, and some to another, as their Fortune led them; the Turks at their pleasure spoiling and destroying that rich and pleasant Country, sometime the Nurds of worthy Wits, and famous Captains; where they found wonderful riches and took Prisoners without number; in so much that they were fold among the Turks at a most vile Price. There Amurath for his pleasure cruelly sacrificed six hundred Christian Captives, to the hellish Ghost of his dead Father *Mahomet*; and afterwards imposing a yearly Tribute upon the *Peloponnesians*, and other Grecian Princes now yielding again unto him, as an inducement to their further Slavery under the Turkish Tyranny, he returned, taking in his way the two famous Cities of *Patras* and *Sicy-tary*. The rest of the Country of *Peloponnesus*, and all the rest of *Grecia*, sometime the Fountain of all Learning and Civility, became tributary to all barbarous and cruel Turks, in the year of our Lord 1445.

Old Amurath now clogged with years, and wearied with long Wars, was content to take his rest at *Hadriampole*; during which time, *Bajazet* the Son of *Mahomet* was born in the year 1446, who afterwards of long time with great Glory governed the Turkish Empire at *Constantinople*, as in his place shall appear.

The Hungarians after the Calamity of *Yarna* (wherein they had together with *Uladislav* their King, lost most part of their Nobility also) in a general Assembly of their States, made choice of *Ladislaus* the Posthumous Son of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the Emperor) for their King. But forthwith as he being then but a Child of five years old, and chosen King more for the remembrance of the Emperor *Sigismund* his Grandfather, and *Albertus* his Father, and the good hope conceived of him, than for any other thing presently to be expected; from him; it was thought more than necessary to make choice of some notable and worthy man, unto whom they might, during the time of the Kings Minority, commit the Government and Protection of that so great and turbulent a Kingdom. Many there were in that honourable Assembly well thought of, both of themselves and others; but such was the Glory and Valour of *Hunadius*, and so great the remembrance of his worthy deserts, both of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and of the Christian Common-wealth in general, as without his seeking, procured unto him the general Favour and Straght of all; yet so far, that even they which most envied his Honour (as overshadowing their own) were glad to hold their Peace, for that without him, the Kingdom was commonly thought the state of that shaken Kingdom could not long stand; So by the general consent of all the States there assembled, he was

Peloponnesians made tributary unto the Turks.

Bajazet born. 1446.

was with the great applaus of the People chosen and proclaimed Governor, as of all others most worthy to govern, and who was so much beloved by the People, that he was chosen in the first year of his quietness, and some few years in deciding of the Civil Controversies, in composing the quarrels of the Nobility, nor forgetting in the mean time the indifferent administration of Justice to all men, ending many controversies far from the place of Judgment, and that without all suspicion of corruption, and without any partiality, and never wearied patience in hearing every mans cause, that fitting, good, standing, riding, he dispatched many great and weighty matters; always shewing himself affable and courteous, as well unto them of poorer fort, as others of greater calling, that had any suits to him. So that he was of him truly said, That man was so kind to his Enemies, so very friendly, or unto his Enemies more crofs and contrary. In time of Peace he was always providing for War, heaping up great Treasure, and such other things, as without which the Wars could not be maintained. But above all things, he was careful of the good agreement of the Nobility, taking great pains in reconciling those that were contrary one against another, and that with such dexterity, that he was both of them and others generally both beloved and feared.

1.4.45.  
Hunadias  
1.4.45 the  
Turks.

In the mean time, whilst he was thus buſied in diſpoſing of the Civil Affairs of the Common-Weal, and the Administration of Juſtice, he was adviſed by ſome of his Miniſters, that the old Sultan *Anurath* was raiſing great Forces both in *Aſia* and *Europe*, and that as the common fame was, for the invaſion of *Hungary*. For the withſtanding whereof, *Hunadias* not unprovided, as never unſtimful of ſo dangerous an Enemy, or of any thing more deſtructive, than in ſome fort to be reſcued of the greateſt ſervice, he ſent *John Veran* in the fourth year of his Government, and in the year of our Lord 1448. accompanied with moſt part of the Nobility of *Hungary*, and the Vayvod of *Valachia* his Friend and Confederate, far forward againſt the Turk with an Army of two and twenty thouſand choice Soldiers. So having paſſed the River *Trilava*, and *Arva*, and travelling through *Valachia*, a little beneath where the River *Mareuſa*, running through *Servia*, falleth into *Danubius*, he with moſt part of his Army paſſed that great River; the reſt in the mean time taking paſſage over at a Town called *Severin*. *Hunadias* with his Army being thus gone over into *Servia*, by his Ambaſſadors received ſome Diſpatches he had oftentimes before, to put himſelf into that moſt Chriſtian Law, and remembering the great benefits he had received from the *Hungarians*, not to ſhew himſelf therefore ungrateful, than which nothing could be more diſhonourable; and to encourage him to the moſt ſervice, him both of his own Strength, and of the Aid brought unto him by the Vayvod; and that for the good ſuccels of the War there wanted nothing but his preſence and direction, with ſuch Troops of light Horſemen as he knew he had always in readineſs; wherewith he requeſted him with all ſpeed to follow him. But ſeeing the manner of his Religion, and better adviſing the manner of his Religion, he ſent him to the Turk than *Hunadias*, the more cleanly to withdraw himſelf from this War, preſently many excuſes; firſt, The League he had with *Anurath* his Son-in-Law, which he ſaid he might not break, for fear that if things chanced not well, he might be ſaid to fall into the hands of the enemy. The unſeaſonableneſs of the time, Autumn being now paſt; which difficulties in thoſe cold Countries they had to their

off too much tell in the late War: These with many other such like he alledged in excuse that he came not, but the truth was, the malice of the man, grievous to see *Huniades* preferred before him in the Government of the Kingdom, and diffidence in the Kings designs, being himself Despot and King of *Serbia*, the King of the Royal Race, was the cause of his backwardness; so that blinded with Envy, he could not there rightly judge of himself, or what was fit for him in this case to have done. But Envy, with his unkind anger, threatened him, and he was fain to have revenged upon him, and to give away his Kingdom to one more worthy thereof than him if he should with Victory return. So passing through *Serovia*, as through the Enemies Country, he came into *Bulgaria*. After whose departure, the false and treacherous offenders advertised *Amurat* both of the coming of *Huniades*, and of his strength: yet he certified him of every days march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a small Company of his own, and some weak supplies of the *Vayvods*, come over the River; whom if he should not presently meet, he might further his march, and with his Army to get betwixt him and home, he might so flur him in, as that he should be hardly able to escape his Hands. All which he did, partly for Envy, partly to gratifie the Turks, and the better to keep Friendship with them; *Amurat* not contemning the Despot's Counsel, suffered him to pass, and he might enter a great way into his Country, and coming two or three days march behind him, he stopped the passage, as that he could not possibly retire, but that he must needs fight. And now that was come upon a great plain in *Bulgaria*, where the *Hungarians*, the *Rishians*, and the *Rascians*, the Plain of *Coffova*, through the midst whereof the River *Schibischia* rising out of the Mountains of *Ilyria*, running at length falleth into *Moravia*, and so into *Danubius*. This Plain is about twenty miles in length, and in five, environed on each side with pleasant Mountains, and the River *Schibischia* running in the River and low Vallies at the foot of the Mountains being garnished with many Country Villages and Towns. Into this fatal Plain, when as the *Hungarians* first, and after them the Turks, were come into a place of Combat defended; an old *Amurat* the first, in the Villages upon the River side fast by, where both Armies were late passed, with a loud voice cried out, *O, how much I now fear the hard Fortune of the Hungarians*. When as their passage over by the Foulders the River but one day, and the Turks, dividing their camp, overtook them, that almost of this Plain ariseth a small Hill, by the foot whereof the River *Schibischia* runneth; not far beyond which, toward the Head of the Plain, was a certain Tower built like a Pyramid, in memorial of *Amurat*, the first of that name, who had there slain *Huniades*. When *Amurat*, the second, hearing lest *Huniades* marching before him, should take, and so become unto him ominous, (for in such matters the Turks are very superstitious) he made haft, of purpose to joyn Batel with him before he should come to the forward River, *Huniades* came on, and the Hill early rising in the midst of the Plain; there incamped, expecting the coming of *Scanderbeg*; who was said (according to appointment made betwixt him and *Huniades*) to be every hour coming. Wherefore *Amurat*, hearing lest the Tower fast by should be taken,

The false  
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veth A-  
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both of  
Huniades  
his coming  
and of his

The notable Speech of Huntley to encourage his Soldiers against the Turkish

and the Enemies Power strengthened by the coming of the *Albanos*; provoked *Humiales* to barrel; who still refused the time in hope of his Friends coming; which made the Turk move him off from the *Albanos*; he then began to draw him to barrel, but especially by cutting him off from Water and Forage; for why, he much presumed upon his multitude, having in his Army about fourscore thousand fighting men, and other necessities enforced to fight, upon *S. Lukerday*, being then *Thursd*ay, commanded his Souldiers to make themselves ready; and dividing his Army into two and thirty Battalions, one officer, as he meant to give barrel, the more to encourage them, spake unto them as followeth:

At length valiant Soldiers, and fellows in Arms; who the day is come, wherein you may revenge that Dishonour or Difgrace, you received in the battell of Varna; and recover your former Credit of Conquering and Triumf, if you will play the Men. The Lord Ensigns appoints you to be the Reioy of this Army, which you so often conquered and defeated; who although they be in number more than you, yet are they in hope, Quarrel and Strength, far inferior. For what can they hope for, whisb fight not for their own, but for another man's Kingdom? and in consequence, what can they hope for, who are not Masters in the life, and torment in the life to come, and in death, perpetual and endless Misery? Whereas you on the other side, howsoever the matter fall out, fighting for your own Kingdom, your Children, your Country, your Houſes, your Altars, may wishfully hope for Victory, and triumph, and life. And thus the advantage for greater cause to fight, and the which if they do not valiantly overcome their Enemies, are in danger, with themselves, to loſe also all that they win. The strength of both is sufficiently tried. Once you unfortunately joyned battell at Varna, where if you might make exchange of your Fortunes there, you might have been the victors, and might have rather than the great slaughter of his own men, being not able to overtake us, there was notably beaten, with the loss of a great part of his Army; whose great loss there received, might counterwaile our Dishonour; although the loss, be suffered perforce, and cannot be changed. But that if you overthrow, the angry Deities will come, as if verily believe, the cause, rather than our Cowardise; for even there, all the Authors of that perfidious dealing, even there I say, even you received the just gerdoun of their treachery. Whereas we, against our wills drawn into this unſuſpected and unthought of battell, with you, preferred for the defence of the Christian Commonwealth, and especially of Hungary, that it should be over-run with the Turkish Power and Rage. The number of your Enemies is more to you to feared, and you with few, have often times beaten them, fight, and overcome, and have carried away from them the Victory. Hence we have learned, and taught by the Power of God then man, and in the Name of Christ Jesus our Saviour, have easily overthrowen their prophane Battels. Which way sever we have turned our flocks in his most mighty Name, and have with few Horsemen Armes opened our way, for that we thought we had to overcome, and by the might of his forepassed love have always felt at hand; neither shall we thereof this day say, if we be mindful of his forepassed love towards us, and of our wonted Calvary. God is always present with them that are just. Quarrel fight courageously. Hereunto is joyned the late King of Hungary, and of our Men at Arms, and barbed Horſes, who like a strong Castle cannot easily be overthrowen. Our Batta-

lions are reb as may easily be commanded, and y  
 strong enough against our Enemies; whereof the  
 great multitude breatheth but confusion. We have ma  
 notable and forcible Enemies of War, which they ha  
 not. Besides that, every hour we look for the worst  
 Scandebest his coming. The danger is not so ge  
 as that we should fear it, or so little, as that we  
 should count it. The danger is not so little, as that we  
 may not go, for that our Army is halfe decayed, and  
 of these Mountains to be led; and if we should  
 never so easie, yet waight doing that we came for  
 and glory with Victory, we may not retire. Unto  
 Valiant, all difficulties are propounded. Wherefor  
 fith this your last Labour is at hand, wherein the  
 of the Towne may be for ever cut off. I pray  
 I pray and beseech you, fellow Countrymen, that  
 under whole Power and Protection we serve, and  
 the love you bear unto your Country, your Wives  
 your Children, and Wealth, unto the signal of batt  
 green, so to show your valour, as men resolved to be  
 fully recovered of the Injuries by that filthily and w  
 this Nation done both to God and man; and espec  
 ally for the blood of Anna. We left therebre  
 a devout King, sacrificed himself; by which Reas  
 of his Faith, sacrificed himself; by which Reason  
 crifice, that Divine Anger is appeased; unto wh  
 ghost I beseech you, in this battle to make an honour  
 able Sacrifice. Not forgetting withall, to revenge the  
 of other worthy Men in that battel slain. This  
 your Task, is at once and even this day to be  
 cut off; and so, our Country shall grow againe  
 and the Kingdom of Hungary, so it may be  
 from the danger of most cruel Ravage, as that it may  
 by this dayes work gaine perpetual Rest and Glory  
 unto the enjoying of the pleasures both of this life  
 and of the life to come. Wherefore (worthy Sculdiers  
 and fights with all our force, for that our Honour  
 so requires; our profit so perswades, and necessity  
 enforces. At first, our Country shall be murthered  
 fall out, all shall be with us; if Victory shall  
 tall Bliss and Happiness shall thereby be procured unto  
 our Country, and Immortal Fame unto our selves; but  
 if we shall be overcome, here we shall be most  
 honourably buried in the bed of Fame, to live in Heaven  
 for ever. Therefore, I beseech you, I beseech you  
 so fight, as men resolved to be downe to over  
 come, or if it should otherwise fall out, as Men  
 honourably to die.

With this the Generals Speech, all the minds of the Hearers were greatly enflamed, and they all by his words, and their own hot desires, sufficiently encouraged; neither did old Ammarat marshal his Army in such leif care or diligence as the other side did; for he thought of sparing neither cheerful Speech, glorious Promises, nor Command; whole Army being brought into the Plain, and ranged in order of battel, filled the fame from the one side to the other, even as the smoke of Cannon, and the noise of a tumult of the Christians; and to abound in the morning for forward. *Huanides* had from the Hill where he lay, sent down both the wings of his Army, and had alight on both sides before the battel, to cut certain long Troops of light Horsemen to befall the other side in the midst betwixt both he had placed *Zeeb*, his Sisters Son, with a strong square battel of Men at Arms; and such as he had kept aloft upon the Hill for Reserve, had compassed about with his Waggon-Regiments, as with a wall of Iron, and a covering fence, the fierce and courageous Soldier on both sides, with cheerful minds, began at first to Skirmish a far off; but afterwards Fortune as it were fawning upon both sides, and the other side being more confident, they began with greater force to fight close to the hand

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day.

hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three hours; at length the Turks battel was put to the world, by *Benedict Lajenus*, who had the leading of the right Wing; and so likewise in the left also by *Stephen Banffy*, who with great slaughter had notably foiled the great Batta of *Europe*, still pressing hard and desperately upon him. Which diffidence of his Men in both Wings *Amurath* beholding, presently sent in strong Supplies, and in both places renewed the battel; whereby the *Hungarian* and *Valachian* light Horsemen, before wearied, were enforced to retire unto the Men at Arms; who ferred together, and standing as a strong Wall, easily repulsed the greatest Assaults of the Turks in which manner of fight many were on both sides slain, but far more of the Turks, by reason they were neither so well horsed nor armed as were the Christians. *Hunades* in the mean time with the Artillery from the Hill, did the Turks great harm; which *Amurath* perceiving, did eagerly send unto the Hill as he could, by that mean saving his people (so much as was possible) out of the danger of the Artillery, mounted on high above them in such sort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them; which *Hunades* from the Hill beholding, came down to the relief of his Men, sending new Supplies to both Wings; sometime encouraging them with cheerful Speech, and sometime with his own most valiant hand; unto the weary he sent Relief, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he stayed, and where he saw the Enemies fastest coming on, there was he himself present to meet them, omitting nothing that was of a good general or worthy Soldier to be done. This valiant he commended, the coward he reproved, and as a careful General, was himself in every place present. Whereby the battel became so fierce and terrible, that in every place a man might have seen all fouly foiled with blood and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner still sent in new Supplies, nothing discouraged with the great loss of his Men, preferring upon his multitude, as fully resolved order to fight; and to make use of all his Forces, in hope at length by continual sending in of fresh Supplies to weary his Enemies, whom he saw he could not by force overcome. When he was not deceived, for one Battalion of the *Hungarians* was often times enforced to weary four or five of the Turks before they could be relieved, they came on to fight. That day they dined and supped in the battel, refreshing themselves with such hot repast as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turks Army was that day in every place put to the world, and oftentimes with great laughter enforced by the *Hungarians* to retire almost unto their Trenches; yet was the battel still again renewed, and so fought on both sides, as well appeared they were resolved either to overcome, or there to die. This cruel fight maintained all the day, was by the coming on of the night ended, both the Armies retiring into their own Trenches, but with purpose the next day to renew the battel, and not to give over or turn their backs, till the Victory were by dint of Sword determined. So with little rest, was that night spent, both Armies keeping most diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battel therein to try whether they should live or die. It was yet scarce fair day, when both the Armies in good order ready ranged began again the battel; which at the first, was not by the *Hungarians* fought with such force and courage as before; for there was none of them which had not the day before spent their whole strength;

whereas there was yet 40000 of the Turks which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Hunades* exhorted his Soldiers, not by faint-hearted cowardice to break off the course of the Victory by them the day before so well begun, but courageously to prosecute the same; beseeching them not to be now wanting unto themselves and their Country, but to remember how they had fought the day before, how many thousands of their Enemies they had slain, and not now at last to give over, and so shamefully to frustrate all the pains and dangers by them before endured; for that they (as he said) were to be thought worthy of Honour, not which began, but which ended honourable actions. He willed them to for before their eyes the Calamities like to ensue, if they should as Cowards be overcome; first, the divers kinds of death and torture; then, the slavery of their Wives and Children; the Ravishment of their Virgins and Matrons; and last of all, the utter destruction of their Kingdom with the horrible confusion of all things, as well Sacred as Profane; all which were by that one day labour (aid he) to be avoided. And therefore he besought them for the love both of God and man, with their wonted Valour, that day, to set at liberty for ever, themselves, their Country, their Wives and Children, and whatsoever else they held dear. In like manner also did *Amurath* encourage his Soldiers, with great Promises and Threats, perswading them rather to endure any thing, than by that day's overthrow to be driven out of *Europe*. He carefully viewed his Army, ordered his Battels, and with many great Reasons perswaded them to play the men. But after that some light skirmishes between the Armies were fully joined, the battel was fought with no less force and fury than the day before. Of the Christians many then wounded, came now again into the battel, there either by speedy death or speedy victory to cure their Wounds before received, and there did right good Service. Great was the slaughter in every place, neither could the force of the *Hungarians* be withstood; whose furious impression, when the Turks could not by plain force endure, they began with their fresh Horsemen, cunningly to delude their desperate fierceness; at such time as the *Hungarians* began most hardly to charge them, they by and by turned their backs, suffering them a while to follow after them, far scattered and dispersed; who allured as it were with the hope of present Victory, eagerly pursued them, and in the pursuit flew divers of them, and they again upon a signal given, closing together, and turning back upon the dispersed Troops, well revenged the death of their Followers; and with their often charges and retreats, wonderfully wearied the *Hungarians*, notably deluding their furious Attempts with that uncertain kind of fight, all the day long. Many of the *Hungarians* were slain, and the Turks had that day the better, and so both Armies being weary, night and weariness ended the fight; both retiring into their Trenches, there keeping most careful Watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battel was again begun. *Hunades* his Brother, General of the *Valachians*, with his light Horsemen setting first forward, after whom in friendly order followed the rest of the Nobility, with their Companies. Where for certain hours, the battel was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, and a great slaughter made, but especially of the *Hungarians*; who wearied with the long fight, and most part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third day before *Zischel* (*Hunades* his Sitters Son) valiantly fighting

*Hunades*  
encouraged  
his Soldiers.

*Hunades*  
fleeth.

The number  
of the  
Turks and  
Christians  
 slain in  
the battel  
of Collo-  
va.

The battel  
again be-  
gan the  
third day.

fighting in the front of the Battel, was the first of the Leaders there slain in the thickest of the Turks. *Emirius Marcellus* and *Stephen Banffy*, both great Commanders, enclosed by the Turks, there died also. *Amurath* seeing the foremost Signs of the Christians, which stood in *Zischel* Regiment, taken, and his Soldiers (dismounted with the death of their Colonels) turning their backs, presently commanded all the Companies, which were many (as he left in the Trenches, for fresh Supplies) to issue forth, and at once to overwhelm the Christians, being (as he said) but few, and overweared with three days continual fight. Upon which the Kings Command, they fiercely breaking out, presently overthrew both the Wings of the Christians, before wavering; and in a great Battel (when their Ensigns taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Hunades* seeing his Brother now slain, the Ensigns taken, and the Battel quite lost, betook himself to flight also; leaving behind him his Tents and Baggage, all which shortly after became a Prey to the Turks; who from noon until night furiously followed the chase, with most cruel execution; but at length staid by the coming on of the darkness, they returned again unto their Trenches. The rest of the Turks Army that followed not the chase, by the wounded Soldiers, the Waggoners, and other Drudges of the Army, kept out as long as they had any horse left; but yet were in the end Every Mothers Son slain, though not altogether unrevenged, two or three of the Turks in many places lying dead by the body of one *Hunades*. *Amurath* to cover the greatness of the loss he there received, commanded the bodies of his Captains there slain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common Soldiers to be for the most part cast into the River *Schibonica*; for which cause the Inhabitants of the Country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any Fish taken in that River. The Plain by this great battel made once again famous, lay nevertheless many years after covered with dead mens bones, as if it had been with stones; neither could be ploughed by the Country-people, but that long time after Armor and Weapons were there still in many places turned up and found. Thus albeit that this bloody Victory fell unto the Turks, yet was their loss far greater than the *Hungarians*; having lost (as was reported by them that say least) four and thirty thousand of themselves, for eight thousand of their Enemies. Howbeit they themselves received the loss to have been on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slain seventeen thousand, and of themselves forty thousand; which in so long and mortal a fight is not unlike to have been true. In this unfortunate battel, fell most part of the *Hungarian* Nobility; all men worthy eternal Fame and Memory, whose Names we for brevity will pass over. Many in the chase taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandment of the angry Tyrant slain. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of *Illyria*, returned in safety; but such as thought to save themselves by returning back again through *Servia*, the Depsof Country, found the same so troublesome as that few of them escaped, but that they were by the way either slain, or quite stripped of all they had.

Neither was the Fortune of the Noble *Hunades* much better than the fortune of the rest, who having on Horseback all alone by uncouth and

untract ways travelled three days without Meate or Drink, and the fourth day tired his Horse, and cast him off, being on foot and disarmed, fell into the hands of two notable Thieves, who in dispossessing him of his Apparel, finding a fair Crucifix of Gold about his Neck, laid it straits betwixt themselves for the same; whereby he took occasion to lay hand upon one of their Swords, and with the same presently thrust him through; and then suddenly affailing the other, put him to flight also. So delivered of this danger, travelling on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day he light upon a Shepherd, a sturdy rough fellow, upon the hearing of the Overthrow of the *Hungarians*, was (in hope of prey) roaming abroad in that desolate Country; who at the first meeting, stricken with the majesty of the man, stood at gaze upon him; as also did *Hunades*, fearing in his so great weakness to have to do with him. Thus a while having the one well regarded the other, they began to enter talk, the Shepherd bluntly asking him of his Fortune; and he for God sake craving of him something to eat. When as the Shepherd hope of his hard hap moved with his estate, and hearing of his promised reward, brought him unto a poor Cottage near far off, causing to be set before him Bread and Water, with a few Onions. Who in the pleasant remembrance of that past misery, would oftentimes after in his greatest Banquets say, That he never in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he supped with this Shepherd. Thus refreshed, he was by the Shepherd conducted to *Sindervan*, where the Depsof having Intelligence (whose Country was all laid for the slaying of him) caused him by the Captain of the Castle to be apprehended, and imprisoned. But after certain days spent in talk about his deliverance, it was at length agreed, that all such strong Towns in *Rafia* and *Servia*, as had by the *Hungarians* been depsof from the Depsof, at such time as his Kingdom was by King *Uladislaus* restored unto him, should now be again to him delivered; and that *Matthias Hunades* his youngest Son, should for the confirmation of further friendship, marry the Depsofs Daughter; with some other such conditions as it pleased the ungrateful Prince for his own behoof to set down. For performance whereof he required to have *Ladislav*, *Hunades* his eldest Son, in Hostage. All which *Hunades* was glad forthwith to yield unto, for fear the false Depsof should have delivered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortal Enemy. So the Hostage being given, *Hunades* was again set at liberty. Who upon *Christmas* day coming to *Segedinum*, was there by all the Nobility of Hungary, and great concourse of the people, honourably received. This ingratitude of the Depsofs no less grieved this worthy man, than the dishonour received from the Turk. Wherefore upon the sudden raising a great Army, he invaded the Territory long before given to the Depsof by the Emperor *Sigismund* in Hungary, in exchange of the strong Town of *Belgrade*, destroying the Country before him, and burning the Villages, never resting, until he had got into his Power whatsoever the Depsof held in Hungary; and not so contented, presently entered into the Depsofs Embassadors met him, bringing with them *Ladislav*, the Hostage, honourably rewarded; and humbly craving Peace at his hands; which he, at the request of the Nobility easily granted, with forgiveness of all former Wrongs or Injuries; and so having with him concluded a Peace, returned back again into Hungary. But

*Hunades*  
taken Pri-  
soner by the  
Depsof.



again with the rest of his Army to the Siege of *Dyane*.

Mulapha  
rejoiceth

Not long after, the *Venetians* made Peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* desirous to redeem his Captains about the same time sent great Presents unto *Scanderbeg*, with five and twenty thousand Ducats for the Ransom of *Mulapha* and the other Chieftains; whom *Scanderbeg* to honourably use, as if there had never been any Hostility betwixt him and them; and to wish a *Convey* sent them out of his Country. The Ransom of *Mulapha* and the other Chieftains he divided amongst his Soldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made Peace with the *Venetians*, he forthwith led his Army again into *Macedonia*, with the spoil of that Country to make his Soldiers better pay, as his usual manner was. And to do the greater harm, he divided his Army into three parts, wherewith he over-ran the Country, wasted and destroyed all before him, putting to the Sword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Christians that there lived amongst them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their lives; the Buildings of the Country he utterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of *Macedonia* which bordereth upon *Epirus*, nothing was to be seen more than the bare ground, and the sheaves of the spoil by him there made. Which unmerciful havoc of all things he made, to the end that the Turks should find no Relief in those Quarters, whenever they should come thither to lie in Garrison either to that Country, or to invade *Epirus*. The first he made was so great, that it was thought he left not in all that Country, so much as might relieve the Turks Army for one day.

Of all these great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in *Macedonia*, *Amurath* was with all speed advertised, and thereupon exceedingly vexed; howbeit he relieved with his great Counsellors, no more to find any of his Baffles or Captains, but to go himself in Person, with such a Royal Army as should be sufficient, not to Conquer *Epirus*, but if need were, to fill every corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commissions to be speedily directed into all parts of his Kingdoms and Provinces, for the levying of a great Army for *Helmets*; yet whether he intended to employ the same, was not known to any in the Turks Court, more than to the Baffles of the Council. Which caused all the bordering Christian Princes to make the best preparation they could for their own assistance, every one fearing what that growing Tempest should break out against himself. But *Scanderbeg* long acquainted with the Turkish policy, easily perceived all that great preparation to be made against him; which he was the rather induced to think, by reason of the unaccounted quietness of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any Army to Revenge *Mulapha's* Overthrow, nor much as a Garrison for the defence of the Borders of his Kingdom, but had let all things negligently pass, as if he had been in a dead sleep. Besides that, it was also thought that he had secret Intelligence from some of his old Friends and Acquaintance in *Amurath's* Court, who probably suspected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* considering all other things apart, gave himself wholly to the preparing of things necessary for the defence of his small Kingdom against so mighty an Enemy. First, he by Letters and Messengers advertised all the Christian Princes his Neighbours and Friends, of the greatness of danger of that War; wherein *Amurath* (as he said) sought not only his destruction, but the utter ruin of them all; exhorting them therefore to

consider, how far the danger of so great an Army might extend, and therefore to stand fast upon their Guard. Then he sent *Moses* and other his expert Captains into all parts of *Epirus*, to take up Soldiers, and all the Provision of Corn and Victuals that was needful to be had. Wherein he himself also busily travelled day and night, not resting until he had left nothing in the Country, wherupon the Enemy might throw his cruelty. Most part of the common people, with their Substance, were received into the strong Cities, the rest took the refuge of the *Venetian* and other Christian Princes Towns and Countries farther off, until this fury were overpast; which as were able to bear Arms, were commanded to repair to *Croia*; where when they were all assembled, they were enough to have made a right puissant Army. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old experienced Soldiers, whom he purposed to lead himself, to encounter with the Turks great Army, as he should see occasion, and placed 1300 in Garrison in *Croia*. The Citizens also themselves were thoroughly furnished with all manner of Weapons and other Provision meet for the defence of their City. Then Proclamation was made, That all the aged men unfit for Wars, with the Women and Children, should depart the City, and none to be therein left, but the Garrison-Soldiers, and such Citizens as were willing to tarry, and able to bear Arms. This City of *Croia* was the chief City of *Epirus*, and of the fortune thereof seemed to depend the fate of all the other strong Towns and Cities, and so consequently of the whole Kingdom; for which cause, *Scanderbeg* took the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miserable sight, to see the lamentable departure of this weak Company out of *Croia*; all full of weeping and wailing; no House, no place, no part of the City was without mourning; but especially in the Church, was to be seen the very face of common sorrow and heaviness; where all sorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their devout Prayers, with fountains of Tears, ringing their hands; yea, and some in the impatience of their grief forgetting themselves, seemed to expostulate their grief with God. But when their sorrow was with tears abated, and their Hearts somewhat eased, the aged Mothers kissing their Sons, gave them many a fearful commandment; sometime rehearsing, how lovingly and tenderly they had brought them up, and other times shewing unto them their feeble Limbs and hoary Hairs, willing them to be mindful of them. The Wives presented their Children unto their Husbands, bewailing to leave them as childless Widowers, and their Houses desolate. The old Men murmured with sorrow, and careful of their Children, durst neither encourage them, for fear of making them too forward; neither dissuade them from adventuring themselves, lest they should seem to love them more than their native Country. In the midst of these Passions Commandment came from *Scanderbeg*, that they must now depart, that the Soldiers might take their places and charge. Then began their sorrows afresh, with piteous scratching and Tears; a man would have thought the City had been then less than it last farewell by the Turks. They could hardly be drawn from the embracing of their Friends, all now desiring to remain still with them in the City, partakers of their common dangers. But when they saw the Officers begin to be earnest upon them, and to hasten their departure, then with heavy Hearts they took as it were their last farewell, and departed out of the City, setting their many

The lamentable  
departure  
of the weak  
Citizens  
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Scanderbeg  
came  
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The officious  
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Scanderbeg  
unto the  
Soldiers  
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grade, to  
encourage  
them  
against  
the coming  
of Amurath.

many times they wilt not where, for desire they had to look back again upon the City. This great multitude was conveyed also from the *Venetian* Cities, and other places free from danger; whither all the Country-people which were not before received into the strong Cities, resorted also, with all their Subjects and Cattel; leaving nothing in all the Country of *Epirus*, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey upon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the City but Men fit for Service, *Scanderbeg* thoroughly fortified it with all things needful for the defence thereof, and for the enduring of a long Siege; besides that, he gave to every Soldier convenient Armour, with some small reward. Then he placed *Uranomachus* (a valiant and famous Captain, honourably descended) Governor of the City. And for having for all things in order for the safeguard thereof, after he had in few words exhorted them courageously to endure the Siege, and not to listen to *Amurath's* flattering and deceitful Charns, he departed out of the City unto his Army, then lying within view, and began presently to march towards *Dybra*. But his was not far gone, before he sent *Moses* with a gallant Troop of Horsemen coming from *Strigard*, a strong City of *Dybra*, situate in the Confinnes of *Epirus*, bordering upon *Macedonia*; which City was *Scanderbeg's* second care, for that it was like to be the first that should endure the angry Tyrants fury, standing still in his way, as were the Fortresses of that Country. For he had there for all things in order, as had *Scanderbeg* in *Croia*, and had there placed one *Pistor Perlat* (a grave and polidate Man) Governor, with a strong Garrison of Soldiers chosen out of all the Country of *Dybra*, which were always accounted the best Men of *Epirus*, and was for to do greatly commended to *Scanderbeg*. Who delivering unto him all the Forces he had prepared for the defence of the other Castles and Cities of *Epirus*, sent him with divers other of his Nobility and Captains, to take order for the safety of those places, appointing unto every man his charge. As for himself, he with a small Troop of Horsemen went to *Strigard*, careful of that City above measure, as it were before divining the ensuing danger. Being come thither, and all the Soldiers assembled by his commandment into the Market place, he there in open Audience spake unto them as followeth.

Almighty God could not this day after unto you (worthy Soldiers of *Strigard*) better matter, nor then could a fairer occasion be presented unto brave Minds and Soldiers desirous of Honour, than that which now hath caused you to take up most joyful Arms. Wherein you may for ever, by worthy example, be known your constant Faith and worthy Valour, both towards me your private, and the people of *Epirus* in general. Hitherto we have borne Arms for the Honour of our Kingdom, but now we must fight for our Lives, our Liberty, and the Walls of our Country. You must now force your selves, that you do not by Reproach and Cowardise stain the worthy Praises you have already deserved, by the great Victories you have obtained under my Conduct. The greatest part of the fortune of this War dependeth upon you; For, the first passage of *Amurath* into *Epirus* (that is, my self may be unto you the first Messenger of that danger) will be this way; the first fury of the Turks will assault you, that having here as it were broken down the strongest Fortresses of *Epirus*, he may afterwards break into the Country, more subject to danger. The first fruits of this War is yours, you (if you bear the hearts of courageous Men, mindful of your

Liberty) may beat down the proud strength of the haughty Enemy, and dislodge his high Councils. The Ottoman King shall have the beginning both of his hope and fear, of you; if he shall find you so minded, as I now for you gallantly moved, and with joy hear your valiant indignation; he will in every place fear a great force of danger, and thereby learn to abstain from the other Cities of *Epirus*. Neither will he be here long at a vain Siege, except the wayward old man will foolishly herein gaze at his whole Forces; for such is the situation and strength of this City, that it may easily (as at nought) an angry Enemy. Therefore resolve with your selves (worthy Soldiers and Citizens) only by constancy and faithfulness, without bloodshed, to gain unto your selves an honourable Victory. Of your Valour (which I willingly speak of) dependeth for the most part the faithfulness of all the rest; they will look upon you, whom they may praise or accuse, and whose Example they may follow in the fortune of these Wars. But to what purpose should men of worth in their actions pretend the necessity of Faith, or choice of Fortune? whereas by reason of things we both best begin and accomplish. It seldom cometh, that Fortune faileth the second advice, or is not obedient to Virtue; and you have all things which most polidate Arms could provide for your safety. You want not Armour, you want not plentiful Provision of Victuals, you want not valiant men; the superfluous multitude of unnecessary people, the pitiful lamentation of Women, and troublesome crying of Children shall not withdraw you from your publick Charge, from your service and defence of your Country; I have left you alone to your selves, for defence of your City, your Religion, and Dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the provocations of Honour and Liberty, with the emulation of adventure and danger, and the very sight of one another; and I my self will not be far off with my courageous Soldiers, a silent Beholder and Encourager of your Virtue; where although I may not avert from you all the force of the cruel Enemy by your adventure, nor try the whole Force of this War in plain Field; yet will I turn a great part of your dangers upon my self, and trouble the Enemies design with many a hot Skirmish. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor safer kind of War for us, amongst such a multitude of men, and so many thousands of Soldiers, than never to adventure all upon the Enemy in plain Field, neither to adventure all upon the Fortune of one Conflict, although a man did see apparent signs of Victory. He will of purpose at the first give us the opportunity of good bay; he will feed our hardiness with the blood of his base Soldiers, the easier to intrap and oppress our valour, allowed with the sweet bait of good Fortunes; but the crafty Devices of the Ottoman King, are by great policy and consideration to be frustrated; this mighty Enemy will by little and little to be cut off at time and place shall give occasion. For truly that Victory should be unto one lamentable, which I should buy with the blood of my Soldiers; and believe me, it would be unto me more fearful than pleasant fight, to see eight or ten thousand of my Countrymen, with the loss of a few of you, I praise and honour my Subjects of *Epirus* for valiant Conquerors, if they shall not suffer themselves to be conquered of the Turkish King. The rest I had rather your courageous Soldiers of *Dybra* should consider with your selves, than that I should come to distrust of your assisted Faith, by giving you a careful and tedious Admonition.

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerful persivation thus encouraged the Minds of them of *Strigard*, he departed thence, and visited divers other Cities of *Epirus*; where finding all things politically ordered by *Moses* and the other Captains, whom he had put in trust, he returned



returned to his Army, then lying near unto *Cava*.

Whilst *Scanderbeg* was with great carefulness yet thus providing for the safeguard of his Kingdom, in the mean time *Amurath* his Army was assembled at *Hadruple*, to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand men, whereof many were Pioneers, and men appointed for other base Services necessary at the Siege of Towns. Of this great Army *Amurath* sent forty thousand light Horsemen before him to *Sfergrade*, who according to his command came and incamped before the City. The news of their coming, with a great deal more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his small Army near the Siege of *Town*. Of these four thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot, took the way toward *Sfergrade*, and strongly incamped his Army within seven miles of the City. Here having fed all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moses* and *Tamulus*, went by certain blind ways through the Mountains and Woods, until they came near unto the City, that from the place where he stood, he might easily discover in what fort the Enemy lay incamped; and so returning back again to his Camp, rose with his Army in the night following, and drawing as near unto the Turks Army as he could, undisturbed, placed all his Army in the covert of the Woods and forest Vallies, unpereceived of his Enemies. After that, he sent forth *Alfa* and *Musafis* his Nephew, with thirty of his best Horsemen, apparelled as if they had been but Common Soldiers, but passing well mounted, driving before them certain Horses laden with Corn, by a by-way, as if they had secretly purposed to have got into the City. The day then breaking, they were discovered by the Turks Scouts, and set upon; where at the first *Alfa* and the rest began of purpose to fly; but when he saw that they were pursued but with like number to themselves, he turned back upon the Turks, and flew free of them, and chased the rest unto the Camp. The General seeing what had happened, sent forth four thousand Horsemen to pursue these supposed Victualers, whom they quickly recovered the fight of, for that *Alfa* of purpose had made small halt to fly; but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Alfa* left the Horses laden with Corn, and fled; yet so, that he still flew on the Turks with hope to overtake him, until he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his Army lay in wait; by whom they were suddenly assailed on every side, and with great slaughter put to flight. In this Conflict two thousand of the Turks were slain, and a thousand of their Horses taken; of the Christians were lost but two and twenty. This was the first welcome of the Turks Army to *Sfergrade*.

About eight days after came *Amurath* with all his Army, in the beginning of *May*, Anno Dom. 1449, and having made the greatest view he could with his huge Army to terrify the Defendants, he incamped the halter foot of his Footmen at the foot of the Hill whereon the City stood, and lay himself with his Janizaries, and other his most valiant Soldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off; where after he had been full one day, and well considered the strength of the place, toward evening he sent a Messenger to the City, who requested to speak with the Governor *Perlat*. Whereof he hearing, came to the Wall; of whom the Messenger requested, That he would command the soldiers standing by, to go further-off, forasmuch as he had something in secret to say unto him from

his Master. Unto whom *Perlat* merrily answered, It is like indeed to be some great secret, that you would have kept not only from the hearing of my Soldiers, but from the very light of the day, and therefore have chosen the night; but I have not learned of mine Elders, to hear any Message from mine Enemies by night, neither at any time else out of the hearing of the Garrison Soldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of this City, and I the guard of my Person; you must therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your Master so please, I will hear you at large. And therefore commanded him to depart from the Walls. So he returned for that time without Audience as he conceived. It grieved *Amurath* not a little, to see his Messenger so lightly regarded; yet for as much as he had more hope to gain the City by large Offers, or some reasonable Composition, than by all his great force, he diffembled his wrath, and the next day sent the Messenger again, with one of his Baffas, a grave and well spoken man, himself born in *Epirus*. This Baffa, with three Soldiers and two Servitors, was by the Governors commandment, by one of the Ports received into the City, and brought into *Saint Maries* Church. Where after he had with great Eloquence sought to insinuate himself into the minds of the Governor and the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terror of *Amurath's* Power beyond all measure, laying before them the great Victories of him, and his Princes, against the *Hungarians* and other Christian Princes; in fine, he exhorted them to yield the City unto him; in whose name he promised first; That the Citizens should in all respects under his Government live as they had before done under *Scanderbeg*; then, That the Governor should receive at *Amurath's* hands most honourable Preferments, with many rich and Princely Gifts; and, That it should be lawful for the Garrison Soldiers to depart in safety whither they would, and to have three hundred thousand Aspers divided amongst them in reward. But when the Baffa finished his Speech, the Governor in this sort replied:

If you had not delivered this Speech unto *Perlat* the noblest man, devoted unto the defence of their Liberty, it is probable perhaps have wrought some effect; and our Governor, (said he) might peradventure listen unto your Offers, until we were at first afraid of the Ottoman King, Baffa, and the vain promises of our Enemies, or our own weariness of the Government of the noble *Scanderbeg*. But forasmuch as no evil desert of his, nor good desert of your Master, hath yet passed, for which we should prefer a stranger before our natural Sovereign, an Enemy before a Friend, a Turk before a Christian; let your Master proceed first in his action again, let him prove his fortune, let him force his way, let him break down our Walls, make havock of our Men, and by strong hand drive us to humble our selves at his Feet, and to sue for Peace. But it were a great Dishonour, yea a thing almost to be laughed at, if we should cowardly accept of these Conditions by him offered, before any Assault given, before one drop of Blood shed, before any Soldier did go missing as was done for any Wound received, before one Stone were flung in the Wall, or any small breach made. But your Master shall do better to raise his Siege, and get him back again to *Hadruple*, there to spend the small remainder of his old years in quiet, and not to provide in his final Enemies, whose courage in defence of our Liberties, and safety towards our Princes, he hath so oftentimes proved to be great Dishonour, and loss of his Armies. The Faith I have once given to my Sovereign, for the defence of this City, I will never

never forget, until the effusion of the last drop of my blood. If shall be unto me Reward and Honour enough, if I either living defend this City, or with loss of my life shall leave my faithful Soul at liberty, and my Carcase amongst the dead Bodies of worthy Soldiers, when I shall find a way into a far better place.

The General having given this resolute Answer unto the Baffa, he suffered him to depart at dinner, and afterwards led him through the midst of the City; where he saw great store of Victuals, by the Governor commanded of purpose to be set in them, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the City by long Siege. And so sent the Baffa out by the same Port whereby he came in, much discontented with the Answer he was to return to his Master.

When *Amurath* understood by the Baffa, of the Governors Resolution, he was therewith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the City three days without intermission. And having by the fury of his Artillery made a small Breach, he forthwith gave thereunto a most terrible Assault, labouering first to win the fame by the force and multitude of his common Soldiers, which the Turks call *Alpisi*, whom he forced by great numbers to that Service. Of these Soldiers the Turk in his Wars make no great reckoning, but to blune the Swedes of his Enemies, or to ease their own fury, thereby to give the easier Victory to his Janizaries and other his better Soldiers; which the Ottoman Kings hold for good policy. Whilst these forlorn Soldiers, without respect of danger pressing forward, are slain by heaps at the Breach, the Janizaries at the same time in another place stretched to have scaled the Walls of the City, but whilst they with much labour and difficulty first crawl up the steep Rock whereon the City was built, and afterward desperately mount up their Scaling-Ladders, they were by the Defendants, with huge Stones and weighty pieces of Timber cast upon them, beaten down, wherewith they were driven headlong to the bottom of the Rock, and so miserably slain. Many of them together with their Scaling-Ladders, were by the Christians thrust from the Wall, and tumbling from the Rock, violently carried with them others coming up behind them. Some few got to the top of the Walls, and taking hold of the Battlements of the Walls, lost some their Fingers, some their Hands, but most their Lives, being beaten down as the other were. Many of them which stood farther off, were then wounded also, and with Shot from the Walls slain. With this miserable slaughter, and no hope to prevail, the Turks discouraged, began to withdraw themselves from the Assault; but the Baffas and Captains standing behind them, forced them again forward, exhorting some, threatening others, and beating the rest forward with their Truncheons. By which means the Assault was again renewed, but not with such courage as before, though with no less slaughter; which the Defendants seeing gave from the Walls great tokens of Joy and Triumph. *Amurath* perceiving his discouraged Soldiers ready of themselves to forsake the Assault, presently sent *Ferri-Bassa* (one of his most valiant Captains) with a new Supply of 3000 chosen Soldiers to renew the fight. The Christians well aware of their coming, ceased not with continual Shot to beat them from the Walls; but such was the forwardness of that fierce Captain, that without regard of danger, he brought his Men to the Walls, where the Defendants from above overwhelmed

them with Stones, Timber, Wild-fire, and such other things as are usually prepared for the defence of Towns besieged. For all that, *Ferri-Bassa* gave so great an Assault, that he flew divers of the Defendants upon the Walls, and had these forcibly entred, had not the Governor, perceiving the danger, with a Company of fresh Soldiers come with speed to the defence of that place; whereby the Enemy was presently repelled, and driven again from the Walls. *Amurath* feeling the great slaughter of his Men, and no hope of success, caused a Retreat to be sounded, and so leaving the Assault, retired again into his Camp. The great loss and dishonour at this Assault received, much troubled his wayward mind; who for all that yet ceased not to give the like vain Attempts. At length, the Captain of the Janizaries perceiving that part of the City which was farthest from the Camp, to be commonly but slenderly manned, by reason that it seemed a place impregnable, both for the height and steepness of the Rock; told *Amurath*, That he would assay (if it so pleased him) fiercely in the night to attempt by that passage to enter the City; where as they thought nothing was more to be feared, than the height thereof, which they, supported with the wings of desire, doubted not to mount unto. This his device exceedingly pleased the King, and was the next night with great silence put in execution. But such was the carefulness of the Governor over the City, that he perceived nothing could be done against the same, but that it was forthwith by him discovered. The Governor advertised by the Watch, of the Turks Attempt, with great silence presently prepared to the place with a great Company of the Garrison Soldiers, and standing close, from the top of the Wall beheld the Turks, as they had been a swarm of *Comets*, climbing up the high Rocks, and one helping up another, by such desperate way, as was in reason to have been thought no man would have attempted. But when they were come to the top of the Rock, and now even ready to enter, they were from above suddenly overwhelmed, as it had been with a shower of Shot, and so violently forced down that high Rock, that most part of them which had got up to any height, were miserably crushed to death, either with the weight of themselves, or with others falling upon them, and many of the rest slain when they from the top of the Rock; wherewith *Amurath* presently understanding, was therewith exceedingly grieved.

During the time of this Siege *Scanderbeg* never lay long still in one place, but removed continually from place to place, as best served his purpose, breaking sometimes into one quarter of the Camp, and sometimes into another, and straightway to suddenly go again, and as it were vanished out of sight, that *Amurath* many times wondered what was become of him. At this time, being the later end of *June*, he was come with his Army within eight miles of *Amurath's* Camp; and from thence sent *Moses* his greatest Captain, on the attire of a common Soldier, with two men, to take view how the Enemy lay incamped. By which trusty Espies he was informed, That the Turks lay in great security, as men without fear, keeping but negligent Watch. Of which opportunity, *Scanderbeg* rejoycing, the night following suddenly assaulted one quarter of the Turks Camp. Whose coming, although it was a little before day, yet the Turks discovered, yet his furious Assault was so sudden and so forcible, that he flew two thousand of the Turks, and filled every corner of that great Camp with fear and tumult, before they could well

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arm themselves or make resistance. After which slaughter he safely retired, carrying away with him two hundred and thirty Horse, with seven of the Turks Ensigns, having in this Skirmish lost of his Men but two and forty; whose dead bodies the Turks the next morning in revenge of their slain Friends hewed into final pieces.

Upon these great Diligences one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* having no other Object but the City to shew his fury upon, gave three fierce Assaults unto the same, one after another, and was always with loss both of his Men and Honour repulsed. But the more he lost, the more he burnt with desire of Revenge, perswading his Soldiers, that as the strongest Cities and Fortresses were built by Mens hands, so were they to be overthrown and laid even with the ground by resolute and valiant men; encouraging them to a fresh Assault, with greater promises of Reward than ever he had done before in all his Wars, from the first beginning of his Reign. And because he would with more safety give this his last and greatest Assault, he appointed *Feri-Bassa*, with twelve thousand Horsemen and six thousand Foot to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, if he should hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the Assault, by affailing of his Camp. *Feri-Bassa* glad of this charge, well hoping never to redeem his former Overthrow with some great Victory, and leading forth his Army a little from the Camp, as he was commanded, to lay; withering for nothing more than the coming of *Scanderbeg*, vainly boasting, That he would seek him in the Field, and there try his Force and Fortune with him hand to hand; which he did shortly after to his cost. When *Amurath* had thus set in order all things requisite, as well for the Siege, as for the safeguard of his Camp, the next morning he compelled the City round about with his Army, and covered the ground with his Men of War, purposing at that time to gage his whole Forces upon the taking thereof. The Walls he had before in some places battered, so much as was possible; and yet but so, as that they were not without Scaling-Ladders to be assaulted; partly for the natural strength of the place, and partly for that the Defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled up with earth what the fury of the Canon had thrown down. This Assault *Amurath* began first with his Archers and small Shot, which delivered their Arrows and Bullets upon the top of the Wall, and into the City, as if it had been a shower of Hail, thereby to trouble the Stationary Soldiers. In this heat, Ladders were clapped to the Walls in every place where any could be possibly reared, and the Turks began desperately to scale the Walls; but the Christians nothing dismayed therewith, with great courage resisted them, and with Shot from their safe standings wounded and slew many of them; yet others still pressed up in the places of them they were slain, so that the Assault began most terribly in many places at once, but especially near to the great Gate of the City; where the Turks had upon the sudden with Ladders, Timber, and Planks clapt together, raised close unto that Tower, as it had been a wooden Tower, equal in height to the Wall, from whence the Turks greatly distressed the Christians in that place, fighting with them as if it had been upon even ground, still sending up fresh Soldiers in stead of them that were slain; and thereby prevailed to far, that they had for up certain of *Amurath's* Ensigns upon the Wall, to the great comfort of the Turks, and affrontment of the besieged Christians. The Governor seeing the eminent danger, halted to the place with a

Company of fresh and valiant Soldiers, whose force the Turks were quickly repulsed from the Wall, their Ensigns taken and sent into the Market place; the Tower of wood with many Ladders and much Timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly confined with Wild-fire cast upon the same from the Walls. *Feri-Bassa* delivered the City of this fear, presently placed fresh Soldiers in stead of them which were slain or hurt, and so worthily defended the City.

Whilst *Amurath* was giving this great Assault to *Sfigrad*, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him from the Siege, came with nine thousand Soldiers to assail the Turks Camp, as *Amurath* had before suspected, and was now come very near the same. *Feri-Bassa* glad of his coming, opposed his Army against him; which *Scanderbeg* seeing, retired a little of purpose to draw the *Bassa* farther from the Camp, and then forthwith began to join battle with him. The *Bassa* considering the small number of his Enemies, and his own greater Power, withdrew four thousand Horsemen out of his Army to fetch a compass about, and to set upon the rearward of *Scanderbeg's* Army; hoping so to enclose him, that he should never escape thence, but there either to be slain or taken alive, and his Army utterly defeated. But the expert Captain perceiving his purpose, to meet therewith, left *Moset* to lead the main Battle, and he himself with two thousand Horsemen, so valiantly charged those four thousand of his Enemies before they were well departed from the rest of the *Bassas* Army, that they had now more cause to look to their own safety, than how to circumvent others. In this Conflict *Feri-Bassa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before desired, encountering with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there slain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri-Bassa* in the right Wing of the Army, and *Moset* in the left, *Moset* stood fast, receiving the Assault of the Enemy without moving any thing forward, expecting the success of the Wings. But *Scanderbeg* having discomfited the right Wing, and slain the General, coming now in, he set forward with such force and courage, that the Turks not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled; of whom many were slain in this chase, though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great Power of his Enemy to nigh at hand, durst not follow them far; but founding a Retreat, put his Army again in good order, for fear of some sudden Attempt from the Camp, and after appointed some of the mainest of his Soldiers to take the Spoil of the slain Turks. When *Amurath* had understood what had happened to *Feri-Bassa*, he was so overcome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not speak one word; but after the heat was a little past, he commanded certain final pieces of Ordnance, which he had before used against the City, to be removed into the Assault of the Camp, and placed upon that side which was most in danger to the Enemy. He also presently sent thither four thousand Soldiers to join with the remainder of *Feri-Bassa's* Army, for defence of the Camp, with strict charge that they should not issue out of the Trenches. Nevertheless he himself continued the Assault of the City all that day; but when night drew on, and no hope appeared for him to prevail, he caused a Retreat to be founded; and leaving the Assault, he returned again into his Camp. At this Assault *Amurath* lost seven thousand Men, beside many that died afterwards of their wounds; but of the Garrison Soldiers were slain but seventy, and ninety more hurt.

*Scanderbeg* comes to trouble the Assault, and is met with by *Feri-Bassa*

*Amurath* by great Promises seeks to corrupt the Garrison of *Sfigrad*

A Traitor corrupts with *Amurath* his large Promises, conspires to betray the City.

The terror of the Turkish Army began now to grow in contempt throughout *Epirus*; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after so many Overthrows and shameful Repulses, would at length raise his Siege and be gone; yet he sent Spies continually to discover what was done in the Turks Camp, and he himself with two thousand Soldiers would oftentimes shew himself upon the sides of the Mountains near unto *Amurath's* Camp, of purpose to draw the Turks out, that he might take them at some advantage. But the old King had given Commandment upon pain of death, That no man should go out of the Trenches without leave, or once to speak of giving Barrel or Assault; so that he lay certain days in his Camp, not like a King besieging of a City, but more like a man besieged himself; the which his still lying, *Scanderbeg* had the more in distrust, fearing greatly that he was hatching some mischief, which so soon as it was ripe would violently break out.

*Amurath* considering with what evil Success he had many times assaulted the City, and holding it for a great dishonour to raise his Siege and depart, having done nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once again to prove, if it were possible to overcome the minds of the Garrison Soldiers with Gifts, for which he was not able to subdue by force. For which purpose he sent an Embassador to the City, offering unto the besieged and Garrison Soldiers safe Conditions of Peace, with such large Gifts and Rewards as had not been heard offered to any Garrison in former time. All which his magnificent Promises were lightly rejected by the common consent of all the whole Garrison, preferring their faithful Loyalty before all his golden Mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope, that amongst so many, some would be found, into whose minds his large Offers might make some Impression; wherein he was not deceived. For one base-minded Fellow amongst the rest, corrupted with the Turks great Promises, preferring his own private wealth, before the welfare of his Country, waiting his time had secret conference with the Turks *Epilaps*, promising upon assurance of such Reward as was before by *Amurath* promised, to find means that in few days the City should be yielded into his Power. This corrupted Traitor, had laid many mischievous Plots of effecting of this horrible Treason, but the first device he put in practice, which of all others a man would have thought to have been of least moment, served his wicked purpose in stead of all the rest. All the Garrison Soldiers of *Sfigrad* were of the upper Country of *Dibra*, put into that City, by *Moset*, for by their approved Valour above all the other Soldiers of *Epirus*. But as they were men of great courage, so were they exceeding superstitious both in their Religion and manner of living, paying nice difference betwixt one kind of lawful Meat and other; accounting food clean, some they deemed unclean, with more than a Jewish Superstition, choosing rather to die than to eat or drink thereof; such is the strong delusion of blind Error, where it hath thoroughly possessed the minds of men. The City of *Sfigrad* (as is aforesaid) is situate upon the top of a great high Rock, as most of the Cities of *Epirus* now be, and was then watered but with one great Well in the middle of the City, which fount deep into the Rock, plentifully served both the publick and private use of the Inhabitants. Into this common Well the malicious Traitor in the night

time cast the foul stinking carion Carcasses of a dead Goat, knowing, that the executed Garrison Soldiers of *Dibra*, would rather endure the pains of death, and starve, or else yield up the City, upon any condition, than to drink of that filthy luted water. In the morning when that stinking Carion was effused, and drawn out of that Well, the report thereof was quickly brought to every corner of the City, and that the Well was polluted; so that all the people were in manner in an uproar about the finding out of the Traytor. The Citizens were exceeding sorry for that had happened, but the Garrison Soldiers desired that loathsome and unclean water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkish Service, protesting, that they would rather perish with thirst, than drink thereof. Whereupon some of them desired to let live upon the City, and whilst they had yet strength, to break through the Enemies Camp or there manifestly to die. And they which thought best of the matter, requested, that the City might be yielded up; for now, they discouraged with a superfluous Vanity, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of Peace, yea they were ready enough of themselves to flee to *Amurath* for Peace, though it had been upon harder terms. The Governor troubled with that had happened, and affixed to see so great an alteration in the minds of his Soldiers upon so small occasion; could not tell whether he might think it to proceed of a superstitious conceit, or of some secret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacify the matter, he came into the Market place, and there in the hearing of all the Garrison, with many effectual Reasons, exhorted them to continue faithful unto their Prince and Country in that honourable Service; and in a matter of so great consequence to make small reckoning to use that water, which would easily in short time be brought again to the wonted purity and cleanness; and so persuaded them the rather, he went presently to the Well himself, and in the sight of them all drank a great Draught of the Water, whose example the Citizens following, drank likewise. But when it was offered to the Captains and Soldiers of the Garrison, they all refused to taste thereof, as if it had been a most loathsome thing, or rather some deadly poison, and with great insistence cried unto the Governor, to give up the City; for which cause many thought they were corrupted by *Amurath's* great Promises. Howbeit none of the Garrison (except that one Traitor) did ever afterwards revolt to the Turkish King, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any Gift received, whereby such suspicion might be confirmed. When the Governor saw that the obstinate minds of the Garrison were not to be moved with any Persuasion or Reward (whereof he feared not to make large Promises) nor by any other means which he could devise; he called unto him his chief Captains, with the best forth of the Citizens, and resolved with them full force against his will to yield up the City to *Amurath*, on such conditions as they themselves there agreed upon; in which, where that it should be lawful for all the Captains and Soldiers to depart in safety with their Arms and all other things; and that so many of the Citizens as would fittest might freely dwell in the City, in such sort, as they had done before, under the Government of *Scanderbeg*; the rest that listed not to remain there still, might at their pleasure with Bag and Baggage depart whither they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this Offer was made unto him, and granted them all that was desired, saying that he would not consent that the Citizens

The execution of the law was by the Turks, and the city was taken.

The Governor was troubled with that had happened, and affixed to see so great an alteration in the minds of his Soldiers upon so small occasion.

should continue in the City, yet was he content that they should live under him as they had done before, quietly enjoying all their Possessions, but to build their houses without the Wall of the City; which condition some accepted, and some forsook all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thoroughly agreed upon, the Keys of the Gates were delivered to *Amurath*, and the Governor with the Captains, and all the Garrison Soldiers suffered quietly to pass through the Turkish Camp, as the King had promised. However, *Mahomet* the Son of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruel disposition, earnestly persuaded his Father, to have broken his Promise, and to have put them all to the Sword; saying, It was one of the Prophecy *Malomet* chief Commanders, to use all cruelty for the destruction of the Christians. But the old King would not therein hearken unto his Son, saying, That he which was desirous to be great among men, must either be indeed faithful of his Word and Promise, or at leastwise seem to be, thereby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally adore the Government of a harmless and cruel Prince. The Traitor which corrupted the Water, remained still in the City, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich Suits of Apparel, and fifty thousand *Afers*, and had given unto him besides a yearly Pension of two thousand Ducats. But short was the joy the Traitor had of his reward, for he was slain after he had a few days vainly triumphed in the midst of *Amurath* his Favourites, he was suddenly gone, and never afterwards seen or heard of; being secretly made away (as was supposed) by the commandment of *Amurath*, whose noble heart could not but detest the Traitor, although the Traitor served well his purpose. *Amurath* entering into *Sferigrade*, caused the Walls to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thousand two hundred Janizaries in Garrison there. And raising his Camp the first of September, departed out of *Epirus*, having lost thirty thousand of his Turks at the Siege of *Sferigrade*; much grieved in mind for all that, that he could not vanquish the Enemy, whom he came of purpose to subdue. In his return, the Vice-Roy of *Asia* marched before him with the *Asian* Soldiers; in the rearward followed the Vice-Roy of *Europe* with his *European* Soldiers; in the midst was *Amurath* himself, compassed about by his Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court. *Scanderbeg* understanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed him with speedily with eight thousand Horsemen, and three thousand Foot, and taking the advantage of the thick Woods and Mountain fairs (to him well known) whereby that great Army was to pass, oftentimes skirmished with the Turks, charging them sometimes in the Yaward, and sometime in the Rearward, sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other, and flew many of them; whereby he so troubled *Amurath* his passages, that he was glad to leave the Vice-Roy of *Romania*, with 30000 to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, that he himself might in the mean time with more safety march away with the rest of his Army. *Scanderbeg* perceiving the stay of the Vice-Roy, ceased to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be encircled between those two great Armies. The Vice-Roy seeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after he had thaid a few days, followed his Matter to *Hadrimople*, and so *Scanderbeg* returned to *Croia*.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of *Epirus*, *Scanderbeg* left two thousand Soldiers upon the Borders for defence of the Country against the Turks. These Soldiers so faithfully kept in the Janizaries left in Garrison at *Sferi-*

grade that they could not look out of the City, but that they were intercepted and slain. And within a few days after came himself with an Army of eighteen thousand, and laid siege to *Sferigrade* the space of a month, which was from the middle of September until the middle of October. In which time he gave two great Assaults to have recovered the City, but was both times repulsed, with the loss of five hundred men. *Amurath* understanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the siege of *Sferigrade*, sent with all speed to recall his Army, but lately before dispersed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* having Intelligence, considering also the difficulty of the Enterprize, with the approach of Winter, raised his Siege, and returned to *Croia*; where he let all things in the same order he had done before the coming of *Amurath* to the Siege of *Sferigrade*, and put two thousand of his best Soldiers there in Garrison, under the charge of the famous Captain *Uranometes*, and stored his City with sufficient Victual for a years Siege, wherein he had great help from the *Venetians* and other Christians, for that there was then great scarcity of all things in *Epirus*, by reason of the late Wars. The like care he had also of all the rest of his Cities, being continually advertised from his secret Friends in the Turks Court, of the great preparation intended against him by the Turkish King, against the beginning of the next Spring.

*Amurath* understanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from *Sferigrade*, changed his former determination for the calling back again of his Army, and appointed it to meet again at *Hadrimople*, in the beginning of March following; whereas the Bassas, and other great Commanders, at the time appointed, assembled with their Companies, according to the summons publicly commanded. So that by the latter end of March, he had there in readines an Army of an hundred and three-score thousand men strong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkish Wars, sent forty thousand Horsemen, under the leading of *Sebalay* a polittick Captain, as his Vancouriers into *Epirus*, in the beginning of April, in the year, 1450. The valiant Captain with great speed and no resistance entered into *Epirus*, as was given him in charge, and without let came to *Croia*; where, after he had adventuredly considered of the situation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he strongly encompassed himself near therabouts in the place called *Plat*, and *Uranometes*, and there within his Trenches kept his Soldiers close, attending nothing more, but that no new supply of Men, Munition, or Victuals, should be conveyed into the City, more than was therein before his coming. For he was not able with his Horsemen to do any thing against the City, and *Scanderbeg* had sent no help into the Country Subject to his fury. Besides that, he was expressly by *Amurath* forbidden to attempt any thing against *Scanderbeg* himself.

After *Sebalay* had twenty days thus lien encamped before *Croia*, neither doing nor taking harm; *Amurath* by reason of his great age, having marched oftentimes but few miles a day, came thither also with his whole Army, wherewith he filled all the Country round about; the very sight whereof, had been enough to have discouraged the same Garrison in *Croia*, had they not been men both of great Experience and Resolution. Where after he had spent four days in settling of his Camp, he sent two Messengers unto the Governor (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yield up the City, that it should be lawful for him with all his Soldiers in safety with Bag and Baggage to depart;

1450.  
*Amurath*  
against  
his  
Army at  
*Hadrimople*  
etc.

*Croia* bet.  
tween

part; and the Governor himself to receive in Reward two hundred thousand *Afers*, with an honorable Place amongst the great Bassas of his Court; if it would please him to accept thereof; and further, that the Citizens should enjoy all their ancient Liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promise also of greater. These Messengers coming to the Gates of the City, could not be suffered to enter, but standing without were commanded there to deliver their Message; which when the Governor had heard, he scornfully rejected their Offers, and returned the Messengers shamefully defeated by the Soldiers which stood upon the Wall. *Amurath* more offended with this Contempt, than the refusal of his Offers; and seeing no other means to gain the City, converted all his devices unto the Siege thereof. Wherefore he first commanded ten great pieces of Artillery to be forthwith cast, for he had brought with him none ready made, because of the difficult passage over the high Mountains into *Epirus*; whereby it seemed to be a matter of infinite trouble to have brought his great Ordnance; and therefore carried with him great Rows of Metal in mass, wherof at his pleasure to make his great Artillery as he saw cause. In fifteen days this work was brought to perfection, and tenpieces of huge greatmalls were ready mounted upon Carriages. Six of them he placed against the East side of the City, towards the Plain of *Tyravos*, and the other four against the Gate; in which places only, *Croia*, was subjected to battery, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable Rocks, upon the tops whereof were built fair Battlements, more for beauty than needful defence. These two places *Amurath* battered four days continually, and with the fury of his Artillery had in both places beaten down his Wall, and the towers shaken the rest. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, and with great cheerfulness made all things ready to assault these Breaches, whenever *Amurath* should command, striving among themselves who should their self most forward in that dangerous Enterprize. And *Mahomet* the young Prince, the more to encourage the Soldiers, besides the great Rewards by his Father promised; promised of himself to give an hundred thousand *Afers* unto him that should first set up an Ensign upon the Walls of the City. The Garrison Soldiers on the other side, considering that the whole State and Welfare of *Epirus* was reposited in their valour; and that the Eyes of most part of Christendom were as it were fixed upon them, were nothing dismayed with the Breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of peril and danger that might possibly chance; but especially the worthy Governor *Uranometes*, who going through the midst of his Soldiers, and shaking some of them by the hands, withal said:

These, these are the Fortresses of our City, these are the invincible Bulwarks; these are the irremovable Stones and strong Cement. What Honour? what Praise? what Triumphant should we hope for? if these Walls standing whole and strong, we should be brought under the defence of them, and not they defended by us? So can Cowards defend Cities, and Sheep fear the Wolves rage, when they are safely shut up within the Walls of their Sheep-cotes: But that is the praise of the Walls, and not of the Men. Worthy Captain our Prince hath commanded this his City to be defended by us, and not us by it. Honour is attended upon with danger, and suffered up amongst

perils; every base Mariner may be a Master in fair Weather; and firm things stand of themselves, and need not our upholding. Wherefore, men of worth (thus such things, which being kept or left, yield little praise. Things ready to fall, need flooring, and thither hasten Fortune, and there (worthy Soldiers) appear Courage and Valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken Breaches, and in stead of these Walls, bravely overcome our lucky and lively armed Bodies against the Force of our Enemies. If these Walls should fall firm, and unbroken, you should then fight from the top of them like Women; but now that they lay flaming broken, you shall as men stand upon several sorts of every ground, and encounter your Enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfy your furious desire. Where I also in the thickets, shall easily view and judge of every mans private courage in particular, and of all your Valour in common. And yet if we will consider of the matter, the place itself doth yet surely make for us; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small Breaches diminished; for, the rising of the Hill (not possible to be taken from us) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not serve us sufficiently at great advantage, to charge our Enemies, and hinder their Assaults. The Breaches whereof, as it will be troublesome unto them, so will it keep us most fresh in strength, and make our Shot more forcible. Wherefore they had been a thing of us to have been withheld, for, if we desire the slaughter of our Enemies at this Siege; or if we wish for perpetual Honour and Glory by this War. For this Breach of the Walls will encourage these Barbarians, and allure their armed men to climb up in greater multitude than the Walls were whole; whereof so many shall on every side be easily slain, as we shall but aim at; except you had rather sit still, holding your hands together in your Bosoms as Cowards. Their dead bodies shall fill up the Breaches again, if you be men mindful of your Liberty. What is there worthy Captains and Soldiers? that let us be the victors? or memorable slaughter of our Enemies? by whom only these two places of the City can be of safety; all the rest is out of danger, and fears no Enemies force. Here only is the pains to be taken, this only is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be; the courage, force, and strength of you all shall in this place appear. How will you so many worthy Captains, and valiant Soldiers, in so little room before your selves? We are the many Defendants, for so many Breaches. Yet let us play the Men, and do our endeavour; let us in one Conflict weaken the Tyrants strength, and burst his proud breast; he will forsake this City, and raise his Siege unfortunately begun, so soon as he shall see his first Assaults to cost him the lives of so many thousand of his Men.

When *Uranometes* had with this comfortable *Croia* speech thus encouraged his Soldiers, against the Assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence set all things in order for the same, and repaired the Breaches as well as was possible in that case, he gave them leave for that night to take their rest. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the Assault to be given to both the Breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerfully begun, and every man busied to perform the Service he was appointed unto. But by that time that the Assault was well begun, a sudden Alarm was raised throughout all the Turks Camp; for *Scanderbeg* with five thousand valiant Soldiers, had suddenly broken in upon one side of the Turks great Camp, and at the first Encounter had slain five hundred of the Turks, and was now spoiling their Tents. The rumour whereof, troubled the whole Camp, and made the Turks with less courage

courage to assault the Breaches, for fear of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the safeguard of his Tents, yet for more fury sent *Seremet* one of his greatest Captains, with four thousand Soldiers, back into the Camp, for more fury, saying, That nothing could be too far, against that wild Beast: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* also the young Prince, halted thither in great choler with his Guard, much against his Fathers will. But *Moses*, *Scanderbeg* Lieutenant, knowing himself too weak to withstand the multitude that was swarming thither (counting himself with that which was already done) had before *Mahomet* coming, speedily retired with all his Army into the safeguard of the Mountains, from whence he came, having done great harm in the Turks Camp, with the loss of ten men. *Scanderbeg* in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himself, had so far engaged himself among the Turks, that he was by them on every side enclosed, and in great danger to have been slain or taken; yet valiantly breaking through them, he escaped the danger, and recovered the Mountains, and with much ado came at length to his Camp, to the great joy and comfort of them all, being before in great fear he had been lost. This was accounted the greatest oversight of *Scanderbeg* in all his Wars: for to much as the Office of a good General consisteth not in adventuring his Person to manifest danger, but in the politic Government of his charges. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus assailed the Turks Camp, *Amurath* but faintly assailed the Breaches, expecting the success in the Camp; but when he understood that *Scanderbeg* was retired, and all quiet, he brought all his Forces to the Walls, to fight with the multitude of his Archers, and small Shot laboured to drive the Defendants from the Walls, overwhelming them with Arrows falling as thick as Hail. And likewise at the same time other common Soldiers of baser account, brought Scaling-Ladders and other things needful for the taking of the Walls. After whom also followed the Janizaries and other chosen Soldiers, ready to mount the Ladders so soon as they should be set to the Walls. But whilst they climb up the high Hills in this order, the Garrison Soldiers made high laughter of them, with Shot from the Walls and out of the City, that they would have presently retired, had they not been forced forward by their Captains, who spared neither stripes nor wounds, when words would not serve. By this tyrannical means, the Scaling-Ladders were with great slaughter of the common Soldiers set up against the Walls, and the Turks climbing up, came to hand-to-hand with the Defendants at the Breaches; nothing was to be heard but the crying of People, the clattering of Armour, and the Instruments of War, which was terribly redoubled with the Echoes from the Mountains round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the Breaches, were by the Christians worthily resisted, and with their Ladders tumbling headlong down the Mountain, with such horrible slaughter and discomfiture, especially of the common Soldiers, that none of them would for one foot forward again toward the Walls, although they had small hope to save themselves by retiring back; for the fierce young Prince *Mahomet* even then making they of his cruel disposition, caused them that returned, to be flung by the terror thereof to drive others forward. These common Soldiers, whom the Turks make small reckoning of, are for the most part miserable Christians, which live in such

Countries as had sometimes received the Faith of Christ, but are now under the Turkish Faith; of which sort of wretched people the Turkish Tyrants draw forth their great multitudes in their Wars, most commonly untrained, because they dare not well trust them in War against the Christians; these carry all the Baggage of the Camp; these serve to fetch Wood and Water for other Soldiers of better account; these serve in flood of Pioneers, to cast Trenches and raise Bulwarks; and when battle is to be given, if it be in plain field, these barely untrained are put into their hands, and thrust into the fore-front of the battle, to blunt the Enemies Swords; but if a City be to be besieged, these serve as fit matter to fill up the Breaches with their dead Bodies, or to make Bridges for other Soldiers to pass over upon; and if they think to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly used by their Commanders than by their Enemies. When *Amurath* saw his Soldiers so discouraged, he stood in doubt whether it were better for that time to found a Retreat, or to send a new Supply; but being irritated with the loss of his Men, and desirous to be in some part revenged, he sent divers Companies of his better Soldiers, for the encouragement of them which were before discouraged, and to give a fresh Assault; but with as evil or worse success than before; for *Uruncanter* had withdrawn from the Breaches all those Soldiers which had injured the former Assault, and placed other fresh and lusty Men in their stead; who encouraged with the former Victory, and loth to be accounted inferior to their Fellows, repulsed the Turks with double slaughter; until that the aged King, not able longer to behold the endless loss of his Men, caused a Retreat to be sounded; which all his Soldiers were glad to hear, and so returned into his Camp, having lost in those two Assaults eight thousand Men, without any notable harm done unto the Defendants worth the remembrance.

This shameful Repulse much grieved all the Captains and Commanders of *Amurath*'s Army, but especially *Mahomet* the young Prince, whose violent nature unacquainted with mispath, burnt impatiently with Revenge. Wherefore understanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched upon the Mountain of *Tamontis*, not far from his Fathers Army, he drew the most of the best and readiest Soldiers of all the whole Camp, into that quarter which was nearest unto *Scanderbeg*; of purpose that if he should again assail the Camp in that place (as it was most like he would) he should be encountered with so many brave and valiant Men there in readiness, as that it should be hard for him either to do any great harm, or for himself to escape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg* by certain Fugitives had Intelligence, as also in what order the Camp lay; whereupon he left *Moses* with five hundred Soldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certain appointed hour in the night following, should assail the Turks Camp in the quarter next unto him where *Mahomet* lay; and having there raised some tumult, speedily to retire again to his assured strength in the Mountain. *Scanderbeg* himself with the whole strength of his Army, in number about 8000, in the mean time took a compass and by circuitous way, by-way through the Woods and Mountains, came unto the farther side of the Turks Camp, to a place called *Muscle*. The night following, *Moses* at the appointed hour with his 500 Soldiers assailed that part of the Turks Camp next unto him, with much noise and tumult

*Mahomet thinking to deceive Scanderbeg, is himself by him discovered.*

*Amurath his comfortable Speech unto his warlike Soldiers.*

as if it had been some great Army. By occasion whereof all the Turks Camp was in alarm, and drew in half to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the same instant, *Scanderbeg* with all his Army brake into the other side of the Turks Camp, where he was least feared or looked for, and from whence the best Soldiers were before drawn by *Mahomet*; and there made such slaughter and havoc of the rest (not knowing which way to turn themselves) that the loss a little before received under the Walls of *Croia*, was now forgot, as a small thing in comparison of this. *Moses* having raised a great fear, and done little harm, returned in safety to his well known strength; and *Scanderbeg* having made great spoil in the Camp, fearing to be oppressed with the multitude of his Enemies, if he should there longer stay, returned in good time, having scarce lost one Man.

*Amurath* after this great loss and trouble of his Camp, withdrew most of his small Ordnance which he had before bent against the City, into his Trenches, placing it as commodiously as he might, for the defence thereof against the sudden Attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot season of the year so closely incamp his great Army, but that some part thereof would still be in like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalis* with 16000 Soldiers to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, that he should for no more trouble the Camp. After which order taken, he battered the Walls of *Croia* afresh, and with his great Ordnance overthrow whatever the Citizens had repaired, making the Breaches greater, and more assailable than before, intending once again by a new Assault to prove his Fortune; and the force of his works he caused final Alarms daily to be given unto the City, to the intent that the Defendants busied therewith, should not perceive the secret work of the Mine. About which time his Provision of Corn began to fail in his Camp; for which cause he sent his Purveyors for Corn to *Lissa*, a City of the *Venetians*, with whom he was at that time in League, and bought of them great store of Corn. But as his Officers were conveying it to his Camp, *Scanderbeg* having Intelligence thereof, slew the Convoy, and carried away with him all that Provision, dividing it among his own Soldiers. Howbeit, not long after, *Amurath* received great abundance of Corn and other Provision out of *Macedonia*; beside that, the *Venetian* Merchants afterward furnished him with plenty of Corn, Oil, Honey, and other necessities; which *Scanderbeg* might well have hindered; but that he would not in so doing offend the *Venetians*, which were also his secret Friends, considering that *Amurath* might have had all the same Provision out of the further part of *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Mysia*, and such other places, if he had not otherwise had it from the *Venetians*.

Whilst *Amurath* thus lay expecting the success of his Mine, four hundred of the Garrison Soldiers of *Croia* falling out of the City, chased divers of the Turks that were come back again unto the Camp; whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loss give the like attempt afterwards. But the flat direction of the Governor deceived that his expectation, who considering the danger, would not suffer his Soldiers any more to fall out of the City. *Scanderbeg* also at this time having increased his Army with a new Supply of two thousand Soldiers, divided the same into three parts;

Force may not prevail, Fortune may find some mean that we look not for, as it fell out at the Siege of Steigrade; beyond all our expectation. Treason is ingenious, and men desire great, where great Rewards are propounded.

With these and like Speeches old *Amurath* encouraged his Captains and Soldiers and the next day early in the morning began the Assault, which the Turks valiantly attempted; and without regard of danger came to the Gates of the City, assailing but with vain and desperate labour to have broken them open. In this Assault Wild-fire was cast into many places of the City, and the great Artillery oftentimes discharged into the Breaches; whereby many of the Turks themselves were slain with their own great shot, together with the Christians; for *Amurath* desperately flew was content to buy the life of one Christian with the loss of twenty of his Turks. But the Christians still valiantly repulsed their Enemies, so that of them that came to the Gates, none escaped alive; and of them that assaulted the great Breach, they which were most forward, were first slain, and they which stood farther off, were fore wounded by Shot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* still maintained the Assault, by sending in of new Supplies, delighting to see them go forward, but grieved at the heart to see them to slain; until at last weary with beholding the slaughter of his Men, he caused a Retreat to be sounded, and so ended the Assault; perished by his own rage, not willingly to cast away his valiant Soldiers where there was no hope to prevail, but to reserve them for his better Service.

*Amurath* now out of hope to win the City by Assault, thought good to prove what might be done by undermining of the same; during which work he caused final Alarms daily to be given unto the City, to the intent that the Defendants busied therewith, should not perceive the secret work of the Mine. About which time his Provision of Corn began to fail in his Camp; for which cause he sent his Purveyors for Corn to *Lissa*, a City of the *Venetians*, with whom he was at that time in League, and bought of them great store of Corn. But as his Officers were conveying it to his Camp, *Scanderbeg* having Intelligence thereof, slew the Convoy, and carried away with him all that Provision, dividing it among his own Soldiers. Howbeit, not long after, *Amurath* received great abundance of Corn and other Provision out of *Macedonia*; beside that, the *Venetian* Merchants afterward furnished him with plenty of Corn, Oil, Honey, and other necessities; which *Scanderbeg* might well have hindered; but that he would not in so doing offend the *Venetians*, which were also his secret Friends, considering that *Amurath* might have had all the same Provision out of the further part of *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Mysia*, and such other places, if he had not otherwise had it from the *Venetians*.

Whilst *Amurath* thus lay expecting the success of his Mine, four hundred of the Garrison Soldiers of *Croia* falling out of the City, chased divers of the Turks that were come back again unto the Camp; whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loss give the like attempt afterwards. But the flat direction of the Governor deceived that his expectation, who considering the danger, would not suffer his Soldiers any more to fall out of the City. *Scanderbeg* also at this time having increased his Army with a new Supply of two thousand Soldiers, divided the same into three parts;

The Turks retire.

*Amurath is forced to retire into Croia.*

Source

Ura-  
nantes re-  
jects A-  
murath's  
Presents,  
and threat-  
neth the  
Bass.

Crows are  
quite in  
tune with  
the birds.

he termed it) and that in the fight of his contemptible Enemy. After that, turning himself to his Son *Mahomet*, he earnestly commended him to the faithfulness of his Baffles, and gave him many grave advicements, sometimes in secret betwixt themselves, and sometimes in the hearing of others; want of strength, and abundance of tears running down his aged Face (upon the sight of his Son) oftentimes interrupting his Speech. Yet sick unto death as he was, and drawing fast unto his end, he forced himself, to warn his Son of such things as now at his death grieved him most.

*I, I mine enemy (quoth he) be a warning unto thee my Son, never to concern thine Enemy, he be never so weak of whom one thing above all others, I have repented my self of long, and shall do after my death, if any feeling of humane things remain in the dead, and that I was so foolish, and inconsequence, as to prefer it as it were in my beloved this my domestic and neglected Enemy; whereby I have purchased unto my self this calamity, and for ever blighted the Honour of the Ottoman Kings; whilst I so basely ending my days under the Walls of Croia, shall become a byword unto the World, and all Posterity for ever. This Traitor should even then have been oppressed, when he by great Treachery, first recovered his wicked Kingdom's in that venue of his Estate, and before the minds of the People were assured unto him, then it had been an easy matter, without bloodshed to have utterly extinguished the wretched, together with his name. His Baffles, who evil Fortune was the cause of his loss of his good; Nor the other Generals, who by him slain or taken Prisoners, increased his strength and credit unto his Subjects, should not have been sent against him; a thing which I have oftentimes thought upon, but could scarce have believed, that ever I should have thereby received such damage, together with the ignominious renting of my Kingdom, if I had not been taught the same by mine own experience, to my great loss and hearty grief. We entered into Epirus, and have encamped an hundred and three-score thousand men strong; now if I leave thee, you take view of them, examine the matter, you shall find a great want of that number. The Field could not contain our Regiments and the multitude of our men; but now, how many Tents stand empty? how many Horses want Riders? You shall go to Hadrianople with our Forces much impaired. As for me, the Destiny have crowned my Spirits to this Country of Epirus, and unto this fatal Fate. But wherefore do I importune my self with these importunate and tedious thoughts of Fortune? For then first began this seed of mischief in Epirus, when the Hungarians with their Christian Princes, rose up in Arms against us; at which time we fought not with them for Sovereignty, but for the whole State of our Kingdom; at the bloody Battle of Varna and Collova full witness is to be seen. So whilst I had neither leisure nor sufficient power to take order for all my important Affairs at once, in the mean time this Enemy grew as you see. But listen to what order you are hereafter to wage War against him, you may not look for any directions from me, which have in all such matters I could direct my self; Fortune never deceived my endeavours more than in this. But happily thou Mahomet my Son, shalt prove a more fortunate Warrior against him; and for so many Honours already given unto me, the Destiny have reserved the triumph of Epirus for thee. It is therefore my Son, thou shalt receive from me this Secret Empire; but upon this condition all things, I leave unto thee this Enemy; I charge thee not to leave my death unrevengeed. It is all I charge thee with, for so great and plenty a Parity as thou art to receive from me it is the only Sacrifice that my old departing Ghost desireth of thee.*

Shortly after he became speechless, and striving with the Pangs of Death half a day, he then breathed out his gally Ghost, to the great joy and contentment of the poor oppressed Christians. He died about the middle of autumn, in the year of our Lord 1459, when he had lived eighty five years, as most write; and thereof reigned eight and twenty years (or as some others report thirty;) about five months after the Siege laid before Croia.

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erst not inferior unto the greatest Monarchs of the Age, and yet so much in despair; a worthy mirror of Honours frailty; yielding unto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor relief. Who had fought greater Battels; who had gained greater Victories; or obtained more glorious Triumphs than had *Amurath*? who by the Spoils of so many mighty Kings and Princes, and by the conquest of so many proud and warlike Nations, again restored and established the Turks Kingdom, before by *Tamerlane* and the *Tartars* in a manner clean defaced. He it was that burst the heart of the proud *Grecians*, establishing his Empire at *Hadrianople*, even in the Center of their Borels; from whence have proceeded so many miseries and calamities unto the greatest part of Christendom, as no Tongue is able to express. He it was that first brake down the *Hexamile* or Wall of separation on the Straits of *Corinth*, and conquered the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*. He it was that subdued unto the Turks so many great Countries and Provinces in Africa, in the plain Field and far Barrel overthrow many puissant Kings and Princes, and brought them under his Subjection; who having slain *Uladislaus* the King of *Polonia* and *Hungary*, and more than once chased out of the Field *Himadey* that famous and redoubted Warrior; had such ambitious Hearts, prompted unto himself the Conquest of a great part of Christendom. But O how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did these his last Speeches differ from the course of his life passed life? full of such base passionate complaints and lamentations, as becometh not a man of his place and spirit, but some vile wretch overtaken with despair, and yet afraid to die. Where were now those haughty Thoughts, those lofty Looks, those thundering and commanding Speeches; whereas for many great Commanders, to many Troops and Legions, so many thousands of armed Soldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that Head, before adorned with so many Trophies and Triumphs? Where is that victorious Hand that swayed so many Scepters? Where is the Majesty of his Power and Strength, that commanded over so many Nations and Kingdoms? O how is the case now altered; he lieth now dead, a gally filthy thinking Carcase, a Clod of Clay unregarded, his Hands closed, his Eyes shut, and his Feet stretched out, which erst proudly traced the Countries by him subdued and conquered. And now of such infinite Riches, such unmeasurable Wealth, such huge Treasures, such flatly Honours and vain glorious Praises, as he in his life time enjoyed; his frail Body enjoyeth nothing but left all behind it. O the weak condition of Mans Nature! O the vain glory of mortal Creatures! O the blind and perverse thoughts of foolish men! Why do we to magnify our selves, why are we so prone to Pride? why do we to much fix our minds upon Riches, Authority, and other vanities of this Life? whereof never man had yet one days assurance, and at our most need, and when we least think, quite forsake us; leaving even them that most

*Amurath his death.*

*Amurath as example of the vanity of worldly honour.*

*Amurath buried at Vrida.*

sought after them, and most abundant in them, shrowded oftentimes in the Secret of Dishonour and Shame.

That his death is otherwise by some reported, I am not ignorant: The Turks saying, that he died miraculously forewarned of his death at *Hadrianople*; and some others, That he died in a fit, stricken with an Apoplexy proceeding of a Surfeit taken of the immoderate drinking of Wine. But *Marinus Barlesius*, who lived in his time in *Scodra* fast by *Epirus*, whose Authority, in report of the Wars betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, setteth it down in such manner as is above.

Prefently after his death, *Mahomet* his Son, for fear of some innovation to be made at home, raised the Siege and returned to *Hadrianople*; and afterward with great Solemnity buried his dead body at the West side of *Prossa*, in the Suburbs of the City, where he now lieth in a Chapel without any roof, his Grave nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks; which (they say) he commanded to be done in his last Will; that the Mercy and Blessing of God (as he termed it) might come unto him by the shining of the Sun and Moon, and falling of the Rain and Dew of Heaven upon his Grave. He whilst he lived, mightily enlarged the Turkish Kingdom, and with greater Wisdom and Policy than his Predecessors, established the same; inasmuch that some attribute unto him the first institution of the *Janisaries*, and other Soldiers of the Court (the greatest Strength of the Turkish Empire) before he died began the raising of *Amurath* the first, his great Grandfather (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented, and the policy of that State, whereby it hath ever since in his Posterity flourished, even by himself plotted. For the better establishing thereof in his own House, and to cut off all occasion of fear, as also to leave all such as might have the heart to arise against him, naked and bare of Forces to resist; but especially the other ancient and noble Families of the Turks; still secretly repining at the great honour of the *Ottoman* Kings; he as a man of great Wisdom and Judgment, to keep them under in the beginning of his Reign, by manifold favours began to bind unto himself men of strange and foreign Countries, his Servants, and by ordering of his most weighty Affairs by their Authority, so by little and little to call off the service of his natural Turks; they in the mean time little or nothing at all looking unto this his practice. And whereas the *Ottoman* Kings his Predecessors, had for the most part, or rather altogether raised their *Janisaries* and other Soldiers of the Court, of such Children of the Christians as were taken in the Wars; he, seeing by experience how serviceable those new kind of Soldiers were, began forthwith to plot, how to have to make himself an Army altogether of such able persons, his own Creatures, and so to bring in a new kind of Warfare, wholly depending of himself. And to that end, by his Officers appointed for that purpose, took from the Christians throughout his Dominions, every fifth Child; the fairest and aptest of whom, he placed in his own *Seraglio* at *Hadrianople*, and the rest in other like places by him built for such purpose; where they were by sufficient Teachers, first instructed in the Principles of the Mahometan Religion, and then in all manner of Activity and Feats of Arms. Of these, when they were grown to manhood, he made Horsemen, gave them great Portions, and forcing them into divers orders, appointed them also to guard his Person; honouring the

better sort of them with the name of *Spahis-Oglus*, that is to say, his Sons the Knights; and of these he began to make his Baffles, his Generals of his Armies, and the Governors of his Provinces and Cities, with all the great Offices of the State. The rest, and far the greatest part of these Tribute Children, taken from their Christian Parents, and not brought up in the *Seraglio*, he caused to be dispersed into every City and Country of his Dominion in *Asia*, there for certain years to be brought up in all handiwork and painful labour, never tasting of ease or pleasure; out of which hard brood he cured to pains, he made choice of so many of the most lusty and able bodies fit for service, as he thought good; who kept in continual exercise, and by skillful men taught to handle all manner of Weapons, but especially the Bow, the Piece, and the Scimitar, were by him as occasion served added to the other *Janisaries*, and appointed for the guarding of his Person; calling them commonly by the names of his Sons. The remainder of these Tribute Children, as unfit for the Wars, he put unto other base Occupations and Ministries. But unto those Martial Men of all sorts, so by him ordained, he appointed a continual pay according to their degrees and places; and by great benefits and rewards he seduced upon them, bound them to fast unto him, as that he might now account himself to have of them many Sons, as he had Soldiers; For they together with the Christian Religion, having forgot their Parents and Country, and knowing no other Lord and Master but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained ever bound and faithful unto him; and so kept others also, as well the natural Turks themselves, as the other oppressed Christians within the bounds of Obedience and Loyalty. A great Policy proceeding from a deep Judgment, him to weaken the Christians by taking from their best Children, and of greatest hope; and then by them depending wholly of himself, to keep in awe and dutiful Obedience his natural Subjects also; having them always as a scourge ready to chastise the Rebels or Dilloyal. Now the other *Ottoman* Kings, keepers and Emperors, the Successors of *Amurath*, keeping this custom, and also increasing it one after another, have thereby not only kept the Empire still in their House and Family, where it was first gotten; but also so maintained the Majesty of their State, as they are of their Subjects feared, obeyed, honoured, not as Kings, but as Gods. For the natural Turks their Subjects loving courage continually, and daily growing more bold and dastardly, by reason they are not suffered to practise the knowledge of Arms; and the Soldiers in whose power all things are, knowing nothing of their own, but holding and acknowledging all that they have to be the best part of their Lords, account them as Lords and Kings of all, ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the ancient Kings of *Egypt*; who were absolute Lords and Masters, both of the publick and private Wealth of their Subjects, whom they kept under as Slaves and Villains. And hereof cometh it to pass, that the better part of them whom we call Turks, (but are indeed the Children of Christians, and seduced by their false instructors) desire to be called *Muhammadans* (that is to say, Right Believers) holding it a reproachful and dishonourable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly as above other People; For that they knowing right well, that there is not one natural Turk among all those that bear Authority and Rule, and are had in



greater Honour and Reputation than the rest (such as are the Men of War and Courtiers) but he is born a Christian, either of Father, or at the least of his Grandfather, avouch those only to be Turks which live in *Narsia*, all of them either Merchants, or of base and mechanical Crafts, or poor Labourers with the Spade and Pickaxe, and such like People unfit for the Wars, the rest (as I say) holding it for a Title of Honour to be defended of Christian Parents. Yea the Grand Seigneur himself, although by the Fathers side he be come of Progenitors such as were natural Turks born, yet many of them had Christian Mothers, which they accounted in the greatest part of their Nobility and Honour. Thus by the Wisdom of Amurath was the order of the *Janizaries*, and other Souldiers of the Court greatly advanced, though not by him begun, and the politick state of the Turks Kingdom (to say the truth) quite altered; the natural Turks (more than the Sultan himself) now bearing therein no sway; but only these new Souldiers, all of them descended from Christian Parents and by adoption as it were become the Sons of the Turkish

Sultans, and under them commanding all; by whom they have ever since managed their estate, and by their good service wonderfully, even to the astonishment of the World, increased and extended their Empire. But of them more shall be said hereafter.

This great King was whilst he lived, of his Subjects wonderfully beloved, and no less of them after his death lamented. He was more faithful of his word than any of the Turkish Kings either before or after him; by Nature melancholy and sad, and accounted rather politic than valiant, yet was indeed both; a great dissembler, and painful in travel, but wayward and testy above measure, which many imputed unto his great Age. He had issue six Sons, *Acmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Hefan*, (otherwise called *Chafan*) *Urchan*, and *Acmetes* the younger, of some called *Calepinus*; three of whom died before; but the two youngest were by their unnatural Brother *Mahomet*, who succeeded him in the Turkish Kingdom, even in their infancy, in the beginning of his Reign most cruelly murdered.

Amurath  
his dispo-  
sition.

The Sons  
of Amu-  
rath.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amu- rath the Second.	Emperors	Of the East	John Palaeologus.	1421. 24.
			Constantinus Palaeologus.	1444. 8.
		Of the West	Sigismund King of Hungary.	1411. 28.
			Albert the Second, King of Hun- gary and Bohemia.	1438. 2.
			Frederick the Third, Arch- Duke of Austria.	1440. 54.
	Of England		Henry the Fifth.	1413. 9.
			Henry the Sixth.	1422. 39.
	Of France		Charles the Sixth.	1381. 42.
			Charles the Seventh.	1423. 38.
	Of Scotland		James the First.	1424. 13.
			James the Second.	1436. 29.
Bishops of Rome			Martin the V.	1417. 13.
			Eugenius the IV.	1431. 16.
			Nicholas the V.	1447. 8.



*Qui vixit innumerosa populos, tot regna, tot urbes,  
Solus et immensi qui timor orbis erant:  
Me non quicunque rapit mors: improbas dum  
Intra excoha, ductus ad astra tamen.  
Niger, Albo under non me fuit, initial et non,  
Fudit, lucens tot licet ille Ducos.  
Vixit, nec non Danav, domique feroces  
Intra populo, Sauromatique truces.  
Pannonius, Sely, autum surgit in armis  
Vixit, quos latu cognita nuper erat.  
Arcadia concere manus has, sensit Arabosque:  
Et mea sunt Persae cognita tela ducl.  
Mene pueri bellare Rhodum, superare superbam  
Natum, sed non fata dedere molam.  
Hic mihi, nam rapit mors, aspera, quosque ab ito  
Dedere conditoris, certis et hora brevis.  
Sic hominum factus percussit, sic Hemata, sique  
Imperium, atque jurum, quicquid et Orbis habet.*

*I who to kingdoms, Cities, broughte their fate,  
The terror of the trembling world, of late,  
Yield to the greater Monarch Death, but am  
Yet proud to think of my immortal fame.  
Greater than Alexander, once was I,  
Or him that Camps of Romans did destroy:  
I vanquish't the victorious Greeks, and I  
Destruct'd Egyptus, and fierce Tartary.  
From mighty Me th' Hungarians had their doom,  
And the report reach'd of proud walls of Rome.  
Th' Egyptian, and Arabian felt my hand,  
Nor could the Persian my dread power withstand.  
Ore Rhodes, and Italy I design'd to ride,  
But fate the progress of my aims deny'd;  
At me, grim Death, and one unlucky hour,  
Has baffled all my thoughts, and boundless power.  
So haughty man, and all his hopes decay,  
And to all sublimity glories pass away.*

# The LIFE of MAHOMET,

The Second of that NAME,  
The Seventh KING and First EMPEROR of the TURKS,

For his many VICTORIES firnamed *The Great*.

THE report of the death of old *Amurat* the late King, was in short time blown through most part of Christendom, to the great joy of many; but especially of the Greeks and other poor Christians which bordered upon the Tyrants Kingdom; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkish King, to make exchange also of their bad Estate and Fortune; and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldest Son *Mahomet*, after the death of his Father, would have embraced the Christian Religion, being in his Childhood instructed therein (as was supposed) by his Mother the Daughter of the Prince of *Servia*, a Christian. But vain was this hope, and the joy thereof but short, as afterward by proof appeared; For *Mahomet* being about the Age of one and twenty years, succeeding his Father in the Kingdom in the year of our Lord 1450, embraced in stead the Mahometan Religion, abhorring the Christian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meer Atheist, devoid of all Religion, and worshipping no other God but good Fortune, derided the simplicity of all such as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions; which graceless resolution he wrought in him, that he thought all things lawful that agreed with his lust, and making conscience of nothing, kept no League, Promise, or Oath, longer than stood with his Profit or Pleasure.

1450.  
Mahomet  
of no  
Religion.

Now in the Court men stood diversely affected towards the present State; the mighty Baffles, and others of great Authority, unto whom the old Kings Government was never grievous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting lest the fierce Nature of the young King should turn to the hurt of some of them in particular, and the shortning of their Authority in general, as indeed it shortly after fell out. But the lusty Gallant of the Court weary of the old King, who in hope of preferment had long wished for the Government of the young Prince, were glad to see him set upon his Fathers Seat. And the vulgar People (never content but in unconformity, and always fawning upon the present) exceedingly rejoiced in their young King. The *Janizaries* also at the same time (according to their accustomed manner) took the Spoil of the Christians and Jews that dwelt amongst them, and easily obtained pardon for the same; whereupon he was by the same *Janizaries* and other Souldiers of the Court, with great Triumph saluted King.

Which approbation of these men of War, is unto the Turkish Kings a greater assurance for the possession of their Kingdom, than to be born the eldest Son of the King, as in the process of this History shall appear; for great is the power of these masterful Slaves, in promoting to the Kingdom, whichever of the Kings Sons they most favour, without much regard whether they be the eldest or not.

This young Tyrant was no sooner possessed of his Fathers Kingdom, but that he forgetting the Laws of Nature, was presently in person himself about to have murdered with his own hands, his youngest Brother, then but eighteen Months old, begotten on the Daughter of *Spondinier*. Which unnatural part, *Moses* one of his Baffles, and a man greatly in his favour, perceiving, requested him, not to embroil his own hands in the blood of his Brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to some other; which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the Author of that counsel forthwith to do. So *Moses* taking the Child from the Nurse, strangled it, with pouring water down the throat thereof. The young Lady understanding of the death of her Child (as a Woman whom Fury had made past fear) came and in her rage reviled the Tyrant to his Face, shamefully upbraiding him for his inhuman cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appease her Fury, requested her to be content, for that it stood with the Policy of his State; and would her for her better contentment, to ask whatever she pleased, and she should forthwith have it. But the desiring nothing more than in some sort to be revenged, desired to have *Moses* (the Executioner of her Son) delivered unto her, bound; which when she had obtained, the presently struck him into the Breast with a knife (crying in vain upon his unthankful Master for help) and proceeding in her cruel Execution, cut an hole in his right side, and by peaceable cut out his Liver, and cast it to the Dogs to eat. At the same time also he caused another of his Brethren, committed by his Father to the keeping of *Caly Basse*, and now by him betrayed into his hands, to be likewise murdered.

Mahomet  
murder'd  
his Bro-  
thers.

A cruel  
revange of  
an angry  
woman.

Thus beginning his tyrannous Reign with the bloody execution of them that were in Blood nearest unto him, and whom of all others he ought to have defended, he presently after began to frame a new form of a Common-Weal, by abrogating and altering the old Laws and Customs, and publishing of new, better fitting his own humor, and more commodious for himself; imposing

Mahomet  
reforms  
the Turkish  
Common-  
weal.

imposing also new Taxes and Subsidies upon his Subjects, never before heard of; thereby to increase his Treasures, and satisfy his various desires; which amongst many other his Vices, so much reigned in him, as that he was thought over-rating upon himself, as well in his Apparel as in his Diet. And proceeding further, he called unto that account all the great Officers of his Kingdom; of whom some he put to death, and confiscated the Goods of others; he put the great Fines, or quite removed them from their Offices. In like manner he dealt also with his great Baffles, admitting many false and furnished accusations against them; whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercy was to be looked for. By which means he became no less terrible unto his Subjects, than he was afterwards to his Enemies; and so was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much milked in his Court the excessive number of Faulconers and Huntsmen; which was grown to great by the immoderate delight which his Predecessors took in the pleasures of the Field, that there were continually maintained the Kings Charge, seven thousand Faulconers, and not many fewer Huntsmen; saying, *That he would not be so much a Fool, as to maintain such a multitude of men to attend upon so mean a vanity.* And therefore took order, that from thenceforth there should be allowance made for five thousand and one hundred Huntsmen; the rest he appointed to serve as Souldiers in his Wars. At the same time which he entered into League with *Constantin Paleologus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and the other Princes of *Greece*; as also with the Despot of *Servia*, his Grandfather by the Mothers side, as also with the King of *Bulgaria*, who was the Father of the Despot's Daughter, *Amurat* his Wife, was but his Mother-in-Law, whom he under the colour of Friendship sent back again unto her Father, after the death of *Amurat*, till allowing her a Princely Dowry. But if she were not his Mother (as like enough it is that he was not) much more happy was it that the never groaned for to graceless a Son.

1451. *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his civil Affairs, *Ibrahim* King of *Caramania*, who long before had married *Amurat*'s Sister, and yet for all that, had (as his Ancestors had before him) always envied the prosperous success of the Ottoman Kings, took occasion in the first year of *Mahomet*'s Reign, with Fire and Sword to invade his Dominions in *Asia*. Which thing when *Mahomet* understood, he displaced *Isa* his Lieutenant in *Asia*, as a man not sufficient to manage to great Wars, and appointed *Ismail* *Balla* in his room, a most valiant man of War, on whom not long before he had upon special favour bestowed in marriage the fair Daughter of *Spondar*, one of his Fathers Wives, of whom we have spoken before. This great *Balla* passing over unto *Asia*, raised a great Army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in person himself with a greater out of *Europe*; and having all his Forces together, entered with great Hostility into *Caramania*. But the *Caramanian* King perceiving himself unable to withstand so puissant an Enemy, fled into the strength of the great Mountains, and by his Embassadors offered unto *Alibeg* such reasonable Conditions of Peace, as that he was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by solemn Oath on both parts confirmed, *Alibeg* returned with his Army to *Prusa*; but when he was come thither, the *Jannizaries* presuming that they might be bold with the young King; putting themselves in order of

Battel, came and with great insolency demanded of him a donative or largess, as a reward of their good service done. With which so great presumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed; but for so much as they were his best Souldiers, and already in Arms, he wisely dissembled his anger for the present, having a little before had warning thereof by *Ashin* *Balla*, and *Turkhan* *Beg*, two of his great Captains, who had got some officers of the matter; wherefore to content them, he caused ten great Bags of Aspers to be scattered among them, and so pacified the matter. But within few days after, he caused *Dogan* (the Aga or chief Captain of the *Jannizaries*) to be brought before him, and to be shamefully whipt; and so profoundly discharging him of his office, placed one *Moslim* in the lane. The like severity he used against the rest of the under-Captains, causing them to be cruelly scourged and beaten like Slaves; which in that tyrannical Government is an usual punishment, upon the least displeasure of the King to be inflicted upon any man, without respect of degree or calling, if he be not a Natural Turk born. Presently after he sent *Isa* his Lieutenant against *Elia* Prince of *Manissa* or *Garia*, by whom the poor Prince was driven out of his Country; ever since which time it hath remained in subjection to the Turkish Kings, as part of their Kingdom and Empire.

1452. When this was thus ended the *Caramanian* War, and was determined with his Army to return to *Hadrinople*, he was advertised, That the Straits of *Hellefponus* were so strongly possessed by the Christian Fleet, that he could not there possibly pass over but with most manifest danger; wherefore he took his way through that part of *Bulgaria*, which lieth about the *Strait of Bosporus*, and came to the Castle which the Turks call *Acce-Chisar*, and the Grecians *Ακρωκισπος*, or *White Castle*, standing upon the narrow Strait of *Bosporus* on *Asia* side, and there passed over into *Europe* at the same place where his Father *Amurat* had not many years before in like manner found passage. Where when he was fairly got over with his Army, he by the advice of his Baffles encamped fast by the Sea-side, and there presently began to build a great strong Castle close unto the Straits of *Bosporus*, near unto *Preopontis*, on *Europe* side, directly over against the other Castle, which way thence, he freely accomplished of which work, he assembled thither all the workmen he could possibly get out of *Europe* and *Asia*, apportioning unto his Captains and Souldiers of his Army part of the work also; by whose industry and labour, that great building was in shorter time brought to perfection, than by any man at the first expected. This Castle which for the greatness thereof is of most Writers reputed for a City, was by the Turks named *Gemickisar*, and of the Grecians *Neocastron* or *New Castle*, and also *Lamecastron*, or *Castle upon the Straits*; and was there by the Turks built, as well for the safety of their own passage too and fro, as for to hinder the passage of the Christians through those narrow Straits, they now possessing the strong Forts on both sides; and thereby also to distress the City of *Constantinople*, from whence this Castle was not above five miles distant. When *Mahomet* in the second year of his Reign had finished this great Castle, with four other small Forts about the same, and also repaired the other Castle in *Asia* over against it, he placed therein strong Garrisons, and furnished the same with Artillery; in such fort that no Ship could pass through the Strait of *Bosporus*, into the *Exius*,

Menesia  
induced by  
the Turks.

1452.

*Mahomet*  
marked  
preparation  
for the  
beginning  
of *Constantinople*.

*Constantinople*  
the  
Emperor  
in vain  
craved  
aid of  
the  
Christian  
Princes.

*Exius*, or Black Sea, but she was in danger to be sunk; whereby the rich trade which the Marchants of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Constantinople*, had to *Caffa*, and other places lying upon the *Exius*, were almost quite cut off, to the great hindrance of those Estates. Now *Mahomet* by Nature ambitious, and wishful desirous to do some such thing as the glory whereof might far pass the Fame of his Predecessors, thought nothing more answerable to his high concepts, and to attempt the winning of *Constantinople*, and the utter subversion of the Greek Empire, whereupon his Father *Amurat*, and his great Grandfather *Bejaset*, had before in vain spent their Forces. Besides that, it grieved him to see that goodly City, the ancient Seat of the Christian Empire, to be so commodiously situated, as it was in the midst of his Kingdom, and not to be at his Command. Hereunto the small power of the Greek Emperor himself, and the other Christian Princes at the same time at mortal discord among themselves, minished unto his greedy desire no small hope of success, and served as Spurs to prick him forward unto so great an enterprise. Whereof all the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping and other warlike provision both for Sea and Land; and gave out Commissions for the levying of a mighty Army, to be readines against the next Spring. But whether he would employ them thus, no man could tell; for he gave out nothing of the thing and none another, the manner of men, when such extraordinary preparation is at hand. *Constantinople* the eighth of that name, then Emperor of *Constantinople*, a Prince of a mild and soft Spirit, fitter for the Church than for the Field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish King, and the fears left that except then growing, should upon the sudden break forth upon himself, first made such preparation as his own small ability would extend unto. And then sent his Embassadors unto other Christian Princes, earnestly craving their Aid and Assistance in his dangerous Estate. But that labour was lost, and all his fruit vain; for they being at variance one with another, and having more care of private revenge, than how to repulse the common Enemy of Christianity, could not, or would not afford him any help at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that Name, then Bishop of *Rome*, with *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, and the Senate of *Venice*, promised to have sent him thirty Gallies, but none for all that came.

There were by chance at *Constantinople* certain Ships and Gallies of *Venice*, *Genoa*; *Crete* and *Cbio*, of whom the Emperor made stay; and at which time also it chanced, that *Tobias* *Vysinarius*, an Adventurer of *Genoa*, who had been scouring those Seas, came to *Constantinople* with two tall Ships, and four hundred Souldiers; where he was entertained by the Emperor. And forasmuch as he was a man honourably defended, and supposed to be both of great Courage and Direction, was by the Emperor appointed General of all his Forces next unto himself. He also entertained six thousand Greeks; which, with three thousand *Venezians*, *Genovais* and others, whom he had made stay of, joined unto the Citizens, was all the weak Strength he had to rely upon, for the defence of his State and Empire.

1453.  
Vizier  
onward  
Christians  
Archbishop  
pilcopi

Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish King had in readiness a great and puissant Army of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Roscia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and

*Greece*, which as yet were called the Christian Countries, and were themselves either indeed Christians, or else such Renegades as had not long before forsaken the Christian Faith; unto these also were joined divers other Christians which came out of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, to serve the Turk in his Wars. This had been none of the least means, whereby the Turkish Kings have grown to great, and their Kingdom to mightily enlarged; and by this means, allowing Christians to fight against Christians, to the utter confusion of themselves. Among the great multitude of the European Christians, were mingled his effeminate Souldiers of *Asia*, and his natural Turks and *Jannizaries*, which were in number fewest, and yet commanded all the rest.

With this great Army well appointed with all warlike provision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish King from *Hadrinople*; and the ninth day of April, in the year 1453, encamped before *Constantinople*, and with the multitude of his Army filled all the main Land before the City, from the Sea side of *Bosporus*, unto the place where the main Sea compassing in the City on two parts, and running far unto the Land betwixt *Constantinople* and *Pera*, maketh there a goodly Haven betwixt them.

This City of *Constantinople* (called in ancient time *Bizantium*) is in form of a Triangle, situated in *Europe* in the pleasant Country of *Thracia*, upon the south side of the main Land, betwixt the *Strait of Asia*, called of *Pliny* and *Strabo*, the Promontory *Chryseiras*; where the Sea of *Propontis* joyneth unto that Strait of Sea, which divideth *Asia* from *Europe*, called in ancient time *Bosphorus Thracicus*; sometime the Strait of *Pontus*; and the mouth of *Pontus*; and of the modern Writers, the Strait of *Constantinople*; and about two hundred years past, or more, *S. George* his Army. This point of the main, whereon the City standeth, lieth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient City of *Calcedon*, on the other side of the Strait in *Asia*; more than thirty miles distant from the *Exius* or Black Sea, lying from it Northward; and two hundred miles from the Strait of *Hellefponus* or *Calpitolis*, from thence South. Which noble City (of all others most fitly fated for the Empire of the World, and with great Majesty overlooking both *Europe* and *Asia*) is by the Cosmographers accounted to be in the height of 42 Degrees, upon seven little Hills, of no great, but easy ascent; and was there first built by *Pausanias* the Lacedaemonian King, and called *Bizantium*; and so many years flourished as a populous and rich City, until the civil Wars betwixt *Severus* the Emperor, and *Niger*; what time he induced the *Romans* under the redoubted *Severus*, three years, with such obstinacy, that it yielded not until it was brought to such extremity, that the Citizens did eat one another; and then yielding, had the Walls overthrowen by *Severus*, and the City it self destroyed, and brought to the low estate of a poor Country Village, and so by him given to the *Parthians*. In which base estate it continued until the year of *Constantine* the Great, the Son of *Helen* (whom some will needs have to have been an English Woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with Buildings so stately and sumptuous, that unto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for Heavens Wights, rather than for Earthly Men. And to grace it the more, translated his Imperial Seat thither, and called it *New Rome*, or *New Rome*; and all that pleasant part of *Thracia* along the Sea Coast of *Hellefponus*, *Preopontis*, and *Bosporus*, by the name

*Mitylene*  
de  
captivity  
of *Constantinople*  
the  
Emperor.

*Mahomet*  
encamped  
before  
*Constantinople*.

The  
size  
of  
this  
City.

*Constantinople*  
built by  
*Pausanias*  
the  
Lacedaemonian  
King,  
and  
was  
ruined by  
*Mahomet*  
the  
Turk.

of Romania, of the fair Roman Colonies there by him planned; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks, called *Rumelia* and *Rum-ili*, that is to say, the Roman Country. But as for the City it self, the glorious name of the Founder prevailed, that the City was and yet is of him called *Constantinople*, or *Constantine* his City; and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, *Stamboli*. It is (as we said) built in the form of a Triangle, whereof the longest side, which runneth from North-East to South-West, is on the South-side washed with the Propontia; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the seven Towers, is somewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lieth East and West five miles in length, being washed with the Haven, which is somewhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad; on the further side whereof standeth the City of Pera, commonly called *Galata*, sometime a Colony of the *Genoese*. This Haven is very deep, and by that reason as commodious as deep, bearing Ships full fraught, close to the Shore, so that they may discharge their Burthens with the least trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantii*, or the Horn of *Bizantium*. The third side of this City towards the Continent, lieth almost North and South five miles also in length, those two sides that lie upon the Sea, and the Haven, are environed and girt with a single Wall, built after the antique manner, with many high Towers, which strongly defend and flank the same. Without which Walls (especially towards the Haven) there lieth a Street between them and the Shore. But the other side, which is the third, that is to say, the main Land (besides the Ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three Walls; the first Wall standing upon the Ditch being low and the second not far distant from the first, raised somewhat higher; but the third overlooketh and commandeth both the others from whence as from an high fortress both the other Walls and all the Ditch without may easily be defended. But the two inner Walls, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of Earth and other Rubbish, even as they were in the time of the *Grecians*; some cause why with less heart and courage defended the same against the barbarous Enemies. In the East part of the City, on that point which in the Reign of the *Grecians* was called the Cape of *S. Demetria*, distant from *Asia* not much more than half a mile, stands the *Seraglio* or Palace of the great Turk, containing in it self a great part of an Hill, enclosed round with a Wall, as it were it self a City, in circuit more than two miles; wherein amongst other stately Buildings, near unto the Sea standeth a very fair and sumptuous Gallery, built for pleasure, with a private Gate well fortified and planted with great Ordnance and other Munition, whereby the great Turk at certain times passeth, when he is dispensed in his Gally to take his pleasure upon the Sea, or to pass over the Strait unto his Houses or Gardens of Delight, on the other side of *Asia*. In this great City are also many other most stately and sumptuous Buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became Lords thereof, as before by the Greek Emperors; amongst which the Temple of *S. Sophia* standing on the East side of the City, not far from the *Seraglio* (now reduced unto the form of a Mahometan Mosque, and whither the great Turk goeth oftentimes to hear Service,

being indeed but the Sanctuary or Chancel only of the great, stately, and wonderful Church built by *Justinian* the Emperor) is most beautiful and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in *Rome*, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top, as that is; the Walls thereof being of the finest Marble, and the Floor all paved with fair Marble also. In the midst there is a very great and large Circle, compassed with twelve Pillars of most excellent Marble of divers sorts; and these support a mighty Vault that beareth up as many more Pillars above, standing after the very same order, and in a down right line, almost of the like greatness and goodness of the Marble with the otherbelow; upon which above the second Vault in manner of a Loovar, resteth the great round Roof which covereth all that space of the Church which is compassed with the aforesaid Pillars; being all enameled and filled with the Pictures of Saints, after the antique manner of some great Churches in Christendom; but that the Turks, who like not to have any Pictures in their Churches, have put out their Eyes only, as loath to spoil such a rare piece of work, and utterly to deface it. In like manner the Walls of the upper Vault are wrought, painted, or portrayed after the same order, though in some part decayed, by reason of their long continuance and standing. About the Church are environed or twined two Doores of Brass, right fair and costly, well declaring the magnificence and greatness thereof in more ancient times; when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred Doores of like making and greatness; and besides the hugeness of the Frame and Building it self, had also divers fair Monasteries and Houses of Religion, whereof the most famous belonged fix thousand Priests, whose Houses and Lodgings extended almost all over the place where now the Turks Palace standeth, and the other places adjoining to this great Church, which is now their chief Mosque, and called by them by the proper name of *S. Sophia*, because they hold even as we do, the Wisdom of God to be incomprehensible and infinite. The next in magnificence unto this, is the Mosque of *Sulymann*, wherein he lieth buried, and his well beloved Wife the fair *Roxelana*; a work well becoming the Majesty of so mighty a Monarch. There are besides these almost many other fair Mosques, Seraglios for the Turk his Wives and Concubines, Bezatanes or Burges for Merchants, Obelisks, Bathes, and other publick Edifices and Buildings of great Majesty and State, all well worth the beholding; wherein consisteth all the Beauty of this so ancient and renowned a City; far unlike to that it was in the time of the first Greek Emperors, and before it was spoiled by the Latines. For the Turks private Houses in this so great and imperial City, so much renowned through the World, are for the most part low and base, after the Turkish fashion, built some of Wood, some of Stone, and some of unburnt Brick, laid with Clay and Dirt, which quickly decayeth again; they after their homely manner (by long custom received) never building any thing sumptuously for their own private use, but contenting themselves with their simple Cottages, how mean soever, commonly saying them to be good enough for the short time of their Pilgrimage; and yet not sparing for any costly and stately Buildings and Ornaments of the Common-Weal, which they build with great Majesty and Pomp; but especially their Mosques, wherein they excel. Nevertheless, there yet are in *Constantinople* some other

The magnificent Temple of S. Sophia.

The Turkish Walls.

other Houses also built high and comely enough; but these few, and very old, all inhabited by the Christians and Jews, and not by the Turks; by this of these enough. And so again to our purpose.

Mahomet with his puissant Army thus encamped before the City, placing his *Asian* Soldiers on the right hand towards the *Bosphorus*; his *European* Soldiers on the left hand, toward the Haven; lay himself with 15000 Janizaries and other Soldiers of great Courage in the middle between both, against the heart of the City. On the farther side of the Haven also by *Pera*, he placed *Zaganus*, one of his chief Counsellors, with another part of his Army. At which time also a *Pantoloe* his Admiral came to the Siege, with a Fleet of 30 Gallies, and 200 other small Ships, and a number of other lesser Vessels, which were rowed with three, or five Oars apiece, full of Turkish Archers, fitter for less than Service. But for defence of the Haven, and so of the City on that side, the Emperor had caused the Haven to be strongly chained overwart from the City to *Pera*; and within the Chain had orderly placed his strong Fleet, the greatest strength whereof was fifteen great Ships of *Genoa*, with three Gallies, and two Gallies of *Venice*, three of *Creta*, and a few others of the Island of *Chios*; all which were there, rather by chance upon Merchants affairs, than that they were provided for any such service; yet by this means the Turks Fleet was shut out of the Haven, and so the City put in good safety on that side.

When Mahomet had thus conveniently encamped his Army, and surrounded the City both by Sea and Land; he first cast up great Trenches as near as he possibly could unto the Walls of the City, and raised Mounts in divers places as high as the Walls themselves, from whence the Turks with their Shot greatly annoyed the Defendants. After that, he placed his Battery against one of the Gates of the City called *Calcaria*, and terribly battered the same, specially with one piece of Ordnance of a wonderful greatness, which with much difficulty was brought from *Medinople* with an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, and carried a Bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other shot was) of a kind of hard Black Stone brought from the *Euxin Sea*; for as yet (as it seemeth) so soon after the invention of that fatal Engine, the use of Bullets of metal was unknown. There with continual Battery, he terribly shook the Walls, which although they were very strong, yet were they not able to withstand the fury of so great a Battery. The Christians also out of the City discharged their great Artillery upon the Turks, but so sparingly, as if they had been afraid to shake their own Walls, or loth for good Husbandry, to spend Shot and Powder, which was to the Canons there was so well bestowed, that the Turks were thereby grievously annoyed. The Breach also which they had made at the aforesaid Gate, was by the Defendants with great and dangerous labour again repaired with Faggots and Earth, and such like matter left faring for that purpose, and so made stronger than before. In which most dangerous work, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Justinian* the Governor, the Emperors Lieutenant-General for defence of the City.

Yet for all this diligence of the Christians, Mahomet continued his Battery with no less fury than before; but reposing greater hope to find a way into the City, by the Spade and Mattock, than by Battery; he employed his Pioneers,

whereof he had great force, to dig a Mine; being altogether directed by Christians skilful in that kind of work, whom he had for that purpose entertained. By whose cunning direction, with the industrious labour of the poor Pioneers, the Mine was brought to such perfection, that part of the Wall, with one of strong Towers in the same, was quite undermined, and at length fell down; but with such untimely falls as the Pioneers had left for the bearing up thereof till such time as it should be by the Tyrants appointment blown up. This dangerous work was neither perceived, neither yet feared by the *Constantinopolitans*, as a thing not possible to have been done; forasmuch as *Bajazet* and *Ananath* had both with great labour before in vain attempted the same, at such time as they hardly besieged the City. But that which those great Kings had with much vain labour by unskilful men made proof of, Mahomet had now by men of greater device, brought to pass; although it took not such effect as was wished; for one *Jo. Grandis*, a German Captain, and a man of great experience, suspecting the matter, had caused a Countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time discovered; and they with Fire and Sword driven out of the Mine, and the same strongly filled up again, and so the City for that time delivered of a great fear and danger. Mahomet perceiving that it availed him not to continue his Battery against that place, which was again so strongly repaired, removed the same, and planted it against a Tower called *Basilatima*, near unto the Gate called *Porta Romanorum*, the *Roman Gate*. Which Tower was then with continual Battery, at length fell down, and filled the Ditch before the utter Wall, even with the ground. But this Breach was also speedily and with great courage made up again by the Defendants, although the Turks did what they could, with continual shot, to have driven them from the same. At which time they also erected certain high Towers of Timber, covered with raw Hides to defend the same from fire, out of which they with their Shot flew many of the Christians upon the Walls, and in making good the aforesaid Breach; but Mahomet seeing this valiancy of the Defendants, openly said, That it was neither the *Grecians* skill nor courage; but the Frenchmen that defended the City; for the Turks commonly call all the Christians of the West by the Name of *Franks* or *French-men*.

The cheerfulness and industry of the Christians in defending and repairing the aforesaid Breach, was so great, that the Turkish King began almost to despair of winning the City; which he could no way Assault but on one side. When as a bad Christian in his Camp, put him again in good hope, by shewing unto him a device how to bring a great part of his Fleet over Land into the Haven, and thereby to Assault that part of the City by water; which the Citizens least feared; by which ingenious device, and by the great strength of men, *Zaganus Bassa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought twenty of the lesser Ships and Gallies, with all their Sails abroad (to the great admiration of all that saw them) up a great Hill, and so by dry land, out of the *Bosphorus* behind *Pera*, the space of eight miles, into the Haven of *Constantinople*, which running in between the City and *Pera*, runneth into the main Land, (as we have said) about eight miles. The Christian that discovered this device unto the King, is supposed to have learned it of the *Venetians*, who not long before had done the like at the Lake of *Bonanus*. Glad was Mahomet to see so many of his Ships and Gallies

in

in the Haven, and the Christians with the fight thereof not discouraged. Nevertheless they attempted to have burnt those Vessels as they were in launching, but the Turks had so commodiously placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the tumult of the Gallies of the Christians, approaching the Turks Fleet, was presently funk; wherewith the rest dismayed, returned back from whence they came. Certain of the Gallies of the Christians, whom the Turks took up swimming in the Haven, were the next day cruelly slain in the fight of the Christians; in revenge whereof, certain Turks before taken Prisoners into *Constantinople*, were forthwith brought to the top of the Walls, and there in the sight of the Camp with like cruelty put to death.

*A wonderful bridge made by the Turks over the Walls of Constantinople.*

Mahomet thus possessed of the Haven, shortly after caused a wonderful Bridge to be made quick over the Haven, from *Zaganus* his Camp which lay by *Pera* unto the Walls of *Constantinople*, which Bridge was built with Timber and Planks, born up with small Boats and empty Cask, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than half a mile; by which Bridge his Army came over the Haven, to assault the City on that side also.

*A stable fight between the Christians and the Turks.*

In the mean time, three tall *Gemoway* Ships laden with Men and Munition from the Island of *Chios*, with one of the Emperors laden with Corn from *Sicilia*, came with a fair Wind to the Walls of *Constantinople*. The Turks great Fleet then lying not far off, within the sight of the Camp, let upon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were slain with Shot, the Gallies boarded the Ships; but being much lower, were far from doing any good, as that the Turks could not well look out, but as they were from above slain or wounded. *Mahomet* from the shore beholding the unequal fight, and slaughter of his Men, cried out aloud, swearing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the Sea as far as he durst; and coming back again rent his Clothes, faring with himself like a mad man. The whole Army of the Turks beholding the same fight at Sea, was filled with like Indignation also, but could not rightly remedy the matter. The great Fleet ashamed in the fight of their King to be overcome of so few Ships, did what they might desperately to enter; but all in vain, being continually overwhelmed with Shot and Stones from above, and valiantly beaten down by the Christian Soldiers. At length weary of their loss, they were glad with dishonour to fall off again, and to get them further off. The report of the loss the Turks sustained in this fight, is almost incredible; some of the Turks Fugitives reported, almost ten thousand Turks to have there perished; but certain it is, that such was the loss, as filled the whole Army with Indignation and Sorrow, many having lost their Kinsmen or Friends. Three of these Ships that had made this fight, arrived in safety at *Constantinople*, the other was lost. *Mahomet* upon this Overthrow conceived such displeasure against *Panagolis* his Admiral, who in that fight had lost one of his Eyes, that he nevertheless thrust him out of his Office, confiscated his Goods, and was hardly by the great Baffles intreated to spare his life.

Whilst *Mahomet* thus lay at the Siege of *Constantinople*, and had thenceunto given many great Attempts, with more loss unto himself than to the Defendants, a rumor was raised in his Camp, of great Aid that was coming out of *Italy* by Sea, and out of *Hungary* by Land, for the relief of the besieged. This report (although indeed

it was not true) with the due consideration of the danger of the Siege, filled the Turks Camp with fear; so that the Soldiers commonly murmured amongst themselves, saying, That to falsifie the ambitious humour of their young Kings, they were led to fight against impregnable Walls and Fortresses, yea against the Bars of Nature it self, without all reason: Whereupon *Mahomet* entered into Consultation with the three great Baffles his Counsellors. Whether it were best for him to continue the Siege or not. When *Caly-Bassa*, sometime his Tutor, a man of great Authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall secretly favouring the distressed Emperor, after he had with long and grave Discourse declared the difficulty or rather impossibility of the wished Success in that present War; and confirmed the same, by producing the examples of *Bajazet* his great Grandfather, and of *Amurath* his Father, who had both in vain made proof of their strength against that City; at length concluded, that in his mind it were best for him to raise his Siege, and to depart before he had sustained any further loss or disgrace; but *Zaganus*, a man of great favour also with *Mahomet*, and secretly envying the Greatness of *Caly-Bassa*, perfwaded the King to proceed in his honourable Enterprise; assuring him of the good Success thereof, and with all the reasons he could devise, impugned that which *Caly-Bassa* had said. And of the same opinion with him was also the third Baffa, rather of purpose to cross *Caly-Bassa*, and withall to tie the Kings humor, than for any great hope he had in the good Success of that he so much desired. Howbeit the Speech he and *Zaganus* delivered, to well agreed with the Kings affection, that he resolved to continue the Siege; and thereupon gave full Authority to *Zaganus* to appoint a day for a great and general Assault to be given, resolving at once to engage all his Forces upon the winning of the City. Which charge *Zaganus* gladly took upon him, and with his good liking, appointed the 29th day of May for the general Assault, being then the Tuesday next following. In the mean time he sent one *Imad*, the Son of *Alexander* Prince of *Simp*, Ambassador unto the Emperor, to offer him Peace; but upon such hard Conditions, as were no less to be refused than death it self. Which thing he did, partly to falsifie the minds of his Turks (who are for most part of opinion, That God will not prosper them in their Assaults, except they first make unto their Enemies some offer of Peace, how unreasonable soever it forthwith) and partly to make proof what confidence the Enemy yet had in himself, for the holding out of the Siege. But that dishonourable Peace so offered, together with the intolerable Conditions, was by the Emperor honourably refused; who no less feared the Turks Faith (if he should have accepted thereof) than he did the hardness of the Conditions. Three days before this fatal Assault was to be given, the Turks (according to their manner) kept their Solemn Fast, eating nothing all the day until night; and then making the greatest cheer and joy they could devise, if they in the winding up of the fame, took their leave one of another, with such kissing and embracing as if they should never have met again. At the same time *Mahomet* to encourage his Soldiers, caused Proclamation to be made through his Camp, That he would freely give all the Spoil of the City for three days unto his Soldiers, who should win it; and for confirmation thereof, solemnly swore the Turks great Oath, by the Immortal God, and by the four hundred Prophets, by

by *Mahomet*, by his Fathers Soul, by his own Children, and by the Sword wherewith he was girt, faithfully to perform whatsoever he had to them in his Proclamation promised.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Caly-Bassa* disclaiming that his counsel was rejected, and the Opinion of his Adversaries followed; by secret Letters advertised the Emperor of the day appointed for the general Assault, together with all the preparation made against him; perfwading him not to be afraid of them, who were themselves no less afraid of him; but carefully to provide to have all things in readinesse of his part, and to his City, and valiantly to withstand the rash and last Attempt of his Enemies.

*The Citizens of Constantinople without cause murmur against the Emperor.*

This woful Emperor had already done what he could to the uttermost of his Power for defence of the City, all the time of the Siege; but such was the disloyalty of the Citizens his Subjects, that many times they could hardly be drawn from their private Trades and Occupations, unto the Walls to withstand the Enemy; foolishly affirming, That it was to no purpose for them to fight against the Turks at the Breaches, and to tharve for Food at home in their houses. For which cause, the Emperor commanded a View to be taken of all the Corn in the City (which then began to grow very scarce;) but upon diligent search made, such store was found in many Mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to sell afterwards at unreasonable prizes, or else so sparingly uttered, as if they had none to spare at all; it appeared, the dearth and scarcity which then began to increase, to proceed rather of the covetousness of men, than of any true want of Grain; this store the Emperor caused to be proportionably divided unto every Family at reasonable prizes, according to their spending; and so eased the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for Bread. The Grecian mercenary Soldiers also, regarding more their own private Profit than the Publick Service, refused any longer to go to the Walls, than they were sure of their daily pay; which the poor Emperor, otherwise unable to give them, was glad to convert the Church-Plates, and Jewels into Money to content them. For he had many times before with tears, in vain requested to have borrowed money of his covetous Subjects, to have been employed in the defence of the City; but they would still swear, that they had it not, as men grown poor for want of Trade; which in few days after, their Enemies found in such abundance, that they wondered at their Wealth, and derided their folly, that possessing so much, they would be so poor to little in defence of themselves and their Country. But this had been their usual manner of dealing with their Emperors, in that declining State of the Empire; as well appeared in the time of the Emperor *Bajazum*, who for lack of money was glad first to sell away many of the goodly Ornaments of the City, and afterwards to Pawn his own Son unto the Venetian Merchants, for Money to maintain his State, as in the former part of this History is declared.

But to return again to the course of our History. The Emperor certainly advertised of the Enemies purpose, for the general Assault, shortly to be given, first commended the defence of himself and the City to the Protection of the Almighty, by general fasting and prayer; and afterwards appointed every Captain and Commander, to fortify certain place of the Wall, for defence thereof; which was done by the direction of *Ta. Jusfinianus* his General, in whose valour the *Constantinopolitans* had reposed their greatest hope.

But the City being on every side now beset with the Turks great Army, and the Defendants in number but few, for so great a City (in compass eight miles) the Walls could but slenderly in many places be manned; and especially on both sides toward the Sea, where indeed least danger was. The greatest strength and best Soldiers, were placed for defence of the utter Wall, where the Breach was, and the Assault expected by Land. *Jusfinianus* the General himself, with three hundred *Gemoways* well armed, and certain chosen Greeks undertook the defence of that part of the battlement, near unto the Roman Gate, where the fall the Tower *Baburina* had filled the Ditch as is aforesaid; against which place *Mahomet* himself lay encamped, with his Janizaries and best Men of War. Near unto *Jusfinianus* lay the Emperor himself, for defence of another part of the Wall; and so other Captains orderly with their Companies, all along the utter Walls, and because the Defendants should have no hope to save their Lives, more than their own Valour, the Emperor caused all the Gates of the inner Wall to be fast shut up; and in this sort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the Assault should be given; all which time they might hear great lury burly and noise in the Turks Camp, as they were putting things in readinesse for the Assault.

*Constantinople assaulted by the Turks.*

A little before day, the Turks approached the Walls, and begun the Assault, where Shot and Stones were delivered upon them from the Walls, as thick as hail; wherof little fell in vain, by reason of the multitude of the Turks, who pressing fast unto the Walls, could not see in the dark how to defend themselves, but were without number wounded or slain; but these were of the common and worst Soldiers, of whom the Turkish King made no more reckoning than to abate the first force of the Defendants. Upon the first appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gave the sign appointed for the general Assault, whereupon the City was in a moment and at one instant on every side most furiously assaulted by the Turks; for *Mahomet*, the more to distress the Defendants, and the better to see the forwardness of the Soldiers, had before appointed which part of the City every Colonel with his Regiment should assault. Which they valiantly performed, delivering their Arrows and Shot upon the Defendants, so thick, that the light of the day was therewith darkened; other in the mean time courageously mounting the Scaling-Ladders, and coming even to hand-strokes with the Defendants upon the Wall; where the former were for most part violently born forward by them which followed after. On the other side, the Christians with no less courage withstood the Turkish fury, beating them down again with great Stones and weighty pieces of Timber, and so overwhelmed them with Shot, Darts, and Arrows, and other hurtful devices from above; that the Turks dismayed with the terror thereof, were ready to retire.

*Mahomet seeing the great slaughter and discomforture of his Men, sent in fresh Supplies of his Janizaries and best Men of War, whom he had for that purpose reserved as his last Hope and Refuge; by whose coming on his fainting Soldiers were again encouraged, and the terrible Assault begun afresh. At which time the barbarous King ceased not to use all possible means to maintain the Assault; by Name calling upon this and that Captain, promising unto some whom he saw forward, golden Mountains; and unto others in whom he saw any sign of Cowardice, threatening most terrible death; by which*

means the Affair became most dreadful, death there raging in the midst of many thousands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by heaps upon the ground, yet other fresh men pressed on still in their places, over their dead bodies, and with divers event either flew, or were slain by their Enemies.

In this so terrible a Conflict, it chanced *Tufinians* the General to be wounded in the Arm, who losing much blood, cowardly withdrew himself from the place of his Charge, not leaving any to supply his room, and to go into the City by the Gate called *Romana*, which he had caused to be opened in the inner Wall; pretending the cause of his departure to be for the binding up of his Wound, but being indeed a man now altogether discouraged.

The Soldiers there present, dismayed with the departure of their General, and fore charged by the Janizaries, forsook their Stations, and in half fled to the same Gate with *Tufinians* was concerted with the fight, whereas the other Soldiers dismayed, ran thither by heaps also. But whilst they violently thrived, all together to get in at once, they to wedged one another in the entrance of the Gate, that few of great multitude got in; in which to great a press and confusion of minds, so persons were by them that followed trodden under foot, or thrust to death. The Emperor himself, for safeguard of his life flying with the rest, in that press as a man not regarded, miserably ended his days, together with the Greek Empire. His dead body was shortly after found by the Turks among the slain, and known by his rich Apparel, whose Head being cut off, was forthwith presented to the Turkish Tyrant; by whose Commandment it was afterward thrust upon the point of a Lance, and in great derision carried about as a Trophy of his Victory, first in the Camp, and afterwards up and down the City.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Christians, presently advanced their Engines upon the top of the uttermost Wall, crying Victory; and by the Breach entered as if it had been a great Flood, which having once found a Breach in the Bank, overflowed, and beareth down all before it, to the Turks when they had won the inner Wall, entered the City by the same Gate that was opened by *Tufinians*, and by a Breach which they had before made with their great Artillery, and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further resistance became Lords of that most famous and Imperial City. Some few there were of the Christians, who professing death before the Turkish slavery, with their Swords in their hands fold their lives dear to their Enemies; amongst whom, the two Brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus* *Bochards* Italians, with *Theophilus* *Paleologus* a Greek, and *Joannes* *Stavrus* a *Dalmatian*, for their great valour and courage, deserve to be had in eternal Remembrance; who after they had killed many made slaughter of their Enemies, died in the midst of them, embued with their blood, rather oppressed by multitude, than by true valour overcome. In this fury of the Barbarians, perished many thousands of Men, Women, and Children, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition. Many for safeguard of their lives fled into the Temple of *Sepia*; where they were all without pity slain, except some few reserved by the barbarous Victors, to purposes more grievous than death it self. The rich and beautiful Ornaments and Jewels of that most sumptuous and magnificent Church (the stately Building of *Tufinians* the Emperor) were in the turning of

a hand, plucked down and carried away by the Turks; and the Church it self built for God to be honoured in, for the present converted into a Stable for their Horses, or a place for the execution of their abominable and unpeakeable filthiness; the Image of the Crucifix was also by them taken down, and a Turks Cap put upon the head thereof, and so set up and shot at with their Arrows, and afterwards in great derision carried about in their Camp, as it had been in Procession, with Drums playing before it, ranging and spitting at it, and calling it the God of the Christians. Which I note not so much done in contempt of the Image, as in the derision of Christ and the Christian Religion.

But whilst some were thus spoiling of the Churches, others were as busy in ransacking of private houses, where the miserable Christians were enforced to endure in their persons whatsoever pleased the insolent Victors; unto whom all things were now lawful that stood with their lust, every common Soldier having power of Life and Death, at his pleasure to spare or kill. At which time Riches were no better than Poverty; and Beauty worse than Deformity. What Tongue were able to express the misery of that time? or the proud Insolency of those barbarous Conquerors? where by so many thousands, every man with greediness fired his own unreasonably desire, at all which the poor Christians were enforced to endure. But to speak of the hidden Treasure, Money, Plate, Jewels, and other Riches there found, passeth credence; the City themselves wondered thereat, and were therewith enriched, that it is a Proverb amongst them at this day, *He hath been as the lacking of Constantinople*; whereof if some reasonable part had in time been bestowed upon the defence of the City, the Turkish King had not so easily taken both it and the City. But every man was careful how to increase his own private Wealth, few or none regarding the Publick State; until in fine, every man with his private abundance was wrapped up together with his needy Neighbour in the self same common misery. Yea the feourty of the *Constantinopolitans* was such, that being always environed with their mortal Enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of so much as the inner Wall of the City (which for beauty and strength was comparable with the Walls of any City in the World, if it had been kept well repaired) but suffered the Officers which had the charge to fee to the fortifying of the City, to convert the greatest part of the money into their own Purges; as appeared by *Manuel* *Gignarus*, a little before a very poor man; and likewise by *Neophilus*, who then having that Office to see into the Fortification of the City, had in short time gathered together twenty thousand *Florens*, which became all a worthy Prey unto the greedy Turks.

After that the barbarous common Soldier had thus by the space of three days without controulment taken his pleasure in the City (as *Mahomet* had before promised) and thoroughly ransacked every corner thereof, with their recurrent poor Christian Captives before them, as if they had been droves of Cattel, or flocks of Sheep; a Spectacle no less lamentable, than was the sacking of the City. It would have grieved any stony heart to have seen the noble beautiful women and great Ladies, with their beautiful Children, and many other fair Personages, who lately flowed in all worldly Wealth and Pleasure, to be now become the poor and miserable Bondslaves

slaves of most base and contemptible Rascals; who were so far from shewing them any pity, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heap more and more misery upon them, making no more reckoning of them than of Dogs. There might the Parents see the woful misery of their beloved Children, and the Children of the Parents; the Husband might see the shameful abuse of his Wife, and the Wife of her Husband not able to mourn together (the least part of heavy comfort) being in the Thralldom of divers cruel Masters, by whom they were kept asunder, like in few days to be dispersed into divers far Countries, without hope that they should ever find Release, or one foe another again.

The Soldiers being all retired into the Camp, *Mahomet* as a proud Conqueror, with great Triumph entered into the City of *Constantinople*, then desolate and void of all Christian Inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkish Kings, made a sumptuous and Royal Feast unto his Baffees and other great Captains; where after he had feasted himself with excess of Meat and Drink, he caused divers of the chief Christian Captives, both Men and Women (of whom many were of the late Emperors Line and Race) to be in his presence put to death, as he with his Turks late Banqueting, deeming his Feast much more lately by such effusion of Christian blood. Which manner of exceeding cruelty he daily used, until such time as he had destroyed all the Grecian Nobility that was in his Power, with the chief of the late *Constantinopolitan* Citizens. At which time also divers of the *Venetian* Senators, with *Bajazet* their Governor, and many rich Merchants of *Genoa*, and other places of Italy, were by the same manner murdered; so that of seven and forty Senators of *Venice* which were there taken (whereof most part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there unluckily shut up) some few found the favour, with exceeding great Ransoms to redeem themselves.

Amongst these Noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one *Lucas* *Leontares*, or *Nataras*, commonly called *Lucy-Lucas*, or Lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of *Constantinople*, a man of greatest account next unto the Emperor himself; whom the Turkish Tyrant seemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in so great credit with the late Emperor, perished him not in time to have sought for Peace upon any condition, or else to have yielded up the City, rather than to have run that extreme course of wilful misery. He to excale the matter, said, That the late Emperor his Master was enraged to hold out one Siege by the *Venetians* and Citizens of *Pera*, from whom he received Aid; as also by some of the greatest Men about his own Person; for proof whereof, he drew out of his bosom the Letters which *Caly-Bassa* had to that purpose written unto the Emperor, and delivered them to *Mahomet*, hoping thereby to have found some favour. But when he had said what he could, the eldest of his Sons then living (for he had lost two elder in the time of the Siege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the youngest referred to the Tyrants lust; and after all this misery, had his own head struck off with the rest appointed for that day Sacrifice. Our Turkish general Calamity escaped *Tu-Tufinians* the General, who with all speed fled at first to *Pera*, and from thence to *Chier*, where in few days after he died, of grief of mind (as was thought) rather than of his Wound, being happy

if he had honourably before ended his days upon the Walls of *Constantinople*; *flidius* also the Cardinal and Legate from the Pope, disguised in simple Apparel, and being of the Turks unknown, redeemed himself for a small Ransom, as if he had been a man of none account, and so escaped; whom if *Mahomet* had known, he had undoubtedly been made shorter by the head.

The glory of this famous City of *Constantinople* continued many hundred years, commanding a great part of the World, until by civil discord and private gain, it was by little and little weakened, that the Emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their Estate, were glad to rely somewhat upon one, and functions upon another, yet still holding the Title and State of an Empire, by the space of 1121 years, when as (God his judgment far apart, wonderful and shameful it is to consider how) it was by this Turkish King *Mahomet* so quickly taken, and the Christian Empire of the East there utterly overthrown; which happened on the nine and twentieth day of May in the year of our Lord, 1553. *Constantinus* *Paleologus*, the Son of *Iskenas*, and last Christian Emperor, being then slain, when he had reigned about eight years. Since which time it hath continued the Imperial Seat of the Turkish Emperors, and so remaineth at this day.

The Potestates and Citizens of *Pera*, otherwise called *Galata*, a City standing opposite against *Constantinople*, on the other side of the Haven, and then under the Government of the *Genoaves*, doubting to run the same course of misery with their Neighbours, sent their Orators unto *Mahomet* (the same day that *Constantinople* was taken) offering to be the Keys of their Gates, and to be to become his Subjects. Of which their Offer *Mahomet*, accepted, and sent *Zoganus* with his Regiment to take possession of the City. Who coming thither, according to *Mahomet* his Commandment, there established the Turkish Government, confiscated the Goods of all such as were fled, and used the rest of the Citizens which staid, with such Insolency and Oppression, as that their misery was not much less than theirs of *Constantinople*; and because it was doubted, that the *Genoaves* might by Sea give Aid unto the Citizens, if they should at any time seek to revolve, he caused the Walls and Fortresses of the City which were toward the Land, to be cast down and laid even with the ground. Thus is the fatal period of the Greek Empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day became Lord of the two famous Cities of *Constantinople* and *Pera*; the one taken by Force, the other by Conspiration. At which time the misery of *Pera* was great, but that of *Constantinople* justly to be accounted amongst the greatest Calamities that ever happened to any Christian City in the World.

*Mahomet* had of long time born a secret grudge against *Caly-Bassa*, sometimes his Tutor, for that by the means *Amurath* his Father, in the dangerous time of the *Hungarian* Wars, had again resumed unto himself the Government of the Turkish Kingdom, which he had before resigned unto him, then but young. But forasmuch as he was the chief Baffa, and had for many years ruled all things at his pleasure, to the general good liking of the people, during the Reign of old *Amurath*, and was thereby grown to be of great Wealth, Credit, and Authority, as no man had at any time obtained greater under any of the *Ottoman* Kings; *Mahomet* in the beginning of his Reign, before he was established in his King

Mahomet himself  
his death in  
Constantinople  
the Greek  
City.

The Christian  
Bassa for  
the city  
was.

Constantinople  
was by the  
Turks.

Pera  
was taken  
in 1553.

Mahomet  
was  
disgraced  
his having  
Caly-Bassa.



Kingdom, durst not take Revenge of that Injury (as he deemed it) but yet fill kept it in remembrance, warily dissembling his deep conceived hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Nevertheless sometime (for all his warlike) words fell from him whereby the wary Courtiers (which as curiously weigh their Princes words) as the cunning Goldsmith doth his finest Gold) easily perceived the secret grudge that stuck in his stomach against the Bassa; and thereby divided his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the Court, he saw a Fox of the Bassas tied in a chain which after he had a while earnestly looked upon, he suddenly brake into this Speech; *Alas poor Beasts! hast thou no money to give thy Master to set thee at liberty? Out of which words, curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings disposition towards the Bassa. This ominous furnishing of the Courtiers (which oft-times proverb too true) was not unknown unto the Bassa himself, but troubled him much; wherefore to get himself out of the way for a season, more than for any devotion, he took upon him to go in Pilgrimage to visit the Temple of the great Prophet (as they term him) at Mecca, which amongst the Turks is holden for a right Religious and Meritorious Work; hoping, that the young Kings displeasure might in time be mitigated, and his malice asswaged. But *Mahomet* perceiving the distrust of the Bassa, and whereof it proceeded, seemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good words comforted him up, willing him to be of good cheer, and not to misdo anything; neither to regard the vain Speech of foolish people, assuring him of his undoubted Favour; and the more to put him out of suspicion, continually lent him rich Gifts, and heaped upon him new Honours, as if all others he had effaced him most. Until that now at the taking of *Constantinople*, it was discovered by *Luca Lescamiere*, that he had Intelligence with the late Emperor of *Constantinople*, and his Letters produced. For which cause, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the Tyrant bare against him, as also for his great Wealth, he was by *Mahomet*'s commandment apprehended and carried in bonds to *Hadrampole*; where after he had with exquisite torments been enforced to confess where all his Treasures lay, he was most cruelly in his extreme old age executed. After whose death, his Friends and Servants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloved in Court) in token of their grief, put on Mourning Apparel; so that in the Court appeared a great show of common sorrow; wherewith *Mahomet* being offended, caused Proclamation to be made, That all such as did wear such Mourning Apparel should the next day appear before him; at which time there was not one to be seen about the Court in that heavy Attire; for fear of the Tyrants displeasure.*

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, as is aforesaid, and had fully resolved there to place his Imperial Seat, he first repaired the Walls and other Buildings spoiled in the late Siege; and by Proclamations sent forth into all parts of his Dominions, gave great Privileges and Immunities to all such as should come to dwell at *Constantinople*, with free liberty to exercise what Religion they pleased. Trade was opened up, whereby that great and desolate City was again well peopled, with such as out of divers Countries resorted thither; but specially with the Jewish Nation, which driven out of other places, came thither

in great numbers; and were of the Turks gladly received. So when he had there established all things according to his hearts desire, he took upon him the Name and Title of an Emperor; and is from that time not unworthily reputed for the first Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many fair Virgins taken Prisoners by the Turks at the winning of *Constantinople*, was one *Irene* a Greek born of such incomparable Beauty and rare Perfection; both of Body of Mind, as if Nature had in her, to the admiration of the World, laboured to have shewn her greatest skill; so prodigally she had bestowed upon her, all the Graces that might beautify or commend that her so curious a Work. This Paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, presented unto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himself, as a Jewel to fit for no mans wearing as his own; by the Beauty and secret Vertues whereof, he found himself even upon the first View not a little moved. Nevertheless, having as then his head full of Troubles, and above all things careful for the assuring of the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, by him but even then won, he for the present committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and sent her away, so to be in safety kept until his better leisure. But those his Troubles overblown, and his new Conquests well affected, he then began forthwith to think of the fair *Irene*; and for his pleasure sending for her, took in her Perfections such delight and contentment, as that in short time he had changed state with her, she being become the Mistress and Commander of him to great a Conqueror; and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greatest Honour and Service he could. All the day he spent with her in discourse, and the night in dalliance; all time spent in her company, seemed to him short; and without her nothing pleased; his fierce Nature was now by her well tamed, and his wonted care of Arms quite neglected: *Mars* slept in *Venus* lap, and now the Soldiers might go play. Yea the very Government of his Empire and Empire seemed to be of him, in comparison of her, little or not at all regarded; the care whereof being by him carefully committed to others, that so he might wholly himself attend upon her, in whom more than in himself the people said he delighted. Such is the power of disordered affections, where reason ruleth not therein. But whilst thus he indulged himself, spending in pleasure not some few days or months, but even one whole year or two, to the lighting of his Credit, and the great discontentment of his Subjects in general; the Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court (men desirous of Employment, and grieved to see him so given to his Affections, and to make no end thereof) began at first in secret to murmur thereat, and to speak hardly of him; and at length (after their insolent manner) spared not openly to say, That it were well done to deprive him of his Government and State, as unworthy thereof, and to set up one of his Sons in his stead. Which Speeches were now grown so ripe, and his discontentment of the Men of War so great, that it was not without cause by some of the great Bassas feared, whereunto this their so great Insolence would grow. But who should tell the Tyrant thereof; whose frown was in it self death? or who durst take in hand to cure that his sick Mind; which being brought with the sweet and poisonous potions of love, was not like to listen to any good counsel, were it never so wisely given; but as a man metamorphosed, to turn his fury upon him which should presume to wholly (but contrary to his good liking) to

to advise him. Unhappy man, whose great Estate and fierce Nature was not without danger to be modelled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in so great a peril to have been thereof most careful; but were now for fear of all become silent and dumb. Now amongst other great Men in the Court, was one *Alpharasp-Bassa*, a man for his good Service (for that he was of a Child brought up with him) of *Mahomet* greatly favoured, and by him also highly promoted; and he again by him as his Sovereign no less honoured than feared; who no less than the rest, grieved to see that great a change in the great Sultan, of whom they had conceived no small hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and moved also with the danger threatened unto him, by the discontented Janizaries and Men of War; cyping him at convenient leisure to be spoken unto, and prefiguring of the former credit he had with him, adventured thus to break with him, and to give him warning thereof.

How dangerous a thing it is for a Subject or Vassal, without leave, presumptuously to enter into the secrets of his dread Lord and Sovereign, the useful Example of others (most mighty *Mahomet*) have so justly warned me, as that were it not for the dutiful Loyalty I owe unto your Graciously, for delecting me then mine own life, I would not at this time adventure my self unto the hazard of your doubtful acceptance of my faithful Speech and meaning; but with others keep silence, and in secret mourn together with my heavy thoughts; which if I should in so great a danger lose of your Life and Empire now dead, without warning you thereof; I were not to be counted unworthy only those your great Favours; and Honour, most bountifully on me bestowed; but as a most vile Traitor both unto your State and Person, to be of all men detested and abhorred. The life you have of late led, ever since the taking of *Constantinople*, as a man careless of his Estate, and wholly wedded unto his own Pleasure, hath given occasion not unto the vulgar people only (always ready to say the worst) and Soldiers of the Court, the Guardsers of your Person, but even unto the greatest Commanders of your Armies and Empire, to murmur and grudge; I dare not say, to Conspire against you. The praise of a great Sovereign, if I should so say, for that there is no man without great distinction for merit marvellous not much to see so great an alteration in your Heroical Disposition and Nature; whereby you are become far unlike that noble *Mahomet*, which having overthrown the Greek Empire, and taken the great City of *Constantinople*, promised both unto himself and others the Conquest of Italy, and the taking of Rome, the fately Seat of the ancient Roman Emperors. You have given your self over (as they say) for a spoil and prey unto a poor simple Woman, your Slave and Vassal, who with her Beauty and Allurements hath so bewitched your Understanding and Reason, as that saying, your most pollutions and inordinate desires; which have much the more you will them, so much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your self (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with the like time heretofore you spent in treading Honours steps, and you shall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble Othoman, the first ruler of your House and Family so given himself over unto Pleasure, you had not now inhabited the Countries of Bithynia and Galatia, with others more along the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his Son Orchans (the lively Image of his Father, and Follower of his Vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed over Licaonia, Phrygia, and Caria, or extended the

bonds of his Empire so far as unto the Straits of Hellespontus. What should I speak of Amurath his Son, and Successor in the Empire? who in Person himself, first of the Othoman Kings, pulled down the Europeans, placed his Imperial Seat at *Hadrampole*, conquered Thracia, Bulgaria, and Rascia. Yea he himself your great Grandfather is in his misfortune to be more than you commended, as conquered in field by the mighty Tamerlane, for hundred thousand Horsemen, and six hundred thousand Foot, and was by a silly Woman; confounding his mishap with the Honour and Greatness of him by whom he was overcome. Neither may I with silence pass over your worthy Grandfather the Noble *Mahomet*, who not contented to have restored the shaking Empire, conquered also a great part of Macedonia, even to the Iconian Sea, and carrying the terror of his Arms over into Asia, did great matters against the Caramanians and others. As for your Father Amurath (of worthy Memory) I cannot but to my great grief and sorrow speak of him, who by the space of thirty years made both the Sea and Earth to quake under his Feet, and with strong hands more than once conquered the Countries of Phocis, Beotia, Etolia, with a great part of Morcia; and to speak of him truly, brake even the very heart and strength of the Grecians, and other his brave Enemies. Let all these former Conquests of your noble Progenitors, whose worthy Praises (as eternal Trophies of their Honour) are dispersed unto every corner of the World, awake you of this heavy Lethargy wherein you have been too deep, yea, let the remembrance of the Conquest of this Imperial City by you to your Immortal Glory, stir you up to greater things; and let it never be said of you, That you were able with your Sword to overcome your greatest Enemies, and not with reason to subdue your inordinate affections. Think that your greatest Conquest, and suffer not your self to be great a Conqueror, to be led in Triumph by your Slave. What advantage if you to have won *Constantinople*, and to have left your Self? Shake off these golden Fetters wherein the wily Greek hath so fast bound you; which at the first thought it seem unto your hard and painful, yet shall time digest it, and make you to think it both good and necessary for your State. Wean your self from your desires, and give rest unto your troubled thoughts; to which if you cannot do at once, first by little and little do it; pleasure groweth by the sedulosity thereof, and satiety bringeth back himself. Advise your self before, and again take up Arms. Your Soldiers if they be not employed abroad, will to your further trouble (as themselves) to work at home: Idleness maketh them insolent, and want of Martial Discipline corrupteth their Manners. Hered proceedeth their intemperance and dissipated Speeches. Think you will not lead them forth for the Honour and enlargement of the Othoman Empire, as did all your most noble Progenitors, they will let you see that shall, even one of your own Children. And what the common Soldiers foolishly say, their great Commanders maliciously purpose; which, what a confusion it would bring unto the whole State of your Empire, together with the danger of your Royal Person, I labour to think. Whosoever he be, that now hath time for you to shew your self, and with the Majesty of your Presence to repress their tumultuous insolency, before it break further out. Rebellions are by far, more easily prevented, than in their heat appeased. The discontented multitude is a wild Beast with many heads, which once enraged, is not a little to be feared. If you will not be turned, yet do you bid show your self Master of your own affections, and you shall easily Master them also. But what is fit for you to do, becometh me not for to say; yea, pardon me I beseech you, that I have thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) already said.

provided

*provoked (by what divine Inspiration I know not) even half against my will, to discover unto you the secret of my heart, and to lay open unto you those things which others knowing as well as I, do yet for fear keep the same from you. And if I have gone too far, or in any thing that I have said forgot my self, impute the same (my dread Sovereign) unto the zeal of my Love and Loyalty towards you, or unto my fidelity (so often by you tried, or to our ancient Education (the ground of your affection towards me) or to what else [shall please you, rather than to my presumption] or to your Majesty, how far I have always been, I appeal even to your Majesties own knowledge.*

Having thus said, he fell down at his Feet, as there to receive his heavy doom of his so free Speech; if it should be otherwise than well taken of the angry Sultan; who all this while with great attention and many a stern look had hearkned unto all that the Bassa had said; for well he knew it to be all true; and that in so saying, he had but discharged the part of a trusty and faithful Servant, careful of his Masters Honour. And so the beauty of the Greek was still fix'd in his heart, and the pleasure he took in her, so great, as that to think of the leaving of her, bred him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himself, as in his often changed countenance well appeared; Reason calling unto him, for his Honour; and his amorous Fancy, to fill forgetting unto him all delights. Thus toll'd to and fro, till a ship with contrary winds arriv'd, and considering the danger threaten'd to his Estate, if he should longer follow those his pleasures, so much displeasing to his Men of War, he resolv'd upon a tripping point whereby at once to cut off all those his troubled passions and will to strive after a thrice even into the stoutest heart that had before continu'd so long unable to govern his own free and disaffected affections. Whereupon he resolv'd to declare his inward discontentment, he said unto the Bassa, yet prostrate at his Feet,

*Altho'gh thou hast unreverently spoken, as a Slave presuming to enter into the great Secret of thy Sovereign's (not thus offering to be of thee once thought upon) and therefore deservest well to die; yet for that thou wast a Child brought up together with me, and hast ever been unto me faithful, I for this time pardon thee, and before to-morrow the Sun go down, will make it known both to thee, and others of the same opinion with thee, whether I be able to bridle mine affections or not. Take order in the mean time that all the Backsides, and the chief Commanders of my Men of War be assembled together to-morrow, that I may know thy farther pleasure; whereof sail you now.*

So the Baffa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in unto the Greek, and faloing himself all that day and the night following with her, made many of her than ever before; and then more to please her, dined with her; commanding, that after dinner he should be attired with more sumptuous Apparell than ever she had before worn; and for the further giving of her, to be deckt with many most precious Jewels of inestimable value. Whereunto the poor Soul gladdly obeyed, little thinking that it was her Funeral Apparell. Now in the mean while, *Adapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, caufed all the Nobility, and Commanders of the Men of War, to be assembled into the great Hall; every man much marvelling, what should be the Emperors meaning therein, who had not of

long do publicly chewed himself. But being thus together assembled, and every man according as their minds gave them, talking diversely of the matter; beheld the Sultan entred into the Palace leading the fair Greek by the hand; who beside her incomparable Beauty and other the greatest graces of Nature, adorned also with all that curiosity could devise, seemed not now to the beholders a mortal Wight, but some of the lately Goddesses, whom Poets in their Extravagant conceits have made. Returned to them done all these things present; he stood still with the fair Lady in his left hand, and so furiously looking round about him, said unto me, *I understand of your great discontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I, overcome with mine affection toward this so fair a Paragon, cannot withdraw my self from her presence; but I would fain know which of you is so temperate, that if he had in his possession a thing so rare and precious, so lovely and so fair, would not be thrice advised before he would forego the same?* Say you unto me, *Prince, I give you my answer, I will not do so.* But there was such an incredible admiration to see so fair a thing, the like whereof they had never before beheld, fad all with one consent, That he had with greater reason so passed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therewith; whereunto the barbarous Prince answered, *Well, but now I will make you to understand how far you have been deceived in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can so much blind my senses, or deceive me of reason, as not to see and feel that I should bequeath my high Place and Calling, as you would have me do, to a woman, who is so fair, and so lovely, so should all know, that she is the fairest Conquest of the world.* And then he, with noble Progenitors, is so fazed with the Beauty, with such a desire in my self to exceed the same, that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance. And having so said, presently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of her head, and drawing his Falchion with the other, at one blow thruck off her head, to the great terror of them all; and having so done, said unto them; *Now by this judge whether your Emperor is able to bear such afflictions or not.* And when he had thus said, proceeded to discharge the rest of his choler, caused give passage to be made for the Conquest of the Princess, and the beheading of Belgrade.

At Peloponnesus, and the besieging of the barbarous Turkes  
At the same time, the City of Constantinople, *Thomas*  
and *Demetrius* Palatotes, Brethren to the late un-  
fortunate Emperor *Constantinus*, governed a great  
part of Peloponnesus, one of the most famous  
Provinces of *Grecia*, which in form of a leafe of  
a Plane-Tree, is almost in manner of an Island,  
enviored with the *Sea Ionian* and *Aegeum*,  
which running far into the Land on either side  
thereof, separateth the same from the rest of  
*Grecia*, by two great Bays, leaving but a strait  
neck of Land, called of the *Grecians* *Isthmus*,  
for breadth about five miles, which was sometimes  
breached about three hundred years ago by the  
*Venetians*, fortified by strong Wall, and five great Castles;  
wherein which place stood the great and fa-  
mous City of *Corinthe*. This Province is in length  
175 miles, and almost as much in breadth;  
wherein are contained the Countries of *Achaia*,  
*Messenia*, *Lacedaemonia*, *Argolica*, and *Archeida*;  
with many famous Cities and goodly Havens,  
wherein it far exceedeth all the other Provinces  
of *Grecia*. These two Princes *Thomas* and *Deme-  
trius*, began now far to be hated by the other  
Turks, dismay now so far to be afraid of their own  
Estate, that upon the first breath thereof, they  
were about presently to have fled by Sea into *Ialy*,  
and

And as it commonly falleth out, That one evil hapneth not alone; so at the same time it appeared, that the *Albanians* life in Arms against the said two Princes their Sovereigns; and under the leading of their Rebellious Captain *Emanuel Catecuzescu*, grievously troubled both the poor Princes. These *Albanians* were a rough and hardy kind of people, which living after the manner of the rude *Scythian* Herdsmen, by feeding of Cattel, had of long time placed themselves in *Peloponnesus*; differing from the natives, both in their manner of living, and Language. This diversity was no small cause that their offences were poured, as now, against the Government of the *Grecian* Princes. In this extremity, the two distressed Princes (not well knowing which way to turn themselves) sought for Peace at *Mahomet* hands, offering to become his Tributaries. Of which their Offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full Conquest of that Country; and sent *Turachan* Governor of *Theffalia*, one of his greatest Men of War, with an Army into *Peloponnesus*, to subdue those Princes against whom he was sent. And those Princes who were in short time discomfited, and the Country of *Peloponnesus* quieted; yet so, that it was now become Tributary to the Turkish King.

These two Princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the last of all the Christian Princes that reigned in *Peloponessus*, having thus lost their Liberty, lived for a few years as the Turks Vassals; paying such yearly Tribute as they had before promised. During which time many Displeasures arose betwixt the two Brothers, being both jealous of their Estate, and desirous to be the most plausible means to win the hearts of their Subjects one from another; whereby it came so to pass, that whilst they both desired to become popular, they weakened their own Credit, and had not their Subjects at such command as belt flood with the safety of their Estate. Nevertheless, as soon as they understood that the Christian Princes of the West were making great preparation against the Turk; and that the *Bishop of Rome* had already put a Fleet of Gallies to Sea, which did great spoil upon the Borders of the Turks Dominions, they vainly perfwading themselves that the Turks would in short time be again driven out of *Greece*.

a Fleet of Gallees to the Turkish Kingdoms, they vainly perfwading themselves that the Turks would have in short time to be again driven out of *Grecia*, refused to pay any more Tribute to the Turkish King, or to keep League any longer with him. Upon which occasion, *Mahomet* with a puissant Army came down and first beleagged *Cornith*, and afterwards entering into *Peloponnesus*, took divers strong Towns, and destroyed the Country before him; and forced the two Princes to be aſſeſſors of their Oves to fly, the one to *Mantinea*, now called *Ragium*. The poor Princes destitute of such Aid as they expected, and altogether unable to withstand the Power of the mighty Tyrant, began again to sue for Peace; which he, having now spoiled their Country, granted upon condition, That all such places as he had already taken, should be still his own; and also that the City of *Patras* with the Country adjoining, should be delivered unto him; and also for the rest, the fairest conditions that he could demand, which hard conditions the poor Princes, now in danger to lose all, were glad to accept of; whereupon a Peace was for that time again concluded.

In his return he took the City of *Athens* in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciajol* by Composition (by means of *Omares* the Son of *Turachan*, one of his great

Malomet  
comes a-  
gain into  
Pelopon-  
nesus.

Demetrius  
us submit  
teth him  
self to M  
homer.

their Neighbours, forthwith yielded themselves; and amongst others, *Salunarium*, a great and strong City of *Acadia*; where he caused all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, to the number of ten thousand to be cast into bonds, looking for nothing but present death; all which afterwards he commanded to be sent Captives to *Constantinople*, and with them peopled the Suburbs of that City. After that, he by the counsel of *Demetrius*, sent one of his Captains called *Jofus*, with certain Companies of Greek Soldiers, unto the strong City of *Epidaurum*, to command them in the Name of the Prince, and deliver unto him the City, with the Prince his Wife and Daughter, which lay there. But the Governor trusting unto the strength of the City, refused to deliver the same; yet suffered the Princess with her Daughter to depart out of the City, being willing to go to her Husband, whom the Captain having received, returned, and presented them to *Mahomet*. By whose Commandment they were presently sent into *Boetia*, there to attend his return to *Constantinople*, and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the young Lady, who had so warmed *Mahomet's* affection, that he took her afterwards to his Wife. At the same time he also subdued the most part of *Achaia* and *Elis*, by *Zogus Bassa* his Lieutenant; whither he came not long after himself, and laid Siege to the City of *Salmenica*, which for lack of Water he held most notably unto him; but the Castle was by the space of a whole year after valiantly defended against the Turks left to besiege it, by *Thomas* the Prince; of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gave this commendation, That in the Country of *Peoponissus* he had found many Slaves, but never a Man but him. This valiant Prince seeing the miserable ruin of his Country, and the State thereof utterly ruined, after he had most notably endured a years Siege in the Castle of *Salmenica*, got to Sea, and so arrived in *Italy*; where traveling to *Rome*, he was honourably received by *Pius Secundus*, then Bishop there; who during his life, allowed him a large Pension for the maintenance of his State. Thus *Mahomet* having thrust both the *Grecian* Princes out of their Dominions, and subdued all the Cities, excepting such strong Towns and Castles, as bordering upon the Sea coast were yet holden by the *Venetians*, left *Zogus Bassa* his Lieutenant to Govern that new conquered Province, and with great Triumph returned himself towards *Constantinople*, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the Prince, with his Wife and Daughter, and many other Noble Prisoners. But after he was come to *Hadrinople*, and placed in his Royal Seat, he removed the Eunuch from the fair young Lady, and took charge of her himself. As for *Demetrius* her Father, he gave to him the City of *Æzum*, with the Custom arising of the Salt there made, as a Pension for him to live upon. Thus this most famous and populous Country of *Peoponissus* fell into the Turkish Thraldom, about the year of our Lord, 1460. seven years after the taking of *Constantinople*. Which I have here together set down, as it is reported by them who lived in that time, and in the same Countries; omitting of purpose other great Occurrences of the same time (which shall in convenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common misery of the delicate *Grecians*, might appear under one View, which otherwise being delivered by piecemeal, as it did concur with other great accidents according to the course of the time, would but

breed confusion, and require the Readers great attention.

The Christian Princes, especially such as bordered upon the Dominions of the Turkish Tyrants, were no less terrified than troubled with the subversion of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire; for they saw by the continual preparation of the Turk, that his ambitious Desires were rather increased than in any part satisfied with so great and late Victories. Wherefore they with all carefulness fortified their frontier Towns, and provided all things necessary for the defence of themselves, and for the repelling of so mighty an Enemy. Among the rest, *George* the old Despot, or Prince of *Servia* (whose Dominions of all other lay most in danger of that Tempest) speedily mustered his Men of War, fortified his strong Cities, placed his Garrisons, and left nothing undone that he thought needful for the defence of the Country; for he had many times before to his great loss, endured the fury of the Turkish Kings, although he were joynted to them in the bonds of nearest Alliance. And having thus politically set all things in order at home, in Person himself took his Journey into *Hungary*, from thence to procure Aid against such time as he should have need. But the *Hungarians*, and especially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greatest sway in that Kingdom) having before had sufficient trial of the uncertainty and light Faith of that aged Prince, who had so often falsified himself according to the occurrences of the time, that he was counted neither right Turk nor good Christian; refused to promise him any Aid, but left him to his own Fortunes; wherewith he returned discontented, and full of Indignation. But shortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt received in a Skirmish with *Michael Zilago*, Governor of *Belgrade*; whose Brother *Lazarus* of utterly unknown after he had most notably endured a years Siege in the Castle of *Salmenica*, got to Sea, and so arrived in *Italy*; where traveling to *Rome*, he was honourably received by *Pius Secundus*, then Bishop there; who during his life, allowed him a large Pension for the maintenance of his State. Thus *Mahomet* having thrust both the *Grecian* Princes out of their Dominions, and subdued all the Cities, excepting such strong Towns and Castles, as bordering upon the Sea coast were yet holden by the *Venetians*, left *Zogus Bassa* his Lieutenant to Govern that new conquered Province, and with great Triumph returned himself towards *Constantinople*, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the Prince, with his Wife and Daughter, and many other Noble Prisoners. But after he was come to *Hadrinople*, and placed in his Royal Seat, he removed the Eunuch from the fair young Lady, and took charge of her himself. As for *Demetrius* her Father, he gave to him the City of *Æzum*, with the Custom arising of the Salt there made, as a Pension for him to live upon. Thus this most famous and populous Country of *Peoponissus* fell into the Turkish Thraldom, about the year of our Lord, 1460. seven years after the taking of *Constantinople*. Which I have here together set down, as it is reported by them who lived in that time, and in the same Countries; omitting of purpose other great Occurrences of the same time (which shall in convenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common misery of the delicate *Grecians*, might appear under one View, which otherwise being delivered by piecemeal, as it did concur with other great accidents according to the course of the time, would but

Peoponissus subdued by the Turks.

The death of George, Despot of Servia.

Belgrade besieged.

The Turks first overthrown by the Christians.

which means the with much trouble, held her State for a season. Until such time as the *Servians*, feeling small assurance in that manner of Government, and weary of the harms they daily received of the Turks, yielded themselves with their Country, unto the Possession of the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, who for ever united the same unto his Empire as a Province thereof, and so it remained at this day.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual course of his Victories grown to that height of mind, that he thought no Prince able to abide his Force; neither any Enterprize so great, which he was not of Power to bring to pass; wherefore he ceased not on every side continually to vex and trouble the Princes, whose Countries bordered upon his. But above others, his heart was greatest against the *Hungarians*; for that by them the Turkish Kings his Ancestors, had been more troubled, and their State more endangered, than by any or all other the Christian Princes. Wherefore he resolved now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his Reign greatly desired. And because the City of *Belgrade* standing upon the great River of *Danubius*, was accounted the Key of that Country, he determined there to begin his Wars, and by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of *Hungary*. Hereupon he levied a great Army of an hundred and fifty thousand of his best Soldiers, in whom he reposed such an assured trust and confidence, that he accounted the City already as good as taken, and a fair way made into *Hungary*, for as they were to pass into our selves, the things we earnestly desire. For the better accomplishment of these his Designs, he had provided in readiness a Fleet of 200 Ships and Gallies, which he sent up the River of *Danubius* from *Vidua* to *Belgrade*, to the intent that no Relief or Aid should be brought unto the City out of *Hungary*, by the great Rivers of *Danubius* and *Savus*, whereupon the City of *Belgrade* standeth. With this Fleet he kept both those Rivers so strictly, that nothing could be possibly conveyed into the City by water; and not so contented, sent part of his said Fleet farther up the River of *Danubius*, and so landing his Soldiers in many places, spoiled the Countries all along the River side. Shortly after he came with all his Forces by Land, and encamped before the City; whereunto at his first coming he gave a most furious Assault, thinking to have taken the same unprovided; but finding greater resistance than he had before imagined, and that the *Hungarians* were ready to Skirmish with them without the Walls, he began to proceed more warily, and entrenched his Army; and to provide for the safety thereof, by casting up deep Trenches and strong Rampiers against the sudden Salies of his Enemies; and after, planting his Battery, began most furiously to shake the Walls with his great Artillery. By the fury whereof, he overthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat with the ground; which the Defendants with great industry and labour speedily repaired, by casting up of new Fortifications and Rampiers, in such sort, that it was rather stronger than before.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a most worthy Captain) being then General for the *Hungarians*, sent a Fleet of Ships and Gallies, well appointed with all War-like Provision, down the River of *Danubius* from *Buda*; which encountering with the Turkish Fleet, took twenty Sail of them, and so discomfited the rest, that they were glad to run themselves on ground near unto the Kings Camp. All which were by *Mahomet's* Commandment presently fired by Fire, because they should not

come into the Power of the *Hungarians*. By this means the Christians became Malters both of the Rivers of *Danubius* and *Savus*; and so at their pleasure, by water conveyed into the City all things needful for the defence thereof. *Huniades* also himself, with five thousand valiant Soldiers, and *Tu Capistrano*, a Minorite Friar (by whose persuasion forty thousand voluntary Christians out of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, were come to that War) entered into the City that way with their Soldiers and Followers.

*Mahomet* resolutely set down for the winning of the City, had with continual Battery made the same at length affailable; and so determined the next day to give a general Assault, appointing which part of his Army every Colonel with his Regiment should assail. But as they were with great diligence and greater fire, preparing all things needful for the next days Service, it fortuned, that *Carazias Bassa*, *Mahomet's* Lieutenant-General in *Europe*, and his best Man of War, was by chance slain with a great shot out of the Town. With whose death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the evil which afterwards ensued upon him and his whole Army. For all that, prosecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the Assault to be given; and with the dreadful found of Trumpets, Drums, Cornets, and other Instruments of War, brought on his Janizaries to the Breach; who as courageous Soldiers fiercely assailed the same, and without any great resistance, entered both there and in divers other places of the City, reckoning the same to be now their own. For *Huniades* having before stored every corner of the City with his most valiant and expert Soldiers, had taken order that the Defendants, upon the first charge of the Janizaries, should forsake their stations, and as men discouraged, retire towards the City, of purpose to draw the fierce Enemies faster on, to their farther destruction; and upon a sign given to see them upon them fresh, and to repair to their former places of defence; which was accordingly done; so that as soon as the Janizaries, with other of the Turks most forward Soldiers, were in great numbers entered, upon the retiring of the Defendants, and the sign before appointed in the City given, the Defendants, as men quickly changed, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entered, contrary to their expectation; and the taken the same time issuing out on the valiant *Huniades*, and his most resolute Soldiers, who oppressed the Turks, that few of them that were entered escaped with life, but were there in the City either slain or taken Prisoners; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the Walls. Presently after, in this confusion of the Turks, strengthened with the Soldiers which came with *Capistrano* the Friar, made a Sally out of the Town, and with the Turks appointed for the defence of the great Ordinance, which was with such resolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leave the Ordinance to their Enemies.

The Turkish Tyrant fore troubled and thoroughly chafed with the loss of his great Ordinance, courageously charged the *Hungarians* afresh, to have recovered the same again; but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murdering hot out of the City, that he was glad when he had got him out the danger thereof into the Trenches. *Huniades* also retiring turned the Ordinance he had lately won, upon the Turks Camp, and with the same did them no small harm.

Carazias Bassa slain by the Turks.

Belgrade assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks repulsed by the Turks.

In this huro, a great part of the Christian Army (which then lay on the other side of *Danubius*) was speedily transported over the River; and making no stay in the City, joined themselves with *Hunades*, then lying without the Walls of the City. Who nobly strengthened with this new Supply, assailed the Turks Trenches, as if he would even presently have entered their Camp; at which his preumption, the proud Tyrant (never before so braved) disdainful, went out of his Trenches, and valiantly encountering him, beat him back again to the great Ordinance; from whence he was again by the Christians driven to his Trenches. Which manner of doubtful and dreadful fight, was on both sides notably maintained, until the day was almost spent: Victory with indifferent Wings, hovering now over the one side, now over the other.

In this hot Skirmishes and Conflicts, *Chafanes* Captain of the Janizaries, with many other valiant men were slain. And *Mahomet* himself performing the part as well of a courageous Soldier, as of a worthy Christian, was fore wounded under his left Pap; so that he was taken up for dead, and carried into his Pavilion, to the great discomfiture of his whole Army. But coming again unto himself, and considering that he had in that Siege lost his whole Fleet, his great Ordinance, with most part of his best Souldiers, and yet in no possibility of the Town; secretly in the night arose with his Army, and with great silence shamefully departed; still looking behind him when the *Hungarians* should have pursued him into *Servie*, or have troubled him upon his way towards *Constantinople*. At this Siege (beside many of his best Captains and chief Commanders) were slain forty thousand of his best Souldiers. The loss that he there sustained was so great, and so stuck in his mind, that ever after during his life, when he had occasion to speak of that Siege, he would shake his head and sigh deeply, and many times with, that he had never seen that City, whereat both he and his Father had received so great dishonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Hunades* had there had his Horsemen on that side of *Danubius* to have presently pursued the fearful Enemy, that the whole Army of the Turks might have there been overthrown. This notable Victory was obtained against the Turk the sixth of *August*, in the year of our Lord, 1456.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowned Captain *Hunades*, worthy of Immortal Praise, died of a hurt taken in these Wars; or as some others write, of the Plague, which was then rife in *Hungary*; who when he felt himself in danger of death, desired to receive the Sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sick as he was) be carried to the Church to receive the same; saying, That it is not fit, that the Lord should come to the house of his Servant, but the Servant rather to go to the House of his Lord and Master. It was the first Christian Captain that showed the Turks were to be overcome; and obtained more great Victories against them than any one of the Christian Princes before him. He was unto that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoil of them beautified his Country; and now dying, was by the *Hungarians* honourably buried at *Alba Julia*, in *St. Stephens Church*; his death being greatly lamented of all good men of that Age.

*Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor, no less desirous to extend his Empire with the glory of his Name, by Sea than by Land; shortly after the taking of *Constantinople*, put a great Fleet to Sea, wherein he furnished divers Islands in the *Ægean*,

and hardly besieged the City of the *Rhodes*. At which time, *Calixtus* the Third, then Bishop of *Rome*, aided by the *Genovians* for the grudge they bore against the Turks for the taking of *Pera* put to Sea a Fleet of sixteen tall Ships and Gallies well appointed, under the Conduct of *Ludovicus*, Patriarch of *Aquila*; who with that Fleet scoured the Seas, and recovered again from the Turks the Island of *Lemnos*, with divers other small Islands thereabout; and encountering with the Turks Fleet near unto the Island of the *Rhodes*, at a place called *Tris Bureau* of *St. Paul*, discomfited them, sunk and took divers of their Gallies, and forced them to forsake the *Rhodes*. After which Victory at Sea, he for the space of three years, with his Gallies, at his pleasure spoiled the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions all along the Sea coast of the lesser *Asia*, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of those Countries; and so at length returned home, carrying away with him many Prisoners and much rich spoil.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driven from the Siege of *Belgrade*, and his Fleet at Sea discomfited (as is before declared) he began with great diligence to make new preparation against the next Spring to subdue the Isles of the *Ægean*, specially those which lay near unto *Thrace*. But whilst he was busy in those Cogitations, in the mean time Embassadors from *Ufian-Caffians* the great *Persian King*, arrived at *Constantinople*, with divers rich Presents from him from the said King. Where among other things, they presented unto him a pair of Playing-Tables, wherein the men and dice were of great and rich precious Stones of infinite worth, and the Workmanship nothing inferior to the matter; which the Embassadors for Offentation said, That *Ufian-Caffians* found in the Treasures of the *Persian King*, whom he had but a little before slain and bereft of his Kingdom, and had there been left long before by the mighty Conqueror *Tamerlane*. Together with these Presents, they delivered their Embassy; the effect whereof was, That those two mighty Princes might joy and live together in Amity; and that where *David* the Emperor of *Trapezond*, had promised to pay unto *Mahomet* a yearly Tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his Lieutenant in *Asia*, he should not now look for any such thing; forasmuch as that Empire after the death of the Emperor, the living should of right belong unto *Ufian-Caffians*, in right of his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Calfojanet*, the elder Brother of *David* the Emperor, then living; and further required him, from that time not to trouble or molest the said Emperor his Friend and near Alliance, so should he find him his faithful and kind Confederate; otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice to draw upon himself the heavy displeasure of a most mighty Enemy. *Mahomet* before envying at the rising of the *Persian King*, and now disdainful such peremptory Requests, little differing from proud Commands, in great choler discomfited the Embassadors, with this short answer, That he would ere long be in *Asia* himself in Person, to reach *Ufian-Caffians* what to request of a greater than himself. This unkindness was the beginning and ground of the mortal Wars which afterwards ensued betwixt these two, then the greatest Princes of the East, as shall be hereafter more at large declared. The Embassadors being departed, and *Mahomet's* Fleet of an hundred and fifty Sail ready to put to Sea, he altered his former determination for the Islands of the *Ægean* (which after the loss of *Constantinople*

Mahomet  
invaded  
Ismail,  
Prince of  
Sinope.

had for the most part put themselves under the Protection of the *Venetians*) and commanded his Admiral with that Fleet to take his course through the Straits of *Bosphorus* into the great *Euxin Sea*, (now called the *Black Sea*) and to failing along the coast to come to Anchor before *Sinope*, the chief City of *Paphlagonia*; and there to expect his coming thither with his Army upon a point of the Main which runs a great way into the *Euxin*, sometime the Metropolitane City of that Province; but as then, with *Caffamona* and all the Country thereabout, was under the Government of *Ismail*, a *Mahometan Prince*; upon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his Forces, for no other cause than that he was in League with *Ufian-Caffians*, the *Persian King*. Now with great Expedition had *Mahomet* levied a strong Army; and passing therewith over into *Asia*, was come before he was looked for, to *Sinope*. *Ismail* seeing himself so suddenly beset both by Sea and Land in his strongest City, although he wanted nothing needful for his defence, having in the City four hundred pieces of great Artillery, and ten thousand Souldiers; yet doubting to be able with that strength to endure the Siege, offered to yield up the City to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his Dominion, upon condition, That he should freely give him in return thereof the City of *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*, with the Country thereto adjoining. Of which Offer *Mahomet* accepted; and so taking possession of *Sinope*, with the strong City of *Caffamona*, and all the rest of the Princes Territory, sent him away with all his things to *Philippopolis*, as he had promised. This *Ismail* was the last of the Honourable House of the *Ispahdars*, who had long time reigned at *Heraclea* and *Caffamona* in *Pontus*. From *Sinope* he marched on forward with his Army to *Trapezond*. This famous City standeth also upon the side of the *Euxin* or *Black Sea* in the Country of *Pontus*, where the Emperors of *Constantinople* had always their Deputies, whilst that Empire flourished and commanded the East part of the World, as far as *Partia*; but after it began again to decline (as all worldly things have but their time) once *Iscax* (whose Father, Emperor of *Constantinople*, the *Constantinopolitans* had for his civil Government slain) flying to *Trapezond*, took upon him the Government of that City, with the Countries of *Pontus* and *Capadocia*, and many other great Provinces, and was at first called the King of *Trapezond*; but after he was well established in that Government, both he and his Successors took upon them the Name and Title of Emperors; which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late *Constantinopolitane* Emperors, and therefore are of most account for Emperors. He that then reigned, was called *David Comnenus*; which most Honourable Family of the *Comneni* had long time before reigned in *Constantinople*; and out of the same were many other great Princes descended, which ruled in divers places of *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Græcia*. *Mahomet* coming to *Trapezond*, laid hard Siege unto the same by the space of thirty days both by Sea and Land, and burnt the Suburbs thereof, as he had before at *Sinope*. The fearful Emperor dismayed with the presence of so mighty an Enemy, and the sight of so puissant an Army, offered to yield unto him the City with his whole Empire, upon condition, That he should take his Daughter to Wife, and deliver unto him some other Province, which might yield him such yearly profit as might suffice for the honourable Maintenance of his State. *Mahomet* perceiving the weakness of his Enemy by his large Offers, refused to accept thereof, and tempted by force to have taken the City, which

Trapezond  
being  
besieged  
by  
Mahomet

not forgoing to his desire, the matter was again brought to parls; where after long debating to and fro, it was at last agreed upon, That the Emperor upon the Faith of the Turkish King for his safe return, should in Person meet him without the City, if happily to some good Attainment might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the Emperor following the Turks Faith before solemnly given for his safe return, as was before agreed, went out of the City to meet him, in hope to have made some good agreement with him; but as soon as he was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable and Hellish Doctrine of his false Prophet (That Faith is not to be kept with Christians) presently caused the Emperor to be cast into bonds, and so to be detained as Prisoner. Which when it was bruited in the City, the Citizens utterly discouraged, without further resistance yielded themselves with the City into his Power.

*Mahomet* now Lord of *Trapezond*, entering the City, took Prisoners the Emperors Daughter, with all the rest of his Children and Kindred, and all such of the Nobility as he found in the City; whom he caused forthwith, together with the Emperor, to be sent by Sea as it were in Triumph to *Constantinople*. Of the rest of the Citizens he chose out so many as he pleased for his own Service, and appointed eight hundred of the Christian Children, in whom appeared most towardsness, to be brought up for Janizaries, many also of the other Citizens were sent into Captivity to *Constantinople*; the beautiful Women and Virgins he divided amongst his Friends and Men of War, certain chosen Paragons of whom, he sent as Presents to his Sons. After he had thus taken his pleasure in the City, and left no more there but the basest of the people, he put a strong Garrison of his Janizaries into the Castle, and a great Garrison of common Souldiers into the City, appointing his Admiral to Govern the same. The rest of the Emperors strong Towns, discouraged with the taking of *Trapezond*, and the miseries thereof, in short time submitted themselves unto the Turkish Thraldom, wherein they have ever since most miserably lived. So *Mahomet* in the space of few months having reduced that Empire into the form of a Province, returned in great Triumph to *Constantinople*; when he had in this Expedition subdued *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus*, and a great part of *Capadocia*, with some other Provinces near unto the *Euxin Sea*. When he was come to *Constantinople*, he sent the Emperor with his Children Prisoners to *Hadrinople*. But afterwards, understanding that the *Persian Queen*, the Wife of *Ufian-Caffians*, sought means to get some one of her Uncles Children, whom by the Power of her Husband she might, if it were possible, advance unto her Fathers Empire; he sent for *David* the woful Emperors of *Constantinople*, and there cruelly caused him, with all his Sons and Kinsmen, to be put to death; and to the uttermost of his Power rooted out all that most honourable Family of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperors youngest Son, who at his first coming to *Hadrinople* turned Turk; whose Sister (the Emperors Daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards took to be one of his Concubines. This Christian Empire was by the Turkish Tyrant *Mahomet* thus miserably subverted and brought to nought in the year of our Lord, 1461.

The year following, which was the year, 1462, *Mahomet* having Intelligence, that *Wladis Dracula* Prince of *Valachia*, his Tributary, was resolved to cast from him his Obedience, and to join himself unto the *Hungarians*, his mortal Enemies; thought it best to prove if he could by policy circumvent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpose he sent *Carabissus* his Principal

Trapezond  
yielded  
into his  
power.

The sister  
of the Em.  
Wife of  
Trapezond,  
Wladis  
Prince of  
Valachia.

Principal Secretary unto him to bring him unto the Court, promising him greater Favours and Promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time enjoyed. And by the same trusty Messenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Bassa*, Governor of *Bidina*, and the Country lying over against *Valachia*, on the other side of *Danubius*, to do their utmost devoir for the entrapping of *Wladis*; promising him great Rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deviled with the Secretary, that when he had done his Message to the Prince, and with all his cunning persuaded him to take that Journey upon him, he should secretly before hand give notice unto him of the certain day of his return back again from the Prince; at which time it was like, that *Wladis* would in courtesy of himself bring the Secretary well on his way, being a man of so great Account in the Court, or at leastwise not refuse to do, being thereto requested by the Secretary; at which time the *Bassa* secretly passing over *Danubius* with certain Troops of Horsemen, and lying close in ambush upon the way, should suddenly for upon the Prince, and so either take him, or else kill him. The Plot thus laid, and every circumstance agreed upon, the Secretary held on his way; and coming to the Prince, forced his wit to persuade him to go to the Court; sometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his Fidelity and Valour; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater Honours and Princely Preferments he was to receive at the Emperors hands. But when he had said what he could to obtain his way, and so weary Prince, but good words again, and that he would in courtesy conduct him on his way to the side of *Danubius*; whereof the Secretary by speedy Messengers gave *Chamuzes* Intelligence; who secretly passing over *Danubius* with certain Troops of Horsemen, and riding a good way into the Country, lay in ambush upon the way whereby the Prince and the Secretary must needs pass; according as was before appointed, the Secretary accompanied with the Prince, put himself upon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambush with his Horsemen; who suddenly arising, and on every side assailing the Prince, slew divers of his men before they were well aware of his coming. But *Wladis* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the *Bassa* had supposed (for he went always attended upon with a strong Guard of valiant and stout men) so received *Chamuzes* and his Turks, that he slew many of them, and at length after a hard Conflict took him with the rest Prisoners; whose Hands and Feet he caused to be cut off, and their Bodies afterwards to be thrust upon sharp Stakes for list in the ground, to the terror of all that saw them; and did the *Bassa* too much honour, as to hang him upon the Secretary upon a Gibbet a great deal higher than the other Turks. And not satisfied with this Revenge, presently gathered his Forces, and passing over *Danubius* into the Turks Dominions, burnt all the Country before him along the Sea side, killing Man, Woman, and Child, without mercy; after which great spoil and slaughter made, he returned again to *Valachia*. The report of this News being brought to *Mahomet*, for him in such a shock and rage, that he commanded the great *Bassa* *Mahomet*, which first told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt; which terrible punishment in that Tyrannical Government hath usually been inflicted even upon the greatest Princes of the Court, upon the least displeasure of the Tyrants, especially if they be not natural Turks born; accounting the rest in their

anger but as their base and contemptible Slaves, as well appeareth by the woful end of many, even of the greatest of them. But when he understood by more true advertisements that all was as the *Bassa* had before reported, or rather worse, it is not to be in words expressed into what a rage he fell; the spoil of his Country grieved him much, but the shameful death of the Secretary his Embassador, and of *Chamuzes* the *Bassa*, tormented his heart, and filled him with Indignation and desire of Revenge. Wherefore with all speed possible he assembled his Souldiers and Men of War; out of all parts of his Dominions to *Philippopolis*; and had in short time raised such an Army, as the like he had not at any time employed in the winning of *Constantinople*. At the same time also, he sent his Admiral with 25 Gallies, and 150 sail of other small Vessels by the Euxine, to enter the River *Danubius*, and there landing his Men, to join his Forces with the Prince of *Podolia*; who for a grudge he bare against *Wladis*, had promised to Aid the Turk against him. When all things were now in readiness, he marched with his Army from *Philippopolis*, and passing over *Danubius*, entered into *Valachia* before which time, the Admiral had landed his Men, and with the help of the *Podolian*, had burnt the City of *Ferula*, the greatest Town of Trade in all *Valachia*; and was besieging *Cebium*, called in ancient time *Lycostomus*; where after they had lien a while and received some loss, they left the Siege and departed, the *Podolian* back again into his Country, and the Admiral to his Fleet.

*Mahomet* being got over *Danubius*, burnt the Villages, drove away the Cattel, and made havoc of all that came in his way: As for Prisoners, he took but few; for the *Valachies* before his coming, had retired their Wives and Children, and all that were unfit for Wars, either into their strong Cities, or into the Refuge of great and thick Woods (whereof there is in that country plenty) or else into the high and rough Mountains where they were in more safety than in any of their strongest Holds; and all such as were able to bear Arms, followed the Prince, who ever kept the Woods and Mountains, still following the Turks Army so near as he possibly could with safety; and many times cut off such as straggled any thing far abroad from the Army, into the Country; yet never durst they himself in plain Field, being indeed but a handful, in comparison of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to small purpose roaming up and down the Country at his pleasure, laid never long in one place; and making no reckoning of such a weak Enemy as durst never show himself, pitch his Tents still in the open Plains, and so lay with his Army in great security, not entrenched at all. *Wladis* by his Espials understanding of this the manner of *Mahomet*s encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with all his power furiously assailed that quarter of the Turks Camp where the *Asian* Souldiers lay, and slew many of them in their Tents; the rest terrified with the suddenness of the Alarm, fled out of their Tents for Refuge unto the *European* Souldiers; the Prince following them at the heels, and entering into that quarter of the Camp also, did there great harm; and from such a general terror and fear into all the Turks Army, that they were even upon the point to have wholly forsaken their Tents, and broken themselves to flight. Yea, *Mahomet* himself, dismayed with the terror of the night and tumult of his Camp, and fearing lest the *Hungarians* had joyntly their Forces with the Prince, not knowing which way to turn himself, had undoubtedly fled, had not

*Mahomet himself in person invaded Valachia.*

*A most horrible sight.*

*Mahomet Bassa*, a man of great experience in Martial Affairs, persuaded him otherwise, and by general Proclamation made through the Camp, That no man should upon pain of death, forsake the place wherein he was encamped, staid the night; and with much ado enforced them to make head against the Prince. *Wladis* perceiving the Turks now to begin to stand upon their guard, and to make resistance; after great slaughter made, returning took the spoil of the Tents forsaken by the *Asian* Souldiers, and upon the approach of the day again retired with Victory into the Woods. As soon as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certain Companies of select Souldiers, to pursue the *Valachies*; who overtaking part of the Princes Army, took a thousand of them Prisoners, and put the rest to flight; so that which Prisoners were by the Tyrants Command, presently put to the Sword. From that time *Mahomet* every night entrenched his Army, and caused better Watch and Ward to be kept in every quarter of his Camp, than before.

As he marched along the Country, he came to the place where the *Bassa* and the Secretary were hanging upon two high Gibbets, and the dismayed Turks impaled upon Stakes about themselves which sight he was grievously offended. And passing on farther, came to a Plain containing in breadth almost a mile, and in length two miles, full of Gallows, Gibbets, Wheels, Stakes, and other Instruments of Terror, Death, and Torture; all hanging full of the dead Carcasses of Men, Women, and Children, thereupon executed in number (as was deemed) about twenty thousand. There was to be seen the Father with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, hanging together upon one Gallows; and the Bodies of sucking Babes, sticking upon sharp Stakes; others withall their Limbs broken upon Wheels, with many other strange and horrible kinds of death; so that a man would have thought that all the Torments the Poets feign to be in Hell had been there put in execution. All these were such as the notable, but cruel Prince, jealous of his Estate, had either for just desert, or some probable suspicion, put to death; and with their Goods rewarded his Souldiers; whose cruel manner was, together with the Offender to execute the whole Family, yea sometimes the whole Kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by Nature of a fierce and cruel Disposition, wondered to see so strange a Spectacle of extremity; yea for no more but that *Wladis* knew how to have his Subjects at Command. After that, *Mahomet* sent *Jeyghus*, one of his great Captains, to skirmish with the *Valachies*; who was by them put to the worse; but by the coming in of *Omars* the Son of *Turacban*, they were again in a great Skirmish overthrown, and two thousand of their heads brought by the Turks upon their Lances into the Kings Camp; for which good Service *Omars* was by the King preferred to be Governor of *Thessalia*.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced *Valachia*, and having done what harm he could, saw it to be to no purpose, with such a multitude of men to hunt after his flying Enemy, which still kept the thick Woods or rough Mountains; he returned again to *Constantinople*, leaving behind him *Haly-Beg* with part of his Army, to prosecute that War; and with him *Dracula* the younger Brother of *Wladis*, who was also called *Wladis*, as a Stale to draw the *Valachies* into Rebellion against the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little Youth brought up in *Mahomet* Court, and for his comely Feature of him most passionately affected; which inordinate pertu-

bation, so prevailed in the intemperate Nature of the lascivious Prince, that he fought first by fair words and great Gifts to corrupt the Youth, and not so prevailing, attempted at last to have forced him; wherewith the Noble Youth being enraged, drew his Rapier, and striking at him to have slain him, grievously wounded him in the Thigh, and thereupon fled. Nevertheless being drawn back again to the Court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and so became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloved and honoured, and now fit up for a Stale (as is before said) for the *Valachies* his Country-men to gaze upon.

Fortuned, that after the departure of the King, divers *Valachies* came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkish General, to Ranfome such Friends of theirs as had been taken Prisoners in that War, and were yet by him detained; to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of dis-course declaring the great Power of the Turkish Emperor, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endless Miseries of his Native Country; cunningly imputed the same unto the disordered Government of his cruel Brother, as the ground of all their Woes; assuring them of most happy and speedy Redress, if the *Valachies*, forsaking his fierce Brother, would leave unto him as their Sovereign, in special Favour with the great Emperor. Which Speech he delivered unto them with such lively Reasons, and in such effectual Terms, that they there present, persuaded by him, and others by them, in that time all, as if he had been by a secret consent, forsook *Wladis* the elder Brother, and chose *Dracula* the younger Brother to be their Prince and Sovereign. Who joining unto him the Turks Forces, by the consent of *Mahomet* took upon him the Government of that War-like Country and People; yet holding the flame as the Turkish Tyrants Vassal, the readiest way to Infidelity. *Wladis* seeing himself thus forsaken of all his Subjects, and his younger Brother possessed of his Dominion, fled into *Transylvania*, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian King, apprehended and laid fast in strict prison at *Belgrade*, for that he had with-out just cause (as it was laid to his charge) most cruelly executed divers *Hungarians* in *Valachia*; yet such was his fortune, after ten years hard imprisonment, to be again enlarged, and honourably to die in battle against his ancient Enemies the Turks.

*Mahomet* returning out of *Valachia* to *Constantinople*, sent the same Fleet which he had used in his late Wars, into the *Aegean*, to take in such Islands as being before under the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, had upon the loss of the City put themselves under the Protection of the *Venetians*; but especially the Isle of *Mitylene*, called in ancient times *Lesbos*; pretending that they were anciently his; and that *Dracula* the younger *Nicholaus Catalagus* Prince thereof, did harbour the Pirates of Italy, and other places; and also bought of them such Prisoners, and other Booty, as they continually took from the Turks at Sea, or along the Sea coast, out of many places of his Dominions; pretending also the chastising of the said Prince, for that he had by treachery slain his eldest Brother, and so unjustly taken upon him the Government. His Fleet thus far forward, he himself with a small Army passed over into Asia, and came by land to *Effidium* a City of Ionia over against *Mitylene*. From whence he embarked himself over the narrow Strait into the Island, where after he had once landed his Army, he in short time overran the whole Island, and miserably spoiled

*Chamuzes Bassa and the Turks Secretary hanged.*

*the death of Wladis*



the fame, leading away all the Inhabitants thereof into Captivity; who shortly after were fold at *Confiantinople* like Flocks of Sheep, and from thence dispersed into all parts of his Dominions. After he had thus harried the Country, and left nothing therein unspoiled, he bestowed the Prince in the City of *Mitylene*, whereof the Island now taketh Name; and with his great Ordnance continually battered the fame by the Space of 27 days (in which time many sharp Assaults were also given by the Turks, whereby the Defendants were greatly diminished and wasted. The Prince perceiving himself not able long to hold out, offered to yield up the City, with all the strong Holds in the Isle, upon condition that *Mahomet* should therefore give unto him some other Province, or like value to the Island; which his Offer *Mahomet* accepted, and himself Oath bound himself for performance of that he had promised. Whereupon the Prince came out of the City, and humbled himself before him, excusing himself for the receiving of the Men of War (wherein he was charged) as done for no other purpose, but that they should forbear to spoil his own Country, much subject to their fury; utterly denying that he had at any time bought, or shared any part of such Prizes as had by those Pirates by Sea or Land been taken from the Turks. With which his excuse, *Mahomet* seemed to be reasonably well contented, and with good words cheered him up; nevertheless as soon as the City, with all the other strong Holds in the Isle, were by the Princes means delivered into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of the chief Citizens of the City, but cruelly caused many of the chief Citizens of the City to be put to death; and three hundred Pirates, whom he found in the City, to be cut in two pieces in the middle, so to die with more pain. And when he had placed convenient Garrisons in every strong Hold in the Isle, he returned to *Confiantinople*, carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better fort of the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, that were left alive, together with all the Wealth of that most rich and pleasant Island, leaving it almost desolate, none remaining therein more than his own Garrisons, with a few of the poorest and basest people. *Mahomet* after he was arrived at *Confiantinople*, called the Prince *Nicolas*, with *Lucius* his Cousin (whose help he had before used in killing of his elder Brother) into close Prison; where they living themselves every hour in danger of their lives, to win Favour in the Tyrants sight, yielded to renounce the Christian Religion, and to turn Turk. Which *Mahomet* understanding, caused them both to be richly apparelled, and with great Triumph to be circumcised, and presently set at liberty; yet still bearing in mind his old grudge, he shortly after, when they least feared any such matter, clapt them both fast again in Prison, and there caused them to be most cruelly put to death. A just Reward for bloody Murderers, and Apostacy, who to gain a little longer life, were content to forsake God.

1464. Shortly after it was found, that *Stephen King of Bosnia* (in ancient time called *Mesfia Superior*) who supported by the Turkish Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that Kingdom against his own Brethren, refused now to pay such yearly Tribute as he had before promised; for which cause *Mahomet* with a strong Army entered into *Bosnia*, and laid Siege unto the City of *Dordevitz*, which when he had with much ado taken, he divided the people thereof into three parts; one part whereof he gave as Slaves unto his

Men of War, another part he sent unto *Confiantinople*, and the third he left to inhabit the City. From *Dordevitz* he marched to *Jacizga*, now called *Jaisa*, the chief City of that Kingdom, which after four months Siege was delivered unto him by Composition; in this City he took the Kings Brother and Sister Prisoners, with most of the Nobility of that Kingdom, whom he sent as it were in Triumph unto *Confiantinople*. The other lesser Cities of *Bosna* following the Example of the greater, yielded themselves also. But *Mahomet* understanding that the King of *Bosna* had retired himself into the farthest part of his Kingdom, sent *Mahomet* his chief Basha with his European Soldiers to pursue him; wherein the Basha used such diligence, that he had on every side so inclosed him before he was aware, that he could by no means escape, which was before thought a thing impossible. So the King for safeguard of his life was fain to take the City of *Cyssa* for his Refuge; where he was so hardly laid to by the Basha, that seeing no other remedy, he offered to yield himself upon the Bashes faithful promise by Oath confirmed, that he should be honourably used, and not to receive in his Person any harm from the Turkish Emperor. Whereupon the Bashes Oath to the same purpose was with great Solemnity taken; and for the more assurance, conceived in writing, signed by the Basha, and so delivered to the King; which done, the King came out of the City and yielded himself. The Basha having thus taken the King Prisoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from City to City, until he had taken possession of all the Kingdom of *Bosna*; and so returning unto his Master, presented unto him the Captive King; who was not a little offended with him, for that he had unto him so engaged his Turkish Faith. But when the poor King thought to have departed without suffering further harm, he was suddenly sent for by *Mahomet*; at which time, he doubting the worst, carried with him in his hand the writing wherein the Bashes Oath for his safety was comprised; nevertheless, the faithless Tyrant without any regard thereof, or of his Faith therein given, caused him presently to be most cruelly put to death, or as some write, to be slain quick. This was the Christian Kingdom of *Bosna* thus subdued by *Mahomet*, in the year 1462. After he had at his pleasure disposed thereof, and reduced it to the form of a Province, to be (as it is at this day) governed by one of his Bashes; in great Triumph returned to *Confiantinople*, carrying away with him many a woful Christian Captive, and the whole Wealth of that Kingdom.

*Mahomet* following the Example of his Father *Amerath*, had from the beginning of his Reign by one or other of his chief Bashes or expert Captains still maintained War against *Scanderbeg*, the most valiant and fortunate King of *Epirus*; these greatest part whereof, although it did in the course of time concur with the things before declared, and might by piece-meal have been amongst the same in their due time and place inserted; yet I have of purpose for divers reasons wholly reserved them for this place; first, for that I would not interrupt the course of the History before rehearsed; with the particular accidents of this War; And then, for that the greatest part of this Hereditary War, delivered as it were from hand to hand, from the Father to the Son, happened not long after this time; when as *Mahomet* having conquered the Kingdom of *Bosna*, had surrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* Dominion; wherein I had respect also unto

Vide Marium  
Patrium  
lib. de  
vita & ge-  
stis Scan-  
derbegi.

unto the Readers ease, who may with greater pleasure and content, and less pain, also view the same together, than if it had been differently fastened and intermeddled with the other greater occurrences of the same time. In which discourse I will but briefly touch many thing well worthy of a larger Treatise. And if forgetting my self, I shall in some places happen to say something longer than the Readers hand would require, yet I hope, that the zeal and love he bears unto the worthy memory of most famous Christian Princes, together with the shortness of the History, in comparison of that which is thereof written in full Volumes by others, shall easily excuse a larger discourse than this: But again to our purpose.

*Mahomet* in the beginning of his Reign sent Embassadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him Peace, so that he would grant to pay unto him such yearly Tribute as his Father *Amerath* had in his life time demanded. Which embassage the crafty Tyrant sent rather to cure what confidence he had in himself, than for any hope he had to have his demand granted. This dishonourable offered peace *Scanderbeg* scornfully rejected, and so returned the Embassadors as they came; and presently upon their departure entered with his Horsemen into that part of the Turks Dominion which bordereth upon *Epirus*; and when he had wasted the Country, returned home laden with the Spoil thereof. In revenge of which despite, *Mahomet* shortly after sent Amul, one of his best Masters of War, with twelve thousand Horsemen unto *Epirus*, to require *Scanderbeg* with the like Spoil of his People and Country. But *Scanderbeg* understanding by his Espials of the Turks coming, lay close in ambush with six thousand Soldiers upon the great Mountain *Modrissa*, over which the Turks must of necessity take their way; and as they were about by night to have passed over that rough and steep Mountain, and were with much difficulty almost got to the top thereof, they were suddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his Footmen, who having the advantage of the place, made great laughter of the Turks, and drove them down the Mountain again; at which time their Horses stood them in no stead at all, but were rather unto them an hindrance in that uneven and troublesome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the Mountain, they were in that great fear and disorder, again fiercely charged on the one side by *Scanderbeg*, and on the other side by his Nepew, called also *Amul*, who before the Turks coming had placed themselves with their Horsemen in places of most advantage; so that the Turks hardly beat and forced on every side, were in short time overthrowen and put to flight. In this conflict seven thousand of the Turks were slain, and *Amul* General of the Turks Army with divers other Captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* sent Prisoners to *Croia*. For joy of this Victory at *Scanderbegs* return, great Triumph and Feasting was made at *Croia*; during which time, *Scanderbeg* caused *Amul* the Turk, with the rest of the Turkish Captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that joy, whereof they against their wills had given the occasion; and afterwards used them with all kind of courtesy during the time of their abode. This *Amul* a messenger of *Scanderbeg*, that he might send a Reliquester to *Confiantinople*, to certify *Mahomet* how the Turks stood with him and the rest, whom happily he might think to have been slain in the Battle; and to procure from him their ransom. Which his request *Scanderbeg* easily granted, and set down their ransom at thirteen thousand

and Ducats. The news of this overthrow forewarned the Turkish Tyrant, but afterwards when he saw the remainder of his Army without their General and Leaders, having for most part lost their Ensigns and Armor, and also the Messenger that was sent from *Amul*, he fell into such a rage that he denied to give any thing at all for his ransom; imputing all the loss to his Treachery, Folly, or Cowardise. Howbeit he was afterwards persuaded by his Bashes and other great Courtiers, *Amul* his Friends, to think better of the General, of whose Faithfulness and Valour he had of long time had great experience, and also to send his Ransom; by denying whereof, he should (as they said) discourage his other Generals and Captains, who by chance of War might hap to fall into the like danger. By whose persuasion *Mahomet* sent an Embassador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ransom demanded, and other great Presents also. Upon receipt whereof, *Amul* with the other Captains were set at liberty, and sent with safe convoy out of *Epirus*. All the money sent for the Turks ransom, *Scanderbeg* divided amongst his Captains and Soldiers.

This late received overthrow filled the proud Tyrant with desire of revenge, so that he determined forthwith to send another Army unto *Epirus*; the leading whereof, divers of his great and most expert Captains ambitiously fought for. For *Mahomet* had promised great Rewards and most honourable Preferments to him whose help it should be to vanquish *Scanderbeg*. Among the rest, one *Debras* (a man for his Forwardness and Courage, in great favour with his Sovereign) by great suit obtained to have that charge; promising with exceeding confidence unto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better success in his Wars of *Epirus*, than others thither by him before sent; for the accomplishment whereof, he required to have no greater power than was sent the year before. But after that *Amul* was returned to the Court, and had with long discourse set forth the Vertues and Valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the invincible courage of his Soldiers, *Debras* became more temperate in his Speech, and was contented to receive a new Supply; so that he had under his Charge fourteen thousand Soldiers; with which Army he marched towards *Epirus*, and was come to a place called *Pologus*, where the lay with his Army encamped in a Plain in great security, fearing no danger; for that he was not as yet in the Enemies Country, neither as he supposed, near the Enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the coming of *Debras*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence; and being resolved not to expect the coming of the Turks into *Epirus*, made choice of Six thousand of his best Horsemen; with whom he marched with as much speed as was possible into the Enemies Country, and came by night unto the Plain, where the Turks lay, hoping to have been upon them before they were aware, and so to have overthrowen them; wherein he was much deceived; for by the light of the Moon (which then shined all night) he was by the Turks in time discovered, yet the fuddleness of his approach with the strangeness of the attempt, exceedingly dismayed the whole Army of the Turks. But *Debras* mindful of the promise he had made unto his Lord and Master, with cheerful words encouraged his Soldiers, and presently sent out certain Troops of light Horsemen, to receive the first Charge of the Enemy, until he might set his whole Army in order of Battle. Betwixt these Troops, and others sent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a sharp skirmish; both the

Debras  
sent with  
fourteen  
thousand  
Horsemen  
to invade  
Epirus.

Aske mis-  
derbe  
the Chris-  
tians and  
the Turks.



A Battle  
between  
Scander-  
beg and  
Debreas.

Armies standing fast, as beholders, carefully expecting the event thereof. But Scanderbeg doubting, that if his Souldiers should in his first encounter be put to the worst, it might tend to the great discouraging of the rest of his Army; seconded his men with other fresh Troops under the leading of *Moses* and *Amefia*; by whose coming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chased even to their main Batrel. In the heat of which chase, *Moses* forgetting himself, had with great danger in following on too fast, been inclosed by the Turks, had not his Fury been in good time staid by *Amefia*; for which oversight, he was afterwards blamed by Scanderbeg, that he could not with greater moderation use his good Fortune, commending such forwardness in a private Souldier, but not in so great a Commander.

When *Moses* and *Amefia* had thus put the Turks to flight, Scanderbeg brought on his whole Army, and fiercely assailed the Turks, yet troubled with the discomfiture of their Fellows. Debreas on the other side, with cheerful Speech, and his own Valour, so encouraged his Souldiers, that Scanderbeg was thereunto refitted, and his Fortune as it were at a stand; until that *Musfuchius*, with certain Troops of resolute men, drawn out of the left Wing of Scanderbeg's Army, gave such a fierce Charge upon the file of the Turks Army, that he brake their Ranks, and fore-difordered that part of the Army; which when Debreas perceived, he withdrew himself out of the front of the Batrel wherein he had valiantly stood against Scanderbeg, and came to the place where *Musfuchius* had difordered the Batrel, and with such Courage cheered up his troubled Souldiers, that his only Presence and Valour seemed to be the very Life and Heart of his whole Army. Whilst Debreas was thus busied against *Musfuchius*, Scanderbeg in the mean time with might and main fill charged the front of the Enemies Army; who now in the absence of the General began to lose their order and to give ground, making no such resistance as before. At which time, *Moses* forcibly breaking into the thickest of them, took one of their Ensigns, which he threw back among his Followers; where-with they encouraged, to press upon their Enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therewith discouraged, and their Batrel difordered, were almost ready to turn their Backs and to flee. Debreas seeing all in danger to be lost, halted with all speed unto the place where he saw most peril, and did what was possible to have restored the Batrel, and encouraged his Souldiers; where pressing in among the most, he was by Scanderbeg himself encountered hand to hand, and so by him slain; with whose fall the whole Army discouraged, without further resistance fled. *Moses* pursuing them on the one side, and *Musfuchius* on the other, with furious hand flew more in that chase than were slain in the Batrel. Of the Turks were slain in this Batrel four thousand one hundred and twenty, and some Prisoners taken, but of the Christians few or none; so that for the good fortune thereof, Scanderbeg accounted it a Victory given. All the Spoil taken from the Enemy, together with the Prisoners, was by Scanderbeg equally divided among the Souldiers. Unto *Moses* he gave Debreas his Horse and Armour; and unto *Musfuchius* a Prisoner, which by his port and behaviour seemed to be a man of some account.

Debreas  
 slain by  
Scander-  
beg, and  
his Army  
 dispersed.

A pleasant  
contention  
between  
*Musfuchius*,  
and a  
Turk for  
his ransom.

This Turk, which *Musfuchius* upon a ransom of two hundred Ducats, and presently upon agreement made, drew forth the Money out of a little Bag which he had kept secretly about him, and offered it to *Musfuchius* for his ransom;

who receiving the Money, told the Turk, that he must provide another ransom, forasmuch as that Money was his own before by Law of Arms, as taken with his person. The Turk on the other side alledged for himself the agreement already made, with the payment of the full sum agreed upon. This controversy was brought before Scanderbeg; who with great pleasure heard them both what they could say; *Musfuchius* laying in hard for another ransom, and the Turk for his liberty urging the agreement. Who when they had both said what they could for themselves, Scanderbeg smiling, told them, that they both contended for that which was in right his, and neither of them for the Prisoner with the Money were both mine (said he) at the first taking of him, since which time I have given to you *Musfuchius* the Prisoner, which I knew, but not the Money which I knew not of; neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (said he to the Turk) who had by Law of Arms lost your self, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleasantly discouraged of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Musfuchius* the Money he agreed for, and to the Turk his desired liberty; who glad thereof, and having also received his Horse and Armour of the gift of Scanderbeg, departed, speaking all the honour he could of so noble a Conqueror. After this Victory Scanderbeg with great triumph returned again to Croia.

When Mahomet understood that Debreas was slain, and his Army overthrown, he became exceedingly melancholy; but after he saw so many of his Souldiers returned as had been sufficient to have restored a lost battel, he was so highly displeased with that Cowardice, as that he could not endure the sight of them. The death of Debreas grieved none more than the King himself; for the Captains generally either envied at his hardiness, or else hated his infidelity. *Amefia* among the rest took no small pleasure, that his proud Successor had taken part of his evil Fortune, and so in part eased his former infamy. The great Balfas and Men of War seeing their Sovereign so desirous of revenge, offered to spend their lives in that service, whose forwardness he seemed not to refuse; howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of revenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his Father *Amurath* amongst the Princes of Greece; which foul practice he purposed now to put in practice himself. There were at that time many famous Chieftains in Epirus, next unto Scanderbeg himself; him, the crafty Tyrant most desired to alienate from Scanderbeg, as one fittest to serve his purpose, and easiest without suspicion to be dealt with; because he commonly lay with a strong Garrison in *Dibra*, upon the very frontiers of Epirus. Wherefore he directed his Letters unto the Governor of *Sfeigrade*, commanding him by all means he could possibly devise to withdraw *Moses* from Scanderbeg; and not to spare for any Gold or golden Promises whereby to allure him; promising also unto the Governor himself great preferments, if

he

The crafty  
preaching  
of the  
Turk *Mos-  
feger*.

he could win him. Upon receipt of which Letters, the Governor began to fall into the snare, how he might best attempt the matter he had in charge; where after many devices, he at last thought upon a shrewd-headed fellow, one of the Christians which dwelt in *Sfeigrade*; whom for that he was a Christian, he might without suspect use as an instrument in so dangerous and important an action. This Christian the Governor called unto him, and after he had with great Gifts and large Promises won him to undertake the matter, he sent him away, fully be- fore armed with pteuous instructions full of Treason and Deceit. When this subtil Messenger was come unto *Moses*, and under pretence of great and secret matters of importance, had obtained to speak with him in private; he after some discourse had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length under the covert of fair glozing words, to utter his poyson; shewing unto him (as a Messenger from the Governor) the great and good opinion the Turkish Emperor had of long time conceived of his Valour and Prowess, for which cause his heroical Nature could not but honour him, although he were his Enemy; and therewith also marvel, that he being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by Scanderbeg, whose fate was by him chiefly upheld, whereas if he would do wisely, and managing his affection, follow Mahomet, an Emperor of greatest magnificence and power, he should quickly in his Court find such honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the state of Scanderbeg; or if the Sovereignty of Epirus his native Country did better please him, he might easily be thereunto advanced, by joining his own endeavour to Mahomet's great power. It pleased *Moses* well to hear his own Praise (a thing incident to haughty minds) and he liked well that he was so favoured of the Turkish Emperor; but the hope of the Kingdom of Epirus, began to work in him new conceits, and moved him more than all the rest. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things, save themselves; so glorious a thing it is, to stand in the highest place: For all that, *Moses* neither in word or countenance made any semblance of liking, or disliking the Messenger. Which the wily Messenger taking for a secret consent, and heartily glad that he had been so well heard; not desiring as then any further answer, craved leave to depart, promising in short time to return to him again. After the departure of this Messenger, many troubled thoughts began to arise in the mind of *Moses*; his mirth was changed into melancholy, and his countenance of his countenance was altered; his haughty thoughts were his solitary Companions, and the imagined Kingdom the Idol he in secret worshipped; so that in short time, he seemed to the wiser sort as a man altogether metamorphosed. Some were so bold, as for to ask the cause of the Messengers coming; unto whom he answered, That he was one, from whom he received intelligence of matters concerning the good of the State; which his answer was holden for true; for who durst once mistrust *Moses*? Whilst he thus was ruffled up and down with his own thoughts, as a Ship with the Billows of a rough Sea, the same sly Messenger, according to his promise came again; and for his more credit, in secret brought with him such Presents as well might seem to have been sent from the Great Turk, with which Messages were framed than before. Of all which that was sent, *Moses* is reported to have received nothing but the worst, which was, the very Treason it self. And so

Mosfeger  
replied.

returned the Messenger, with answer, that he could not but with great grief accept of the Turkish Emperors great favour, and for the rest of his requests, whatsoever he should chance to do therein, he should not from thenceforth find him any great Enemy; commanding the Messenger at his departure, no more to repair unto him about that matter, for fear of suspicion.

After that, it chanced that Scanderbeg came unto *Dibra*, to see how all things stood there, and to consult with *Moses* for the besieging of *Sfeigrade*; which *Moses* it grieved him to see in the possession of the Turks. *Moses* to avert Scanderbeg from that enterprise, wherein he must of force be driven to shew himself, told him, That he understood of late by a certain Messenger which came to him out of *Sfeigrade*, that the City was so well stored by the Turks, of all things necessary for the defence thereof, that it would cost lost labour to attempt any thing against the same; wherefore he advised him rather to besiege *Belgrade* (not that *Belgrade* which is situated upon the River of *Danubius*, but another of the same name) in the Confinnes of *Epirus*, then holden by the Turks, but distant from *Sfeigrade* about an hundred and forty miles; of the taking whereof, there seemed to be more hope. By this persuasion, Scanderbeg relolved with himself to make provision for the besieging of *Belgrade*. And forasmuch as his Souldiers of *Epirus* always used to the River, were not so fit for the besieging of Towns, he thought it good to pray aid out of Italy, from his old Friend *Alphonso* King of Naples, with whom he had been of long time acquainted, and unto him much beholden. Wherefore he sent two of his Noblemen Embassadors unto him, with certain rich Presents, and familiar Letters of this purport.

Scander-  
beg creat-  
ing an aid  
of Alphon-  
so King  
of Naples.

Our Souldiers of Epirus, know only how to fight with men, and them to conquer with Walls they know not how to deal. You Italians (as I understand) have skill in that kind of service, and take pleasure therein; wherefore now at this present, I have need of your help and cunning. There be certain Towns of our Enemies in Epirus, yet almost in the heart of our Kingdom, which eyefore I have of long desired (if it pleased God) to take out of my sight; but being occupied with continual Wars, had no leisure until now, happily to attempt any thing against them. This time I have chosen as most fit, to satisfy my desire, both for the (so)inableness of the time of the year, and for that Mahomet (perish his leisure) whose fury I have twice calmed. You understand in few words, what I have need of; all other things are almost in readiness, and we only look for your help. Lend me such Souldiers as know how to fight a fair fight, I mean Harquebushers and Cannoniers, for of others we have plenty. But hope ye it Apulia, my Alphonso, under thy Government, from whence men fit for all services may be drawn as out of a most plentiful treasury. Whenever we have requested men fit for service, either in Peace or War, you have befitted both our Court and Camp. By you the Kingdom of Epirus hath been preserved with civil Policy, and warlike Strength; all eyefore of People, of what condition soever; you eyefore of Epirus foundeth forth the peace, both at home and abroad. But for mine own part, I do so lovingly embrace your kindness, and so firmly retain the remembrance of your deserts towards me, that sometime I wish you that fortune (although in so doing I may seem unkind) which (as the common saying is) proveth, but getteth no Friends; to the intent, that you might by some more certain proof know, how much I am to you devoted.

When *Scanderbeg* had sent away his Embassadors, he with all diligence began to provide things necessary for the Siege of *Belgrade*; wherein he had purposed also to have used the service of *Mofes*. But he now in heart a Traitor both to his Prince and Country, and a Friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuses to stay at home in *Dibra*; alledging first, that it was to be thought that so soon as the Turkish King should hear of the Siege of *Belgrade*, he would invade some part of *Epirus*, thereby to withdraw his Enemies from the Siege; and then that no part of all *Epirus* lay nearer unto the Turks, or more in danger than *Dibra*; and that therefore he could not do any better service, than to see unto the safety of that Country, long before committed to his charge, and in which also most part of his Living lay. These his excuses, proceeding indeed from deep Treason, were yet nevertheless thought reasonable, and he for his provident care highly commended; and Authority given him with new supplies to augment the Garrison under his command, as time and occasion should require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended Siege, the Embassadors before sent to *Alphonso*, were returned unto *Epirus*, and with them such aid as *Scanderbeg* had before requested, and a great deal more. For *Alphonso* fearing the greatness of the Turkish Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg*'s actions, reckoning himself not above fifty miles distant from his Dominions, to be the strongest Walls of his Kingdom in *Alpida* (as not many years after, it by proof appeared, when as the Turks having taken *Oran*, put all *Italy* in no small fear.) With this aid he also wrote loving Letters unto *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his Presents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his own. But when he came to make mention of the Soldiers he had sent, *Alphonso* wrote the manner of his pleasant nature, merrily wrote unto *Scanderbeg*. That he had sent him *Italian* Soldiers which could according to his desire, fight well both with Men and Walls, but better with Women; and that therefore the *Epirots* were best to take heed, that they whose help they required for fight afar off, proved not also good Warriors at hand at home in their Houses. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had given of the King, was by him returned unto the excess of his love, and by the King requited with the like.

*Scanderbeg* now furnished with all things needful, set forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before *Belgrade*, with an Army of fourteen thousand good Soldiers; and in short time had so distressed the City, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for sixteen days, which time expired, they promised to deliver up the Town, if they were not before relieved. Upon conclusion of this truce *Scanderbeg* encamped himself upon an high Hill near unto the City, with three thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot, and appointed *Musachin* and *Tamfus*, with the rest of his Army, to remove farther off into a large Plain, where they might encamp themselves in a more wholesome and fresh Air, in that hot season of the year, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed also five and twenty Scouts to keep continual Watch upon the top of the high Mountain, to discover afar off the coming of the Enemy, and to give warning thereof unto the Camp by making a fire upon the Mountain; by the negligence of which Watch, *Scanderbeg* received a great overthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The news of the Siege of *Belgrade* was brought unto *Mahomet*, at such time as he was ready to have passed into *Alia* against the Emperor of *Trapezond*; which great enterprise he was loath to give over, for the relief of *Belgrade*, and yet to lose that City unto *Scanderbeg*, grieved him much; wherefore he resolved with himself so to much; wherefore he would not altogether neglect the one, as that he would not his intended journey into *Alia* himself, with such fortune as is afore said, he sent *Sebalias* one of his great Balfaces, with forty thousand Horsemen to relieve *Belgrade*, promising him great rewards if he could bring him *Scanderbeg* either alive or dead. This *Balface* was of the Turks accounted for a wary Captain, but not so courageous, always more pacific than bold; he having received his charge, set forward; with all speed possible, no less careful of ward with him as commanded, than was *Mahomet* himself, and by great journeys came on so fast, that he still prevented the fame of his coming; and by his Forerunners intercepted, or rather (as some write) corrupted the Watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed upon the Mountains; so that no sign was given unto the Camp, of the Enemies, as was expected. By means whereof, *Sebalias* with all his power were upon that part of *Scanderbeg*'s Army, which lay in the Plains, before they were well aware of his coming; so that most part of them had not so much leisure as to bridle their Horses, or to put on their Armor. In which so suddain a fear, *Musachin* armed himself, and put his Soldiers in such order, as the shortness of the time and the Enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flee, but seeing no less danger in Flight than in Fight, he resolutely received the Enemies charge, as a man desirous beforehand to revenge his own death. And at length (seeing to his men slain about him by heaps, and that courage must needs give place unto fortune) fiercely attempted to have broken through the midst of his Enemies, and so to have fled unto the Mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay; but he was so beset, that no way was possible to be made; wherefore, to resolving there to die, he desperately fought, to the great admiration of his Enemies, until that he, with all there with him, were every man slain. *Tamfus*, on the other side, after he had given divers brave attempts to have refused his cousin *Musachin*, finding by proof, that he could do him no more good therein, but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted all the rest yet left, for safeguard of their lives to flee: in which doing, most of them were slain, for the Balfaces great Army to filled all places thereabout, and so eagerly pursued the Victory, that it was almost impossible any way to escape. *Scanderbeg* lying upon the Mountain, and seeing the overthrow of most part of his Armie, was about many times to have defended from the Hill to have helped them in what he might, or else to have died with them; but by other straits, being thereon earnestly resisted by his other most expert Captains; and perswaded, not desperately to thrust both himself and them all into the manifest peril of assured death.

*Sebalias* having slain *Musachin* and put *Tamfus* to flight, followed the chase with the greatest part of his Army, so that few were left in the great Plain, except such as staid to rise the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that opportunity, came forth from the Hill whereon he stood, with his down from the Hill whereon he stood, and in a moment slew four thousand Soldiers, and in a moment slew all such Turks as he found in his way; and after following in the tail of the Turks Army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a general

*Scanderbeg* fleth by night into *Epirus*.

fear upon the whole Army; in somuch, that *Sebalias* perceiving that he gained not so much in the chasing of *Tamfus*, but that he lost more in the reward of his Army, by the pursuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chase, and turned upon his fierce Enemy; where after a sharp skirmish begun, the wary *Balface* fearing in the maintaining of that disordered Fight to have the Victory wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, caused a Retreat to be founded, so to call together his dispersed Soldiers, and in better order to encounter his dangerous Enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the mean time having assembled the remainder of his Army, valiantly again encountered the Turks, who thought in this battle to have made an end of the Wars in *Epirus*; and with his own Hand slew *Achmet* and *Barach*, two valiant Soldiers of the Turks; which like stout Champions had before sworn unto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they should chance to meet with him. In this last skirmish a great number of the Turks were slain; but Night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his Army to a Mountain near unto the City, and *Scanderbeg* likewise to another almost two miles off; and in the dead time of the night rising with his Army, returned in safety into *Epirus*, leaving strong Garrisons upon all the strait passages as he went, for fear lest the *Balface* proud of this Victory, should forthwith break into *Epirus*. This was the only and greatest overthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto received of the Turks; wherein he lost two thousand Horsemen and three thousand Foot; most part were the Followers of the late Emperor King *Alphonso* together with his Tents and great Artillery, and about eighty of his Men taken Prisoners. And of the Turks were also slain three thousand.

The next day *Sebalias* perceiving that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commanded the bodies of the slain Turks to be fought out and buried; but of such Christians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their Hands and Feet, and to left them among the dead. The Head of *Musachin* and of many other the slain Christians, which by their Armor or Apparel were thought to be of the better sort, were by the Commandment of *Sebalias* cut off; which because he could not for the distance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoyance carry with him to *Constantinople*, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is, he caused them to be flayed, and stuffed with Chaff, and so to be carried as the vain Trophies of his Victory. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered Walls of *Belgrade*, and put a new supply of seven hundred fresh Soldiers into the City, beside the old Garrison therein before, and for all things in good order, he returned with great Triumph to *Constantinople*. And the more to set out the glory of his Victory, at the time he entered the City, he first caused the captive Christians to be led by Chains before him; after whom were born the Ensigns taken from the Christians, with the afore said Heads thrust upon Lances, and after them all the Spoil; last of all came *Sebalias* himself with his Soldiers, as great Conquerors, and was of the People received with such Applause and Joy, as if he had conquered some great Kingdom. No man was now spoken of but *Sebalias*, his praises were in every mans Mouth, he was the only man (as they said) that did think that *Scanderbeg* was to be overcome; no preferment was now thought too great for him, or Reward sufficient to countervail his desert. The poor Christian Captives were afterwards for the most part sold; of the rest some were alive thrust

upon sharp Stake, some hanged upon iron Hooks, some otherwise cruelly at the Victors pleasure tortured to death.

*Mofes* lately before corrupted by the practices of the Governor of *Szigrad*, hearing of the great loss *Scanderbeg* had received at *Belgrade*, thought it now a most fit time for his revolt. But forasmuch as the Fate, in the nature of it self, fomented even to himself the door thereof, a great deal sooner and more dishonourable, for that he had therein no complices; he thought it good, if it were possible, to allure some others into the Fellowship of his Treason, so to diminish the infamy of himself, in communicating the fault with many, and to appear with greater credit before the Turkish Tyrants, than if he should as a contemptible Fugitive come all alone. Wherefore upon the bad news from *Belgrade*, he seemed at the first very grieved, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*; and the common misery of the Country of *Epirus*, with many words amplifying the same; and then on the contrary part, setting forth to the uttermost the Force and Power of the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, thereby to strike a greater terror and diffult into the minds of them with whom he was conversant; but unto such was more secret and inward with him, he discovered the great affection and favour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offer of his Gifts and Preferences, assuring them of the like also, if they would conform themselves unto his appetite; seeking hereby so much to allure them, to allure them into the participation of his most execrable Treason; yet when he had said what he could, he found none but a few of the baser sort of the common Soldiers, which were willing to hearken unto him or to follow him. When *Mofes* saw how much he had laboured, and how little prevailed, fearing to be discovered, he fled by night to *Szigrad*, accompanied with a few base Fellows; and easily obtained the Governors pass, with safe conduct to *Constantinople*; where he arrived a little before the return of *Sebalias* from *Belgrade*, and was of *Mahomet* both joyfully received and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* understood that *Mofes* was thus revolted, at the first report thereof he was so troubled with the strangeness of the Fact, that he stood speechless as a man astonished; but after he had paused a while, and upon further enquiry had found it out to be true, he according to his heretical disposition, said no more, but that he could easily have *Mofes* excused, for that he was carried away with the violence of such Fortune as might have alienated the mind of a right constant man. And when divers of his Friends (according to the manner of the World) with hard speeches seemed to aggravate his offences he could not abide to hear the same, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to use such speeches; wishing that with *Mofes* and evil Fortune were together with *Mofes* sent out of *Epirus*. Upon this news *Scanderbeg*, accompanied with *Amezah* his Nephew, and a Troop of Horsemen, presently entered into the Country of *Dibra*, and there with all care caused most diligent inquiry to be made, if any could be found partakers of the Conspiracy with *Mofes*. But finding none, he much rejoiced in the fidelity of his Subjects; and having for all things in good order in that Province, returned himself to *Crava*.

*Mofes* remaining in the Turks Court, ceased not to solicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his Wars against *Scanderbeg*, promising to do therein great matters.

Mahomet  
sends  
Moses  
with fif-  
teen thou-  
sand selei-  
men to in-  
vade Epi-  
rus.

*The Battle  
betwixt  
Scander-  
beg and  
Moses.*

Moses  
contem  
of the  
Turks.

*A Combat  
betwixt a  
Turk and  
a Christian.*

255

Moses *fr*  
itb from  
Constan-  
tinople.

Shortly after that *Mefes* was returned unto *Epirus*, *Mahomet* by like practice allured unto him *Amefia*, *Scanderberg* his Nephew; promising to make him King of *Epirus* in his Uncles stead. For by that means, the crafty Tyrant thought it a more eafie way to draw the minds of the people of *Epirus* from *Scanderberg* unto him, defended of the Princes Blood, than to *Mefes*, or to any other Stranger he should first give *Amefia* upon this hope of a Kingdom, fled to *Cyrtania*, and became he would clear the mind of the Tyrant of all Suspition and distrust, he carried with him his Wife and Children, as the most free Pledges of his Fidelity. This *Amefia* was of Stature low, and the Feature of his Body not so perfect as might sufficiently exprefs the hidden Vertues of his Mind; he was of Courage haughty, and more meafure, full of a pregnant Will, wonderful Memory, and the most exact and beautiful (the chief means whereby *Epirus* minds feal away the Hearts of Men) whatsoever he got of himself, or had by the gift of his Uncle, he divided it among his Souldiers or Friends; he was very affable, and could notably both cover and diflemble his affections; for which things, he was above all others both beloved and honoured of all the People of *Epirus*, when *Scanderberg* was living. But after coming to *Ademem*, he filled not his Ears with flattery, Promises and vain Praifes of himself as had *Ademem*.



fellows: Besides that they have with them my graceless Nephew and domestic Foe Amela, who will teach them to forefend and slay such Snarers as in times past he with us was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we must now tower up into the heights of some notable and strange policy, whereby both our Country may be from danger preserved, and also some great Victory, without our own bloodshed (which, I have already obtained; which to the maintenance of our ancient Glory and Renown, we have to this day by many most notable Victories gained: But time and space, and the sight of the Enemy, shall furnish us with this device. Now (that my Discourse may come to the purposed end) first of all, all things subject either to the fury or victory of the Enemy, are to be removed out of the way; all people, of what Age, Sex, or Condition soever, are to be brought out of the Country into places of safety; and then, our Towns are to be furnished with strong Garrisons and all other necessary Provision, against all the chances of Fortune. Besides, who knoweth the secret designs of the Tyrant? or whether he himself (of long time desirous of Revenge, and thirsting after our Blood) will follow the Baffa at the heels, or no? Perhaps I may believe and fear more than is needful; but it is good to fear all that may be feared, that we may indeed fear nothing. If all things shall thus be set in order, if there shall nothing be left in the Fields or in the Villages, that may enrich, feed, or fear our Enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our Enemies, undoubtedly we shall be Victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in these Wars, I will assuredly deliver your Enemies into your hands to be slain at your pleasure; and (by the leave of God) will make the Name and Valour of the Emperor more terrible unto the Turk, than ever it hath been in the time of our ancestors. I flatter not my self, I deceive you not; if any thing may be promised in worldly Affairs, this I assure you of, and this will I take upon me. But these things are better done than said. In the mean while, to spend no more time in longer talk and discourse (than which, no greater loss can be to Soldiers) let every one of us take a part in this Charge, for the good disposing of all things, and how to withstand the Enemy. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my self do; I will refuse nothing, or reckon any thing base, which may tend to the common Honour or Profit of us all.

The Epitome  
roots re-  
move all  
their  
things out  
of the  
Country  
into the  
strong  
Towns be-  
fore the  
coming of  
the Turk.

This Speech of Scanderbeg was well liked and joyfully received of all the Hearers, so that many besought him to manifest to them how he purposed to proceed in these Wars; whereunto he with cheerful countenance answered. That it was enough for him, if they did but believe him, promising himself in Person to be in the most dangerous actions as far as any of them, where with they rested contented. And presently dispatching his Lieutenants into divers parts of his Kingdom, as he thought most convenient, provided, that all things were in short time conveyed out of the Country into the strong Towns and other places of Refuge. No Corn, no Cattle, or other things of any worth was left in the Country; but all left desolate, in like manner as was before at the coming of the great King Amurat to the Siege of Croia.

By this time Isaac the great Baffa was come into Epirus, accompanied with Amela; and as he marched, still sent before him his Scouts and his Episcops, carefully to view every corner of the Country, for fear to be surprised as others before him had been: directed in his Journey, for most part by Amela. Scanderbeg had in readiness such an Army as he had purposed to use against his mighty Enemy, but lay with six thousand

Horfemen only in shew, as if he had determined with them to have given them battal, but meaning indeed nothing less. For as soon as the Baffa was come in sight, he with those Horfemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had been discouraged with the very sight of the Turks, turned his back and fled. And because he would not give them any occasion to suspect it to be done for some policy or fineness, and so to make them more careful, he fled not into the Mountains or Woods, as his wonted manner was, but directly toward Lysia, a Town of the Venetians standing upon the Sea coast, as if he had quite despair'd of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for Refuge. The Baffa seeing him fly, was glad thereof, and sent certain Troops of Horfemen to pursue him, and diligently to mark which way he took; but encamped himself with his Army in the Plains of Dibra, near unto Ornychium, where Scanderbeg lay before; and there rested his Army, weary of long travel, expecting the return of his Horfemen, sent after Scanderbeg. But upon their return, when it was for a certainty reported by them, That Scanderbeg with an handful of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an Enemy to be seen, the Turks began to rejoice, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any loss driven the Enemy out of the Country; yet much grieved, that they could no where yet much thing to satisfy their greedy desires; for why, all things were to clean gone, as if the Country had been swept against their coming, which might have been a sufficient cause for them to have distrustful some great matter; but they flattering themselves, supposed all this to be done for fear of them, upon extreme desperation; such is the frail conceit of men, to lose strength of body, common sense, and understanding, when some great mischief is appointed for their Overthrow or Destruction. The Baffa seeing the Enemy fled, and now no cause of fear, consulted with his chief Captains, what were now best to be done? Amela still persuading him not to remove, but there to stay a time, and to expect the farther event of matters. But the greater number, whose opinion prevailed, said it was better to go farther into the Country; and to take the spoil thereof before the Country people should convey away all their Substance into places of safety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leave them nothing but the bare ground and empty Cottages. By this persuasion, the Baffa early next morning in good order set forward; commanding by general Proclamation, That no man upon pain of death should break his Array or fringe from the Army. Yet before he set forward, he called Amela unto him; whom after he had highly commended, and with great vehemency inveighed against Scanderbeg, he with the great applause of the whole Army in the name of Mahomet created him King of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reason of the great heat; for it was then about the midst of July. Yet when he had well wearied himself with that day's travel, finding neither Enemy nor any thing else worthy to be accounted in any part of a Victory, he encamped at night, keeping diligent Watch, and sending forth his Scouts every way, but especially towards Lysia. The next day, which was the third day after the Baffa's coming into Epirus, he set forward again, and came at length into Amathia, and there encamped that night.

When Scanderbeg (dying for fear, as the Turks supposed) was gone a great way out of their sight towards Lysia, and come even to the Borders of his Kingdom, he there staid all the rest

Amela is  
by the Baf-  
sa created  
King of  
Epirus.

of that day. And a little before the going down of the Sun, he with a few select Horfemen departed from the Army, and with painful travel got up to the top of the high Mountains, from whence a man might by day well discover all the Plains of Amathia. There he appointed one Tevte Emamus, a politic and valiant Gentleman, with certain Horfemen to mark diligently which way the Enemy held, and by certain secret and appointed watchings and signs, to give knowledge thereof to the Army. After such Order taken, he returned himself, and came again to the Camp after midnight. And presently rising with his Army, and fetching a compass about, came undiscovered, and secretly encamped himself as near as he could unto the Mountains where his Scouts lay, with Eagles eyes waiting for the least moving of the Enemy. The Baffa desired to get as far as he could into the Country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to set forward, and came to the Plains of Pharsalia, through the World spoken of for the great battel in them long time before fought, between the two most famous Chieftains Caesar and Pompeius; and now once more to be made famous by the slaughters of the Turks. Here the Enemy finding some fragrant Cereals, and other small things which the Country people had in their fields, hastily left behind them, fell to seeking after Booty, and, as men without fear, spent that day in roaming up and down the Country, in hope to find something; and at night encamped without any great Watch, but towards Lysium, from whence they (in great security) looked for the coming of Scanderbeg; and as it were in disgrace of the coming, carried Amela in Triumph up down the Camp, as if he had been already possessed of the Kingdom of Epirus. Scanderbeg lying on the other side of the Mountains, perceived by his Episcops, which way the Enemy lay; and with great silence under the covert of the Mountains and Woods, secretly bent his course the same way, until he came to a Mountain called Tumpis, at the foot whereof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baffa holding on his way, came and encamped not far from the same Mountain, and there staid himself with half his Army, and sent Amela with the other half to burn and spoil the Country; who about noon returned to the Camp with much prey as he had got, with his Soldiers well wearied with travel, and the heat of the day. Scanderbeg like a careful Householder, who being about to enter and seek some honourable Personages, trusteth not to his Wife and Servants, but looketh to the bestowing of his Provision himself, carefully ordering and disposing and setting forth all things, especially if his Provision (for want of ability) be short, to welcome so great Guests; and setting all things forth to the greatest view, seeketh at least to fill the eyes of his Guests, though he doubt to satisfy their Appetites; so he carefully viewing all the Mountains and thick Woods thereabout without resting, let Amela in one place, Tampus in another, and all the rest in places most convenient. He appointed every man what to do, and intrusted them, and considered of every particular circumstance himself; and so divided his Forces, as might best serve his purpose, and make the most terrible show to the Enemy; for which purpose he in every Company sent more Trumpets, Drums, and other Instruments of War, than he had before at any time used. When he had so to his most advantage bestowed so many of his Captains and Soldiers as he thought good, and as the nature of the places would give leave, he

with 4000 Horfemen and the like number of Foot, speedily marching up the rough Mountain of Tumpis, from thence plainly beheld in what Order the Turks Camp lay in the Plains below. The Turks, especially they which were lately returned with Amela from the spoil of the Country, lay scattered abroad in the fields, with their Horfes unbridled and unfilled, resting their weary bodies; some got under the shadows of Trees were vidualling themselves; some having filled their Bellies, lay fast asleep on the green Grass; the rest were passing the time, some with one kind of sport, some with another, as Soldiers do in field when they have little or nothing to do; for it was then the hottest time both of the year, and of the day, being about the midst of July, and the noon-time of the day. The like negligence was also in that part of the Camp where the Baffa himself lay; every man taking his ease and pleasure, with final regard of Horse or Armour; for being out of fear of Scanderbeg, whom they thought to have been a great way off at Lysium, they lay as men without care wrap up in security, the common destruction of great Armies and Commonwealths. Amela with the great Captains, were at the same time all together in the Baffa's Pavilion, consulting what the course they were best to take, to do something to the contentment of Mahomet, and their own commendation; some said it were best with Fire and Sword to destroy all they could in Epirus; and so having laid the Country waste, to return. Others thought it better to march directly to Croia, to prove if the Citizens could be persuaded to yield themselves and receive Amela for their King; otherwise to threaten them with a continual Siege, and utter ruin of the Country, if upon the vain expectation of help from Scanderbeg they should refuse to submit themselves. As for Scanderbeg himself, who then lay hovering over their heads, he was in all that Consultation least feared; who from the top of the Mountain, beholding the security and disorder of the Turks Camp, and delighted with the sight thereof; encouraged his Soldiers, and marshalled them in such order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the Enemy. But first of all he determined to oppress the Turks Scouts, which lay at the foot of the Mountain; for which purpose he himself with a few Horfemen first secretly descended the Mountain, the rest of his Army following shortly after, and so suddenly came on the Scouts, that he slew them all except one, who escaping by the swiftness of his Horse, came running to the Camp as one half affrighted, crying out that Scanderbeg was coming. The Turks great suspending nothing less than the coming of him that way, at the present instant hardly believed that he was so nigh; when as he following him at the heels as fast as he could, with his Horfemen and his Footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had been a sudden Tempest, broken in amongst the unarmed Turks, and there making great slaughter of them, filled all the Camp with sudden tumult and fear. Amela who at the first beg for noise had speedily got him to his Charge, with four his Soldiers some half-armed, some on Foot, having no leisure to bridle their Horfes, was the first that made head against Scanderbeg. The Baffa did what he might in that sudden fear and shortness of time, to arm his Men, and to set them in order; but whilst those things were in doing, the Soldiers which lay in ambush in the Woods, came down the Mountains with such horrible shouts and noise of Instruments of War, as if Heaven and Earth should have presently

The Turks  
lay in the  
fields, resting  
their weary  
bodies.

Scander-  
beg who at the first  
beg for noise  
had speedily got  
him to his Charge,  
with four his  
Soldiers some  
half-armed, some  
on Foot.



gone together; the Hills and Vallies with their hollow Echoes, increasing the terror of the Alarm. Infomuch, that the Turks dismayed, and fearing that all the Force of *Epirus*, with the Countries adjoining, had come upon them, began to fly on every side, before that *Moses* and the rest that lay in ambush were come into the Plains. *Amefa* acquainted with the *Uncles* Stragglers, as much as he could encouraged the *Turks*; crying aloud and telling them, That such *Turks*; crying aloud and Terrors were not to be feared, vain Tumults and devices of their Enemies to cover their own weakness; and by his own valour flayed many which before were about to have fled. In this while, the *Baffa* having put his Men in better order he could, was coming to the Aid of *Amefa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*; but in his setting forward, he was so valiantly encountered on the one side by *Moses* with his Horsemen, and on the other by *Tamufus* and *Emanuel* with their Footmen, that he was enforced, not without great loss, again to retire unto his Trenches.

All the hope of the battel depended upon *Amefa*, who still with great courage and blood his *Uncle*; exhorting his Soldiers valiantly as men to endure that first Assault, which should afterwards they then most assured Victory; heartening them on with hope of speedy help from their Followers if they would but a while endure the fury of their Enemies, whose hearts (as he said) would presently be discouraged, if they prevailed not in that their first and desperate Attempt, having nothing else to trust unto. By which persuasion the *Turks* were again encouraged, accounting it a great dishonour to fly and leave their Chieftain in the field. But when they saw *Scanderbeg* still to prevail upon them, and that no help came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbeg* Horsemen slain as they were arming themselves; many were by the way cut off as they were coming, and the rest put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Amefa*, turned their backs and fled also. *Scanderbeg* Horsemen pursued the chafe, and made great slaughter of the *Turks*, and in the same chafe took *Amefa* Prisoner. *Scanderbeg*, having overthrown that part of the *Turks* battel, was coming with a thousand Footmen and some Horsemen, to have aided *Moses* against the *Baffa*; but before his coming, *Moses* to blot out his former Infamy, had with invincible courage put the great *Baffa* with all his Army to flight; and *Scanderbeg* following the chafe, gave him no leave to look behind him, until he was got out of *Epirus*. Many were in this chafe taken Prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Messias* a *Samack*, a man of great account amongst the *Turks*. In this battel, beside the Prisoners, were taken twenty of the *Turks* fairest Engins. As for *Horses*, *Armor*, and other spoils taken in the field, and in the Camp, all which fell to the Soldiers share, is almost incredible to be told. The number of the slain *Turks* is of divers diversly reported; they which write of the most, reckon up thirty thousand; and they which speak of the least, account twenty thousand. Of the Christians were lost but sixty. Now if any account it strange, that so great a Victory should be gained with so little loss, not to speak of that is written in Holy Writ, let him but read the ancient Histories of the *Romans*, or the Chronicles of our own Country, and he shall in them find Victories no less strange. There was to be seen the sudden and strange alteration of these worldly things, no more indeed (whatsoever we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we

have not. *Scanderbeg* possessed the rich Pavillion, erst belonging to the great *Baffa*; and other of his Captains enjoy Tents, with much other rich Furniture never prepared for their use. *Amefa*, which the same day as a Victorious Conqueror over-ran a great part of *Amathia* with his Horsemen, and was carried in Triumph with the general Acclamation of many thousands of valiant Soldiers, and honoured as a King, and of them so called; is now led through the Christian Army to his *Uncle*, with his hands bound behind him as a Slave, speechless and confounded, unable to hold up his head for shame; whose misery moved most of the beholders to compassion, and forced tears out of the eyes of many.

The next day after this great Victory, *Scanderbeg* caused the bodies of the slain *Turks* to be buried, together with their *Horses*; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathsome Carcases should not infect the Country; and after that, returned in great Triumph to *Croia*. By the way as he went, the Country people, which were before for fear of the *Turks* fled into the Woods and Mountains in great multitudes met him as he did others also out of the Cities, whose mouths were all full of his worthy Praises. Before him went the Captive *Turks* with their hands bound behind them, excepting such as were enforced to carry the *Turks* Engins. Next unto them followed the great *Baffa* rich Pavillion, in such manner as he went, the Country diers, as if it had been in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himself with the Turkish *Samack*, and *Amefa* following him; for *Amefa* had with great and humble Suit obtained of his *Uncle*, that he might not, as he well deserved, be carried bound among the other Captives. Last of all came *Scanderbeg* his Victorious Soldiers in goodly order, every man leading a spare *Samack* taken from the Enemy, and loaded with spoil. So when he was come to *Croia*, and there of his Subjects joyfully received, he brake up his Army; and gave every man leave at his pleasure to depart. The *Samack* and *Amefa*, were committed to safe keeping, until further Order was taken for them. *Amefa* afterwards was for his Treason worthily condemned to perpetual Prison, and by an Embassador from *Scanderbeg* sent unto King *Alphonso* of *Naples*, there to be kept in dungeon, and with *Ferdinand* his Son, to have *Amefa* restored to him again. But which means he was brought back again into *Epirus*, and cast in Prison at *Croia*; but not in such straight manner as before; for *Scanderbeg* according to his accustomed Clemency, began now to forget the injury to him before done; and at last overcome with the continual Supplication and Tears of his Nephew, pardon- ed him his life; and restoring him to his former liberty, received him also into his former favour. But *Amefa* remembering what Pledges of his Loyalty he had left with *Mahomet* at *Constantinople*, and fearing what would become of his Wife and Children, if he should hastily use that his liberty, giving his *Uncle* most humble thanks, brake unto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth,

Whereas

The Speech  
of  
Amefa  
to  
Scanderbeg

Whereas you of your own gracious goodness only, without any desert of mine, have regarded my Life and Welfare, it behooves me also to be careful for the life of others; lest whilst I receive your exceeding bounty with too much desire of mine own Health and Honour, I do at this present, by this same benefit of yours, cast away them, whom I have long since by mine own Treachery undone. Mine unfortunate and guilty Wife is with *Mahomet*, my little and innocent Children are with him also; I shal yet live, and shall live, so long as the Tyrant shall think, that I live in heart his; but when he shall once perceive by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruel Creature will forthwith cut and rend in pieces the Pledges of my Faith, and their innocent blood shall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherefore the Ottoman Tyrant is of me by some device to be deceived, that I may in the mean time preserve these Pledges, until I may by some fit occasion afterwards redeem the same. I will by your leave this night take my flight out of *Croia*, as if I had broken Prison, and escaped against your will, and so fly unto *Mahomet*, making the greatest hope I can of my wonted Love and Loyalty towards him; not omitting to bear, or speak unto that cruel King, such things concerning your Estate, as I was wont in such things concerning your Estate, as I was wont in my better fortune; that having so cleared my self of all suspicion, which he perhaps hath conceived by reason of my Captivity and long stay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, go escape from him; wherein you may help me much, if you shall openly make known as if you were grieved with the keeping of the Prison for the same. In the mean time, whilst I shall stay in the Tyrants Court expecting some fit time for my escape; I will stand you in stead of an Intelligencer, so that your Enemy shall not so my knowledge either attempt or go about any thing against you, which shall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.

*Scanderbeg* refused not to grant whatsoever he had requested, but laid unto him:

The answer  
of  
Scanderbeg  
to  
Amefa.

*Amefa*, since we have granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not allow thee to prohibit you to use that our Gift to your most good, and to the preservation of them who for ever may most justly call upon you, as debtor unto them, for their welfare and liberty. Go thy way, proceed, take thy time and occasion as it seems unto thee best; and at length reform thy self, whilst thou yet hast sufficient time and place. I now believe you in all things, and will leave this your device: *Amefa* you shall herein deceive no man but your self; if you shall longer follow the Faith and Court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of Body and Soul both to thee and thine. Whenever thou shalt return unto us thou shalt not do us a greater pleasure; and in what regard thou shalt hereafter be with us, in the same thou shalt be with us again.

The death  
of  
Amefa.

The same night *Amefa* by secret Order from *Scanderbeg*, escaped both out of Prison and out of *Croia*; and in the morning it was all over the City, that he was gone, and the Keepers sharply rebuked for their negligence. He coming to *Constantinople*, easily persuaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance escaped, with all things else well as of him as before; not for any distrust he had in the man, but for the evil success he had in the former Wars. Now whether *Amefa* neglected his promised return, or could find no opportunity to perform the same, is uncertain; but certain it is, that shortly after he died at *Constantinople*.

tinople, poisoned as was thought by the commandment of *Mahomet*, who could no longer endure the sight of him, whom he reckoned the Author of the notable Overthrow received in *Amathia*. This was the woful end of this noble and valiant Man, well worthy of remembrance, had not his haughty thoughts feared too high with the desire of Sovereignty.

When *Mahomet* under stood in what manner *Isaac Baffa* was overthrown, and his Army difcomfited, he was therewith much grieved, and justly blamed the *Baffas* security; yet such was his credit with his Sovereign, that the matter was in better sort passed over than was supposed it would have been. Nevertheless, *Mahomet* in revenge thereof would willingly have employed all his Forces upon *Scanderbeg*, if his more urgent Affairs would have so permitted. For at the same time, besides that great Wars began to rise betwixt him and the *Venetians* (which continued for many years after) he was certainly informed, That the Christian Princes were making a strong Confederation against him. At which time *Mahomet* dissuading openly to sue for Peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practised by such as were sent to redeem the Prisoners, and also by the *Samack* himself, to persuade *Scanderbeg* to require Peace of him; assuring him, that if he did but ask it, it would for a long time be easily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg*, well acquainted with the Turkish Policy, utterly refused to do. Wherefore *Mahomet* for the defence of his Countries bordering upon *Epirus*, sent two of his most expert Captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 Soldiers into *Macedonia*, expressly charging them not to enter at any time or upon any occasion, into *Epirus*, or by any means to provoke *Scanderbeg*; which his Commandment they so well observed, that the *Epirotes* by the space of almost two years enjoyed the fruits of Peace, although there was no Peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the mediation of the fame Captains, a Peace for a year was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*. In which time he passed over into *Apulia*, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* against the French, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our History, I of purpose pass over.

A Peace  
for a year  
concluded  
betwixt  
Mahomet  
and Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the Peace before concluded was expired, all things now going on with *Mahomet* as he desired, he resolved according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet Estate of *Scanderbeg*; and so sending a new supply of Soldiers to *Sinam*-beg, who then lay with a strong Garrison upon the Frontiers of *Epirus*, commanded him with all his Power to make Wars upon *Scanderbeg*. *Sinam* accordingly, with an Army of 30000 Men, entered into *Epirus*, where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his Army utterly overthrown, so that but few escaped by flight with *Sinam* himself. Presently after he sent *Aslam*-beg, another of his Captains, into the same Service, with an Army of thirty thousand, whom *Scanderbeg* also in plain battel vanquished at *Orida*; in which battel *Aslam* himself was fore wounded, and finding no way to escape, was glad to yield himself Prisoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was courteously used, and afterwards set at liberty. Following *Aslam* with eighteen thousand into *Epirus*, was set upon by *Scanderbeg* also, and having so part of his Army, was glad by speedy flight to save himself with the rest. After all this, *Caracaz*-beg, an old Captain and a man of great experience (who had been a great Commander, and a Companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Anurath*) re-quested

A notable  
Victory  
of the  
Christians.



quested of *Mahomet*, that he might prove his Fortune against his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, afflicting him of better Success than before. The long and approved experience of this old Leader put *Mahomet* in such hope of good speed, that he gave present Order for the levying of such an Army as *Caraxa* had requested, and for so much more than he had at the first required. With this strong Army, in number almost forty thousand, *Caraxa* set forward, having before filled the minds of men with the expectation of some greater matter to have been by him done. *Scanderbeg* understanding certainly that *Caraxa* was coming, stood more in doubt of the Man than of his Power; and therefore assembled greater Forces than he had usually done before, and to welcome him, sent two thousand of his best and most expert Souldiers secretly into the Enemies Country; who lying in ambush amongst the Woods and Mountains, whereby *Caraxa* must needs pass, suddenly set upon four thousand Horsemen (the forerunners of *Caraxa* his Army) who marching disorderly, and fearing no such matter, were in a trice overthrown, and most part of them slain; those few that escaped fled back again to the Army, as if they had come in the post of bring tidings of some happy News to the General. With which to unfortunate a beginning, *Caraxa* was so discomfited, that if he might for shame, he could have been content to have returned again and gone no farther; yet for his Honours sake holding on his way, he came into *Epirus*; where whilst he was (after the manner of old men) long in revolving what course to take, he was upon the sudden assailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his Men in order of battle. At which time there fell such a vehement shower of Rain, that both the Armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three days together it rained continually (for it was about the later end of *Autumn*) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceased not in one place or other to trouble the Turks Camp; so that the old General, partly diffempered with the extremity of the Weather, which for the violence thereof he took to be ominous; and more discouraged with the restless Attempts of *Scanderbeg*, who with his Army, and retiring back by the same way he came, returned to *Constantinople*. Where he was well received of *Mahomet*, that having promised so much, had performed so little; yet afterwards was again by him in some sort commended, for that he had with less loss looked upon *Scanderbeg* than other his Generals before sent against him.

*Mahomet* perceiving that *Scanderbeg* was not to be subdued but with such Forces as he was not then at leisure to employ on him, thought it not amiss to prove if he could by fair Speeches and glorious shews of Friendship get within him, and so bring him to confusion; for which purpose he sent unto him an Embassador with rich Presents, and Letters of this Purport.

*Sultan Mahomet, Lord and Emperor of the East and of the West, and of all parts of the World, unto Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania and Epirus, fendeth greeting.*

I Think Friend *Scanderbeg*, that no Acquaintance can be greater, or Friendship more firm, than that which hath grown of long and mutual conversing and living together, and especially if the same have taken beginning from Childhood and tender Years, as you know it hath done betwixt us Two; who have of long time, even from our Childhood, lived together in great

Love and Friendship, when as you first lay as Hostage in my Father's Court. Wherefore I desired *Scanderbeg*, when as I call to remembrance all these things, with others, whereunto your Youthful years were then delighted; and being mindful also of all those things which you have oftentimes done for the advancement of our Empire and Kingdom, and for the glory of the Ottoman Family, I cannot choose but embrace thee with singular Zeal and Affection. For I take God to witness, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleasing unto me in my life, than to love thee with me, and for a while to enjoy thy Company. Neither need I thou to fear any thing to come unto me, for that my Souldiers without my Knowledge or Commandment have of late broken in and spoiled thy Kingdom; which thing as reason required, was unto me exceedingly displeasing; neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy Forces vanquished and overcome; and so received the just Reward of their evil desert, and that all things fall out with thee according to the equity of thy Cause, and as thy Heart could have desired. But to let these things pass, the remembrance of our old Love and Friendship persuadeth me to come to agreement, and to join together with thee in a perpetual League of Amity; to the intent that our ancient Acquaintance and Familiarity, which by reason of long absence is almost worn out, may again take life, increase, and be confirmed. Of which Peace, let these be the Capitulations, if they shall seem unto you reasonable: for I know it belongs unto him that requirerth me the Peace, to appoint the Conditions of the same. First, we require of you freely and cheerfully to suffer our Armies to pass through your Kingdom, for the besieging of the Cities and invading of the Countries subject to the Venetians our Enemies: Then, to deliver unto us your Son John in Hostage, whom we will always use as one of our own natural Children. And afterwards, that our Merchants and Men of Trade, may peaceably come and travel into all parts of your Kingdom with their Merchandise, and there freely and safely use their Negotiations: Last of all, that your Self in Person may at your pleasure safely and without all fear repair unto us, and in like manner return again. In which things if you will yield unto us, I promise in the Faith of a King, to grant unto you and your Kingdom sincere Peace, with perpetual Tranquillity; and that there shall not be any more dearer unto me than your Self; and will never to the uttermost of my Power permit your Kingdom to be invaded or molested by any of our Subjects, or others. Wherefore you shall further receive from us by the mouth of our Embassador *Multapha*, you may thereto give full Credence. Fare you well. From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople the 10th of May, 1461.

*Scanderbeg* having received these Letters, and well considered of the same, returned him Answer by the same Messenger as followed.

The Souldier of Christ Jesus, *George Castriot*, otherwise called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenies and Epirots, unto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, greeting.

Your Letters (most Magnificent) are delivered unto us, wherein you write of your exceeding Love and singular Affection towards us, confirmed as you say by old Acquaintance; which being grown up betwixt us, and by tract of time firmly rooted, as it were into nature converted, shall always retain his force and strength. But fearful as it (seemeth unto you good to awake the same, having of long time and many years lien as it were asleep, and to make a motion that we should enter into a certain new League and Confederation, whereof amongst other Conditions

the answer of *Scanderbeg* to the letters of *Mahomet*

of the League by you propounded, this is one. That your Forces may freely pass through my Kingdom, to invade the Venetians; Unto this your Request, worthy *Mahomet*, it standeth neither with Equity nor with mine Honour to consent, for so much as the Venetians are my especial good Friends and Confederates. As for that you desire to have my Son John with you in Hostage for the better assurance of the Peace betwixt us, I should peradventure do it (most noble *Mahomet*) if fatherly affection would give me leave; but since I have no more but him, and he as yet a tender Child, it is not for the good either of him or us, to have him now taken from us, whom as the wife of us to be most tenderly cherished, and carefully instructed. As for that you request concerning your Merchants, that they may freely and safely Traffique into my Kingdom at their pleasure, I can be content thereto, and with heartily that there might be a free Entertrade for our Merchants indifferently with their Commodities into both our Kingdoms. Further, where as you earnestly persuade me boldly and without fear to come unto you, that by such Interview and Personal Presence, our great desire, grown of long absence, might be the better satisfied; in this thing much excellent Disposition, I cannot but praise your high Honourable Office, and commend your good Nature; and would therefore boldly follow your persuasion, if my other urgent Affairs, with the Government of my Kingdom, would so permit. But what shall I do? My Son John (as I said before) but little, and as yet unfit to Govern; and my people (as you know) love always to have something to do, being by Nature a fierce and valiant Nation, whom my Self have much ado to Rule and Govern: For all that I will come unto you according to your desire, expecting only a more commodious time. So fare you well, and love me still. From our Camp the 30th of May, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had received these Letters, and well perused the same, he writ to him again in manner following.

*Sultan Mahomet, Emperor of all the parts of the World, unto Scanderbeg Prince of the Albanenies and Epirots, greeting.*

Your Letters we have received by our Embassador *Multapha*, wherein you give us to understand, that you like none of the Conditions of Peace by us propounded, but only that concerning our Merchants and men of Trade, that they might freely and at their pleasure use their Traffique and Trade with their Merchandise to and fro, and upon this condition only you grant us Peace. This your Offer we accept of; and all the rest of your excuses we willingly admit; wherefore I promise unto thee (my loving *Scanderbeg*) and will perform all that thou dost require, and upon this Revision rest, and will so long as I live observe and keep a sincere and inviolable Peace with thee for ever, except thou first give cause of violating the same. And for that purpose have we with our usual and Imperial Seal signed these our Letters, which we by our Embassador *Multapha* have sent unto thee, as thereby confirming unto thee this perpetual Peace. Wherefore you also (if you be so content) may subscribe, and with your Seal confirm the Ours, that I in like manner may have also your like Consent and assentment. And would further, that you would Command knowledge thereof to be made by open Proclamation through all your Kingdom, as I will in like manner cause to be done through mine. And for the more manifestation of this my love towards you, I would also that you should understand, that of mine own mere motion and bounty, I do freely give unto you all those things, which you by force of Arms have taken from my Father in Al-

bania and Epirus, so that you may possess and enjoy the same, as if they had always been yours and your Ancestors: Wherefore I give, grant, and confirm unto thee and thy Heirs, all the Rights, Title, or Interests, which I heretofore had therein, and from henceforth will always account and repute thee as Prince of Albania and Epirus, and so call thee. And as I have promised thee in the Faith of a King, will never hereafter with Wars molest thee or thine, except thou thy Self give cause thereof. Wherefore after you have with your Seal confirmed these things, you may command them to our faithful Embassador *Multapha*, to be by him brought home to us, whom I would you should in all things give full Credence. So fare you well, and render us love for love. From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the 22. of June, 1461.

Upon receipt of these Letters, a Peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, and the same by publique Proclamations solemnly published through both their Kingdoms, to the great rejoicing of many. Which Peace was for a season faithfully kept, on both sides, until that the Turks lying in Garrison upon the Frontiers of *Epirus*, began after their wonted manner again to fetch Preys and Booties out of the Country. Of which Injuries, *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*; who answered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and seemed in shew to be much offended with the Infolency of the Doors thereof; and forthwith caused many things to be again restored. By which means the Peace before concluded, was still as before continued.

A little before the conclusion of the aforesaid Peace, great Wars began to arise betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, who all this while being in League with the Turk, peaceably followed their Traffique and Trades of Merchandize, little or nothing at all regarding their Neighbours Harms and Miseries, until that now the flame and fire began to take hold upon their own houses, and as it were to awake them out of a deep sleep. For *Mahomet* after he had subverted the Empire of *Constantinople*, and driven *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperors Brethren out of *Peloponnesus* (now called *Mora*) rested not so contented, but by his Lieutenants and other great Captains began to disturb the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their possession *Methone*, *Corone*, *Neapolis*, *Argos*, with divers other strong Towns in *Peloponnesus*, standing upon the Sea coast. And now it chanced that about this time, *Folus*, *Mahomet*'s Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, had by the Treason of a Greek Priest, upon the sudden surprised the City of *Argos*; and *Omar* another of his great Captains, having first spoiled the Country about *Nisapattum* (now *Lepanto*) entered farther into the Territory of the Venetians about *Methone* and *Corone*; making havock of whatsoever came in his way. With which Injuries plainly tending to open war, oftentimes in Council, deliberating with much care what course to take in a matter of so great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were best to send Embassadors to *Mahomet*, so to make proof if the matter might by fair means be redressed; others on the contrary part deeming it to be to no purpose for to do; forasmuch as such great and manifest Outrages, nothing differing from plain Hostility, could not possibly be done without the Tyrants knowledge and express Command. After the Senators had oftentimes met together, and with many great Reasons debated the matter too and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing

A Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

(as





Chriftian Religion; exhorting him in all their names to denounce War againft the Turkifh King. Which thing Scanderbeg moft joyfully undertook; and without delay with all his Power brake into the Turks Dominion, burning and deftroying the Country before him as he went; from whence he returned laden with the Spoil there gotten.

When Mahomet had perfused Scanderbeg's Letters, and certainly underflood of the great preparation made againft him in Italy, as alfo of the great Spoil of late made by Scanderbeg, he became exceeding melancholy, as a man much troubled in mind, which daily more and more increafed; for that he faw not the wanted cheerfulness in his men of War, but all full of heavinefs and deffair, as if they had been men already vanquifhed. Nevertheless, he fpeedily took order for the levying of a great Army; forfifying his Cities and ftrong Holds, leaving nothing undone that was poffible for the affurance of his State. And to repress the fury of Scanderbeg's Gent Sereget Baffa with fourteen thousand Soldiers to lie upon the Borders of Epirus, with charge only to attend upon him. Who mindful of his charge, came into Macedonia, unto the City Oorido, now called Alibria, in the very Confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and there lay with his Army; fome part thereof lodged in the City, and the reft in places more convenient near about the fame.

The coming of the Baffa, as alfo the manner of his lying, was not unknown to Scanderbeg, who defired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he fecretly in the night marched towards Oorido with twelve thousand Soldiers, and being come within three miles of the Town, lay clofe in ambuff, and upon the breaking of the day sent out five hundred Horfemen towards the Enemy, under the conduct of Petrus Emanuel, and Petrus Angelus, two valiant and expert Captains, to draw him if they could into the Field. But Scanderbeg had before commanded them, that if the Enemy did come forth to fight, they fhould make but fmall refiftance, but retire back as if they had fled, and fo to train him on to the place where the Army lay. Which was fo well performed by the two fkillful Captains, that the Baffa with all his Power was according as they could have wifhed, drawn into the Field, and brought to the very place where Scanderbeg lay; who fuddenly rifing up with all his Army, affailed the Turks on every fide, and flew them as Deer enclosed in a royl. In this Battel ten thousand of the Turks were flain, the Treafurer of the Army with twelve other of great mark were taken Prifoners, and brought bound to Scanderbeg, who were prefently ransomed for forty thousand Ducats.

Scanderbeg having obtained the Victory, returned with triumph into Epirus, daily expecting the coming of the great Army out of Italy; but fatal Defign, the mighty controller of men's high defigns, had not fo appointed. For when Pius the great Bifhop had out of all parts of Chriftendom affembled a great Army (whereof the greateft part were voluntary Soldiers) and all things were now in fuch readinefs, that he had put himfelf upon the way, and was come to Ancona, a City upon the Sea-fide (where Chriftophorus Maurus Duke of Venice came unto him, with ten Gallies well appointed, to have accompanied him in thofe Wars) and all men were now in expectation of fome great victory to have been done; fuddenly he fell fick of a Fever, and died in the year 1464. Whereupon the Army was forthwith difperfed, and all that great pre-

paration frustrated, to the exceeding grief of many Chriftian Princes; and no lefs joy of the Turks, who now rejoiced to fee themfelves delivered of fo great a fear.

About this fame time, *Viftor Capella* chief perfuader of this War betwixt the Venetians and the Turks, was by the Senate fent General of their Forces at Sea, in ftead of *Laurentius*, whole year was then expired. He having received the charge from *Laurentius*, and falling out of *Euboea*, in fhort time took from the Enemy the City of *Adria* in *Peloponnesus* over-against *Chelidra*, and alfo the City of *Lavium* in the Gulf of *Thellafonica*, with the Ifle of *Himber*. Afterwards landing his Men by night at *Pyræus*, he fuddenly furprifed the City of *Athens* (now called *Sethima*) fometime the Mother of learning, and moft noble City of *Greece*; and from thence carried away with him into *Euboea* all the People he there found, as his Prifoners, together with the rich Spoil of that City. Whilft he lay in *Euboea*, he was perfwaded that the City of *Patras* in *Peloponnesus* would be delivered unto him by the Chriftians that dwell therein, if he did but fhew himfelf before it. Whereupon he departed from *Euboea*, and coming into the Gulf of *Patras*, landed four thousand Footmen under the leading of *Barbaricus*, and two hundred Horfemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was Captain. *Barbaricus* marching towards *Patras*, was come within a mile of the City; when many of the Horfemen and of the unruly Mariners diforderly feattered and fought after pillage all about the Country. The Turks Garrifons taking this opportunity, fet upon them with their Horfemen, and fo, eafily overthrew them, being fattered and out of order. At the firft encounter, *Barbaricus* himfelf was flain; *Ragius* Captain of the Horfemen was taken alive, and carried off upon a fharp flake. Of all them that were landed, fcarce a thousand were left, who faved their lives by flying unto the Gallies. With this overthrow *Viftor the Venetian* Admiral was greatly difcomfited, yet having conceived fome hope of better fuccels, in few daies after attempted again to have taken *Patras*, but with like hap as before; for having loft a thousand of his Men about the City, and the reft glad to take their refuge to the Fleet, he was conftrained with great difhonour to depart thence. And fo full of Sorrow and Heavinefs returning into *Euboea*, oppreffed with Melancholy, there fuddenly died.

The Venetians deceived of the great hope they had conceived of the general preparation made againft the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their Wars againft fo mighty an Enemy; by their Embaffadors follicited *Mathias*, not long before chosen King of *Hungary*, to join in League with them, and to take up Arms againft the common Enemy, offering prefently to furnifh him with a great fum of Money, befide a large yearly penfion for the maintenance of thofe Wars; for which he fhould to his power by Land defend all their Territory betwixt the *Rhetian* Alpes, and the *Adriaticus*, againft the invasion of the Turk.

This *Mathias* ftrnamed *Cornutus*, was the younger Son of the moft famous Captain *Jo. Huniades*, whole elder Brother *Uladiflaus*, a Gentleman of fuch Courage as might well fhew whole Son he was, being not able to digeft the injuries and difgraces done unto him and his Brother, by *Ulricus* Count of *Cilie*, and Uncle to *Ladiflaus* the young King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; for the defpite he always bare unto their Father *Hunadiades*, flew the fame *Ulricus* at *Alba Regalis*, even

Mathias of a Prifoner  
John  
King of  
Hungary.

even in the Kings Court. Which outrage the young King was glad for the prefent to wink at; and alfo to grant him pardon; as having taken away the man, whole immoderate power well flood not to the Kings fafety; but indeed fearing the Citizens of *Alba*, and the Men of War, who exceedingly favoured the Sons of *Hunadiades* for their Fathers fake. For all that, *Ladiflaus* returning into *Bohemia*, caufed both the Sons of *Hunadiades* upon the fuddain to be apprehended, and moft cruelly executed, *Uladiflaus* being then fift and twenty years old. His younger Brother was kept in Prifon, expecting nothing elfe but to be partaker of his Brothers hard Fortune, as undoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiflaus* the young King, upon the fuddain, as he was upon the top of his marriage with *Magdalen* the French Kings Daughter, by untimely death been taken away. After whole death the *Hungarians* for the love they bare unto the remembrance of *Hunadiades*, by a military Election, chose this *Mathias* his youngft Son, then in pri-ge at *Prague*, to be their King. Whereof *Pograbach* (who after the death of *Ladiflaus*, of an old Governor had made himfelf the young King of *Bohemia*) having fenfely intelligence as he was fitting at Suppers, fent for *Mathias* his Prifoner, and when he was come, commanded him to fit down at the upper end of the Table; whereas the young Gentleman, being then but about eighteen years of age, and fore abafhed, began to crave pardon. But when the King would have him to be quiet, and to leave the King to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be good cheer, for that he had good news to tell him. Good news, faid he, if it would pleafe your Majesty to grant me liberty. Yea that, faid the King, and more too; and then faluting him by the name of the King of *Hungary*, brake unto him the wifdom, how that the King by the general confent of the *Hungarians*, chose for their King. And fo in few daies after, married to him his Daughter; which done, he furnifhed him with all things fit for his Eftate, and Royally accompanied him into *Hungary*, where he was with great joy and triumph received of the *Hungarians*; over whom he afterwards gloriously reigned for the fpace of eight and thirty years. In which time he notably enlarged the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and became a far greater terror unto the Turks, than ever was his Father *Hunadiades*. And therewithal (which is not to be accounted in the leaft part of his praifes) was always a great favourer and furtherer of good Letters and ingenious Devices.

But to return again unto our purpofe, *Mathias* having well confidered of that the Venetians had requested, answered them, that they had many times before in like cafe refufed to give aid unto the *Hungarian* Kings in Predecessors; yea, and that more was, thought it a thing not reaifonable, that any fuch thing fhould be requested at their hands, fo much as they then received no harm from the Turk, but were in League and Amity with him; fo that the *Hungarians* Kings wanting their help, had many times received good lofs from the Turks, than otherwise they fhould have done, if they had been by their aid. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all fuch unkindnefs, and to grant them what they had requested; promifing the next Spring to invade the Turks Dominion, and according to their request, to reduce them to his prefention all their Territory betwixt the *Rhetian* Alpes, and the *Adriaticus*; which thing he moft honourably performed. For with the firft of the Spring he pafed over *Danubius* at *Belgrade* with a puifant

Army, and rafed the Forts which the Turks had built thereabouts; and fo entering into *Servia*, laid all the Country wafte before him; and afterwards laden with Spoil, returned home, carrying away with him twenty thoufand Captives. Neither fo refted, but with great good Fortune maintained great Wars againft *Mahomet* during all the time of his reign; and afterwards againft *Bajazet* his Son alfo, wherein he moft commonly returned with Victory; fo that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Chriftian King or Chieftain, during more often or with greater fortune fought againft the Turkifh Nation, or had of them greater Victories.

*Mahomet* delivered of the great fear he had before conceived of the general preparation of the Chriftian Princes againft him, determined now to work his Will upon fuch as were nearft unto him; and afterward not to forget them that were far off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late overthrow of *Sereget* with his Army in *Epirus*, ftruck in his Stomach; in revenge whereof, he now fent unto *Balabanus Badera*, a moft valiant Captain, with fifteen thoufand Horfemen, and three thoufand Foot, to invade *Epirus*. This *Balabanus* was an *Epirus* born, a Churlus Son of that Country; and being of a Boy taken Captive of the Turks, as he was keeping of his Fathers Cattel, and of long time brought up in fervitude amongst them, framing himfelf both to their Religion and Manners; after long fervice got the credit of a good common Soldier. But when as at the taking of *Constantinople*, it was his fortune to be the firft of the Turks Army, that gained the Top of the Walls, and entered the City, he was for that piece of Service ever afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly efteemed; and befide his other great Prefentment, now fent General of his Army into *Epirus*. Who as foon as he was come to *Alibria* (a City upon the Frontiers of that Country) fent many rich Prefentments to *Scanderbeg*, making fhew as if he had been devoted peaceably to lie upon the Borders committed to his Charge, without farther purpofe to trouble his Country; yet indeed waiting nothing more than fome notable opportunity, fuddenly to do him the greateft mischief he could. But to *Scanderbeg* well feeing into the malice of the man, rejected his feigned Friendfhip and Gifts, and in defiance fent him a Spade, a Mattock, a Flail, with other fuch Inftruments belonging to Husbandry; willing him to take in hand thofe Tools, and to follow his Fathers trade of life, and to leave the conducing of Armies unto men of greater skill and better place. Which difgrace *Balabanus* took in exceeding evil part; purpofing in himfelf, if ever it lay in his power, to be thereof revenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a fmall power lay not far off upon the frontiers of his Kingdom, he determined fuddenly in the night to fet upon him before he were a ware of his coming, and fo if it were poffible to overthrow him, but *Scanderbeg* having knowledge thereof by his Scouts, fet forward in good order to have met him. When *Balabanus* perceiving that he was difcovered, flaid upon the way, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*; who had then in his Army but four thousand Horfemen, and one thoufand and five hundred Foot, but all choice men, and moft expert Soldiers, and then lay in a large pleafant Valley called *Valchid*; At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay alfo encamped, near unto a rough and woody Hill which ended in that part of the Valley. Whilft both Armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well confidering the ground the Enemy had taken, and that it

Mahomet  
delivered  
Balabanus  
to invade  
Epirus.

Balabanus  
againft  
Scanderbeg.

was like he would offer him Bartel, with cheerful speeches encouraged his Souldiers; frantically charging them upon pain of his displeasure, That if the Enemy upon the fortune of the Bartel, should chance to flee or to retire, they should not in any case pursue them farther than the Straits of the Hill where by the Enemy lay; gheffing too truly, that he would in so convenient a place leave part of his Army in ambush, as a fire refuge to trust unto whatsoever should befall. When he had thus encouraged and instructed his Souldiers, he rode with his Army, and in good order retired unto the rising of an Hill, which was a few miles behind the place where he before lay; good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpose to have the advantage of the ground, if the Enemy should follow to give him Bartel. Balabanus seeing him retire, and the small number of his Army, thought verily that he had fled for fear; and therefore to flay him who meant no less than to flee, forward in great haste. The Turks thinking upon to great advantage to have found no great resistance followed after Scanderbeg as if they had had him in chase; and by that time they were come to the place where he staid, were by their halt greatly disordered and out of array. Scanderbeg his old truly Souldiers nothing daunted with the halcy coming and hideous clatter of the Turks, received them with great Courage; so that there began a fierce Bartel, with much laughter on both sides, which for a great while stood doubtful. Yet such was the invincible Courage of Scanderbeg's resolute Souldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight, and with much slaughter chased unto the Straits of the Mountain, where Scanderbeg had before commanded his men to stay. But certain of his best and principal Captains forgetting what he had said unto them; and led on (whether with the heat and fury of the Bartel, or rather with the visible destiny, is hard to say), undauntedly pursued the Enemy into those Straits, whereof they were by Scanderbeg before warned, and charged that they should not enter; where they were on every side beset with their Enemies, arising out of ambush; and after they had a long time desperately fought as Wild Beasts inclosed with Hunters, at last oppressed with multitude, were together taken and brought to Balabanus, by whom they were forthwith sent to Mahomet to Constantinople. Who as soon as he heard of their taking, is reported with great rejoicing to have said, Now am I sure that the strength of Scanderbeg is broken. The names of the principal men which were there taken, was *Mofé Golumbus* of *Dibra*, the greatest Captain of *Epirus* next unto Scanderbeg himself; *Guriza Uladerini*, Scanderbeg's Kinsman; *Mufachius*, Scanderbeg's Nephew by his Sister *Angelina*; *Ginnus Mufachius*; *Jobannes Perlatas*, who valiantly defended *Speigrade* against *Amurat*; *Nicholaus Berisius*, *Georgius Chucna*, and *Ginnus Manafius*; whereof every one of them was able to have conducted a great Army, and might worthily have been accounted amongst the greatest Captains of that Age. The taking of these worthy men brought such a general sorrow and heaviness upon *Epirus*, that the Victory was nothing accounted of, every Scanderbeg careful of their deliverance, presently sent an Embassador to Mahomet, requesting that he might redeem his Prisoners, either by exchanging of others for them, or else for such ransom as it should please him to set down. But he knowing them to be Scanderbeg's best Captains, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they should be ransomed for any

Gold; But after he had used them with all the despiteful he could devise, caused them all by little and little, to be slain quick; in which miserable torment they lived fifteen days, and so died. Scanderbeg hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than discouraged; and in revenge thereof, with Fire and Sword entered into the Turks Dominion, sparing nothing that he could either burn, or possibly by any other means destroy.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the lives of many of his People) commended Balabanus highly, as the only man that knew how to fight against Scanderbeg; and in reward of his good service, sent him divers rich Gifts, with commandment to repair again his Army, and to proceed in his Wars to happily begun. Which thing Balabanus with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more unto his Policy, than his Strength, lying at *Alberia*, sent again divers rich Presents to Scanderbeg, as desirous to live in peace by him; but seeking indeed to bring him to security, and so suddenly (if it were possible) to entrap him. Which thing Scanderbeg well perceiving, rejected his feigned Friendship together with his Presents, sent from a base Peasant. Whereupon Balabanus entered into a new device, and by secret means, with great rewards corrupted Scanderbeg's his Scouts, whereof some were Balabanus's Kinsmen, thought to be to Scanderbeg unknown. By which means he had upon the fuddain in the night oppressed Scanderbeg, lying encamped in *Oromychem*, if Scanderbeg himself (who commonly spent most part of the night in careful watch) going about the Camp, had not in the silence of the night a far off perceived the coming of the Enemy by the noise of his Horses; and thereupon with wonderful celerity putting his Army in such order as he best could, was ready to receive him; and at last after a great Fight, put him to flight; and having him in chase, slew most part of his Army. Balabanus himself with a small remnant hardly escaping.

Now when Mahomet understood that Balabanus was overthrown, and his Army lost, he was in doubt, whether to send another General, or else again to prove the fortune of the old. But after he had well considered, that Balabanus was a right valiant Captain, and one that well knew the Country of *Epirus*, and to stay a mortal Enemy to Scanderbeg, he resolved to lay upon him, and not to send any other. So committing to his charge fourteen thousand Horsemen and three thousand Foot, sent him again to invade *Epirus*; and the more to encourage him, promised to make him King of that Country, if he could subdue Scanderbeg. Balabanus with his Army coming to *Alberia*, and still in vain plotting how he might overcome his way Enemy; after his wonted manner sent divers Presents to Scanderbeg; which he still scornfully refused. Three months he lay still at *Alberia*, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts; but finding nothing that pleased himself, he determined to adventure by plain force to subdue him. And upon that resolution marched with all his Army into the great Plains near unto *Staigrade*, whither Scanderbeg came with his Army also, which then consisted of eight thousand Horsemen and fifteen hundred Foot; with which small power he refused not to joyn Bartel with Balabanus, being in number two to one. But after they were come to handly blows, to have seen Scanderbeg's Men fight, a man would have thought them rather to have been raging Lyons than Men, they so furiously

Mofes and other warlike Captains cruelly slain by Mahomet.

The battle at Speigrade between Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

furiously assailed their Enemies, without regard of peril or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. Scanderbeg with great skill governed that Bartel, carefully providing for every danger; himself valiantly fighting in the head of this Battle, but not without care of the rest, still sending speedy relief where most need was, and bringing in fresh supplies instead of them that were wounded or slain, performed all the parts of a most worthy Chieftain and valiant Souldier; where most peril was, there was he bravest, and at his presence angels fled, if Victory should stand upon him. But whilst he thus fought in the midst of his Enemies, his Horse fortune to be slain under him, and falling down with him, bore bruised one of his Arms, whereof he complained long time after. The Turks seeing him down, pressed on fiercely to have slain him; but he was quickly rescued by his own Souldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*, a great Commander in the Turks Army, flew him in fight hand to hand; whereupon such a terror fell upon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to break themselves to plain flight. Scanderbeg purtuing them with such execution, that of that great Army few escaped with Balabanus to carry news home.

Balabanus now thrice vanquished by Scanderbeg, and in the last Bartel having lost what he could lose, except he should have lost himself, returned to Mahomet at *Constantinople*, of whom he was sharply rebuked for his great overthrows he had so often received. At what time Balabanus at first gave place to the Kings Fury; but afterwards when the heat was over, he with a large discourse cunningly excused himself, imputing all these mishaps unto the appointment of God, and the will of His Majesty, and in the end told Scanderbeg plainly, That it was but in vain to send such small Armies into *Epirus*. But if it would please him at once to send two valiant Captains with a puissant and strong Army, who dividing the fame betwixt them, and entering at one time into divers parts of *Epirus*, might spoil the Country before them, and enclose Scanderbeg betwixt them, if he should adventure to give either of them Bartel; being before resolved neither of them to offer him Bartel, or yet to accept of the fame being by him offered, except the other were also at hand; and by so mutual consent to undertake him, but never single. By which course he promised unto him an ease and assured Victory; for as much as it were impossible for any man to befer, and as it were on every side coupt up with his Enemies, either to escape, or yet to make any great resistance. This persuasion of Balabanus so well fitted the Tyrants humor, that he appointed Balabanus himself to be the man to put his own device in execution; giving him Commission to levy such an Army as he should think sufficient for the performance of that service; and whilst to associate unto himself for his Companion whichever of his Captains he pleased. Balabanus according to his Commission, took muters of the men of War, and made choice of forty thousand good Souldiers, giving choice to *Scap Arnauth* (otherwise called *Jometa Epirus*, because he was also born in *Epirus*, a valiant Captain) to be his Companion; whom he sent with sixteen thousand Souldiers by the way of *Thessalia* and *Grecia* into *Epirus*, commanding him in no case to joyn Bartel with Scanderbeg, until he himself were first come into the Country with the other part of the Army. And so sitting both forward, Balabanus taking the nearer way through *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, came first into *Epirus* with

twenty thousand Horsemen and four thousand Foot, and encamped in the Valley of *Valchal*. Scanderbeg both by his Ephials and Letters from his secret Friends in the Turks Court, having certain intelligence of all Balabanus's intent and purpose, had in readiness against his coming and a strong Army of eight thousand Horsemen and four thousand Foot, all choice Souldiers. And now hearing that he was come into *Epirus*, and incamped in *Valchal*, sent out three Ephials to discover in what order he lay; one of which Ephials was Balabanus's Kinsman, that not so known to Scanderbeg; by whose perswasion the other two when they had taken full view of Balabanus's Army, and should have returned to Scanderbeg to have given intelligence of that they had seen, like false Traitors went over to Balabanus, and discovered unto him all that they knew concerning Scanderbeg; hoping thereby to have some great reward, as their Fellow had before born them in hand. Scanderbeg marvelling that his Ephials returned not again as they were appointed, and doubting that they had been by the Enemy intercepted, and using many times in matters of such importance to trust himself best; presently went out with five lusty Souldiers, and did forth to discover the manner of the Enemies lying. Balabanus like a crafty Fox, mistrusting that Scanderbeg deceived of his first Ephials would for like purpose feed forth others, laid certain Horsemen in secret ambush in divers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These Horsemen lay not so covert, but that they were in good time discovered by Scanderbeg, and his Followers (who with *Argus Eyes*, pried into every Bush and Thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger; and yet but so that he came to handy strokes, where Scanderbeg and his Followers opposed him, and were glad to flee as fast as they could into the new Wood, the Turks Horsemen following them at the Heels. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old Tree was fallen across the way, which Scanderbeg putting Spurs to his Horse leapt over with one of his men after him; the other four not able to get over, turned back upon the Turks, and there fighting were slain. One of the Turks which so hardly pursued Scanderbeg being well mounted, forced his Horse, to leap the Tree, and fill followed after Scanderbeg; who looking back and seeing but one, turned upon him and flew him; the other Turks having slain four of Scanderbeg's men which could not get over the Tree, returned. And Scanderbeg accompanied but with one of his Followers, came back again to his Camp; and there with all speed put his Army in readiness to go against Balabanus before the coming of his Companion, with the other part of his Army. Upon which resolution, after he had with cheerful perswasions encouraged his Souldiers, and filled their minds with hope of Victory, he sent forward, and came with great speed into the Valley of *Valchal* where Balabanus lay. Scanderbeg had divided his Army into four Squadrons; whereof *Tamfus* had the leading of one, *Zacharias Greppa* of another, the third was committed to *Petrus Emanuel*, and Scanderbeg himself conducted the fourth. So fighting forward, he sent before certain Companies of Harquebushers and Archers, to provoke the Enemy and to draw him forth unto Bartel. Balabanus also showed himself with his Army in feemly order before his Tents, but there stood fast and would not stir, expecting continually the coming of his Fellow. Which Scanderbeg perceiving, and that he thought but daily out the time, and as one unwilling to fight had again retired his Army into the safety of his Trenches;

Trenches; drew nearer and nearer unto him, continually skirmishing with such as he sent out, daring him to do the Field, and braving him unto his Trenches, in such sort, as if he would have forced the fame, and by strong hand have fet him out thence; whereas the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly, inasmuch that they were ready to rise against their General, because he had promised to *Mahomet* his great Lord and Matter, did what he might to have deferred time; but when he saw that his Fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter; being so continually afflicted and provoked, were ready oftentimes to have issued out without his direction, and no remedy but that he must needs fight, placed his men in good order, and so went out of his Trenches to give Battle, himself leading the left Wing thereof, where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce Fight, many falling on both sides. But *Scanderbeg* strengthened with the old Garrison of *Dibra*, and the most expert Soldiers of *Dibra*, prevailed upon the Turks and forced them to give ground, yet still keeping their order. The Fight was so great in this part of the Battle, that in other places they stood almost like lookers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals, which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiving, drew certain Troops out of the right Wing, whereas he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compass about, charged the side of the Enemies Army; and again withdrawing themselves, and with wonderful celerity wheeling round, for upon the back of them that fought in the left Wing; so that the Turks there were charged both before and behind, by the Wing of *Scanderbeg* his Army, fell in other places with a great slaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding Courage gained his Enemies, so long as there was any hope left; but when he saw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to prevail, and all about him to become desperate, he made flight for himself, and fled out of the Battle as fast as he could. The rest of the Army being in other places before troubled and disordered fled also, some one way, some another, every man as his Fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* escaped, the rest were for most part either slain or taken Prisoners.

*Scanderbeg* had scarcely well breathed himself after this Victory and divided the Spoil amongst his Soldiers, but that news was brought to him in Post from the Lady *Manna* his Sister, then lying at *Parella*, that *Jacuppe Arnaus* was by the way of *Belgrade* come into *Epirus* with an Army of fifteen thousand Horsemen, burning and destroying the Country before him, and then lay incamped in the Plains of *Tyranna* the less. When *Scanderbeg* to prove the minds of his Soldiers, had cheerfully imparted unto them such news, as was like to be the beginning of new labours, and perils; they were therewith nothing dismayed, but ready to follow him with such cheerfulness of countenance and mind, as if they should have gone to some great Feast or Banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited Army. This cheerfulness of his Soldiers, *Scanderbeg* took as an assured token of his good success; and having all things in readiness, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the Enemy lay. *Jacuppe* hearing of his coming, removed his Camp into a corner of the Plain of *Tyranna*, near unto a little Hill, as a place of more safety for his Army to lie in. *Scanderbeg* having taken the Plain,

incamped his Army in the same place from whence *Jacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he reigned one whole day. The next morning, to terrify his Enemies (who as yet had not heard of the overthrow of *Balabanus*) he caused divers of the Turks Heads which were slain in the late Battle (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the Trenches of the Enemies; and withal, divers of them which were taken Prisoners, to be shewn; which *Jacuppe* beholding, in great despair said, *I see the evil hap of Mahomet*. Immediately after *Scanderbeg* sent forth five hundred Horsemen to skirmish with the Turks, commanding them, so soon as they were charged by the Enemy, to retire, if happily they might be so drawn into Battle. Which fell out accordingly; for *Jacuppe* now seeing his Fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without further delay to try his Fortune, came readily into the Field, and began a fierce Battle; which endured not long; for *Scanderbeg* perceiving in what part of the Army *Jacuppe* was, bent his greatest Force that way, and fingling him out, with his own hand slew him. Whereupon the Turks being discouraged, forthwith betook themselves to flight, and in flying were for most part slain or taken. Those which escaped the present fury of the Sword, straggling through the Country by thick woods and blind ways, were by the Country People either slain or taken Prisoners. In these two Battles were slain of the Turks four and twenty thousand, and six thousand taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men were lost about a thousand. *Scanderbeg* and his Soldiers were so weary of the slaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, that *Balabanus* was fled but with one Corner of Horsemen, and might easily be pursued if he were well pursued; he said, *O let some of our Enemies live to report their own Slaughter, and our Victory*. After that *Scanderbeg* had thus forth vanquished the great Captains, he presently entered into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and roaming up and down at his pleasure without resistance, made havoc of all that came in his way; and after returning to *Croia* with Victory, brake up his Army, and gave his Soldiers leave to depart, every man to his own dwelling.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks to undertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. These Traitors came unto *Scanderbeg* as Fugitives, making such show of the detestation both of *Mahomet* his Tyrannical Government, and vain Superstition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others, reputed to be indeed the men, they desired to be accounted; and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian Religion, were by their own desire baptized. But Treason against Princes whom God hath in his most mighty protection, cannot be long covered; much less, without his great favourance performed. So furnished it, that these two false dissembling Traitors, expecting nothing but opportunity to perform their devilish device, upon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselves, and in their heat let some such words fall, as being taken up by some there present, drew them both into suspicion; and thereupon being fairly examined, it was at last by them confessed, that they were sent by *Mahomet*, of purpose to have slain *Scanderbeg*; for which their Treason they were both presently executed, as they had right well deserved. When *Mahomet* understood that *Balabanus* was overcome, *Jacuppe* slain, and both their Armies almost quite destroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage,

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rage, and became as a Man almost frantic; and afterwards calling together his great Basha's, resolved by their advice, not to lend any more Generals against *Scanderbeg*, but to go himself in person, with such an Army as should at once make an end of his Wars in *Epirus* for ever. Hereupon Commissions were directed through all his Kingdom, and an Army raised of two hundred thousand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* having certain advertisement, fortified all his Cities and strong holds, especially the City of *Croia*; upon the fortune whereof depended the whole State of his Kingdom. Into this City he put a strong Garrison of his most valiant and faithful Soldiers, and thoroughly furnished the same with all things necessary for the enduring a long Siege; and left unto *Balabanus Perduci* (a grave and worthy Captain) Governor thereof. With like care he provided for the safety of his other Cities, and took order that the Country People were either received into the strong Towns, or else conveyed into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the Country for the Turks to prey upon; as he had in like case done long before, at the coming of old *Amurath* to the siege of *Croia*, as is before in his life related.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had set all things in order, his old Friend *Balabanus* with fourscore thousand Horsemen (the fore-runners of *Mahomet* his Army) was entered into *Epirus*, and ranging over the Country two days, came and fate down before *Croia*; upon whom the Governor at his first coming made many brave Sallics. In few days after came *Mahomet* with his huge Army, and there incamped also; who at his first coming summoned the City, requiring to have it delivered unto him, upon such unreasonable Conditions as it pleased himself (as the manner of the Turk is;) whereunto the worthy Governor returned him no other answer, than by continual thundering Shot into his Camp. Whereupon *Mahomet* caused such Ordnance as he had to be planted for battery; and commanded other new to be cast, of such metal as he had for that purpose brought in masts all which, he did rather to strike a terror into the minds of the Defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the City by force; knowing by his own experience, that it was a place almost impregnable.

Whilst *Mahomet* was thus busied, and little or nothing prevailed against him, lying abroad in the Woods and Mountains, with a small Army of most valiant and courageous Soldiers, continually cut off the foragers of *Mahomet* Army, and such as brought in victual or necessities for his Camp; and many times in the night suddenly brake into one another, or either of the Turks Army; and so marching by night, and with continual Alarms never suffered them to rest in quiet. *Mahomet* seeing his Army to decrease daily, and no hope of winning the City but by Famine, which would require a long Siege; and tearing also to make that same place again famous by some notable mischance which might happen unto himself under the Walls of *Croia*, as had before unto his Father *Amurath*; determined to return himself to *Constantinople*, and to leave *Balabanus*, with a great part of his Army to continue the Siege. Upon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the Siege, to *Balabanus*, joining unto him eight of his most expert Captains; yet so, as that they should be all at *Balabanus* his Command. And so leaving with him three and twenty thousand of his best Soldiers, and every one of the other eight Captains seven thousand more, departed himself with the rest

of his Army from *Croia*, towards *Constantinople*. But by the way as he went he took from *Scanderbeg* certain small Forts, and with fair promises corrupting the Governor of a place called *Chidra*, wherein eight thousand Men, Women, nor Child, lay, had the same delivered into his power, upon his Faith before given, That all the Soldiers with the rest of the People should in safety depart thence. But after the Tyrant had them in his power, without regard of Faith or Promise, he caused them all most cruelly to be cut in pieces, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child, to the great grief and weakening of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before received so great a loss. And after he had so ragel, he in great melancholy returned unto *Constantinople*.

*Scanderbeg* disdaining to have his chief City besieged by *Balabanus*, (sometime one of the best of his Fathers Subjects) and yet finding himself unable to relieve the same, for as much as the Soldiers were with continual Wars forewinded, and his wary Enemies lay so encamped, as that they were not but by a strong Army to be removed, sent unto the *Venetians* and other confederate Princes of *Albania*, *Mytilene*, and *Dalmatia*, praying of them aid now at his need against that Enemy, which prevailing against him, would forthwith set upon them. All which Princes promised forthwith to send their Succors. At the same time also he passed over into *Italy* secretly, and disguised in his habit of *Rome*, to crave aid of *Papal* the Second of that name, then great Bishop; by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing that he came for; so cold was his Devotion; only at his departure he gave unto *Jamurio*, *Scanderbeg* his Treasurer, a poor Alms of three thousand Ducats.

*Scanderbeg* returning into *Epirus*, found all such aid ready as was promised by the confederate Princes, but especially from the *Venetians*, which was for most part drawn out of their Garrisons of *Scutari*, *Drivasto*, *Ajaccio*, and *Durrachino*; so that he had in few days in his Army thirteen thousand four hundred choice Soldiers. With this Strength he marched towards *Croia*; but understanding by the way, that *Ionina* was within a days journey, coming with a new supply to his Brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certain Troops of his best Horsemen; and coasting over the Country in the night, suddenly came upon the Turks, and put them to flight; where amongst others, *Ionina* himself, with his Son *Hadar*, were taken Prisoners; whom he shewed the next day brought to *Balabanus*. This exploit he happily performed, he with all speed returned to his Army; and so marching to *Croia*, by plain force drove the Turks from the Mountain *Croina*, their greatest Strength, and nearest to the City of *Croia*. Which thing when *Balabanus* saw, he with certain Troops of Horsemen did even to the Gates of the City, persuading the Defendants to yield the City, thinking them in the name of his Master such Offers and Promises as he thought might move them more. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incensed with his presumption, sallied out upon him, and informed him to retire; but he therewith enraged, and full mad for anger, came upon them with a fresh charge, thinking by plain force to have driven them back into the Country. In which skirmish he was by one *Georgius Alexius*, with a Bullet, thorow quick through the Throat; and feeling himself mortally wounded, fetching pause to his Horse, ran as fast as he could to his Camp, where he presently fell down from his Horse and died.

N n The

Scanderbeg  
prised Ionina  
the son of  
Balabanus  
and Hadar  
at Croia



The Turks discouraged with the death of their General, and the coming of *Scanderbeg*, rofe the fame night, and with great silence retired themselves unto the Plain of *Tirama*, about eight miles from *Croia*. *Scanderbeg* the next morning sent great forces of Cavalry and other Victuals; which he caused to be forthwith conveyed into the City, and in triumph followed after himself, to the great joy and comfort of his late besieged Subjects; whom he highly commended for their Fidelity, and bountifully rewarded according to their deserts. The same day he sent certain companies of Soldiers to take the frate passages whereby the Turks must needs pass in their return out of *Epirus*; which when the Turks understood, they sent two Messengers to *Scanderbeg* (who seemed to be men of good account in the Army) offering in the name of the rest of the Captains and Commanders, to deliver unto him their Horses and Arms, so that they might in safety depart with their lives. Which request *Scanderbeg* propounding to his Counsellors and Captains, was by them diversly digested. In conclusion, they received this answer from *Scanderbeg* himself; That as they came into his Country without his Commandment, so should they not by his leave depart thence. The Turks receiving this short answer by their Messengers, and considering that they must needs in that bare Country in short time perish, either with Famine or with the Sword, the same night the night entered the aforesaid Straits, by plain force desperately brake through and escaped, but not without their great loss: for whose escape the common Soldiers murmured grievously against *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeased. In short time after, *Scanderbeg* recovered all such places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to Sword the Soldiers he had left for the keeping of the fame; which done, he brake up his Army, retaining only two thousand Horsemen and a thousand Foot for the defence of his Frontiers.

The Turkish Tyrant hearing of the evil success of his Affairs in *Epirus*, as that his General was slain, *Croia* relieved, his Army discomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith so much grieved, that he could not for a season eat or drink, or take rest, his discontented thoughts so much troubled him. In the end, to remedy the matter, he resolved the next Spring to go again in person himself with a most puissant Army into *Epirus*, and so if it were possible, to make a full Conquest thereof; of which his purpose *Scanderbeg* understanding, provided for the Spring coming, as he had in former time. Being come, *Mahomet* according to his former resolution, with a mighty Army entered into *Epirus*, and there with exceeding labour and charge, first repaired or rather re-edified the old ruins of the City of *Valmet*, wherein he left a strong Garrison, of purpose to trouble that part of the Country. From thence he marched to *Durrachium* (now called *Durazzo*, but of old time *Epidamnus*) a City upon the Sea-coast, then in the possession of the *Venetians*, famous for many things in the time of the Roman Empire, but especially for the Flight of the Roman Senate thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the civil Wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. This City *Mahomet* thought to have taken unprovided, and so upon the suddain to have carried it; but was therein much deceived, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the

*Venetians* and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there spent some time, and to his great loss in vain attempted the City, he rose upon the suddain, and retiring into *Epirus*, came and fate down again before *Croia*, of purpose by his suddain coming to have terrified the Citizens; and vainly periwaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in *Durrachium*, for that in the affailing thereof he had discovered many of *Scanderbeg's* men, and thereby supposed him to have been there also; and came to, cause why he so suddainly rose and came to *Croia*. At his first coming he offered great rewards and large privileges unto the Citizens, if they would forthwith yield up their City; otherwise he threatened unto them all the calamities of War, vowing never to depart thence before he had it; whereunto he received no other answer out of the City than was sent him by the mouth of the Canon, or brought him by many most brave Sallies. *Scanderbeg* the mean while continually molesting his Camp, and every night falling into one quarter or another thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what small purpose it would be for him to lie there long, rose with his Army, and marched again to the Sea side, to a place now called the head of *Redon* upon the Gulf of *Venice*, not far from *Durrachium*, where *Scanderbeg* had begun to build a new City called *Clisura*, not yet finished; which *Mahomet* in despite of the man, rased down to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the *Epirus* were retired into the Mountains, he went to seek them out, and was with great loss by those Mountain People repulsed; *Scanderbeg* still following them at the Heels, and awaiting all opportunities, daily cut off part of his Army. So that at last the Tyrant, despairing of any good to be done in this Expedition, was glad to depart out of *Epirus*, having achieved nothing worth his coming, and so, full of discontentment and melancholy returned to *Constantinople*.

After all these great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid over most part of *Epirus*, to view the state of his Kingdom, and so at last came to *Lysla* (a City of the *Venetians*, which he had always especially liked) and there to confer with the *Venetian* Legate and other the confederate Princes, of matters concerning their state in general, as his manner was; but more particularly how they might take the City of *Valmet*, which *Mahomet* had the last year built in the Seigniory of *Arimantes Comynar*, and much troubled that part of *Epirus*.

But whilst he lay there, he fell sick of a Fever, which daily so increased upon him, that he became sick even unto death; and now receiving his end, he drew nigh, sent for his Wife and Son, with the Princes and Lords his Confederates, and the Embassadors of the *Venetians*, into his Bed-Chamber. Where after he had at large with greater pain notably discoursed of his troublesome life led among them, than he had before passed the fame, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue, he earnestly exhorted them to continue in Unity and Concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their Religion, Country, and Liberty. And afterwards turning his Speech to his Wife and his Son, commended them both with his Kingdom to the tuition of the *Venetians*; who by the Articles of the Confederation betwixt him and them, were in honour bound to protect his Son and Kingdom, during the time of his Minority, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. Last words he wished his Wife after his Death, pass over with her Son into *Apulia*, where they might in safety and quiet live upon such Possessions as he there held

The death  
of Scanderbeg

Scanderbeg buried at Lysla.

The body of Scanderbeg dug up by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured.

Paulus Joſephus Iulius Viro. Tom. 2. lib. 8.

held by the Gift of King *Ferdinand*. And so after he had with most fervent prayer commended his Soul into the hands of Almighty God, departed in peace the 17th day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, 1466. when he had lived about 63 years, and thereof reigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all Christian Princes, but especially of the *Venetians* and Princes of *Albania*, who had now lost their most careful Watchman and invincible Champion; the sorrow of his Subjects is not to be expressed, every man bewailing him, as the only stay of the Common-weal, and as if with him they had lost all their hope. His dead Body was with the general Lamentation of all Men royally buried in the Cathedral-Church of St. *Nicholas* at *Lysla*; where it rested in peace, until that about nine years after, the Turks coming to the Siege of *Scadra*, by the way took the City of *Lysla*, and there with great devotion digged up his Bones, reckoning it some part of their happiness, if they might but see or touch the same; and such as could get any part thereof, were it never so little, caused the same to be fer, some in Silver, some in Gold, to hang about their Necks, or wear upon their Bodies; perfwading themselves by the wearing thereof to be partakers of such good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himself whilst he lived; which is not unaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of *Cremona*, thus in Verse expressed:

*Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,  
Epiri intela, illo jacuere Sepulchro:  
Quo quondam invitit cinerum ossa Georgi.  
Nunc et membra viri, et diffictum in frustra sepulchrum  
Intervixit, flarq; cineres, conficta æque  
Ossa, nec in gelida sunt, saltem morte quiescent.  
Imperque ut si affertur totius cum lande paternum  
Diamurum, exalta moriens etate reliquit:  
Illic immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcae.  
Tum clari Herois venerati nobili bustum,  
Ossaque, marmoraque, invictum condencia corpus,  
Adjuerant, sibi quisque in partes scila minias,  
Tanquam tjs bellica vis, et Martius arder inellect:  
Et genium ferat bonum, fortemque uolentem.  
Sic que alij tantum virum parat, affluat illi:  
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit bos.*

In English thus:

The bloody Bane of faithless Turks, and terror of their Name,  
*Epirus* strong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame.  
Within that Tomb wherein long since, Great *Cæsar* lay;  
But now those Limbs and Tomb defac'd, are carried quite away.  
The remnants of that worthy Wight out of his grave were torn;  
And being dead, could find no rest, but were for Jewels worn.  
For after he, far spent with age, gave place to fatal Doom.  
And left his Fathers Kingdom, got and kept with great Renown;  
Forthwith the cruel Turks prevail'd, and all things there posselt:  
Who worshipping his stately Tomb, and place of quiet rest,  
Dig'd up his Bones, and brake the Tomb wherein he did remain:  
And gave away he that could thereof some little part obtain.  
As if in them some Martial force, or virtue great had been:

Or fortune rare, such as before in him was living seen.  
So Virtue, which to others gives a Sepulture and Grave,  
Beret it him, yet forc'd his Foe in Honour it to have.

Most part of the times of those Wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the *Venetians* by Sea and the *Hungarians* by Land, kept the Turks thoroughly buied. *Matthias Corvinus* King of *Hungary* (according to his promise made unto the *Venetians*) entered into the Kingdom of *Bosnia*, where by force he overthrew the strong Forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their Frontiers, and manfully drove them out before him, until he came to *Yaziga* (of some called *Jirza*), the chief City of *Bosnia*, which he at length took; and following the course of his Victory, scarcely suffered the Turks to breathe, until he had by force wrested all that Kingdom out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieved, in great fury came with a strong Army into *Bosnia*, and laid hard Siege to *Yaziga*, which was by the Christians right valiantly defended, until *Matthias* with a puissant Army came to the Relief thereof; who so troubled the Turks Camp with continual Skirmishes on the one side, and they of the Town with desperate Sallies on the other; that at length the proud Turk was driven to such extremity, that he was glad secretly to steal away by night with all his Army into *Servia*; and for half to leave behind him both his Tents and great Ordnance, which (the Turks Historians report) he caused to be cast into the River, because it should not come into the hands of the Christians. *Matthias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his Enemies, and relieved his City, followed the Turks into *Servia*, and took part of that Country also, which together with *Bosnia* he united to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. In these Wars, *Mahomet* had such proof of the Force and Power of *Matthias* and the *Hungarians*, that for a good while after he had no great stomach to provoke them farther; for why, the name of *Matthias* was now become unto the Turks no less dreadful, than was sometime the name of his Father the valiant *Hunyadi*.

The *Venetians* at the same time also with their Gallies scoured the Seas, and landing their Men sometime in one place, sometime in another, did great harm in many places of the Turks Dominion near unto the Sea coast. Amongst other their Generals at divers times sent from that State, one *Nicholas Canalis* succeeding *Laurentinus* (whom we have before spoken of) as soon as he had received his Charge, came with his Fleet into the Bay of *Salonicchi*, and landing his Men, burnt divers Towns and Villages alongt the Sea side: And afterwards returning into *Peloponnesus*, he fortified the Town of *Loggicium* in the Gulf of *Tarax*; which work the Turks with their often Skirmishes laboured to have hindered, but in despite of all they could do, it was brought to perfection, and a strong Garrison therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned again to *Bosnia*. Shortly after, he with the same Fleet put to Sea again; and failing alongt the coast of *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, surpris'd the City of *Amus* which standeth upon the mouth of the River *Mæandrus*; called in ancient time *Hebrus*, upon which River the famous Cities *Andriopolis* and *Philippopolis* are also situate. *Canalis* after he had taken the spoil of the City, returned to his Gallies, carrying away with him two thousand Captives into *Eubœa*. At the same time also, the *Venetians* giving Aid unto *Nicholas Duchaine*

Matthias King of Hungary, who was King of Bosnia when the Turks

against his Brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the Principality of *Zadrina*, near unto the River of *Drino* in *Epirus*, gave a great Overthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrel of *Alexius*.

*Alexius.*

Mahomet not a little offended with the harms done unto him by the *Venetians*, and perceiving that the Island of *Euboea* (now called *Negropont*) was for the commodious situation and strength thereof, the chief place from whence they wrought him all these wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired again, as unto a most secure place of Refuge; determined to send forth at once to be even with those who had so far surrendred place of Refuge; determined to send forth at once to be even with those who had so far surrendred place of Refuge; determined to send forth at once to be even with those who had so far surrendred place of Refuge;

to employ his whole force both by Sea and Land for the gaining of that place. This Island of *Euboea* is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth over against that part of *Grecia* which was of old called *Bœotia*, from whence it is separated with a narrow strait of the Sea; it aboundeth with Corn, Wine, Oil, Fruit, and Wood fit for shipping. The chief City thereof, was an ancient time called *Chalcide*, and of late time *Negropont*, by which name also the whole Island was known; albeit the Turks now call it *Egriboz*; a populous, rich, and strong City, fortified with Walls and Bulwarks, that (in most men's judgment) it seemed a place impregnable. Unto this strong City, *Mahomet* resolved to lay siege; knowing well that upon the fortune thereof depended the fate of the whole Island. Whereupon he assembled his Army, and made great preparation both by Sea and Land; and when all things were in readiness, sent *Mahomet* (the great Basha of the Court) with a Fleet of three hundred Gallies, and certain other small Vessels well furnished with Soldiers, Mariners, and all things necessary, by Sea unto *Euboea*; and with a great Army marched over against the through *Acadia*, until he came over against the City of *Chalcide*. The *Venetian* Admiral hearing of the coming of the Turks Fleet, set forward to have met them near unto the straits of *Hellepontus*; but after he had by his espials descried the great number of the Enemies Fleet, finding himself too weak, shaped his course to the Island of *Sceos*. The Basha coming out of the Straits of *Hellepontus*, perceived where his henchmen were, and being informed with his purpose, he took care to have his intended course without come to *Euboea*; where at his first landing, he took *Sora* and *Baficon*, two small Towns, which he rased to the ground, and from thence went directly to *Chalcis*. As soon as this great Fleet was there arrived, *Mahomet* caused a great Bridge to be made of his smaller Vessels over the Strait betwixt *Acadia* and *Euboea*, whereby he passed his Army, and so laybayed the City, cutting off both by Sea and Land. And after he had planned his Battery, began most furiously to shake the Walls; wherein he had in short time made fair Breaches, and the sooner, for that one *Thomas* of *Liberina* (chief Canoner of the City) before corrupted by the Turks, by signs agreed upon, gave them certain signals, in what places the Turks might best attack; whereby they so aptly planned their Battery, as if they had taken view on the infide of the Walls. Which foul Treason was at length perceived, yet little prevailed the Tyrant thereby; for such was the industry of the Defendants, that whatsoever he had by the fury of his great Ordnance beat down by day, they would rebuild labour returned again by night. Thus was the Siege continued three days, in which space many a sharp Assault was given by the Turks, to their great loss; and the City still valiantly de-

ended by the Christians. At length the *Venetian* Admiral (to the great comfort of the besieged) came with his Fleet within view of the City, making semblance as if he would have given the Turks battel. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to have raised his Siege, and have got himself over into the Main, for fear the *Venetians* should with their Gallies have broken the Bridge, and to have flut him up into the Mountains, to have sought his safety. The Admiral might have done so to his great praise, if he would as a courageous Chieftain have adventured the matter, as he was earnestly requested by the Captains of every private Gally; who generally grieved to see him so great a Commander, to let slip so fair an opportunity. But he fearing to come any nearer, came to an Anchor and moved not, neither gave any sign of coming to the relief of the City.

The Turkish King, quickly perceiving, and there with encouraged, having now in divers places beaten down the Walls, and made them affailable, brought on his Men to the Breaches, promising them the spoil of the City, with many other great Rewards and high Preferments according to their particular Deserts, whereof he said, He would Himself be an Eye-witness. Hereupon the Turks gave a most furious and furious Assault; which was attended with invincible success, and made such slaughter of them, that the Ditches were fill'd, and the Breaches made up with the bodies of the dead Turks. But such was the number of that populous Army (the greatest strength of the Turks) that the living little felt the loss of the dead: *Mahomet* continually sending in new supplies of fresh Men, in stead of them that were killed or wounded; so that one could not see them fall, but twice or three times they would rise up, and so successfully, if new Men had sprung out of the Bodies of the dead. Twice they had even won the Breaches, and were both times with wonderful slaughter beaten out again. This deadly and dreadful Assault, was maintained a whole day and a night without intermission. At length the Defendants being for the most part slain or wounded, and the rest wearied with long fight, and unable to defend the Breaches, were obliged almost all to fly out from the Breaches into the Market-place, and there like resolute Men, sold their lives at a dear price unto the Turks. Amongst the slain Christians, were found the dead bodies of many notable Women, who seeing the ruine of the City: chose rather to die with their Friends in defence thereof, than alive to fall into the hands of their barbarous Enemies.

*Mahomet* being now become Lord of the City, and having lost forty thousand of his Turks in that Siege, in revenge thereof caused all the men that were found in the City alive, to be put to most cruel death, especially the *Italians*, upon whom he shewed his Tyranny with most exquisite and horrible Torments. *Faulstich* Governor of the City, with a thousand men who with him were fled into the City, without resistance, he caused to be put to death, without his faithful Promise, that they might in safety depart; but after he had got them into his Power, the perfidious Tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murdered. The Governors Daughter a Maiden of incomparable beauty, was amongst the slain taken Prisoner, and for her rare Perfection by them that took her, presented to *Mahomet* as the Mirror of Beauty: The Tyrant greedy of so fair a Prey, sought first by flattery

flattering words and fair persuasion, to induce her to consent to his desire; but when he could not so prevail, he fell into another vain, and began to thrust himself in his own nature, threatening her with Death, Torture, and Force, worse than Death it self, if she would not otherwise yield unto his Appetite. Whereunto the constant Virgin (worthy eternal Fame) answered so resolutely, and so comely to the Tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be presently slain. This horrible and monstrous Cruelty, with the filthy Outrages by that beastly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that City, passeth all credit. *Chalcis* thus won, the rest of that fruitful Island without further resistance yielded unto the Turkish slavery, under which it yet groaveth. This was the first time, when the Turkish Empire, or rather to say rather, the general hurt of the Christian Common-wealth, in the year of our Redemption, 1670.

1470. *Canalis the Venetian Admiral*, who all the time of the Siege, had in the sight of the City lien at Anchor as a looker on, fearing now the City was lost, to be set upon by the Turks Fleet, hoisted Sail, and laded with dishonor returned in haste unto *Venice*, where he was by the Commandment of the Senate committed to Prison, and afterward with all his Family exiled to *Utinum*.

1471. Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his Army out of *Euboea*, and his Fleet returned to *Constantinople*; the *Venetians* with their Gallies, attempted to have upon the sudden surpris'd the City, a little before lost. But *Mahomet* had therein left so strong a Garrison, that when the *Venetians* had landed their Men, they were again enforced to retire to their Gallies, and to forsake their Island.

*Chaleis* thus loft with all the *Mland* of *Euzania*, the *Venetian* chose *Petrus Mocenico*, a valiant and discreet Gentleman, Admiral of their Fleet, in stead of *Canalis*; and by their Embassadors solicited *Sixtus* the Fourth of that Name, then Bishop of *Rome*, and *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, with *Lewis* King of *Cyprus*, and the grand Matter of the *Rhodes*, to joyn their Forces together with theirs against the great and common Enemy; which thing all the aforesaid Christian Princes promised them to do. And the more to intangle the Turk, they do at the same time send *Caterinus Zennu* their Envoy-fador with rich Presents unto *Sultan*, to incite *Caffians*, the great King of *Asia*, to use him on that side against the Turk; in which Negociation *Zennu* so well behaved himself, that the next year following, that great King took up Arms against *Amobot*, and had with him mortal Wars, as shall be in convenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of the proceedings of the *Venetians*, and that they did what they might to stir up as many Enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were possible) into hatred with the whole World; and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the Christian Princes with the cruelty he had of late used against them of *Chaleis*, thought it best to abstain them further to provoke them, and so happily to bring all at once about his ears, but for a few days he still kept *Constantinople*, as if he had been desirous now to live in peace, not meaning further harm; hoping thereby, that although he concluded no Peace with any of them (which indeed he was not desirous of) yet that

tract of the night mitigate the inauspiciousness of the fact, and cool the heat of their displeasure; whereby it came to pass as he wished, that nothing worth the speaking of was that year attempted against him; and because the *Perjian* King was the man of whom he stood most in doubt, he sought by his Embassadors to pacify him, and to withdraw him from the League of the Christians; requesting him, if it were for nothing else but for the Community of the Mahometan Religion, wherein they well agreed, and were thereby the professed Enemies of the Christians, to withdraw his Arms, and in their cause to cease to take up Arms; urging now (for that it so stood with his purpose) that the Religion, whereas otherwise he regarded (as was thought) no Religion at all. But *Zennu* the *Venetian* Embassador lying continually in the *Perjian* Court, so wrought the matter with *Ulm-Casim*, that he told the Turks Embassadors plainly, That he could nor would not longer endure the manifest injury and wrong done unto him by the Turkish King; and farther, that he had made a faithful League with the Christian Princes, and therefore would to the uttermost of his Power make it known unto the World, that he would effectually perform what thing forever he had promised; and so dismissed them, now no less discontented than were before the *Perjian* King's departure. At this time the *Perjian* King from the Turks Court having obtained nothing else then requested concerning the Emperor of *Trapezund*.

The year following, *Mucennius the Venetian* Admiral with his Fleet arrived in the Isle of *Labos*, where he did great harm. From thence he passed the Bay of *Adramittium* into the Gulf of *Asia*, and so spoiled the Country about *Pergamus*. After that he landed again at *Cnidus* upon the coast of *Caria*, where he took a great Booty; and so having done the Turks exceeding much harm in *Asia* along the coast, he opposed *Poloponnesus*, returned laden with spoil towards *Poloponnesus*. In his return about the Promontory of *Malea*, upon the coast of *Poloponnesus*, he met with *Richenfis* coming unto him with seveneen Gallies from King *Ferdinand*; by whom he was certified, that the great Bishops Fleet was ready to come forth also. After mutual Gratulation, as the manner is at Sea, is, the Admirals joyning their Fleets in one, landed at *Marbone*, now called *Maden*, the City of the *Venetians*; where they landed, and having had their Soldiers, their Souldiers, and taken in fresh Victuals, they put to Sea again; and falling through the Islands, landed in *Asia*, where they were at their first landing encountered by the Country Turks, whom at last they put to flight, and by the space of four days took what pillage they could in the Country; where the Souldiers found great store of rich Booty, especially of Turkey Carpets, which are there made in abundance. From thence they sailed to *Halicarnassus*, which is a City of *Caria* (where sometimes stood the famous Tomb which Queen *Artemisia* built for her Husband *Mausolus*), accounted amongst the Wonders of the World) where they took a wonderful spoil. There came unto them *Nicholas* Bishop of *Modrasia*, with twenty Gallies sent from the great Bishop; whom the other two Generals welcomed with great joy. At the same time also came thither two Gallies from the great Master of the Sea. With this Fleet of eighty five Gallies, they failed to the Isle of *Samos* over against *Ephesus* (some

1472.  
The Venetians aided by King Ferdinand, the Bishop of Rome, and the great Master of the Rhodes, do the Turks great harm all along the coast of the list of Asia.

place of great Fame, but then altogether (and unpeopled) there to confute their further proceedings in those Wars. Being from *Samos*, they took their course along the Sea coast of *Asia*, and landed at *Atalia*, the chief City of *Pamphilia*, a place of great Traffique; where they found in the Suburbs of the City great store of many rich Commodities, brought thither out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; whereof they took what pleased them, and burnt the rest together with the Suburbs. Unto the City it self they began to lay siege, but perceiving that it was not without great loss of their Men to be taken, they departed thence; and running all along the coast of *Pamphilia*, burnt and destroyed what came in their way, and so returned back again to *Rhodes*, where they met an Embassador from *Ufuf-Caffian*, the *Perfian* King, to the Bishop and the *Venitians*, for great Ordinance; whereof that so mighty a Prince was altogether unfurnished. Of this Embassador they understood, that *Ufuf-Caffian* was entered into League with the Christian Princes, and now busy in making preparation against the Turk. At which time *Mahomet* required the *Venitians* with no less harm in *Epirus* and *Dalmatia*, than they had done to him in *Asia*; for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily prevailed upon the weak Princes of *Epirus* and *Albania*, with the Countries adjoining. The Christian Fleet departing from the *Rhodes*, landed in the Country of the *Myndians*, a part of *Caria*, and with great spoil returned to the Island of *Naxos*, one of the *Cyclades*; from whence King *Ferdinand* his Gallies returned home, laden with much rich spoil; for now the war was far from him. Yet after the departure of the Kings Gallies, *Mocenius* with the Legate returned back again into *Asia*, and there landing their Men, took the famous City of *Smyrna* in *Ionia*, and when they had taken the spoil thereof, set it on fire. At which time also they did great harm about *Glazomene*, not far from *Smyrna*. So Winter drawing now fast on, they returned, laden with the rich spoils of *Asia*, the Legate into *Italy*, and *Mocenius* into *Molione*.

The insatiable desire of Sovereignty, whereunto the Turkish King was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not only against the Christian Princes, but against others also even of his own Superstition; making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if so he might extend his Dominion. He had long before under the pretence of a friendly Parley craftily circumscribed the King of *Assia*, a Country in *Assia*, and having got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force subduing his Kingdom, left not one of the Kings blood alive. After that he invaded *Cilicia*, which the Turks call *Caramania*, where the two young Brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caffambet* reigned, and drove them both out of *Cilicia*; of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Ufuf-Caffian's* *Caffambet*, the younger assisted by his old Friends, fought by force of Arms to recover again his Inheritance wrongfully by the Turks possessed, and was besieging certain Towns upon the Sea coast, which being taken from the Turks would easily draw all the rest of the Kingdom after them. *Mocenius* the *Venitian* Admiral being now with the first of the Spring come upon the coast of *Cilicia*, at the request of *Caffambet*, landed certain Companies of Men under the leading of *Vittor Saporantius*, and certain pieces of great Artillery, where with he so battered the Walls of *Sichinnum*,

that he enforced the Turks therein to yield up the City; which he delivered to *Caffambet*. In like manner he took the City of *Corycus*, which he also restored to *Caffambet*. At last he laid siege to *Seleucia*, which standeth upon the River *Orontes*, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the Successors of *Alexander* the Great, distant from the Sea about five miles; the Governor of this City discouraged with the sight of the great Artillery, delivered the City to the *Venitian* Captain, who by the appointment of the Admiral restored the same to *Caffambet*. Who by this means brought again into his Kingdom, gave great thanks unto the Admiral, promising both for himself and for his Brother to be always Friends unto the *Venitians*. *Mocenius* departing from *Cilicia*, landed his Men in *Lyria*, and harried that Country along the Sea coast. And this *Mocenius* failed into *Cyprus*, to appease a great Insurrection there raised against the Queen, who was by her Husband at his death left to the Protection of the *Venitians*; which Rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadannus Gritius*, was by the Decree of the Senate appointed Admiral, and already come into *Peloponnus*, he with as much speed as he could hasted thither, to give up his Charge, and so to return home again to *Venice*.

About this time the great *Perfian* King *Ufuf-Caffian* began to make War upon the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, for the better understanding whereof, it shall not be from our purpose briefly to shew by what means this *Ufuf-Caffian*, of a small Prince aspired to the Kingdom of *Perfia*, and so in short time grew to that greatness, that he was justly accounted amongst the greatest Monarchs of the World then living; as appeareth by these Wars betwixt him and the great Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*. This *Ufuf-Caffian* of whom we now speak, was the Son of that *Tachretin*, who with other poor Princes was driven into Exile by the violence of *Bajazet* the first, great Grandfather to this *Mahomet* the Great, Emperor of the Turks, and was again restored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Bajazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his Son *Ufuf-Caffian* (of some called also *Alymbicus*) obtained that small Territory which his Father had in *Armenia*; nothing answering unto the greatness of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with such Possessions as was from his Father descended unto him, he began to shoulder for more room, with first weak Persians his Neighbours as he thought he might best deal withall; wringing one Province from this Prince, another from that, and thrusting some others quite out of all that they had; and in short time so enlarged his Dominion, that he had got into his hands a great part of *Armenia*, and was reputed both for a mighty and fortunate Prince. Infomuch that *Calo Joannes*, then Emperor of *Trapezond* (whose Power altogether answered not to the greatness of his Sile, being for most part shut up within the bounds of *Pontus*, and fearing the greatness of the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, whose name began then to grow dreadful unto his Neighbour Princes) gave to him his only Daughter *Delfina* in Marriage, by such Alliance to strengthen himself against the Turkish Tyrant, if need should require. At which Marriage it was agreed, that *Ufuf-Caffian* should be in the right of his Wife enjoy all the Kingdom of *Pontus*, after the death of *Calo Joannes* his Father, and of *David* his Brother; and that *Delfina* should so long as she lived have the free Exercise of her Christian Religion.

By

By this Woman, *Ufuf-Caffian* had a Daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that she was the Mother of *Hyfmal*, afterwards the great King of *Perfia*, commonly called *Hyfmal the Sephy*; of whom more shall be said hereafter in the Life of *Selymus*. *Ufuf-Caffian* honoured with this Marriage, and strengthened with this new Alliance, ceased not, after his wonted manner, daily to encroach upon his Neighbour Princes; and proceeded so far, that at length he began to lay hand upon a part of *Armenia*, which was then part of the Dominion of the *Perfian* King. *Zenzia* (whom some call *Tschekin*, which was indeed the name of his Father) reigning then in *Perfia*, by his Embassadors admonished, and in short commanded *Ufuf-Caffian* to hold himself content with his own, or at least, with that he had already wrongfully taken from others, and not to presume to come within the bounds of his Dominion, threatening otherwise to take him as an Enemy to his State, and to turn his Forces upon him. With which Embassage *Ufuf-Caffian* being much offended, gave the Embassadors no entertainment, but commanded them with speed to get them out of his Kingdom, and to tell their Master, That he would shortly himself in person come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud Answer from so mean a Prince the *Perfian* King moved, levied such an Army for the invading of him, as was thought to have been sufficient to have subdued a far greater Prince; and so appointed, set forward toward *Armenia*. *Ufuf-Caffian* much inferior to this great King in Wealth and Number of Men, but not in Haughtiness of Mind, and Vallantness of Courage, stayed not to expect the coming of his puissant Enemy, but full of hope set forward to meet him, and by great journeys sought to come upon him before he could have any knowledge of his coming; yet had he then in his Army scarce one man to ten, but all armed with courageous Hearts, and conducted by a most fortunate Chieftain which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with a great Army of the *Perfians*, with whom he presently joynted Battle, and after a long and cruel Fight overthrew them in the plain Field, with such Slaughter as might well have weakened the Forces of a right great Kingdom. The great King more enraged than discouraged with his overthrow, raised a far greater Army than before, the very Strength of his Kingdom; resolving now, not to send any more his Lieutenants, but to go in person himself against to depelate an Enemy. All things being in readiness, he set forward, and length met with the *Armenian* Prince, whom he found as ready to give Battle, as he was at the first. So being both desirous to trie their fortune, they joynted battle; wherein the *Perfians* were again discomfited and put to flight, and more of them slain in that Battle, than were brought into the Field in the first Army. *Zenzia* the *Perfian* King was slain with *Ufuf-Caffian* his own hand, and *Carpisaphus* his Son taken Prisoner, whom the *Armenian* Prince used with the greatest Honour could be devised, giving unto him the Honour and Title due to the *Perfian* King, taking to himself the bare name of the Protector of the *Perfian* State. Which he did only to please the *Perfians*; and to keep them quiet until he had got some more assured possession of that Kingdom. But after he had in the two former Battles broken their greatest strength, and then won the colour of a peaceable Governor got into his power the regal City of *Tauris*, with the rest of the Cities and strong places of that great King-

dom, and that all men had him now in great reverence and admiration for his great virtues; he secretly dispatched out of the way the poor titular King his Prisoner, (the last of the Posterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and took upon himself the highest place, which admisteth no Partner. Whilst this reftless Prince was thus tumbling in the World, and not yet well settled in his new gotten Kingdom, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor, no less ambitious than himself, had scornfully rejected the Embassadors and Prefences which *Ufuf-Caffian* had sent; and having shamefully put to death *David* the Emperor of *Trapezond*, his Alliance, had converted all the Kingdom of *Pontus* (which *Ufuf-Caffian* of right claimed as his Wives Dowry) into the form of a Province, and so united it to the Turkish Empire. Which fo manifest a wrong, *Ufuf-Caffian* in the newness of his late achieved greatness, durst not adventure to address; but after that he was fully enraged, and had with the course of time overcome all dangers at home, being daily prick forward with the remembrance of the former injuries (still suggested by the importunity of his Wife *Delfina*, and the sollicitation of the *Venitians*, to whom he had by solemn promise bound himself) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his Forces upon his proud Enemy the Turkish Emperor. Hereupon he raised a great Army, and being well appointed of all things necessary, passing through *Armenia* toward *Pontus*, near unto the River *Euphrates* was encountered by *Musapha* (*Mahomet* the Elder's Son, a young Prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Baffa of *Romania*, whom *Mahomet* (fearing such a matter) had sent before with a strong Army out of *Egypt*, to joyne with such Forces as *Musapha* had already raised in *Asia*, fo to withstand the invasion of the *Perfians*. These two great Commanders *Musapha* and *Amurath* joining Battle with *Ufuf-Caffian*, were by him in the plain Field overthrow; where *Amurath* the great Baffa himself, with thirty thousand Turks were slain; *Musapha* with the rest of the Army by shameful flight saving themselves.

Now when *Mahomet* understood that *Amurath* was slain, and his Army discomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled; but purposing to be thereof revenged, gave order into all parts of his Dominions for the levying of new Forces; so that at the time by him appointed, was assembled a great and mighty Army of 320000 men. *Ufuf-Caffian* in like manner was in the Field with an Army, nothing in number inferior unto his Enemy. These two *Mahomet* the Kings, drawing after them, their huge Armies met together near the Mountains of *Armenia*, where at the first encounter one of the Turks great Baffa was slain, with 40000 Turks. With which hard beginning the proud Tyrant was so daunted, that he could hardly be persuaded to prove his fortune any further, but contenting himself with that loss, was about to have retired; and had undoubtedly so done, if some of his most expert and valiant Captains which might be bold with him, had not sharply reproved him, that having so populous an Army as scarcely felt that small loss, he should once think of returning without Victory. With which their comfortable persuasions he was again encouraged to give Battle. Yet for his more safety he withdrew his Army into a Strait betwixt two Mountains, and with his Carriages fortified the town thereof, as with a Trench; behind which Carriages he placed his great Ordinance, and on either side his Archers. The *Perfians* as men of

1474-  
Two huge  
Armies of  
the Turks  
and Persians  
were joined  
together.

Ufuf-Caffian is a great betwixt overthrew the King of Persia.

great Valour, and thereto encouraged with their former Victories, came on as men fearing no peril, to have charged the Turks even in their Strength, presenting their whole Army before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks Artillery; which suddenly discharged amongst the thickest of them, brake their Ranks, and took away a number of them. Besides that, the Persian Horfes terrified with the unacquainted thundering report of the great Ordnance, and not to be ruled by their Riders, but starting back ran some one way, some another, as if they had felt neither Bit nor Rider. Which their confusion Mahomet perceiving, presently took hold of the occasion offered, and with his Horfemen fiercely charged them, being now by themselves intangled and out of order. Nevertheless the Persians made great resistance, and flew many of the Turks; but still fighting confidently and out of order, they were at the last enforced to flee, in which Flight a great number of them were slain, and their Tents also taken. Zeinal Ufian-Cafles his eldest Son, labouring to save the Flight of the Persians, was slain with a small shot. So the Honour of the day remained with the Turks; yet they had no great cause to brag of their winnings, having lost in that Battle forty thousand Soldiers; whereas the Persians fell not above ten thousand. Mahomet contenting himself with this dear bought Victory, returned homewards; and Ufian-Cafles leaving another of his Sons with his Army for the defence of Armenia, returned likewise to Tauris. But whilst the Christian Princes were in their greatest expectation, what might be the Event of these Wars betwixt these two mighty Mahometan Kings; they upon the suddain concluded a Peace, and confirmed the same with new Affinity, exciting the Christians quite out of the fame. This last Barrel betwixt Mahomet and Ufian-Cafles, was fought in the year of our Lord 1474, about four years before the death of Ufian-Cafles, who died the fifth of January in the year 1478.

In the time of these Wars died the noble Musapha, Mahomet's eldest Son, at Iconium, having spent himself with reveling amongst his Paragons, or as some write, commanded to die, by his Father, upon this occasion. This youthful Prince upon a time coming to the Court to see his Father (or as they term it, to visit his Father) became anxious of the Wife of Achmet; Bassa, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, and Daughter to Isac Bassa, the chief men in the Turkish Empire, next unto Mahomet himself; but finding no means to compass her in whom his Soul lived, he awaited a time when as the (after the manner of the Turks) layen to bath her self; there as he found her all disrobed, shamefully forced her, without regard either of his own Honour, or of hers. Of this his foul an outrage, Achmet her Husband, with his cloaths and hat all rent for madness, came and grievously complained to Mahomet, craving vengeance for the same. Unto whom Mahomet again replied, *Art thou that thy self my Slave? and if my Son Musapha have known thy Wife, is he not my Bondslave he hath had to do withal? Cease therefore thus to complain, and hold thy self therewith content.* Nevertheless he in secret sharply reproved his Son for so infamous and dishonorable a Fact by him committed, and commanded him out of his sight; and as he was of a feverish nature, caused him within a few days after to be secretly strangled. Nevertheless, the wrong done unto the Bassa, sunk to deep into his haughty mind, as that he would never admit excuse therefore, but put

away his Wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Bassa Isac his Father-in-law; and in fine, the very cause of his utter destruction, as is afterward declared in the life of Bajazet.

Mahomet delivered of his greatest fear, by the Peace he had lately concluded with Ufian-Cafles the Persian King, was now at good leisure to employ all his Forces against the Christians. And bearing a deadly hatred against the Princes of Epirus and Albania, with a wonderful desire to extend his Empire unto the Ionian and Adriatick, that he might from thence but look toward Italy, which he began now to long after; he determined with himself, first to subdue those Countries, as standing in his way, both for the invasion of Italy, and of the Territories of the Venetians. And forasmuch as the strong City of Scodra (otherwise called Scutary) then in the possession of the Venetians, for the commodious Situation thereof seemed to give him the best entrance into the Countries of Albania, Epirus, Dalmatia, and to such Cities as the Venetians held alongst the Sea coast, he resolved there to begin his Wars.

This City was of great Strength, as well for the natural Situation thereof, as for the strong Fortifications therein made by the hand of man; which thing Mahomet was not ignorant of, but presuming of his own Strength and Power, vainly persuaded himself, that no place was now able long to hold out against him. Wherefore having prepared all things fit for the besieging thereof, he sent Solyman Bassa an Eunuch (whom he made his Lieutenant General in Europe, in the place of Amurat Bassa, before slain by Ufian-Cafles) with eighty thousand Soldiers to besiege Scodra. This great Bassa according to his charge came, and with great pomp incamped round about the City, the 25 of May. Shortly after having planted his battery, he began most furiously to shake the Walls, and ceased not by all means he could devise, to trouble the Defenders; and when he had by force of the Canon done what he could, gave divers sharp assaults unto the City, but was still with great loss vainly repulled by them of the City. Long it was to be declare, how often, and in what terrible manner that warlike Bassa Mahomet, his chief Captain, attempted to have won the City; as also to hear how they of Scodra, directed by their worthy Governor Antonius Laurentius, valiantly defended themselves and their City; nothing was omitted that the Enemy could do or devise for the gaining thereof; but all his devices and attempts were so met withal by the Defenders, that they served him no other purpose but to the destruction of his people. Whilst the Bassa thus lay at the Siege of Scodra, Moccimica having received such commandment from the Senate, came and joyined himself to Griutu the new Admiral, who then lay with his Fleet in the mouth of Bolania, a great River running out of the Lake whereupon the City of Scodra standeth. These two Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderful consent did what they might for the furtherance of the Common good, a thing not common; first they put strong Garrisons with all things necessary, unto Celenium, Lissa, Dirrachium, and other Cities of their Seignory upon the Sea coast. After that, they went up the River Bolania with certain Gallies, and came within sight of Scodra, and there by Fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the Defenders, as with an assured promise of relief; which thing it grieved the Turks to behold,

1475

Matthias King of Hungary intereth six Turke in the Siege of Scodra.

who therefore went about to have shut in those fame Gallies with a great Chain drawn cross the River, where it was narrowest betwixt them and the Sea; but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their Gallies flew in the midst of the Turks, and wounded divers others, and so returned again to Sea.

It was afterward attempted by the aforesaid Admirals, if a new supply might have been put into the City; but the Enemy had so befet the fame that it was not possible to be done. In the mean time, Matthias King of Hungary (receiving a great yearly portion of the Turkish detestation from their Countries against the Turk) hearing that Scodra was besieged, began to make such Spoil in the Turks Dominions bordering upon him, that Mahomet was glad to call home the great Bassa from the Siege of Scodra, to defend his own Frontiers. So the Bassa after he had lien three months with his great Army at the Siege, and lost fourteen thousand of his men, whereof the greatest part died of Sicknes taken by long lying in the rotten morish ground near unto the River; by commandment from his Master, rose with his Army and departed. The Venetians also, which lay all that while thereabout in their Gallies, were toucht with the same contagion; *Triphemus Griutu* died thereof, and *Moccimica* the other Admiral fell thereof dangerously sick, but being somewhat recovered, returned home, and was shortly after for his good service chosen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being dead. With this discomfourt taken at Scodra Mahomet was so discontented, that he appointed a yearly Fee unto one, to put him in mind daily of the Siege of Scodra.

1476

Solyman Bassa be siegeth Scodra with an Army of eighty thousand men.

The fame year that this great Bassa Solyman had in vain besieged Scodra, he was afterward sent with a great Army into Valacia, where he was so intangled in the Woods and Fens, by *Stephanus* the Vayvod, that he lost all his Army, and with much ado escaped himself, by the wonderful swiftness of a Mare wherupon he rid.

The year following, which was the year 1476, Mahomet sent out a great Fleet to Sea, under the conduct of *Geduces Achmetis*, his chief Counsellor and Man of War, (whose very name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to have by Treason surpris'd the Island of Crete, but that Plot was in good time by the Venetians perceived, the Traitors executed, and he of his purpose disappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpose for Crete, and sent the fame Achmet with his Fleet into the *Exocine* (or as the Turks call it, the *Black Sea*) to besiege the rich City of Caffa. This City was in the ancient time called *Theudisfa*, situate in the Country of *Taurica Charcinis*, fast by the Sea side, and had of long time been in possession of the *Genowaises*, and was a place of exceeding great Trade, until that this great Emperor Mahomet having taken *Constantinople*, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his Irons and Canns built upon the Straits of *Hellipontus* and *Bosphorus*, taken away both the traffique of Merchants unto those Seas, and all possible means for the *Genowaises* to find Succour to that City; yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant Captain undertook to carry his Company (in number not above one hundred and fifty men) by Land from *Genoa* to *Caffa*, not much less than two thousand miles, and worthily performed what he had undertaken. Achmetis coming thither with his Fleet, enclosed the City both by Sea and Land; which divided in it self by reason of the diverse disposition of the Inhabitants, being of diverse Nations, some *Genowaises*, some *Greeks*, some *Armenians*, but most *Tartars*, could not long hold out,

but was in short time given up to the Bassa, upon condition, That the *Genoway* Merchants, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in safety depart thence with their Wealth. Which promise the Bassa performed not; but when he was possessed of the City, sent such as he thought good, to *Constantinople*, and commanded the rest upon pain of death, not to depart thence, or to convey away from thence any part of their Substance. In short time after, the whole Country of *Taurica Charcinis* and the Turkish Obedience. At which time also the *Tartar* Princes, namely the *Precoptes* and *Deshmets*, terrified with the greatness of the Turk, cowardly yielded themselves as Tributaries unto him; ever since which time they have lived a most fertile and troublefome life, subject to every command of the Ottoman Emperor; for whom they have done great service many times in these Wars, against the Persians, the *Polonians*, the *Hungarians*, *Transylvanians*, and *Germans*, as in the process of this History well appeareth; and as the aforesaid Nations their Neighbours, with others also further off, have even of late to their great loss felt.

Although the Venetians had in these late Wars lost the great and fertile Island of *Euboea*, with the strong City of *Chalcis*, the divers harbour for their Gallies; yet held they still divers strong Towns and commodious Havens by the Sea-Coast, both within *Peloponessus* and without; as *Methone*, *Corone*, *Tenarus*, *Naupactus* and others; which standing as it were in the bosome of his Empire, Mahomet fore longed after. And therefore to satisfy his ambitious desire, sent Solyman (the great Bassa of Europe) with a strong Fleet into *Peloponessus*. Who entering the Gulf of *Cerinth*, at his first coming laid Siege to *Naupactus*, now called *Lepanto*, a City standing in the Gulf of *Cerinth*, in the Country of *Scodra* near unto *Laureis*, over against *Peloponessus*. *Antonius Laurentianus* (for his late good service done in defending of Scodra) made Admiral for the Venetians, came with speed to *Naupactus*, and in despite of the Enemy so furnished the City both with men and whatsoever else was needful, that the Bassa now full of hope to win the City, rose upon the suddain with his Army, and in a great fury departed, after he had lien there four months. In this fire returning towards *Constantinople*, he put certain Companies of his men to shore in the Island of *Lemnos*, in hope to have upon the suddain surpris'd the City of *Coccyus*; but as they were about to have entered, they were contrary to their expectation, manfully resisted by such Christians as by chance were next the Gate; where the notable Courage of *Muralla* (a maiden of that City) was much commended; who seeing her Father slain in the Gate took up the Weapons that lay by him, and like a fury, *Laurentianus* notably revenged his death, desperately fighting in defence of her Country, with those few which were there at the first; and so kept the Turks out, until the rest of the Citizens (moved with the Alarm) came to the Gate, and forced them, not without some loss, to retire again to their Gallies. Not long after, *Laurentianus* came thither with his Fleet; but before his coming, the Bassa was departed thence for *Constantinople*, having in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceased not from time to time by one of his great Captains or other to invade *Epirus*, and the other parts of Albania; and so gaining sometime one

Creia by  
figured by  
the Turk.

part, sometime another, had subdued most part thereof. And about this time his Army lay at the Siege of *Creia*; for relief whereof, the *Venetians* (in whose protection it was) sent *Franciscus Contarini*, a Noble Gentleman, their Lieutenant, with such Forces as were sufficient for the raising of the Siege. He finding the Turks in the Plain of *Trypana*, gave them Battle; which a great while stood doubtful; at length Victory inclining to the *Venetians*, the Turks began to fly; after whom the *Venetians* made no great pursuit, but contented to have put them to flight, took their Tents, with such Forts as they had raised against the City. Thus whilst the *Venetians* think themselves in sure possession of the Victory, and out of fear of their Enemies, they were through their own too much security, by and by themselves overthrow: For whilst the common Soldiers having cured their minds more upon the Spoils, than upon the pursuit of the Enemy (the Battle as yet scarce ended) scatter themselves, and the Captains were consulting, whether they should lodge that night (which began then to approach) in the Enemies Tents, or not; in the midst of their consultation, the Turks having perceived their disorder, suddenly returned again upon them, and without great resistance overthrow them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thousand of them fell, amongst whom *Contarini* the General, and divers others of good place and calling, were slain also. This overthrow the *Venetians* took a great deal better than that which shortly after followed in the confines of *Italy*, at the River of *Sonim*.

Comare-  
no the  
Venetian  
General  
faint.

Mahomet having conquered a great part of *Albania*, and daily incroaching upon the Christians, made divers incursions into the Countries of *Dalmatia*, *Illyria*, and *Cambril*; yes, and sometimes went so far, that he and his Turks entered into the Province of *Friuli*, called in ancient time *Forum Julij*, a part of the *Venetian* Seigniority, and so carried away with them many Prisoners, with much Spoil. For remedy whereof, the *Venetians* with exceeding charge and wonderful labour fortified along the River of *Sonim*, from *Gorizia*, to the Fens of *Asquale*, the space of twelve miles, and there built two Forts, wherein they continually kept strong Garrisons for the defence of the Country. Whereby the Country People thinking themselves now in safety, began to fall into security (the dangerous sickness of all Common-Weals) neglecting by their careful watch to foresee a far off the Enemies coming, as they had before used.

The Turks  
have their  
camps at the  
River of  
Sonim.

It fortuned at this time, that *Aspa-Beg* (whom some call *Al-Beg*) the Turks great Captain, upon the fuddain when no such thing was feared, came and shewed himself in an Evening upon the further side of the River of *Sonim*, with a thousand Horsemen; upon the sight of whom, an Alarm was raised in both Forts, and every man put himself in readines, as if they should even presently have joynted Battle; but it was so night, as that nothing could as then be done; yet the *Venetian* Garrisons joining themselves together, watch all that night in Arms. There was at that time in both these Forts, three thousand Horsemen, and some few Companies of Footmen, all under the command of *Hieronimus Novati* Count of *Verona*, a famous Captain of that time; who with the rest of the Captains resolved if they could, to keep the Turks from passing the River; if not, then to give them battle. *Marabec* General of the Turks Army, taking good view of the place, in the night time secretly conveyed a thousand of his best Soldiers over the River, four miles off, in such a place as

the *Venetians* feared least, deeming it impossible for any man, there to have passed over. The men he appointed to lie close in ambush behind a great Hill, in sight, not far from the other side of the River, and upon a sign given, presently to discover themselves and charge the Enemy. The next morning very early, he sent certain Troops of his readiest Horsemen over the River, which by offering to skirmish with the *Venetians*, might draw them into the Field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flee, to tell them to do so to the place where the ambush lay. The *Venetians* had divided themselves into three Battalions; whereof the General himself had the leading of the first, who seeing these disorderd Troops coming to skirmish with them, encouraged them fiercely, and easily put them to flight, (being so determined before) and in that fight suddenly purified them; especially the Counts *Son*, a valiant young Gentleman, who with others like himself, thought by that days good service to gain unto themselves great Honour. When the Turks General saw that the *Venetians* following the chase, were gone a great way from the River, he forthwith passed over with the rest of his Army, and followed the *Venetians* at the Heels; which the Turks which before fled, now beholding, turned again upon their fierce Enemies, and valiantly withstood them. At which very instant the other Turks upon sign given arising out of ambush, came down from the Hill *Leicini*, with such violence and clamour, that the *Venetians* therewith discouraged would have fled if they could have told which way; but they were on every side so beset, that there was no way left for them to escape; but were there all slain, except some few, which yielded themselves, and were saved. The other two Battalions of the *Venetians*, discouraged with the slaughter of the first, fled incontinently, and in flying were many of them slain. In this Battle the Count himself, with his Son, and many other notable Gentlemen, and half the Horsemen were lost. The Turks encouraged with this Victory, the next day spoiled all the Country of *Friuli*, betwixt the Rivers of *Sonim*, (otherwise called *Lifonso*) and *Tiliauentum*, by the and cruelly burnt all the Country before them, so that at once an hundred Country Villages were to be seen on a light fire together, which stood so thick, that it seemed as if one continual Fire had wholly covered all the face of the Country. The barbarous Turks laden with the Spoil of that rich Country, and driving before them great numbers of miserable Captives, if they had been Flocks, they returned to *Sonim* again. But when they had passed the River, and had travelled homeward one day's journey, and all men thought they had now been quite gone, they suddenly returned back again, and posting through the Country they had before spoiled, came to the River of *Tiliauentum*, which they desperately passed, and did no less harm on that side the River, than they had before on the other; and so carrying away with them what they pleased, returned by the same way they came, having filled all that part of *Italy* with terror and fear. This overthrow of *Sonim* the *Venetians* account amongst the greatest losses which they received from the Turks in all these their long Wars.

The next year after Harveit the Turks came again with a far greater power; and passing the River of *Sonim*, came before the Forts of *Adica*, where *Carolus Forbrebrachin* lay with strong Garrison of the *Venetians*, offering him skirmishes, so to have drawn him into the Field. But the wary

The Country  
of Friuli  
spoiled  
by the  
Turks.

1478.

wary Captain considering the great strength of the Enemy, and the loss received the year before, would not be drawn out of his strength, but stood upon his guard, expecting to take the Enemy at some more advantage; which thing the Turks fearing, durst not disperse themselves abroad for the Spoil of the Country, leaving so strong a Garrison of the Enemy behind them. And therefore when they had gone about four miles into the Country, they turned their course up into the Mountains (which are part of the Alps) towards *Germany*, and there grievously spoiled the Mountain People (travelling through those abrupt and high Mountains with their Horses, where men could hardly either go or stand on) and Foot without something to fry upon. And so when they had done what harm they could, taking a great compass about, returned home another way.

Mahomet remembering the shameful repulse he had about four years before received at *Scodra*, and having the name of that City daily sounding in his ears, determined now once again to gage his whole Forces upon the winning thereof, and to give Peace to his ambitious desires. And so he purposed to take in hand, he gave out order into all parts of his Dominions, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, for the assembling of his best Soldiers and Men of War. Now when all things were in readines, and such an Army assembled, as he seldom or never had a stronger; first he sent forth *Al-Beg* (Warden of the Frontiers) with his Kingdom along the River *Danubius*, with his eighty thousand of the Soldiers called *Achamczis*, towards *Scodra*. These *Achamczis* are Horsemen, which for their good service, according to their deserts, have certain Lands given them by the King to live upon during their Lives; for which they are of duty bound to serve upon their own charge, as the forerunners of the Turk his Army, whenever he goeth to besiege any place; these be they which first enter into the Enemies Country, burning and spoiling what they can, until they come unto the place appointed; and have this privilege, That so soon as all the Army is come unto the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay.

The Governor of *Scodra* understanding both by common fame and certain intelligence, of the Turks designs, with all care and diligence fortified the Town, and labouring continually both night and day at the Rampiers, as if the Enemy had been already present; and plentifully provided all things necessary for the enduring of a long Siege. The aged and unnecessary People, he sent out of the City into other places of more safety farther off; in whose stead he took in great numbers of strong and able men which dwell in the Country round about; amongst whom were many Admirers taken out of the Gallies and other men of like quality, which got their living upon the River and Lake of *Scodra*, lusty bodies enured to hardnes, who in the long Siege following did great service.

Whilst this preparation was making in *Scodra*, behold the Mountains a far off Northward from the City, began to shine with many great Fires, and all the Country was covered with thick smoke, which every hour seemed to draw nearer and nearer; when within short time after, the poor Country People (which as yet were not all fled) with such Traff as they could well carry, came running for life all over the Country to the strong Cities upon the Sea side, crying out that the Turks were come.

The poor  
Country  
People fly  
for fear of  
the Turks.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Al-Beg* with his eighty thousand *Achamczis*, came into the Suburbs of the City, and there encamped; so that none could go in or out of the Gates; which was not the least part of his charge. To him, by the commandment of Mahomet, had *Scander-Beg* Governor of *Bosna*, and *Malcoius* with seven thousand Horsemen, joynted themselves upon the way. Of this *Malcoius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the majesty of his countenance, with the resplendent beams issuing out of his Eyes (as if it had been the Rayes of the Sun) were of such piercing brightness, that no man was able with moved and fixed Eye long to behold the same. These Horsemen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomet* great Army) the Christians much troubled, with often Salles and Shot, out of the Town, and flew many of them with little or no loss unto themselves.

When *Al-Beg* had thus lien before the City ten days, came *Tant Gaida* the great Baffa of *Constantinople* with five and twenty thousand Soldiers, and above twelve thousand Camels, for most part laden with Metal in Mass, for to make great Ordinance of, and other necessities for the Camp. The Baffas great and stately Tent of purple colour, was pitched upon the top of an high Hill called the Baffas Hill, because in that place *Solyman Baffa* had lien in the former Siege about four years before; the Baffas Army lay encamped betwixt the same Hill and the Town. This *Tant Gaida* was born in *Epirus* of base Parentage, and from thence by the Turks carried away young to *Constantinople*; where for his sharpnes of Wit and rare Activity, he grew into such favour, first with Mahomet, and afterward with *Bajazet* his Son, that he was by them promoted to the greatest places of Honour, next unto themselves; wherein he became so popular, and had so possessed the hearts of the People, that it was suspected of some, he would have aspired to the Turkish Empire himself. Presently after the coming of this great Baffa, workmen were set a work about the casting of the great Ordinance, and making ready of other things for the Siege. The Christians also were no less busie about their Fortifications, the Governor appointing unto every man his charge, and which part of the Wall to defend; yet keeping continually in the Market place certain Companies (with the Ensigns of *S. Mark*, and *S. Steven*) to serve as fresh Supplies, as need or occasion should require. Whilst the great Ordinance was in casting, the Baffa caused a great Bridge of Timber to be made over the River, that he might at his pleasure pass over his men, and command both sides of the River. The Christians in the mean time with vigilant Eye so attending the Turks, that none of them could fit within shot, but he was forthwith set off and slain.

The thirteenth of June, *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of *Asia* (commonly called the great Baffa of *Natalia*) came also in great pomp to the Siege with thirty thousand Soldiers brought out of *Asia*; perfonable men, but not accounted so good Soldiers as they of *Europe*; for it is a common saying amongst the Turks, *Tant Men of Europe, and the Hosts of Asia do but service*. This great Baffa was honorably met and welcomed by the other great Baffa of *Constantinople*, and was quartered upon another side of the City, where his rich Pavillion (all of Green) was pitch in a Vineyard about a mile from the Town. *Mustapha* to prove the courage of his Soldiers, propounded a reward to who ever of them, as durst adventure to go and assault the Walls of the City. Upon which occasion, two



Two of the  
Turks at-  
tempting to  
reach the  
walls of  
Scodra,  
are both  
flain, and  
one of their  
wounds is  
upon the  
wall.

two of his Souldiers passing well mounted, attempted to have performed that enterprize. But making what halt they could possibly, they were both slain from the Wall, and one of their bodies recovered by certain valiant Souldiers, which fell out of the Town, and his head being cut off, was upon a Lance set upon the Walls for the Turks to behold.

The fifteenth of June, five thousand five hundred Janizaries came into the Camp, with four white Ensigns; at whose coming all the Souldiers of both the Baffaes Camps gave a wonderful shout, and welcomed them with great joy. These are the great Turks Guard and best Souldiers, in whom the greatest Strength of his Kingdom consisteth, and are called the Sons of the great Mahomet.

After whose coming, Mahomet himself was ran. Three days after, came two more daily expected. Three days after, came two other great men, attended upon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reverence done unto them by the rest of the Turks, seemed to be men of great place and authority; these men desired, that they might with safety speak with the Governor of the City, and the rest of the Captains, to deliver unto them such a Message, as they had for their good (as they said) brought unto them from Mahomet. Which their request being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words set forth the power of his Master, and what he had done to other great Cities, with their Princes; and further shewed unto what danger they were like to fall, if they should long stand upon their defence; he began to persuade them to yield up the City, assuring them of all kind usage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwise, they were to expect nothing but extreme misery and cruel death. Whose answer was in the name of them all given by the mouth of Petrus Paganini, a grave and worthy Citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatness of Mahomet, or of any thing he had done, or could do; and that he should find it hard to enforce them, but impossible to persuade them to deliver their City; and therefore that he might at his pleasure use his Forces against men fully resolved rather to yield unto nature her last due, than to hearken to any composition; and in conclusion told them, that if they should at any time after make any such motion, they should not expect any other answer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which short answer these great men departed, not at all discontented.

At this same time the strong City of Croia (which the worthy Scanderbeg had living for honourably defended, and dying had left to his Kingdom, in the protection and possession of the Venetians) having holden out a year Siege, after that all the Kingdom of Epirus and most part of Albania was lost, for lack of Victuals was yielded up unto the Turk, upon condition, That the hunger-fattened Defendants (who then seemed rather Ghosts than Men) might at their pleasure in safety depart; which agreement the faithless Turk broke and without mercy put them all to the Sword. This heavy news was delivered to them of Scodra by certain Christians in the Turks Camp; whereupon they were much grieved, but nothing at all discouraged.

Whilst the Turks lay at the Siege, the Watermen, of whom a great number lived upon the great Lake of Scodra (being in circuit about one hundred miles) came many times down the River by night, and did much harm in the Turks Camp; for remedy whereof, they were enforced to build certain small Gallies to keep them in,

who for all that, many times stole secretly upon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of June, the Turks mounted two great Pieces of Ordnance upon the top of the Hill whereon the Baffa lay; whereof the one carried a Bullet, made of an hard kind of round Stone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a Bullet of four hundred, whereof with they began to batter the Town four days; after that, they placed a third Piece of Artillery at the foot of the same Hill; which delivered a Bullet of four hundred pound weight; and the next day they planted a fourth Piece, greater than the rest, about the middle of the same Hill; which carried a Shot of six hundred and fifty pound weight. In this while, eight thousand of the Turks Souldiers, called *Ajaci* (which are known from the Janizaries by their red Caps, whereas the Janizaries wear white) came into the Camp. And shortly after came Mahomet himself with all his Army to the River of Drimen, whither the two great Baffaes of Asia and Constantinople went with great Pomp and Triumph to meet him.

The second of July, Mahomet with all his Army before the rising of the Sun came to the Camp before Scodra; where after he had well viewed the situation thereof, he is reported to have said, *O what a fair and bately place hath the Eagle chosen out for her self to build her nest, and to hatch her young ones in.* Divers rich Pavilions were set up for Mahomet himself, but one far greater than the rest, distant from them about a flight floor, which was the place wherein he held his Council; the other were for his own private use. Round about these his Tents, lay the Janizaries incamped, a good distance off; yet so close one to another, as if it had been a perpetual Rampire or strong Trench, wherein was but one entrance, continually guarded with a most strong Guard. Round about the Janizaries lay all the rest of the Army encamped; so that all the Country as far as a man could see was covered and white with Tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is covered over with a deep Snow; and fill more people referred to the Camp daily; so that it was deemed by men of great experience, that Mahomet had then in his Army of all sorts of People, about 350000 Men, all gaping to devour that poor City; a sight of it self sufficient to have daunted the Courage of right valiant men; but what can be terrible to them that fear not to dy? Against this terror of the Enemy, the Defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable persuasions and exhortations of one Bartholomew a Preacher, (sometimes one of the worthy Scanderbeg's Souldiers) who afterwards giving himself to the study of Divinity, became a zealous Preacher, and in this Siege did notably comfort the Christian Defendants against the terror of so great an Army of Micreants. All this while the battery was still maintained; and the fifth of July the Turks mounted two other great Pieces, whereof the one was like unto the former before mounted, but the other placed upon the middle of the Baffaes Mount, was of an incredible greatness, discharging a Shot of twelve hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes Piece, in whose name it was with much cunning and industry made; with which huge Piece, the Turks even from the beginning of the Siege had threatened the besieged, willing them to expect the coming of the Princes Piece. The next day they planted upon the same Mount a seventh Piece, which carried a Shot of five hundred and fifty pound weight; from which time they battered the City with

Mahomet in person himself comes unto the siege of Scodra. The order, of Mahomet's camp.

the aforesaid seven great Pieces, and ceased not oftentimes by night out of their great Mortar Pieces, to cast great Balls of Wild Fire into the City, so to have set it on Fire; whereby divers of the Citizens were informed to uncover their Houses covered with Shingle, and by men appointed for that purpose, to watch the fall of such Fire works, and so to quench the same; which they so carefully looked to, as that the device of the Enemy took no effect at all. At the same time also the Turks out of their Mortar Pieces, cast huge great Stones of incredible weight, which falling from high, did most terribly crush in pieces whatsoever thing they light upon, wherewith the Defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few days after, the Enemy mounted three other great Pieces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a Bullet of thirteen hundred weight; from which time they daily battered the City with ten such Pieces, as the like have seldom-times been heard of; and the Arrow fell so thick into the City, as if it had been continual Showers of Hail, so that no man could go or well sir in the Streets without hurt. Yet in the midst of all these dangers the Christians valiantly defended the City, and with their deadly shot from the Walls and Mounts exceedingly annoyed the Enemy. The eleventh of July the Turks mounted another great Piece like unto the former, upon the Baffaes Mount, and the same day battered the Walls with an hundred seventy eight Shot of this huge Artillery.

Mahomet having by the fury of his great Ordnance, beaten down a great part of the Wall, and that now nothing stood in his way but such simple repairs as the Defendants had made of Timber and Planks, with Earth cast in betwixt, was in good hope in short time to become Master of the Town; and therefore sent certain Companies of his Janizaries and other Souldiers (which he with continual Supplies of fresh men still relieved) to assault the breaches, so if it were possible to enter the Town, or at leastwise to burn such Fortifications of Timber as the Defendants had made. But that which seemed unto him at first so easie, he found in execution full of difficulty and danger: for the Turks approaching the breach, found there resolute men, a surer defence than any Wall; whose valiant courage forced them out of a wrong Bulwark. So whilst the Turks desperately strive in the face of the breach either to enter or to set fire upon the new Fortifications made for most part of Timber, and the Defendants with no less resolution do what they may to the utmost to repulse them, many were on both sides slain, but especially of the assailants. Which Mahomet well perceiving, and that by that manner of Assault he gained nothing but notable loss and spoil of his best men, caused a retreat to be founded, and his battery to be again forthwith renewed; every day shaking the Wall with an hundred and sixty or an hundred and eighty most terrible great Shot, and one day with 194, the greatest battery that he made in one day during that Siege.

After this great battery, the Tyrant caused a fresh Assault to be given, but with little or rather worse success than before; for though divers of the Defendants and among them some of good place, as *Franciscus Patavinus*, *Franciscus Scavero*, and two Italian Captains, and some other of the better sort of the Citizens were there slain with the great Shot, whereof the Enemy that day discharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater loss enforced again to retire, and with shame to give over the Assault.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Mahomet continuing his Battery with no less fury than before, still fought by force of his Artillery to open a way into the City; and the third day after the former Assault, gave a more furious and desperate attempt unto the City than before, informing that the Turks were in the breaches come to handy strokes with the Christians, and there made a most cruel and deadly Fight; wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks most; yet were there many of the Christians also slain, especially with the Turks great Ordnance. It was a right rushful fight to have seen the Rampiers at the great Gate of the City beaten down flat to the ground, and to see all of the rest of the bodies of the Christians; at which place the Enemy so prevailed, that he was even now ready to have entered; for the Turks so furiously assailed the Defendants, and the murdering Shot from the Baffaes Mount fell so thick and so terribly into the breach, befell the infinite number of Christians, that there were scarce any of the Christians which defended that place, but they were either slain or grievously wounded. But when all seemed now almost defeated and forlorn, and the greedy Enemy even ready to devour his Prey, a new supply of lusty Souldiers well armed, came courageously to the breach, and as Lyons encountering the Enemy, drove him down again, and so enforced him with great loss to retire. Mahomet grieved with this repulse, Shot to be discharged into the City, and afterwards sending for his great Baffaes and other his principal Men of War, declared unto them his mind, as followeth:

*I think none of you are ignorant (right worthy Souldiers) that now is it the third month since this City purpose hath by us been most bravely besieged, and with all to give a manner of Artillery and Engines of War impugned, assaulted, and on every side assailed, the Walls thereof unwarily subverted, and the Bulwarks laid flat with the gun his ground, and (as you see) as good as raised: besides Captains that, so oft as we have for our selves Scodra to fight, therefore, I think we have provoked them of Scodra to fight, therefore, I think we have provoked them with assaults. Last of all, as you know, we have left nothing unpurchased, nothing unattempted, which could be devised, the easier to overcome them, being wearied, worn out, and their strength spent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but even to morrow before the Enemy can recover his strength to repair his Breaches, let us enclose the City round, and give them a general and terrible Assault: and therefore every one of you make your selves ready, and exhort your Souldiers in the Camp, that the every one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the City. Now will I prove and know them that are worthy of my Pay. About the Baffa of Constantinople, with thy Squadrons and certain Companies of the Janizaries our faithful Guard, give charge unto the breach: In the mean time, let the Baffa of Asia with his power assault the other parts of the City: let every Man make ready and bring with him what is needful for this general Assault; my mind giveth me, that to morrow before this time we shall win the City: for who is there can resist us? The Town (as you see) is bared both of wall and of all other defence: the Bulwarks and Ditches are laid even, and an easie way for us to come unto it: the Citizens themselves weary with so many fights and assaults faint and want strength; whereas we are full fresh and lusty, they in number few, we almost innumerable: besides that, we have put them in the force of our Artillery, wherewith many*





The assault  
renewed  
again  
fiercely by  
the Turks.

the appointed place, and there gave a sharp and cruel Assault at the breach, with such desperate fury, that in a short time they had slain most of the Defendants. Then prefent, and advanced divers of their Ensigns upon the top of the Rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making free account, that the City was now his own; but by that time he had well conceived this hope, new supplies of fresh and courageous men (of purpose reserved for all events) came to the breach, and with great fury, drove them back, clearing the wearied Turks, drove them back, cleared the breach, and overthrew the Ensigns. Which so fuddain an alteration in the breach, wrought no less alteration in the proud Tyrants mind, his hope was turned into despair, and his joy into choler; infomuch that in his fury he commanded all the great Artillery to be at once discharged into the breach, whereby many of his foragedred and courageous Souldiers were slain together with the Defendants. At the same time, the great Commanders and Captains knowing themselves to be in the Eye of their imperious Lord and Master, with their drawn Swords forced the poor Souldiers again forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them, adventured themselves also among them; whereby the Fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there slain; yet such was the force and multitude of them which fill the breach to their place, and the Defendants were so few to their number, that the Defendants oppressed with multitude, and overwhelmed with Shot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for most part either slain or wounded. Whereupon a great cry ran upon the fuddain through the City, that every man without exception should forthwith repair to the breach. Which was with such cheerfulfunds done, that in less time than was to have been thought, a wonderful multitude of all sorts of people was there together, encouraging one another to resist the Enemy's danger; and at last when resolved to lay down their lives in defence of their Country, valiantly encountered the Turks upon the top of the Rampiers, and so hardly laid upon them, that notwithstanding their great number, they began now again to waver and shrink back. Which thing the Tyrant perceiving from the Mount, in great rage commanded his Canoners, as fall as they could to discharge the great Cannon into the breach, with such great fury, that many of the Souldiers with them he might also kill some of the Christians, and wital imperiously commanded his Captains, with all their force and power to maintain the Assault, threatening them with most horrible death, if they returned, without Victory. Hereupon the Assault was again renewed, every man (in view at least) set down there to do his last Devoir. But the great Order of the fil playing upon the breach, and the great fury of the Turks, as well as the Christians. Thrice the great Cannon fell amongst the Turks themselves, and sent in funder a great number of them which were foremost, to the great discouragement of the rest; whereof the Tyrant had small regard, so that together with them he might also diminish the number of the Defendants. Nevertheless, such was the desperate fury of the Enemy, that the City was in no small danger to have been presently taken, had not the great supplies from other parts of the City, which they were appointed to bring, who with great Courage resisted the Enemy. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number (and fresh men continually stepping up in stead of them which lay by heaps under their

feet, and served them in Read of Steps to get up to the Rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight; at which time the great Ordnance also fore annoyed the Defendants, so that with one Shot (whereby the greatness of the harms done at other times may be gathered) eighteen of the Christian Defendants were slain. As for Arrows, they flew as thick as Hail into the City, so that they obscured the light of the day, and lay in most places of the space of a Span thick; so that for the space of a month after, the inhabitants used no other fuel to burn, but Turkisht Arrows. It was a ruful sight, to have seen the bodies of the valiant Christians rent in funder with the great Shot, and pieces of them cleaving upon every Wall thereabout, every Street was stained with their Blood, the great Ordnance continually thundred, Churches and Houses came racing down, yea the heavy countenance of the Air it self seemed to bewail the misery of the poor Christians; besides, the noise of Trumpets, Drums, and other instruments of War, and horrible cry of the hellish Cannon, was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if Heaven and Earth should have gon together; nothing was to be heard but the very terror of the Ear; nothing to be seen but death, and the very instruments of death. And now in this extremity a fearful cry ran through the City, That without present help all would be loft at the great Gate; whereupon not only they which were whole, (which were the fewest in number) but they also which lay wounded or sick in their beds, chearing up themselves, with Weapons in their Hand ran with speed to the place where the danger was; chusing rather to die, than to be slain in their beds. Thus whilst the Christians of all sorts, and from all parts of the City, ran desperately to the Gate, the Turks were on every side hardly pressed, and in great number many very fresh men fill coming up, as if they had sprung out of the Earth, the deadly sight was by them fill maintained; for the Turks on the one side, for fear of the Tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the City; and the Christians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they should be overcome, with no less resolution defended the same. In this obliquity of mind many fell on both sides; sometimes the Turks seemed to have the better, and were fristwaly by the Christians put to the world. Which manner of mortal Fight, with doubtful issue, was continued most part of that day, until that at length many being on both parts slain, and the rest for the most part fore wounded and hurt, the fury of the Assault began to allwage; for the Turks now weary of that long and deadly Fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great stomach to mount up the Rampiers, where they saw no hope to prevail, but all things threatening present death. Mahomet beholding the wonderful issue of his men, and that having done all that was possible for men to do, they were no longer fought as men discouraged, and in despair of Victory himself, caused a Retreat to be sounded, which the Turks no sooner heard, but that they left the Assault, and without order ran to their Tents, as men half scared out of their Wits.

Of this Victory, the Christians (as they had good cause) rejoiced greatly; yet was this joy mingled with much sorrow and heaviness, for the loss of such worthy men as were slain in that Assault, many of whose bodies they were glad to gather up by piecemeal, some here, some there, some cleaving on this Wall and some on that; which they, as the time would give

... In A doubtful  
Tides: Fight.

leave, honourably buried with the rest of the slain: At which time also, they with all diligence and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in such readines, as if they should have presently received a fresh Assault.

[illegible]

A notable Speech of the great Bassa  
*Achmetes.*

[illegible]

and of all things else necessary for defence thereof; but especially with most valiant Soldiers, of purpose chosen out of many of their Garrisons, for purpose of this City. You have no new to do with the weak and effeminate People of Asia, but with the hard and rough People of Epirus. And you know (most mighty Emperor) the strength and courage of this Nation; it is now thirty years that you made War against this People, and have not yet altogether subdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this War hath been unto you, who knoweth not? It is now six months since we came first before this City: we have extended our forces round about it, we have day and night laid land Siege unto it, we have battered it of long with eleven Cannons; I speak not of other smaller Pieces or Engines of War, with all kinds of Shot and Fire-works, and whatsoever else we could devise. We have many times to our cost assaulted it; what could be done by force, strength, or multitude of valiant men, is already done in the former Assaults: Nothing hath been left unattempted; no policy, no direction hath wanted in your Leaders, neither courage in your Soldiers. What should I recount the innumerable great Shot, or speak of our Arrows and Darts, delivered into the City as showers of Hail? Did all this, or any thing else we could do, any thing terrify these Defendants? Were they not, nay they are not still ready with great assurance and Courage at all allies to encounter us? You take a wrong course, by force to constrain them; they have taken upon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be removed, there shall you be sure still to find them either alive or dead; and what account they make of their lives, you see, they will sell them unto us dear for their Country, and prefer an honourable death before a servile life. Wherefore against men so fit down, policy is to be used; and then whom we cannot by force subdue, let us by delay and time overcome. If you will win Scodra, block it up, build strong Forts, place cannon round about it, and besiege them with good Soldiers, till you make a bridge over Boliama, with a strong Castle on either side, to stop the passage; which done, besiege the other weaker Cities of the Venetians, which are at it were the Limbs of Scodra; and subdue the Country round about, which will be no hard matter for you to do, being Master of the Fields: so must Scodra at length of necessity yield unto you, as of late did Croatia, injured thereunto by Famine. Thus may you in safety without slaughter of your People, come to the full of your desire.

The wholesome Counsel of the Bassa so well pleased Mahomet himself, and the rest there present, that the Assault was laid aside, and present order taken for the speedy execution of that which was so well by him plotted. Whereupon the Bassa of Constantine with his Forces was sent to Zabiache, a City in the borders of Dalmatia, standing upon the Lake of Scutary, not far from Arvivium, which in few days was yielded unto him. The Bassa possessed of the City, thrust out all the Inhabitants, and leaving therein a Garrison of Turks, returned again to the Camp at Scodra. At the same time, the great Bassa of Asia was also sent by Mahomet against Drivassio a City also of the Venetians; which when he had besieged and fore battered by the space of sixteen days, the great Tyrant came thither in person himself, and the next day after his coming took the City without any great resistance. Such as he found upon the Walls, he sent out to the Sword; of the rest he took three hundred away with him to the Camp at Scodra, and there in the face of the City caused them all to be cruelly slain, of purpose so to terrify the Defendants. The next day after, he sent the great Bassa of Constantine to Lyffa, called

also Aleffa, a City of the Venetians, situated upon the River Drinus, about thirty miles from Scodra. The Bassa coming thither, found the City desolate, (for the Citizens hearing of his coming, were for fear before fled) for which cause he set the City on fire. Here the Turks digged up the Bones of the worthy Prince Scanderbeg, for the superstitious opinion they had of the virtue of them; and happy was he that could get any little part thereof to set in Gold or other Jewel, as a thing of great price, (as is before declared.) All these things thus done, Mahomet committed the direction of all things concerning the Siege of Scodra, unto the discretion of *Alim Bey*, who whose persuasion he leaving a great power for the continuing of the Siege, departed thence himself with forty thousand Soldiers, for Constantine, cursing and banning by the way all the Country of Epirus, all the Inhabitants therein, and every part thereof, their Corn, their Cattel, and whatsoever else was fruitful; but above all other things, the City of Scodra, with all that therein was, for that he had never received greater dishonour or loss, than there.

After his departure, which was about the twentieth of September, the two great Bassas of Constantine and Asia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge over the River Boliama, and on either side a strong Castle, to the intent that no relief should be brought into the City either by Land or by Sea. Which work they brought to perfection, and furnished both Castles with Garrisons, Ordnance, and all things necessary, they left Achmet Bassa with forty thousand Soldiers to continue the Siege, and returned themselves, the one to Constantine, the other into Asia. The wary and politic Bassa mindful of the charge he had taken upon him, took such order, that no relief could possibly be brought unto the City either by Land or by Sea. He was so long lying still before it a long time, he brought it length into such a distress and want of all things, that the poor Christians were fain to eat all manner of unclean and loathsome things: Horses were dainty meat, yea, they were glad to eat Dogs, Cats, Rats, and the Skins of Beasts food; it exceeded all credit, to tell at what exceeding great price a little Moufe was sold, or Puddings made of Dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poor Christians were content to endure even unto the last gasp, rather than to yield themselves into the hands of their merciless Enemies.

Whilst Scodra thus lay in the fids, the Venetians weary of the long and chargeable War they had to their great loss now maintained against so mighty an Enemy by the relief of their distressed Subjects in Scodra, thought it best to prove if they could procure a Peace from the Tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Benedictus Trivissius*, a great Senator, and a man of great experience, to Constantine; who so well used the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a Peace was concluded; whereof the distinct capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliver unto Mahomet the City of Scodra, the Island of Lemnos and the strong Castle of Tenare in Peloponnesus, and pay him yearly eight thousand Ducats; that they might freely after their wonted manner traffique into the *Swine*, by the Straits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus Thracicus, and other parts of his Dominions. Concerning the Citizens of Scodra, it was comprised in the same Peace. That it should be at their own choice, either to live there still under the government of the Turkish Emperor, or else at their pleasure to depart

Lyffa taken by the Turks, and the Bones of Scanderbeg digged up by them, and laid in great reverence.

A hard choice.

Scodra yielded unto the Turks.

1480.

Mahomet besieged the Rhodet.

safety with their Goods whither they would. *Trivissius* having in this manner concluded a Peace, in his return homeward, the fourth of April found the Venetian Admiral riding at Anchor in the mouth of Boliama, from whence they both by Letters certified the Governor and Citizens of Scodra, in what manner the Peace was concluded with the Turk, and what provision was therein made for them. Upon receipt of which Letters the Governor calling together the Citizens, declared unto them how the case stood; and there with them entered into consultation upon this hard question, Whether they would remain there still in their Native Country under the Turkish Tyranny; or forsaking the same, live amongst other Christians in perpetual exile? But after the matter had been thoroughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alleged; at length it was by general consent concluded, That they should all forgo the City and the House of Bondage, as dangerous both to their Souls and Bodies, and live as it should please God amongst other Christians. So the Turks giving Pledges for the safe departure of the Christians in Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the City, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their Territory in Italy, where they lived in peace. The Turks (who have now possessed the City) a while after the departure of the Christians entered the City with great joy and triumph; which, with many others thereabout, hath ever since, to the great ruth of all Christendom, remained in the possession of the faithless Infidels. Thus was the strong City of Scodra lost, and the long War ended betwixt Mahomet and the Venetians; which happened in the year 1478.

Mahomet now, when with the Venetians, sent the same Achmet Bassa (by whom he had been but a little before taken in Scodra) with his Fleet of Gallies against one *Leonard* Prince of *Noritur*, *Zacynthius*, and *Cephalania*, Islands near unto *Peloponnesus*; where the Bassa arriving, easily took the same Islands, the poor Prince for safeguard of his life being glad to fly into Italy with his Wife and Treasure, to King *Ferdinand*, whose high Kinshipman he had married.

About the same time *Ali-Beg*, firnamed *Michael Oglis*, *Isa-Beg* the Son of *Cassians*, and *Bali-Beg*, firnamed *Malcozogli* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honourably defended) entered into *Transilvania* with a great Army of an hundred thousand men, and brought such a general fear upon the Country, that *Stephanus Bator*, the Vayvod, was glad with all speed to flee unto *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, to declare unto him the danger of his Country, and to crave his Aid. *Matthias* at the same time lay sick of the Gout; nevertheless he took such order by his Captains, *Stephanus Choresperus*, and *Paulus Kinisfus* Count of *Temeswar*; that the Turks were encountered not far from *Alba Julia*, and there in a great and bloody Battel overthrowen; wherein *Isa* one of their great Captains was slain, with thirty thousand Turks more. Neither was this Victory gained by the Christians without loss, *Bator* the Vayvod himself being sore wounded, and eight thousand men slain.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor, had long time desired to have in his subjection the Island of the *Rhodes*. For why, it grieved him that so small an Island should be in the night his great Dominions in Asia, holden by a few Christians, to the great trouble of his Merchants trading in the *Mediterranean*, beside many other harms daily from thence received, and to have no feeling of his greatness. But for as much as the winning of that

place was thought to be a matter of great difficulty, and in former times unfortunately attempted by some of the Mahometan Princes; he purposed now with good advice to take this enterprise in hand. Wherefore calling together his grave Counsellors and most expert Men of War, after he had declared unto them the manifold injuries received from them of the *Rhodes*, he propounded the matter; Whether it were best to attempt the winning of that Island or not? Some forward men perswaded him to revenge the injuries done by those Christians, and to subdue that Island, which for the nearness unto *Carus*, might of right be accounted as part of his Dominion; and not to forbear that enterprise for fear of repulse, so far as he was able to bring more Men to assault it than were Stones in the Wall about it. Others better advised, declared the Strength of the Island, with the Valor of the Defendants; Men always brought up in Arms, as it were chosen out of all parts of Christendom; so that it was (as they said) like to prove a matter of more difficulty than was by some supposed; whereof some of the Mahometan Princes had to their no small dishonour, already made sufficient trial; alleging farther, that that small Island which scarcely appeared in the Sea, was not of that worth, as that he should thereon engage his honour, and the lives of so many good men, and most valiant Soldiers as might be sent for the conquest of a Kingdom. For all that, Mahomet prick forward with the Spurs of Ambition, and continual solicitation of *Antoniua Meligalus*, a fugitive Knight of the *Rhodes*, resolved to follow the counsel of them which perswaded the War. This *Meligalus* was a Knight of the Order, which when he had prodigally consumed his substance, which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophianus*, made of his own quality and disposition, fled unto the Turkish Emperor; presenting unto him a perfect plot of the City with all the strength both of it, and the Isle wherein it stood, and which way he might with most ease win it. In which service they frankly offered to spend their lives; but hoping indeed, by such foul Treachery to repair their broken Estate. All things being now in readiness, Mahomet appointed *Mehmet Pailologus*, one of his chief Bassas (the near Kinship of *Constantinus Pailologus* the last Emperor of *Constantinople*) General for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that so great an action. *Mehmet* embarking his Army, in number eighty thousand, and thoroughly furnished with all things necessary for the Siege, set forward from *Constantinople*, and with a pleasant gale of Wind, sailed along the coast of Asia the less, towards the *Rhodes*; where by the way he called unto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitive Knights) to learn of him the best means for the safe landing of his Army. As for the Arch-Traitor *Meligalus*, and chief Author of this War, he was taken sick upon the way; and in the extremity of his sickness, growing both troublesome and loathsome unto the Turks that were with him in the same Gally, was by the Mariners thrown over board alive, crying out in vain for help, no man vouchsafing to have any compassion upon him; and so swallowed up of the Sea, received amidst the Waves, the just guerdon of his Treachery.

At this time *Peter Dambovis* a Frenchman an *Auvergne*, a man of singular Government, was Great Master of the *Rhodes*; whose vigilancy was such, that commonly once in eight days he had certain intelligence what great matters passed in the Turks Court; and therewith of such deep

judgment, that he was seldom or never overtaken or deceived with any false advertisements. The careful Grand Master, was not ignorant of all these great preparations, neither of the coming of the Bassa; and therefore had before strongly fortified the City, and so stored the same with all things needful, as might well have served for many years siege; especially with such Shot and Powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an especial means whereby the City was afterwards preserved. At the same time, many noble and valiant Gentlemen hearing of the Turks designs, repaired thither out of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and other places of Christendom, cheerfully to adventure their lives, in defence both of the place, and of the Christian Religion, against the common Enemy of Christianity. The Great Master taking a general view of all the Forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an Enemy, found that he had in the City sixteen thousand able men; in which number were reckoned many Jews and other men of servile condition; who in the Siege following, did right good service. The great Bassa conducted by the false Traitor Demetrius, safely landed both his Army and Artillery in the Island the two and twentieth day of June, not far from the City. At which time the Great Master considering that the safety of the City consisted more in the lively valour of the Defendants, than in the Strength of the dead Walls, or other warlike provision; thought it requisite, as a part of his duty, by cheerful persuasions to encourage them valiantly to withstand the force of their Enemies. And therefore calling them all together, spake unto them, as following:

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Great Mas-  
ter to the  
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Knights  
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dists, to  
encourage  
them val-  
iantly to  
withstand  
the Turks.*

At length valiant Soldiers and Fellows at Arms, who see the Turks our mortal Enemies (as we were before advertised, as well by Letters from our friends, as by common fame) breathing after our destruction in readiness to destroy our Churches, our Oratories, our Altars, our Religion, and whatsoever else we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruin of this noble City, and the cruel death of us all; gaping at once, to devour our lives, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot deny but that the chance of War is doubtful, and the event thereof uncertain; So when I consider your valiant courage and cleanness of Mind, I presently conceive a most assured hope of Victory. They have entered into Arms against us, not so much for any desert of ours, or upon any other quarrel; as for the unsatisfiable desire of Rule, and the great delight they bear against us and the Christian Religion. But to withstand their Fury, and to frustrate their Design, we want neither Weapons nor Artillery, nor Provision for many years, we have a most strong Garrison of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, English, and others, the very Chivalry of Christendom; and that which more is, Christ Jesus our Captain and General, by whose power, we shall no doubt easily repulse the vain force of our most wicked and graceless Enemies. The care we have for the defence of the Christian Faith, wherewith we are by special profession bound, will animate and encourage us, against them which seek for nothing more than to extend their wicked and gross superstition, to the great dishonour of God, and of his Son Christ Jesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and other worthy Christians; they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicate Countries of Asia, effeminate persons brought up to pleasure. I say it not to draw you into any manifest or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vain hope, or to fill your ears with windy words; but that I promise and assure you of, that if this Siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong Aid out of

France, Italy, and Spain, as will serve not only to raise the Siege, but to recover again the Empire of Constantinople and Trapezond. Then shall our Enemy see no good end of their Councils; but all their devices so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedy flight, to save themselves. But suppose the worst should happen; which I fear not; would not any man account his life most happy, and his quarrel of Christ Jesus? Truly my great years, and the number of life, now almost spent, in defence of the Christian Religion (as I ever desired) doth call me forth, as one so assured of that good laid up for me, in Heaven by Christ Jesus (whose Battle we are to fight) that I no whit fear any Enemies force or future chance; which for all that, I have as far as I could, and to the uttermost of my power so provided, for, that we will not (I hope) be therewith overthrown; But you therefore of good cheer and comfort (as I know be you are) and show your selves valiant and courageous, which respects wholly in your selves; and as far as all the rest, time, and our discretion shall right well provide, I doubt not.

The valiant Men and worthy Souldiers, resting upon the assurance of their aged Governor, departed every man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great Army, and sent Demetrius the traitorous Knight, Melchius his Companion, with certain Troops of Horsemen and some Foot, to view the ground, where he might best encamp with his Army. Demetrius in great pride riding about the City, was known by Anthony Damboyle, the Great Masters Brother, by whose leave he filled out with a Troop of gallant Horsemen, and skirmished with them. But the Turks being more in number, cast about to have inclosed them; which Anthony perceiving, turned upon them that were coming behind him, and that with such force, that he slew or wounded most part of them. In this hot skirmish, Demetrius having his Horse slain under him, and himself overthrowen, was there trodden to death under the Horse's Feet; and an end too good, unadvisedly displacing his dead Body, was by the Turks slain, and his Head presented to the Bassa in stead of Demetrius.

The Bassa approaching the City, at the first coming took a great Orchard, which the Great Master had strongly intrenched, and therein placed certain Companies of Souldiers, with some small Pieces of Ordnance; which place it could have been kept, might fully have forced the Defendants to have at their pleasure fallen out upon the Enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the sight of so great an Army, or else doubting to be able to hold it against so great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the City; leaving the great Ordnance behind them for haile. In this place the Bassa by the counsel of George Frapaine (a Christian Esquire, of the Rhodes, and now Master of his Ordnance) began to plant his Battery, and so Nicholas his Tower, distant from the City, three hundred paces. But against this place, Damboyle had so aptly mounted two great Bassilisks, that he made him glad quickly to forsake the same; yet finding no other place more convenient for his purpose, shortly after he near unto the same place planted again his battery, of far greater force and strength. Wherein, beside the great Ordnance of greatest charge, he had three hundred smaller Pieces of Battery; wherewith at the first he did small harm, for that this George Frapaine repenting him-

self (as was thought) of his foul Treason, bestowed the Shot to snail purpose; for which cause the Bassa began to have him in distrust; which Frapaine perceiving, fled by night again unto the Rhodes, and discovered unto the Great Master all the secrets of the Turks Camp. The Turks continuing the battery, had first flaken the aforesaid Tower called St. Nicholas, and beaten down some part thereof; which the Christians with great industry, speedily repaired in best sort they could; for all that the Turks gave thereunto a fierce Assault, by the space of six hours, forcing themselves to the uttermost to have taken it; but perceiving that it prevailed them nothing, they retired, having lost eight hundred of their men, and six hundred of the Turks, of whom the number was not known; and a thousand others fore wounded.

*Eight hun-  
dred Turks  
slain.*

Master disappointed of his former purpose, lent his Artillery against the Walls of the City, and with continual battery had made a fare breach. But Damboyle foreseeing the danger, had with great labour cast up such Rampiers with a Countermure before the breach, that the Bassa durst not in any case adventure to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this so necessary a work, the Captains themselves refused not to put to their helping hands; by whose example, all the rest of the People which were able to do any thing, being moved, willingly employed their labour until the work was fully finished.

Whilst these things were in doing, Caly Bassa the younger (a great Courtier) was sent from Adrianople to live with what success the Siege went forward. Upon whose arrival, it was given out through all the Turks Camp, that Mahomet was in person himself coming to the Siege, with an hundred thousand Men, and an hundred and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance. These News (of purpose devised to the terror of the Defendants) being blown out of the Camp into the City, struck an exceeding great fear into the minds of some of the Defendants, and so discouraged the Spaniards, with their high Neighbours that came from Navan, that they began openly to reason in their Conventicles, that it was not possible for the City to be defended against such a power; and therefore after an insolent manner, desired leave to be gone, to the great discouragement of the rest. The Great Master understanding of their doings, first for these mutinous Spaniards, and after he had sharply reproved them of disorder and cowardice, promised to ship them away forthwith out of the City, saying, That he doubted not, right well to defend the City against the greatest power of the Turk, without the help of such base minded Cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to foreclose from their mutinous talk, threatening otherwise to make them examples to others, what it is so much to forget themselves. But these Spaniards shortly after, better considering of the matter, and when a dishonour it would be both to themselves and their Nation; if they should so dishonourably be sent away; repenting themselves of that they had done; came and craved pardon of the Great Master; and to redeem their former fault, in all furies and services during that Siege, showed themselves most valiant and forward men; for all that, the Great Master would never afterwards trust them in any service alone. The Bassa, attempting much and prevailing little; thought it would much further his designs, if he could by any means take the Great Master out of the way, by whose careful policy he saw all his devices still countermined; wherefore to bring this his

purpose to pass, he practised by the means of one Janus a Dalmatian, to poison him. This Janus having conceived this Treason from the Bassa, was received into the City of the Rhodes, as a Christian Fugitive fled from the Turks; where he acquainted himself with one Pythius an Esquire, of great familiarity with Marius Philadelphus (of late Secretary unto Damboyle, but as then out of favour and in disgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutiny.) Janus by the means of Pythius, whom he had now throughly corrupted, fought after Philadelphus, who then as he right well knew, lived discontented, as a fit instrument whereby to work this Treason; for that he was a man well acquainted with the Cooks and Butlers, and other Servitors in the Great Masters House, and himself (aye) there very convenient also. Pythius perceiving of his old acquaintance and familiarity with Philadelphus, and waiting upon his melancholy humor, began to persuade him to revenge the disgrace he lived in, and whilst to shew him the means how to do it, by poisoning the Great Master; which might (as he said) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. Philadelphus making semblance as if he had not dislike of the motion, was desirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby arise to him, more than revenge. To whom Pythius forthwith shewed the Bassa's Letters to Janus, whereby he assured him, that whatsoever he should promise unto any man for the furtherance of the practice, he would to the full perform the same. Philadelphus having got full understanding of the Treason, presently discovered the same to Damboyle. By whose commandment, Janus and Pythius were traitrawise apprehended, and being examined, confessed the Treason; for which Janus lost his Head, and Pythius (as he had well deserved) was shamefully hanged. Philadelphus for his Fidelity, was pardoned his former error, and again received into the Great Masters favour.

The Bassa understanding that the Treason was discovered, and the Traitors executed, was much grieved therewith. Nevertheless, he ceased not with continual battery to shake the City, but especially the Tower of St. Nicholas, for the afflicting whereof, he made wonderful preparation. Amongst other things, he had framed a great Bridge, staid with strong Ropes and Cables, over a short fret of the Sea, betwixt the place of his Battery and the same Tower, wherein six men might march abreast; in which device he reposed great hope. But as the Turks were making fast this Bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the work to a good perfection; Geronius Rogers an Englishman of great courage, and very skilful in Sea matters, found means by night to cut and break in sunder all the Ropes and Cables wherewith the Bridge was staid; which now too late, was by the violence of the Sea quickly carried away, and the Turkish shipper of their purpose. For which good service he was by the Great Master honourably rewarded, and of him in public audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious Battery by the Bassa still maintained, and a new Bridge framed upon small Boats and Lighters, fast moored with Cables and Anchors; and divers Pieces of great Ordnance placed in Fuils and Gallies. So that the Tower was at one time battered both by Sea and Land, the Defendants affrighted with small Shot and Arrows innumerable, and the Tower as the same instant desperately sealed. But Damboyle had so placed his great Ordnance, that with the force thereof the Bridge was broken in sunder, for which their great Fuils sunk, with great store both of

Men and Ordnance; the Defendants also in the Tower, with Shot, Timber, Stones, and other such like things provided for that purpose, grievously overwhelmed the Turks that were scaling the Walls and beat them down with great slaughter. This hot Assault was desperately maintained by the Turks from three a clock in the morning until ten; when the Baffa feeling no hope to prevail, gave over the Assault, having therein lost above two thousand five hundred men; whose dead bodies shortly after driven on shore, were spoiled by the Christians. The same night two Mercenary Souldiers of Crete, came upon to have fed into the Enemy, were apprehended and put to death. And *George Frapane*, who in the beginning of the Siege fled from the Turks, now again vehemently suspected of Treason, was executed also.

Thus neither Force nor Treason prevailing, the Baffa because he would leave nothing unproved that might better his cause, sent certain Messengers unto the Great Master, offering to him in the name of the Turkish Emperor, great Rewards, with many honourable Prefereiments, if he would yield up the City, which he could not (as they would have perwaded him) long hold against so mighty an Enemy; wishing him now in his dealing either not to refuse such honourable and princely Offers, for fear he were afterwards constrained to accept of far worse, or else through his desperate wilfulness plunge himself and his People into such extreme peril, as should be impossible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the Great Master in his brief answer, *That he would not willingly in his free estate use the counsel of his Enemy; nor in the great and distressful life cheerfully to yield his Life unto Almighty God, to whom he did owe it; and that with far better Will than to yield up the City upon any conditions, bear they never so fair a show of honour or profit.* The Messengers perceiving his constant resolution, rather to die than to yield his City, began (according to instructions before given them by the Baffa) to temper with him another way, and to persuade him to yield unto the mighty Emperor some small yearly Tribute or other Homage, as an acknowledgment of his greatness, and so to live as his Friend in Peace. But the Great Master knowing by the woful example of others, that in that small request lay included the beginning of the Turkish Thraldom and Slavery; utterly refused to pay him the least Tribute, or to do him the least homage that could be devised. With which answer the Messengers returned, having obtained nothing of that they were sent for.

The resolute answer of the Great Master, reported by the aforesaid Messengers unto the Baffa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had small hope by force to win the City, yet he was always in hope until now, at his pleasure, to forsake the Siege, with some such reasonable composition as might stand with his honour. But this nothing remained now, but by plain force to constrain his Enemies, he resolved for the safeguard of his honour, in that extremity to use that extreme remedy; wherefore besides the great Pieces of Battery he had already placed against the Walls, he mounted divers smaller Pieces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the Defendants by beating down of their Churches, and high built Houses. His Ordnance thus placed, he battered the City day and night for the space of four days together without intermission; during which time, the Christians out of the City spared not, liberally to bestow their Shot among their Enemies also; so that the Air seemed to

grow thick; and the light of the day to be darkened with the smok of the great Ordnance; and the great Shot came so thick into the City, that the fearful Women and Children were glad to shroud themselves from the danger thereof, in Cellars and Caves under ground. So long continued this great Battery, that at length the strength of the Wall gave place to the fury of the Canon, and a fair breach was laid open for the Enemy to enter; which was no sooner made, but that with the first show thereof the Turks gave thereunto a desperate Assault; and prevailing by reason of their multitude, had upon the suddain recovered the top of the Walls, and there let up some of their Ensigns; but the Christians speedily coming in on every side to the defence of the breach, they were again quickly repulsed and beaten down into the Ditches, out of which most of them never rose more. At which time the Turks in another place by their scaling Ladders had gained the top of the Walls, and there advanced their Ensigns also, and were now five hundred of them entered the City and came into the Street called the *Jesus-Street*, where they were encountered by the Great Master and his Followers, and all slain that were already entered, and their Ensigns that stood upon the Walls thrown down. The rest yet scaling the Walls, and ignorant of the fortune of their Fellows, were likewise beaten from the Walls, and with wonderful slaughter rejected. So that the Baffa not able any longer to endure the slaughter of his men, being in both places repulsed, caused a Retreat to be founded, and left the Assault; wherein he had lost of his most forward men about five thousand, with small loss of the Christians. In this Assault, the Great Master himself received five wounds, whereof one under his right Pap was thought to have been deadly; which yet afterward was very well cured with the rest.

After that the Baffa had by the space of three months to small purpose spent all his Forces and Devices upon the City, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raise his Siege and depart, or to tarry and expect some better fortune, which in all his former actions had seemed almost to have waited upon him; to forsake the Siege, was dishonourable; and to continue it without hope, presented no less danger. Besides that, in the former Assaults he had already lost nine thousand of his best Souldiers, and all the rest of his Army was filled with heaviness and despair, to hear the woful sighing and groaning of their Fellows of whom fifteen thousand lay dispersed in the Camp fore wounded, and ready many of them to give up the Ghost; and also but even a little before, two great Ships sent from *Ferdinand King of Naples* with Men and Munition, were in despite of all the Turks Gallies safely arrived at the *Rhodes*, to the great joy and encouragement of the besieged, and no less discontentment of the Turks. Whilst the Baffa was thus deliberating what course to take, a rumor was raised in the Camp, That the Christian Princes were coming with great power to relieve the Town; with which news the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raised his Siege. Some others say, that *Mahomet* hearing of the evil success of his Army in the Island of the *Rhodes*, with the difficulty of the Siege, and now ready to go in person himself against the Sultan of *Egypt*, sent for the Baffa, and that so the Siege was raised. Howsoever it was, the Baffa before his departure caused all the Vines and Trees growing in that part of the Island, to be cut down and spoiled; and so after he had poured forth his fury

The Baffa  
raileth his  
Siege.

A fair  
breach  
made by  
force of  
the Turkish  
battery.

Achmetes  
lands his  
Army in  
Apulia  
near to O-  
tranto,  
and spoils  
the Country.

Ortranto  
taken by  
the Turks.

fury upon the senseless Creatures, which he could not according to his desire exercise upon the people, again embarked his Army, and with thame departed, the twentieth of August.

At the same time that the Baffa was thus besieged, *Mahomet* sent his old and most expert Captain *Achmetes Baffa*, with a great Fleet and a strong Army to make an entrance into Italy (for no Kingdom was so strong, which the ambitious Tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and having long before conquered *Constantinople*, otherwise called *New Rome*, was still dreaming (I wot not what) of the conquest of *Old Rome* also. The malicious Baffa according to his great Masters desires, embarked his Army at *Valona* (otherwise called *Aulena*) a Sea Town in the borders of *Macedonia*; and from thence passing directly over that narrow Sea, which is in breadth about sixty miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of this day called *Ortranto*, (now *Puglia*) near unto the old and famous City *Hydruntum*, at this day called *Otranto*; where as soon as this warlike Baffa had landed his forces, he foraged all that rich Country along the sea coast, and took such infinite spoil as might well have satisfied the greedy desire both of himself and of his hungry Souldiers, all which rich booty he caused to be conveyed into his Gallies. So when he had at his pleasure ranged up and down the Country by the space of fourteen days, and saw that none made head against him, he laid siege to *Ortranto*, the chief City of that Country, and as it were the Key of that Country; and having with such Ordnance as he took out of his Gallies, made a breach, easily entered the same, and so without any great loss took the City. A thing not greatly to be marvelled at, forasmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether living in security in the midst of their Wealth and Pleasure. The Archbishop, who *Carlo* the Governor, and the chief men of the City, for safeguard of their lives fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuary; where they were all together most miserably slain. The rest of the Citizens, whose hard fortune it was to escape the Sword (as people referred to more misery) were afterwards shipped over into *Grecia*, and there sold for Slaves. The landing of the Turks in *Apulia*, with the taking of *Ortranto*, brought a general fear upon all Italy, inasmuch that *Simon Quarini*, then great Bishop of *Rome*, forgetting all things save himself, was about to have forsaken the City for fear. Now after the Turks had at their pleasure ransacked *Ortranto*, *Achmetes* caused the same to be strongly fortified (as the free footing of the Turks in Italy) and victualled for eighteen months, and there leaving eight thousand of his best Souldiers in *Ortranto*, returned himself with the rest to *Valona*, and so by Land to *Constantinople* to know his great Masters further pleasure, but purposing with himself, with the first of the next Spring to have returned with greater forces again to Italy for the prosecuting of his former Victory. Which if he had done, it was greatly to have been feared, that all that goodly Country, sometime Mistress of the World, but then and ever since, to be by Land to *Constantinople* and ambition of the Christian Princes, had in short time become a prey unto the barbarous Turk for ever.

But whilst the great Tyrant (in his life time the great scourge of Christendom) thus proudly plotteth the ruin and destruction of fair Italy, God, in whose hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great Tyrants Nose, and led

him quite another way. For at the same time, the *Caramanian King*, aided by the *Perlian* and the Sultan of *Egypt*, had in a great Battle overthrown *Bejaquet* (*Mahomet* eldest Son then living) and slain most part of his Army; in revenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raised a great and puissant Army, and taking *Achmetes* with him as his chief man of War, rejecting the Wars of Italy unto a more convenient time, passed over into *Asia*; where upon the way about a days journey short of *Nicomedia* a City of *Bithynia*, at a place called *Gevoijn* he fell sick, and there for the space of three days grievously tormented with an extreme pain in his Belly (which some supposed to be the Colick) died; but being indeed, as most men thought, poysoned; when he had lived about years, and thereof reigned 31, in the year of our Lord 1511. His Body was afterwards magnificently buried in a Chapel near unto the great *Mahometan Temple*, which he himself first built at *Constantinople*.

The death of this mighty man (who living troubled a great part of the World) was not much more lamented by those that were nearest unto him, (who ever living in fear of his Cruelty, hated him deadly) than by his Enemies, who ever in doubt of his greatness, were glad to hear of his end. He was of stature but low, and nothing answerable to the height of his mind, square fit, and strong limbed, not inferior in strength (when he was young) unto any in his Fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* only; his complexion was Tawarlike, fallow, and melancholy, as were most of his Ancestors the *Osman Kings*; with his look and countenance firm, with his Eyes piercing, hollow and a little sunk as it were in to his Head, and his Nose so high and crooked, that it almost touched his upper Lip. To be brief, his countenance was altogether fish, as if Nature had with most cunning hand therein depainted and most curiously set forth to view the inward disposition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable: He was of a very sharp and apprehensive Wit, learned, as amongst that Nation, especially in Astronomy, and could speak the *Greek, Latine, Arabick, Chaldee* and *Persian* Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Histories, and the Lives of worthy Men, especially the Lives of *Alexander the Great*, and of *Julius Caesar*, whom he propoed to himself as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and therefore very fortunate; a severe punisher of injustice, in them especially to whom he had committed the administration of Justice. Men that excelled in any quality, he greatly favoured and honourably entertained; as he did *Gentil Bellin* a Painter of *Venice*, whom he purposely caused to come from thence, to *Constantinople*, to draw the lively counterfeits of himself, for which he paid him most honourably rewarded him. He so severely punished theft, as that in his time all the ways were safe, and a Thief scarcely to be heard of. But these good parts were in him obscured with most horrible and notorious Vices; for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others most perfidious, ambitious above measure, and in nothing more delighted, than in blood; inasmuch that it is probably gathered, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thousand men. Crafts, Covetousness, and Diffimulation, were in him accounted for tolerable faults in comparison of his greater Vices. In his love of War was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death; so that he lived feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had issue three Sons, *Musapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bejaquet*, and *Gosme*; or rather *Kosme*, of some men called

*Mahomet* died at *Gevoijn* in *Bithynia*, not without suspicion of poyson.

1511.

He is buried at *Constantinople*.

The description of *Mahomet*.

The story of *Mahomet*, *Musapha*, *Bejaquet*, and *Ze-Bajquet*.

called *Zizanus*, Competitor of the Empire with his eldest Brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his Reign, so that he could not well attend any other thing, but him; which opportunity (by God himself no doubt offered for the safeguard of Italy) *Alphonfus* Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldest Son) taking hold upon, with all the power he could make in Italy, besieged the Turks in *Otranto*; with whom he had many sharp skirmishes, wherein he lost divers of his great Captains and Commanders, as the Count *Julio de Aquino*, *Loy de Capua*, and the Count *Julio de Bisce*, with others and was still by the strong Garrison of the Turks put to the worse; until such time as being strengthened with Aid out of Spain and Portugal, (but especially with certain Companies of most valiant Souldiers sent from *Matthias Corvinus* out of Hungary, whose Forces the Turks most feared) he began to cut them short, and straitly besieged the City both by Sea and Land; until at length the besieged Turks hearing of

the death of their great Emperor, and now hardly pressed with the dangers of a strait Siege, no longer expecting the return of *Alphonfus* their General, (then ready to have come to their rescue with five and twenty thousand Souldiers) yielded up the City unto the Duke, <sup>Otranto yielded by the Duke upon compo- sition before made. That they might with bag and baggage in safety depart thence; upon which they did, after they had to the great terror of all Italy holden that strong City by the space of a year. And so was that rich Country rather by the mercy of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preserved, than by the strength or policy of the Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to have for ever given place unto the power of the great Tyrant, had he longer lived; yea and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his Son, had he not by Domestic troubles been enforced to turn himself another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieve his distressed Garrison in *Otranto*, as shall hereafter be declared.</sup>

Christian Princes of the same time with Ma- homet the Great.	Emperors	Of the East	Constantinus Palaeologus last Christian Emperor of Constantinople.	1444.	8.
		Of the West	Frederick the Third, Arch- Duke of Austria.	1440.	54.
	Of England		Henry the Sixth.	1422.	39.
			Edward the Fourth.	1460.	22.
	Of France		Charles the Seventh.	1423.	38.
			Lewis the Eleventh.	1461.	22.
	Of Scotland		James the Second.	1436.	29.
			James the Third.	1460.	29.
	Bishops of Rome		Nicholas the V.	1437.	8.
			Calixtus the III.	1455.	3.
			Pius the II.	1458.	6.
			Paulus the II.	1464.	7.
			Xyltus the IV.	1471.	13.



# The LIFE of BAJAZET,

The Second of that NAME,

AND

## Second Emperor

OF THE

# TURKS.

*Diffusion  
among the  
Turks in  
about the  
Succession.*

UPON the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, great Troubles began to arise about the Succession in the Turkish Empire; some of the Baffaes and great Captains seeking to place *Bajazet*, the eldest Son of *Mahomet*, in the Empire; and others with no less devotion labouring to prefer *Zemus*, or *Gemes*, otherwise called *Zizimus*, *Bajazet* his younger Brother. By occasion whereof there arose two great and mighty Factions, which in few days grew to such heat, that many great Tumults and hot Skirmishes were made in the Imperial City, betwix the Favorites of both Factions, and great slaughter committed. In these Broils the proud Janizaries for an old grudge slew *Mahomet* one of the four great Baffaes, a man by whose grave Council most of the weighty Affairs of the Turkish Empire had been managed during the Reign of the late Emperor; and proceeding further in their accustomed Insolency, spoiled all the Christians and Jews which dwelt amongst them, of all their Wealth and Substance; at which time the rich Merchants and Citizens of *Constantinople* which were natural Turks themselves, escaped not their ravenous Hands, but became unto them a Prey and Spoil also. The other three Baffaes of the Court, *Isaac*, *Mehmet*, and *Achmet*, (lately returned from the winning of *Hydruntum* in Italy) although they secretly maligned and envied one at the greatness of another, yet to appease these so dangerous Troubles, and to assure their own Estates, joyned hands together, and by their great Authority, and multitude of Followers and Favorites, found means that *Corcutus* (one of the younger Sons of *Bajazet*, a young Prince of eighteen years old) was as it were by general consent of the Nobility and Souldiers, saluted Emperor, and with great Triumph and Solemnity placed in the Imperial Seat. In whose name, the aforesaid Baffaes at their pleasure disposed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Bajazet* or *Zemus*, then both absent, the one at *Amasia*, and

the other at *Iconium* in *Lycania*. For the jealous Turkish Kings never suffer their Sons to live in Court near unto them, after they are grown to years of discretion; but send them to Govern their Provinces far off; where they are also under the Command of the Emperors Lieutenants General in *Asia* or *Europe*, and may not depart from their Charge without great danger, not so much as to visit their Father without express leave and commandment. So jealous are those Tyrants, yea even of their own Sons.

*Bajazet* and *Zemus* hearing of the death of their Father, and of the Troubles in the Imperial City, halted thitherward with all speed, where *Bajazet* being the nearer, first arrived; but finding the Empire already possessed by *Corcutus* his younger Son, and himself excluded, he in grief of his heart poured forth most grievous Complaints before God and man, calling Heaven and Earth to witness of the great wrong and injury done unto him by the proud Baffaes. And what by Tears and humble Obsecrations, what by great Gifts and greater Promises, but most of all by the earnest labour and solicitation of *Cherlogles* Vice-Roy of *Græcia*, and the Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, both his Sons in law, prevailed so much with the great Baffaes and Souldiers of the Court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous disposition, overcome by their intreaty and the reverence of his Father, resigned unto him the Imperial Government, which he presently took upon him with the general good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* Governor of *Lycia*, *Caria*, and *Ionia*, with the pleasant and rich Countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yearly Pension for the better maintenance of his Estate, with promise also of the Empire after his decease, and so sent him away to his Charge, where he must pleasantly lived during the Reign of his Father *Bajazet*, giving himself wholly to the study of Philosophy, which made that he was afterwards less favoured of the Janizaries and other men of War.

*Bajazet  
Zemus  
Corcutus  
Cherlogles*



*Arma manu quatunt fratres hostilis regnum.  
Hinc Bajazethes, Zizimus inde petit.  
Bajazethes rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,  
Zizimus extrema mania sorte petit.  
Sufinet et bello, variat et pace, proelias  
Bajazethes felix et miser, inter opes.  
Iam senio tremulus, fert bella domestica regno,  
A Gnato gectus, dira venena bibit.*

*Two Brothers now infect the mighty State,  
Zemus on this side, Bajazet on that  
Fortune crowns Bajazet, while Zemus flies  
From Rhodes to Rome, driv'n by his destinies:  
Much Bajazet endur'd in warr and peace,  
Happy, and wretched his triumphall daies;  
Till morne with age, and with domestic strife,  
A Cup of Poyson ends his loathsome life.*

Zemes  
with a  
glorious  
brother.

Zemes thus prevented by his elder Brother, and understanding by his Friends how all things stood at Constantinople, and that Bajazet was already possessed of the Empire; returning with great speed, raised a puissant Army in the Countreies, which were under his Command, and marching through the heart of Asia the less, by the way as he went, took into his possession such Cities and strong Places as he thought best; and so entering into Bithynia, took the great City of Prusa, the ancient Seat of the Ottoman Kings. Purposing in himself, that as Bajazet had thrust him out of Europe, so he would also in revenge of the Turkish Empire which is beyond Hellespontus in Asia, and to make himself Lord thereof. Wherein Fortune at the first seemed unto him most favourable, all the people wheresoever he came yielding unto him Obedience as unto their Prince and Sovereign; so that in short time he seemed both unto himself and to others, in strong possession of that part of the Empire.

Bajazet  
with a  
glorious  
Zemes.

Of these his proceedings Bajazet having Intelligence, and perceiving the greater part of his Empire now in danger to be lost, and doubting further, that Zemes his ambitious Mind would hardly rest therewith long contented; for remedy of so great a Mischiefe levied a strong and puissant Army, wherewith he passed over into Asia, and came to Neapolis, a City of Asiatia, near whereto Zemes lay with his Army, and incamped. As Bajazet was upon the way against his Brother, Achmetes the great Baffa (in the confession of all men the best man of War and most expert Captain amongst the Turks, and of all others most entirely beloved of the Janizaries) came, and unarmed presented himself upon his knees before Bajazet, his Sword hanging at his Saddle-bow; to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see him, who was a Christian of so great Place in time of Service, without any apparent cause, in such humble manner to appear before his Sovereign, as if he had had nothing to do with Arms. As he had many years before, in the mortal Wars betwixt Mahomet the late and great Emperor of the Turks, and Assymbeis Ulum-Cassanes the King of Persia, that Bajazet having the leading of the right Wing of his Fathers Army, had not married it in for good order as was to Mahomet his good going; for which cause he commanded this Achmetes to go and fetch that part of the battle in better order. Which his Sovereigns Command whilst he most skillfully performed, Bajazet taking it in evil part, as tending to his own disgrace, in great choler threatened the Baffa, to find a time when he would be revenged upon him. But he being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both do and say much, perceiving his meaning, bid him do what pleased him; and laying his hand upon his Sword, solemnly vowed, That whensoever he came to Command as Emperor, he would never wear Sword in field; the remembrance whereof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, ready to serve if he were thereto commanded, or otherwise to endure what to his Princes Pleasure was. Bajazet perceiving that the unkindness for long before conceived, was not yet digested, in token of Grace stretched out to him his Scepter, and taking him up, commanded him to girt his Sword unto his side, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiven and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert Captain, made him General of his Army, to the great contentment

Achmetes  
made General  
of Bajazet  
his Army.

of the Janizaries and the rest of the Army; who so soon as they saw him, gave out divers great shouts for joy, as if Victory had most assuredly attended upon him. Achmetes taking upon him the Charge, came and incamped so near as he could to Zemes, and so lay by the space of ten days; during which time, many sharp skirmishes were made with divers Fortune; sometimes the one side prevailing, and sometimes the other. At length the matter was brought to a general battle; wherein after a long and cruel fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the Fortune of Bajazet, conducted by the policy of Achmetes, prevailed against Zemes. Who seeing his Army overthrow, besook himself to flight, and came to Iconium; in which flight many of Zemes his Followers were taken Prisoners; whom Bajazet would have pardoned and enlarged, but that by the perswasion of Achmetes he changed his mind, and to the terror of others suffered them all to be put to the sword.

Zemes doubting after this Overthrow to fall into his Brothers hands, and finding no means to make head again; when he had staid three days at Iconium, caused his Treasure, Plate, Jewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be trusted up, and taking with him his Mother and his two young Children, a Son and a Daughter, accompanied with a small Retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the Dominion of Mesopotamia, commonly called the great Sultan of Egypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of Zemes from Iconium, but that Bajazet came thither with his Army, to have furnished him; but understanding of his flight, he took order for the peaceable Government of that part of his Empire. And so having suppressed that dangerous Rebellion, and again reduced that troubled part of his Empire to his Obedience, returned with Victory to Constantinople. The diffident Prince Zemes travelling through Syria, came at length to Jerusalem; where he stayed a good space, devoutly visiting the Monuments of that most ancient and famous City. From thence he travelled into Egypt; where at his first entrance into the Country, he was met by divers of the greatest Nobility of that Kingdom, sent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Cairo, and there presented to Caystane, of whom he was graciously welcomed; unto whom after due Reverence done, he declared the cause of his coming, as followeth:

If it were not to me certainly known (most Victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or Spoken from whence descended, or with what injury employed after long and painful travel I am here arrived; I would much concern me to use another manner of beginning of my Speech, and with greater protestation of words to seek your gracious Favour. But forasmuch as all these things are unto your most Royal Majesty sufficiently known, as I do well perceive in this, that your infinite Clemency hath entertained me with far greater kindness, than I in such my adverse Fortune durst wish for, much less request: Now nothing remains for me to say, more than submit to complain unto your imperial Majesty, of the Wrong and Injury done unto me by Bajazet, whom I may more justly term my cruel Enemy, than kind Brother. For he not contented to have taken, unto himself my Fathers Empire by great tumult and slaughter, hath with all Hostility and Force of Arms persecuted me his Brother, excluded out of the Imperial City, and then living in Bithynia, troublesome neither to him, nor any of his people, and never rested until he had chased me out of the bounds of my Empire.

Zemes  
fled into  
Syria.

1482.

Empire. Neither hath the jealous desire of Sovereignty (whereof my Father whilst he lived, had him always in distrust) so much moved him unto this so cruel Fate, as a certain unnatural cruelty towards all his Kindred in general, and mortal hatred against his Brother in particular, for he which is already possessed of the Empire, and doth with all Hostility persecute a private person, subject and exposed to his Injury, that man thirsteth not after Sovereignty, but after Blood; neither desireth he to Conquer, but to Kill. And whereas after my Fathers death great Troubles arose in Constantinople, and many bloody skirmishes were fought betwixt the Favorites of both of us, it camea with me to be laid to my charge, as done by mine advice or counsel, I being at the same time so far from thence. Neither am I likely to be blamed, if that after my Fathers departure I put my self upon the way towards Constantinople, especially being sent for thither by many my good Friends, men of great Mark and Quality; but his Fortune prevailing, I gave place, and left my coming to the Imperial City might have been the occasion of new Troubles, I returned aside unto Bithynia, and so to Prusa, with purpose to have resided in quiet, if my Brother would have given me leave. But so far was he from that, to suffer me there to rest, as that I was by him most cruelly assailed as an open Enemy, and had I not by speedy flight withdrawn my self from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my Fathers Kingdom, I must have yielded my self, my blood, and life, as a Sacrifice into his cruel hands. Neither is he to me so mortal an Enemy, or thirsteth after my life so much for fear, as for vexed hatred and malice; for what is there in me to fear? Verily nothing: Constantinople is his, the favour of the great Christians and Men of War is his, the Treasure and Royal Riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his Brother, but feareth him not. He will sway all the Ottoman Army, he will have all that belongs to the Christian Family, and he, as ye none but he, must live alone. Xerxes was a mighty King, any yet in that great and large Kingdom he only preferred his Brethren in safety, but had them also in great Honour and Esteem. What did Alexander the Great? Who not only took pleasure in his Brother, but had him also as a Companion of his most glorious Expedition; and many other famous Kings of foreign Nations; and of our own Family, have ruled both more safely, and better strengthened, with the counsel and aid of their most loving Brethren, rather than with others. But Bajazet is of a far other mind, requiring violence and haughtiness of heart to be his great glory, and just defence; herein his fierce Nature delighted, more than in the lawful course of Nature, Justice, and Equity; he had rather have his Brother his Enemy than his Friend, and to drive him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counsels. But I beseech the most puissant Monarch, the faithful Keeper and Maintainer of our Laws and Religion, by the sacred Reliques of our great Prophet Mahomet, which thou hast at Jerusalem and Mecha, (affer me, a King's Son, to live in banishment and exile, poor and miserable, at the scorn of his Brothers cruelty, far from home, far from his Country and Kingdom) but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, life up the afflicted and oppressed, and by the great authority which you have, bridle Domestical wrongs; or if that will not take place, revenge it with thy Sword, and suffer not our Empire, with so great travail founded, by the cruelty or folly of one wretched man to be overthrown; which should be no more grievous and lamentable to us, than dangerous to your most high Estate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your self understand right well, what deadly Enemies the Christian Princes are unto the Turks; and do you think, that if any great War (which I wish not) should arise of this our Discord, that they would long

rest in quiet, and as idle Beggars stand looking on until it were of it self appeased? Or rather having such an opportunity presented, would not with might and main suddenly invade our Kingdom, before the destruction of the same? Which their desire, if our careful people could bring to pass (which thing Methinks turn upon themselves) my mind abhorreth to Ottoman Family once rooted out, there is none of our Religion (your Majesty only excepted) which is able to withstand their Power, and therefore you must stand by the force of the Christian, you alone must withstand the fury of the Christian, you must maintain that War with much life, and greater charge, and most uncertain success. Wherefore, invincible Monarch, I most humbly beseech thee, that pitying us yet to be had, whilst the matter is yet whole, and remedy is yet to be had, to deal with Bajazet by your Excellency, that though I will not receive me from his Brother as Partner of the Empire, yet at least to admit me into some small part of my Fathers Kingdom: Let him Reign and Rule, let all things be as his Command; let it be lawful for me to go on and to live in rest and quiet somewhere, possessing but so much as may suffice me honestly to lead a private life. Which thing if he shall refuse to grant, although he neither fear the Laws of God or man, yet as I have at Jerusalem, so will I wish shortly at Mecha (if by your leave I may) complain unto the great Prophet, of the Injuries done unto me by my cruel and unnatural Brother; and afterwards make proof of your compassion towards me, all which I hope shall much avail. But if (which I would not) I shall prove all these things in vain, with desperation enforced men to all Extremities, I will go with Fire, Sword, and Slaughter, and hated, with all manner of wrong and unkindness of Mischiefs, by all means possible, until I have made an end of confounding of him. Neither will I receive into some part of the Empire, or of Egypt, until my life leave those desperate and lost things, and I am alone to enjoy. For I deem it much better, quickly to die than with disgrace and infamy to protract a lingering loathed life.

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the diffident Prince, willing him to be of good cheer, and patiently to bear his present hap; forasmuch as it became a man born in so high Fortune, not to be discouraged with any misfortune, or dismay if things fell out otherwise than he looked for; commending him whilst well he had become his better Estate; and what in him lay, to reconcile him to his Brother, and to persuade him that he might be received into some part of the Kingdom, and that purpose shortly after dispatched away an honourable Embassage to Bajazet. Zemes in the mean while, by the same Sultans leave, upon a superstitious devotion travelled into Arabia, to his Sepulchre at Medina. Upon his return to Cairo, the Embassadors before him returned also, but not having obtained any thing they desired, for Bajazet would not give ear to any Agreement, but seemed altogether to contemn and despise his Brother. Wherefore Zemes more upon stomach and desire of Revenge, than for any hope he had of the Empire, determined with himself to make open War upon him; reposing some good hope in his secret Friends, and the revolve of some of the great Captains, who discontented with the Government of Bajazet, secretly wished for his return.

Caystane  
the Egyptian  
Emperor  
sent an  
Embassy  
to Bajazet.

1483-  
The King  
of Car-  
mania fa-  
licious  
Zemes to  
rely up-  
on him  
against Ba-  
jazet.

Whilst he was thus plotting these weighty Matters, a Messenger with Letters came fitly from the King of *Caramania*, offering with all the Power he could make, to join with him, if he would take up Arms against his Brother. This poor titular King then lived in *Armenia*, and being able by his Friends to make some good force, was in hope by joining with *Zemes*, to recover some part of the *Caramanian* Kingdom, from whence his Father was not many years before driven by the force of the late Turkish Emperor *Mahomet* the Great, *Bajazet* his Father. It is hard to say, whether of these distressed and exiled Princes gave the greater encouragement to the other, to take this desperate War in hand, being both together far unable by all the Friends they could make, to encounter with the great Power of *Bajazet*. But what is so dangerous or desperate, which aspiring Minds will not attempt in hope of a Kingdom? whose brightness so dazzleth their eyes, that they can see nothing but it.

Hereupon *Zemes* having received great Gifts of the Egyptian Sultan, with promise of Aid, departed from *Caire* (the Sultan earnestly persuading him to the contrary) and as it was before appointed, met with the *Caramanian* King upon the borders of *Asia* the lesser; where they concluded to join together such Forces as they had, and to invade *Bajazet*. Which they accordingly did; for raising all the Power they could, they entered into *Cilicia*, (now called *Caramania*) and joining their Armies together, incamped between *Isonium* and *Larenda*. Neither did *Bajazet* in time of so great a danger sit still; nor so much fearing his Brothers Power, as the reviving of his Captains and Souldiers, whom he knew either to love, or at least not to hate the young Prince his Brother. Wherefore he raised a great Army, and sent *Acmetes* (the great Man of War) before with the one part thereof, himself following after with a far greater strength; for at that time he had under his Arms two hundred thousand men.

As he was marching with this great Army, a rumor was raised in the Camp, That some of his chief Captains had conspired to betray him into the hands of his Brother, and that many of the Souldiers secretly favouring *Zemes*, would upon the joining of the battel forsake him, and take part with his Brother. Which report so troubled *Bajazet*, that he stood in doubt what to do, or whom to trust; but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common Souldier more, than the Generals bounty, he forthwith caused a wonderful mass of Money to be divided amongst the Captains and Souldiers, loading their minds with ample promises of far greater Rewards, for their fidelity and valour to be shewed in that present Service. Having thus assured himself of the wavering minds of his Souldiers, he began to draw near to *Isonium*, where his Enemies lay incamped; and by glossing Letters and flattering Messengers made them open, as if he had been very desirous to come to some good Agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the straits and passages, in such manner as that it should not be possible for them again to retire back into *Syria*; for he doubted nothing more, but lest they being few in number, and in strength far unequal unto him, would not upon so great disadvantage hazard the fortune of a battel, but retire themselves into *Syria*, and so to his exceeding Trouble and infinite Charge protract the War.

*Zemes* perceiving his Brothers subtil drift, and

seeing no such Revolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by Letters to him been promised; and weighing with reason his own weak Forces, retired in good time unto the straits of the Mountain *Amanus*, which divideth *Cilicia* from *Syria*. Here, despairing of all good success in the Enterprize he had taken in hand, he persuaded the *Caramanian* King his Confederate to give place unto the time, and to reserve himself unto his better Fortune; and so breaking up his Army, with a few of his Followers came down to the Sea coast of *Cilicia*; where he hired a tall Ship to attend in readiness, that if any sudden danger should arise, he might go aboard, and to save himself by Sea. In the mean time he sent a Messenger unto *Damboy*, Great Master of the *Rhodes*, certifying him, That for as much as he had no place of safety left amongst his own people, wherein he might throw himself from the fury of his Brother, still looking after his life, he would upon his safe Conduct come to him into his Island of the *Rhodes*. Which his request the Great Master easily granted, deeming the flight of so great a Prince from the Turk, to be a thing much profitable to the Christian Commonwealth; and thereupon he presently sent forth certain Gallies to fetch him from the troublesome coast of *Cilicia*. But before these Gallies were come, *Zemes* was informed by the sudden access of his Enemies, for the avoiding of present danger, to go aboard on that Ship which he had providently before prepared to be in readiness for such purpose. And having put a little from the shore, took back again an Arrow with Letters made fast unto it, directed unto his Brother *Bajazet*, containing as followeth:

*Thou knowest (most unkind and cruel Brother) that I fly not unto the Christians, the mortal Enemy of the Ottoman Family, for hatred of thy Religion or Nation; but enforced thereto by thy injurious dealing, and dangerous practices, which thou incessantly attemptest against me, yea even in my extreme misery. But this assured hope I carry with me, that the time will come when as thou the author of so great wrong, or thy Children, shall receive their just guerdon of thy thy present tyranny against thy Brother.*

It is reported, that when *Bajazet* had read these Letters, he was so troubled in mind, that for certain days he gave himself wholly to mourning and heaviness, and would in no wise be comforted; insomuch, that he was brought into the Camp by the Baffaes, as a man half distraught of his wits, flunniing for a season all mens speech and company.

*Zemes* failing to the *Rhodes*, was there honourably received of the Great Master, and all the rest of the Knights of the Order; to whom in their publick Assembly three days after, he openly declared the causes of the discord between his Brother and him; alleging for the colour of his Rebellion, That although *Bajazet* was his elder Brother, yet that he was born whilst his Father yet lived in private Estate, under the subjection and command, long before he did subjection the Kingdom, and so no Kings Son; whereas he himself was the first born of his Father, being an Emperor, and so not Heir of his Fathers private Fortune (as was *Bajazet*) but of his greatest Honour and Empire; and yet not of such an haughty mind, but that he could have been content to have given place unto his Brother, so that he could have been contented to live of wife to have granted him some small portion of the Empire, wherein he might safely have lived as a poor Prince, and his Brother; but that such

*Zemes sits in the ship.*

*The description of Zemes.*

*Zemes sits in the ship.*

*Zemes sits in the ship.*

was his pride, as that he would not vouchsafe to suffer him to live so much as a poor private life in any corner of so large an Empire, and was therefore by his unnatural and tyrannous dealing, enforced to crave Aid of the Christian Princes. Of whom (forasmuch as he had always heard much honour) he was in good hope to find succour and relief in that his distressed estate; protesting unto God and the World, that if ever it should be his good Fortune by their means and help to obtain the Empire, he would never be unmindful of so great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetual and inviolable Peace, and so to rest their fast Friend for ever. The Great Master on the other side comforting him with cheerful Speeches, promised to keep him in safety from the fury of his Brother, and farther to commend his Cause to the other great Kings and Princes of Christendom.

This exiled Prince *Zemes*, was about the age of eight and twenty years when he came to the *Rhodes* of stature tall, somewhat corpulent and well limbed, grey-eyed, but looking something asquint, hook-nosed, and in the middle rising, in such manner as the *Perfians* commend in their Kings; of color brown, spare of speech, and by nature choleric; a great feeder, so that he seemed rather to devour his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in swimming, and to lie abroad in the night; pensive and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares; never merry but in the company of the grand Master; a religious observer of the superstition, from which he could never be drawn during the long time he lived in exile; learned as among the Turks, so that he wrote the History of his Fathers life. But leaving him in safe keeping with the grand Master of the *Rhodes*, let us again return to the course of our History.

*Bajazet* having now the second time chafed away his Brother, after he had well quitted that part of his troubled Kingdom in *Asia*, returned again to *Constantinople*, carefully attending when some new motion should be made by his Brother, to his farther disquiet. But after he understood that he was with the Great Master of the *Rhodes*, he sent certain of his Baffaes (amongst whom *Acmetes* the great Souldier is reported to have been one) unto the Great Master, requesting him to deliver up *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderful sum of money. Which dishonourable request, when it could by no means be obtained, the same Embassadors in the name of their Master, concluded a Peace very commodious for the *Rhodesians*; wherein amongst other things it was agreed, That the Great Master should keep *Zemes* in safe custody, so that he should no more trouble the Turkish Empire; in consideration whereof, and for his honourable usage, *Bajazet* should yearly pay unto the Great Master thirty thousand Ducats the first of August, which was afterward accordingly paid.

It fortuned that whilst *Acmetes* the great Baffa (employed in matters abroad) was absent from the Court, *Bajazet* discoursing with the other Baffaes his grave Counsellors, upon his late Expedition into *Asia* against his Brother, seemed to be highly offended with the untruthfulness and doubtful faith of some of his greatest Captains and Souldiers; yet upon whom he might justly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it seemed by his speech, he should somewhat distrust the great Captain *Acmetes*. Hereupon *Ipsa*, the most ancient Baffa of the Court, and of greatest authority next unto *Bajazet* himself (whose Daughter, a Lady of exceeding beauty, *Acmetes* had long before married, but doubting

that he had yielded her Honour to the wanton lust of *Musapha*, the eldest Son of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, had put her from him, and would by no means be reconciled; for which cause there was a secret hatred ever after between those two great Baffaes) perceiving the Emperors discontented and suspicious humour, and desiring nothing more than the destruction of *Acmetes*, took hold upon this opportunity, and by all means he could devise, increased the suspicion of the Treason, which had already too much possessed the jealous Emperor; sometimes craftily imagining Intelligence to have passed betwixt *Zemes* and *Acmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his Power and Authority, which (as he said) was so great with the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, that they by reason of his often employments, were wholly at his devotion; so that he might at his pleasure do more in *Zemes* his quarrel, than should stand with the safety of *Bajazet*; a matter well to be considered of, and also carefully prevented. For remedy of which dangers, it was thought necessary, that *Acmetes* at his return to Court, should be taken away and slain.

*Acmetes* fearing nothing less than that which was contrived against him, came after his wonted manner to the Court, and was with the other great Baffaes invited to a solemn Supper which *Bajazet* had commanded to be prepared, to solace himself after his travels (as it was given out) with his chief Baffaes. To this Royal Supper came *Acmetes* with the rest of the bidden Guests, mistrusting nothing, and was there sumptuously feasted by *Bajazet*; who to make his Guests the merrier, drank Wine plentifully himself, causing them also to drink in like manner; so that they were full of Wine; a thing utterly forbidden by their Law; yet daily more and more used, especially by their great Men in their Feasts. Supper now ended, and the night far spent, *Bajazet* in token that they were welcome, and stood in his good Grace, caused certain rich Robes of pleasing colours to be brought forth, and to be cast upon every of his Guests one, giving beside unto every one of them a fair gilt Bowl full of Gold. But upon *Acmetes* was cast a Gown of black Velvet, which among the Turks may well be called the Mantle of death, being so sure a Token of the Emperors heavy Indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him upon whom it is by the Emperors commandment to cast. *Acmetes* feeling himself now under the shadow of death, and knowing it but vain to intreat for mercy, as he was a man of great spirit, brake forth and said, *Oh woe betide* (which is as much as to say, *Thou Son of a Whore*) sith thou entendest so much cruelty against me, why didst thou not put it in execution before thou hadst informed me to drink this impure and forbidden Wine? and so casting his Eyes upon the ground, fate still. The other Baffaes having leave to depart, giving thanks to the Emperor, and craving pardon for their excess, killed the ground at his Feet and so departed; with whom *Acmetes* offered to have gone out also, but was forthwith commanded to sit still, for that the Emperor had to talk with him in secret. The Baffaes were no sooner departed, but the terrible Executioners of *Bajazet* his wrath there in, and laid hands upon *Acmetes* to have slain him; when one of the Eunuchs in greatest favour with the Tyrant, standing by, advised him not to be too hasty in executing of so great Man, so entirely beloved of his best Souldiers and Men of War, but rather to stay

*Acmetes sits in the ship.*

his Execution for a while, to see how the matter would be diffused; and in the mean time by torture to wrest out of him what might be got, to make it in some fort appear, that he died for his due desert. Hereupon *Bajazet* deferred his Execution to a farther time, and caused him there presently to be stript, and carried away to be tortured.

*Achmetes* his Son, brother of the Janizaries to help his Father.

Amongst other Gallants of the Court which attended the coming out of the great Baffes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his Sons, a Gentleman of great hope; who mistaking his Father amongst the rest, began presently to mistreat that all went no well; and speedily running from one of the Baffes to another, with much ado learned the hard estate of his Father; whereof he was also at the same instant advertised by a secret Friend near about *Bajazet*. Hereupon this young Gentleman began forthwith plainly to lament his Fathers misfall, and to censure against the cruelty of *Bajazet*, who relied on the Janizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his Fathers great and manifold Deserts towards them, together with his imminent danger; and so running up and down the City in the dead time of the night, had in short space raised up all the Janizaries in Arms; who understanding of the danger of their ancient Commander, whom they generally loved and honoured as their Father, came running by heaps from all parts of the City unto the Court-Gate, there with terrible Exclamation doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly use in expressing their greatest discontentment and fury) and did indeed so furiously beat at the Court Gate, that *Bajazet* fearing lest they should break in by violence, caused the outer Gate to be set open, and throwing himself from above out at an Iron Window, descended upon the cause of that Tumult and Uproar. To whom they insolently answered, That they would by and by reach him as a Drunkard, a Beast, and a Rascal, to use his great Place and Calling with more sobriety and discretion; and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they shamefully loaded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi, Bengi* (that is to say, Bachelor or Scholar) which amongst those Martial Men, Contemners of all Learning, is accounted a word of no small reproach and disgrace. And after they had in most despiteful manner thus reviled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliver *Achmetes* unto them, or else to take that should ensue thereof. *Bajazet* terrified with this Insolency of the Janizaries, and fearing some sudden violence to be offered, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay delivered unto them; which was done in such haste, that he was brought forth unto them almost naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his body the manifest marks of his hard usage. The Janizaries receiving him with great rejoicing, supplied his want of Apparel with such habiliments, as they for that purpose upon the sudden took from *Bajazet* Minions; and so taking him upon their shoulders, with great joy carried him out of the Court, still crying unto him, How he did, and how he felt himself? And so guarded him home, ready no doubt to have slain *Bajazet* and rited the Court, if he would have but fled the word. But he yet Loyal, laboured with good words to appease that Tumult, and to pacify their fury; excusing that which *Bajazet* had done against him, to have been done only to rectify him; for that happily he had forgotten some part of Obedience and Duty. Nevertheless, hereupon remained no small heart-burning

betwixt *Bajazet* and the Janizaries for a long time after; yet *Bajazet* for fear of them reconciled himself to *Achmetes* and in open favour had him in greater Honour than before, promoting him even unto the highest degrees of Honour, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the continual infatigation of the old *Baffa Isaac*; by whose perfavation, when it was thought that all had been forgotten, he was by *Bajazet* Commanded, as he sat at Supper in the Court, thrust through the body and slain. This was the miserable end of *Achmetes*, the great Champion of the Turks, and one of the greatest Enemies of Christendom that ever lived in the Turkish Court; for by him, *Mahomet* subdued the Empire of *Trapezond*, took the great City of *Caffa* (called in ancient time *Theodosia*) with all the Country of *Taurica Cherfoneus*, the impregnable City of *Croia*, with all the Kingdom of *Epirus*, the strong City of *Scudra*, and a great part of *Dalmatia*, and laid the foundation to the terror of all Italy; by him also, *Bajazet* vanquished and put to flight his Brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good Services, he was by the Tyrant (upon a meer supposition) thus cruelly and shamefully murdered. About this time also, *Cagubus* (*Zemes* his Son, then but a Child) was by the commandment of *Bajazet* his Uncle, strangled in the new Tower of *Constantinople*.

*Bajazet* now grievously offended with the pride and late Insolency of the Janizaries, caused secret inquiry to be made, of them which were the Authors of those late Sins; and finding them to be the Officers of their Companies, and especially those which had before slain *Mahomet Baffa* the great Politician, immediately after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, to which time they had also raised great Tumults, and done much harm in the City; he under colour of Persecution, sent away those Authors of Sedition into divers parts of his Empire, appointing unto them (as unto old Souldiers and Men of good desert) certain Lands and Revenues for their Maintenance and Preferment. But as soon as they were departed, he by secret Letters commanded the Governors and Magistrates of those places wherunto they were sent, suddenly to apprehend them, and as Traitors to put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Janizaries of the Court and about *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened unto their Fellows, became wonderful discontented, and began to mutine in divers places of the City, uttering Speeches against the Emperor full of Despatch and Revenge. Which thing when *Bajazet* understood, and had well considered the late danger he was in, together with the intolerable Pride and Insolency of those his masterful Slaves; he secretly purposed in himself for the curing of so dangerous a Disease, to use a most desperate remedy; which was, suddenly to kill and destroy all the Janizaries, especially those which were belonging to the Court, or about *Constantinople*. This his purpose he imparted to divers of his greatest Baffes, charging them upon pain of his heavy displeasure not to disclose it; and for the execution thereof, had sent for great numbers of those Souldiers which are called *Acamzijs*, who are amongst the Turks reputed for the best sort of Common Souldiers. Most of all the Baffes to whom he had imparted this his cruel device, much disliked thereof, as too full of peril and danger; yet feeling him fully resolved for the performance thereof, they were not so much as to say anything to the contrary. Only *Ali* and *Isander Baffa* (both defended of the

1487.  
*Bajazet* purposed to destroy the Janizaries.

Honourable

Honourable Family of *Michael Ogli* diffused him from attempting any such thing; alleging first, That the Janizaries were in number many, Souldiers of great courage and experience, resolute men, and such as would sell their lives dear; Then, admitting that he should kill all them about the Court and in *Constantinople*; yet for as much as all his strong Towns and Castles, especially in the Frontiers and chief places of his Dominions, were possessed and holden by strong Garrisons of other Janizaries, Fellows and Friends of these (who would undoubtedly take up Arms in defence of themselves, and revenge their dead Friends) it was a thing very like to endanger himself together with the whole State of his Empire, beside the great dishonour which would grow unto himself thereby for ever.

This so dangerous an Exploit, wherein the hands of so many were to be used, was not kept so secret, but that the vigilant and wily Janizaries had got an inkling thereof; and thereupon began daily more and more to suspect the matter, both by the often and secret repair of the great Men to the Court, more than they had before seen, and also by the unwonted multitude of those *Acamzijs*, which were daily brought unto the Imperial City by great Troops. Wherefore fearing to be suddenly surprized, they banded themselves together, and openly stood upon their Guard; and by chance lighting upon *Ali Beg* as he came from the Court, was indeed their first friend after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious and contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conspired their destruction; and without more ado had presently slain him, had he not (as a well spoken man) with great Protestations and Oaths persuaded them, that he never consented to any such thing, or that they needed to fear any such thing from him; and so with much ado rid himself out of their hands.

*Bajazet* seeing his purpose discovered, and that he could not without great bloodshed, and danger both to his Estate and Person, work his will upon the Janizaries; by the counsel and advice of them that saw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open Proclamation, That the Janizaries and other his Men of War (of whom he had a great Power now assembled at *Constantinople*) to be in readiness against a certain prefixed day, to go with him into *Moldavia*; as if he had raised that Power for that purpose only. But when the time was come that he should set forward, the Janizaries put themselves in order of battle by themselves, and would in no wise joyn themselves with the rest of the Army, or receive the Emperor into the midst of their ranks, as they had always before accustomed; but furiously flinging their Weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had sought their destruction; and bid him therefore if he thought it so good, to set his Executioners to work upon them, whom he should find both ready and able to defend themselves. To pacify their fury, *Bajazet* was glad to give them good words, and to use all the means he could (by his great Baffes and other Captains which were able to do any thing with them) to persuade them to be quiet, swearing unto them by the holy Soul of his Father (a solemn Oath amongst the Turks) that he would not harm or wrong the meanest of them. So with much ado they were at length appeased, and received *Bajazet* unto the midst of them, as their wonted manner was.

This dangerous Tumult so quiesced, *Bajazet* set

forward, and passing over *Danubius*, entered into *Moldavia*, where he first laid siege to a strong Town standing upon the Eunice Sea, called of the Turks *Kele*, but in ancient time *Abelille*, which was at length delivered unto him by composition. From thence he went to *Acgerim*, otherwise called *Alphacron*, which after a months siege was also delivered up by Composition; which two strong places he won, he returned again to *Constantinople*.

Many great Princes desirous of *Zemes*, laboured by their Embassadors to have obtained him the Great Master of the Rhodes; first *Bajazet* his Brother, fearing lest he should at one time or other again break forth upon him, or else set up by the Christian Princes, trouble his Estate, offered great Sums of Money to have had him delivered into his hands; and *Charles* the French King purposing the Conquest of *Naples*, (which he in few years after performed) and after that to have invaded *Græcia*, thought *Zemes* a most fit Instrument for the furtherance of those his high Designs, and was therefore wonderful desirous to have had him. *Martin* also King of *Hungary* (a Fortunate Warrior against the Turk) persuaded that the having of him might be unto him a great furtherance in the course of his Victories, fought by all the means he could to have obtained him. At which time also *Innocentius* the eighth of that name, Bishop of *Rome*, no less desirous than the rest, to have in his keeping so great a pledge of Peace and War (the bridle of the Turks fury, together with the large Pension he was fure to receive yearly from *Bajazet*, by the safe custody of him) so wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Bishop of *Concordia*, his cunning Legate, that the Great Master, fearing on the one side to be constrained by the great Power of *Bajazet*, to grant that he had so often refused, and now so justly solicited on the other side by the Bishop, caused *Zemes* to be delivered to him at *Rome*, in the year 1488. for which doing he was by the Bishop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinal. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Bishop (who received from *Bajazet* a yearly Pension of forty thousand Ducats) remained in safe custody at *Rome* all the time of *Innocentius*; and also of *Alexander* the Sixth his Successor; until that the French King *Charles* the Eighth, passing through the heart of Italy with a strong Army against *Alphonse* King of *Naples*, in the year 1495, and making his way through the City of *Rome*, so terrified the great Bishop (who altogether favoured and furthered the Title of *Alphonse*) that he was glad to yield to such Articles and Conditions as pleased the King; and amongst the rest, to give in Hostage unto the King his graceless Son *Cesar Borgia Valentinus*, and also to deliver unto him *Zemes* his honourable Prisoner, as shall be afterwards in place convenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Bajazet* his Reign, whilst he was busied against his Brother *Zemes* in *Asia*, *John Castriot* the Son of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the *Venetians*, after he had fortunately overthrown the Turk in battle near unto *Croia*, recovered a great part of *Epirus* out of their possession. At which time also *John Chernovich*, a Christian Prince of *Albania*, calling off the Turkish yoke imposed upon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, suddenly took up Arms, and by the help of the *Venetians* valiantly repulsed the Enemies out of that part of *Albania*; and so troubled *Bajazet*, that he was glad to suffer him peaceably to enjoy all that he had by force recovered, and further to content himself with a small Tribute for the rest.

*Bajazet*

1486.  
Bajazet  
invades  
Caramania.

Bajazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom some call *Pyrame*) the King of *Caramania*, for aiding his Brother *Zemes* against him; in revenge thereof raised a great Army both in *Egyre* and *Asia*, and marching along *Asia* the left, through the Countries of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Carie*, *Lydia*, and *Pamphilia*, entered at length into *Caramania*. But the King of *Caramania* hearing before of his coming, and knowing himself too weak to meet him in the Field, fortified the strong Cities and Places of his Kingdom, and retired with his Army into the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus*, where it perchance *Cilicia* from *Syria*; whereas he was in more safety than in any of his strongest Holds. Bajazet finding no way to come to him, spent most part of the Summer in spoiling of the open Country; but perceiving his Enemies could not so be drawn into the Field, he laid Siege unto the famous City of *Tarsus*, being the chief City of the Champaign part of *Cilicia* (the native place of *Saint Paul* the Apostle) and in short time so battered the Walls of his City with his great Ordnance, that he had made them assailable. The Citizens considering the danger they were in, offered to deliver up their City, their Liberty, Lives, and Goods reserved. Of which their Offer Bajazet accepted, and most honourably performed his promise for their safety; not permitting any of his Soldiers to enter the City, more than such as must needs for the guard of his Person, and safe keeping of the City. And for as much as Winter began now to grow faint, he dispersed his Soldiers into the Country Villages round about, not suffering the Country people to till or sow their Land, or to do any thing else which might turn to their profit or good; whereby they were enforced to yield themselves wholly to his devotion. The *Caramanian* King seeing his people daily fall from him, and fearing to be at length forsaken of his Soldiers also; in this his distress obtained Aid both of men and money from *Cypriote* the great Sultan of *Egyre*, and so with all the Power he could make, took the field with the first of the next Spring, fully resolved to try the fortune of a battle, although in strength and power he knew himself much inferior to his puissant Enemy.

A long and terrible battle between Bajazet and the King of Caramania.

Bajazet glad to see his Enemy so forward, speedily assembled his Army, and without delay offered him battle; which the *Caramanian* King refused not. So betwixt them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skillful Conduct of the Leaders, and exceeding Courage of the Soldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtful Victory and great Slaughter on both sides, new Supplies still coming on in stead of them which were slain. The day declining, the *Caramanian* King (whose fatal destiny had now appointed him unto his last work) seeing his wearied Soldiers rather overlaid with multitude, than vanquished by force, so begin to give ground unto their Enemies; courageously thrust forward with his Guard and other valiant Soldiers about him, with such fury, that he brake into the midst of his Enemies' battail; where being known, he was forthwith environed by the Turks, and so hardly charged on every side, that having his Horse slain under him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his own hand slain divers of his Enemies, he fell down dead in the midst of them. His Soldiers discouraged with his death, turned their backs and fled, and in flying were for the most part either slain or taken Prisoners. After this Victory, Bajazet speedily overran all that large Country, and without resistance in short time

brought under his Obedience all the Country of *Cilicia*.

There was at that time in that part *Cilicia* which is called *Trachea*, and lieth toward the Sea side, an ancient *Mahometan* Prince, who had under his Command most part of that Country, with the famous and populous City of *Scanderoon*, the chief place of his Residence. This Prince had of long time lived betwixt the Christian Kings and the Kings of *Caramania*, as neutral, still fearing the greater, but indeed loving neither; and had until then chiefly maintained his state by the Alliance he and his Ancestors continually held with the Kings of *Cyprus* and the grand Masters of the *Rhodes*. Against this Prince, the only one now left in *Asia* the left, not subject unto the Turkish Kings, began Bajazet now to turn his Forces; purposing before he proceeded any further, to make a full Conquest of the lesser *Asia*, and to make all sure behind him. Of which his purpose the Prince having knowledge, and wisely weighing his own small Power to withstand a puissant Enemy, offered by his Embassadors to deliver unto Bajazet his chief City of *Scanderoon*, with all the rest of his Territory in *Cilicia*, upon condition, that Bajazet should give unto him other Possessions for it, in some other part of *Asia* the left, to the like value. Which his Offer Bajazet accepted, and so became Lord of all the Sea coast, from the Straits of *Bosphorus*, unto the Confines of *Syria*.

After he had thus conquered *Cilicia*, with a great part of the Mountain *Taurus*, he defended into *Armenia* the left, and in short time brought under his Subjection so much of that Country, as also of *Cappadocia*, as was sometime belonging to the *Caramanian* Kings. When Bajazet had thus slain the *Caramanian* King, and subdued that most ancient Kingdom of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the Glory and Power of the *Ottoman* Kings, he left *Musapha*, one of his great Baffes, at *Iscion*, with his *Asian* Army, to keep in Obedience those new won Countries; and as a Triumphant Conqueror returned himself to *Constantinople*, where he was of his Subjects joyfully received.

After that Bajazet had thus enlarged his Empire with the Kingdom of *Caramania*, and was now become an unwelcome Neighbour unto the great Sultan of *Egyre* and *Syria*, he began to dwell in disdain against that mighty Prince, for that he had given Aid against him, first unto his Brother *Zemes*, and after that to the *Caramanian* King in these late Wars; of which wrong purposing to be revenged, he shortly after appointed one *Caragofa* Baffa his Lieutenant in *Asia*, with *Ishender* another of his great Captains, with a strong Army to invade *Syria*, then part of the great Sultan's Kingdom. These two great Commanders well appointed for the purpose, when they were come to the uttermost parts of *Cilicia*, the new bounds of Bajazet's Empire, were then to pass by the Confines of *Aladuleis* his Kingdom, before they could pass the great Mountain *Taurus* to come into *Syria*. This *Aladuleis* commanded as King over the rude and fierce people which dwell along that great and rough Mountain, and was then in League with the Sultan. He hearing of the approach of the Turks Army, with a great number of his Mountain-people, as in *Arabia*, in the Straits whereby the Turks must needs pass, of purpose to intercept them. *Ishender* marching in the Vanguard with a great number of the voluntary Soldiers called *Arantzij*, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing less, than to

1487.

be set upon by the Mountain King, before he was aware was come into the midst of his Enemies, and was by them so fiercely charged on every side for their places of advantage, that he there fled for their places of safety, and forsaking of the rest, which fought by flight to save themselves; *Michael-Beg* the eldest of the two being first bound, was slain by one of *Aladuleis* his Followers, whose Brother he had slain in that skirmish his Head being cut off, was by the commandment of *Aladuleis* carried to his Father *Ishender*, the more to grieve him; who disdainfully willed the Messenger not to show unto him, but to bid his Master eat it if he would. With which answer *Aladuleis* was exceedingly moved, nevertheless pitying the old mans misery, he shortly after let *Yasir-Beg* the younger Brother at liberty; but *Ishender* himself he sent Prisoner unto *Caititus* the great Sultan at *Cairo*, where he remained in prison five years after. *Caragofa* the Baffa discouraged with the loss of so great a man, retired with his Army back again into *Cilicia*, and from thence advertised Bajazet what had happened, by whom he was commanded to return to *Constantinople*, as a man unfit for so great an enterprise.

1488. The next Spring following, Bajazet constant in his former resolution for the invasion of *Syria*, sent *Aladuleis* another of his Baffes, with a far greater Army than had *Caragofa*, against the Sultan; who was no sooner come to the further part of *Cilicia*, but he was there at a place called of the Turks, *Tancur Ova*, encountered by the Egyptians and *Arabians*, who there in a great Battel overthrown; wherein he himself fighting most valiantly, lost two of his Fingers, and being taken Prisoner was sent to *Cairo*.

1489. Bajazet with this overthrow rather incensed than discouraged, made great preparation the next year against the Sultan both by Sea and Land, such as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readiness, sent *Alis-Baffa* (of some called *Calibus*) and *Cherlogofa* his Son in Law, two notable Captains, with a great and puissant Army by Land, against the Egyptian Sultan; at which time he requested of the *Venetians*, with whom he was then in league, That he might by their good leave, as occasion required, refresh his Fleet (then ready to put to Sea for the invasion of *Syria*, as he said) in their Island of *Cyprum*. Which his request was as the general consent of the Senate denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their State; yet with doubting lest Bajazet taking that denial in evil part, should feel provoked to by force, which he could not obtain by request, they presently sent *Franisco Priolo* their Admiral, to Sea with thirty Gallies for the defence of that Island. He hearing that one Fleet of the Turks Gallies, lately come out of *Hellepontus*, lay hovering at the Island of *Scirus*, expecting a far greater from the Coast of *Ionia*; and carefully considering how secret and sudden the Turkish designments were, although it was given out, that all this great preparation was made against the Sultan; yet to provide that they should not suddenly surpris the Isle, he speedily sent sundry Companies of Soldiers, especially Archers, out of *Crete* into *Cyprum*, for the better defence thereof; but staid himself with his Fleet at the Island of *Naxos*, that so at hand he might be the readier to withstand whatsoever the Turks intended. But when he saw forward, that all their Fleet was met, and now drew forward, he hoisted sail, and held his course directly for *Cyprum*. In the mean time the Turkish Fleet sailing along the Coast of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*,

kept on their course until they came upon the Coast of *Syria*; by which time *Calibus* and *Cherlogofa* were come with a mighty Army into *Cilicia*, near unto the Mountain *Taurus*. *Caititus* the Egyptian Sultan having before had certain intelligence of the great preparation that Bajazet had made against him, had before sent *Ugha* a most valiant and politique Captain, with a strong Army of his Manalukes and other his most expert Soldiers into *Syria*, to be ready at all times to withstand the Turks. This worthy Chieftain understanding of the coming of the Turks Army, thought it greater policy, to carry the calamities which always wait upon great Armies, into the Enemies Country, than to retreat it into his own Bofom. And therefore although he knew himself to be for number far inferior unto his Enemies, yet supplying that confidence he had repoled in the approved and invincible force of his Manalukes, he expected not the coming of the Enemy into *Syria*, but passing over the Mountain *Amanus*, and so descending into *Cilicia*, met him not far from *Tarsus*, in the same place (as it was thought) where *Alexander the Great* had long before in a great Battel vanquished *Darius*.

These two puissant Armies come from far out of divers parts of the World, the one to find the other, were no sooner come together, but that with like cheerfulness they joynted Battel; and that with such violence and fury, that the Earth seemed to tremble under their Feet, and the Earth seemed destruction threatened unto them all; which terrible and cruel Fight was maintained all that day with doubtful Victory, and exceeding Slaughter on both sides, the politique Generals relieving the most distressed parts of their Battels; and they likewise as men prodigal of their lives, resolutely offering themselves to all dangers. When this most dreadful Fight had in this fore endured the whole day, and many thousands of valiant men of late alive, lay now dead upon the ground, the approaching night brake off the Battel, and both the Armies fore wearied and weakened (but especially the Turks) retired to their Camps, where they rested that night.

But the Egyptian coming to their Camp, found all their Carriages with their provision of Victuals and other necessities quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as some write) the bordering People of that Country (for most part living upon robbery) had done in time of the Battel, to please the Turks; or as some others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatness of the Turks Army, and doubting of the Battel, fled away; and taking their way along the Sea side, fell into the hands of the Turks which were put on shore out of the Gallies, and so were of them spoiled. However it was, (for in so great uncertainty I dare not affirm) certain it is, that the Egyptians were fore troubled with the loss of their provision, fearing that if they should now stay longer in the Country, they should forthwith be driven to great extremities for want of necessities. Wherefore when they had evilly rested that night, the next day early in the morning they presented themselves in order of battel before their Enemies, braving them into the Field, and daring them to Battel. The Turks disdainful to see any prouder in field than themselves, after they had in goodly order ranged their Battels, set forward with Ensigns displayed against their proud Enemies. There began a most terrible and bloody Battel, fought with such desperate resolution, as

A long and terrible battle between the Turks and the Egyptians.

If they had solemnly vowed, either to overcome or die in the place where they stood. A man would have said, that the former days fury had been but a play in comparison of this; many valiant Souldiers covered with their dead bodies the same ground whereon they living stood, when they received the first encounter of their Enemies. Of both those great Armies none was seen to give ground, or once look back; as the Turks *Jemiscaris*, and the Egyptians *Mamelukes* (the undoubted strength of the greatest Mahometan Monarchs, Souldiers for their Valour much feared, and through the World renowned) there buckled together, and standing foot to foot spent the uttermost of their Forces one upon another; as if they would in that battle have made it known unto the World, which of them were known unto the better Souldiers. Whilst Victory stood thus doubtful, and the day was now far spent, *Ulug* the Egyptian General, with fifteen thousand valiant Horsemen (whom he had received for that purpose) gave a fresh Assault upon the Turks Squadrons, with fire force that they had much ado to keep their order, and began now to give ground; which was by and made good again by other fresh men speedily brought on by the Baffies. Then became the Battle more fierce than before, every man striving to the uttermost of his power, to tell his life unto his Enemies as dear as he could. In which manner of Fight all the rest of the day was spent, until that after the going down of the Sun, the darkness of the night coming fast on, they were glad for lack of light to break off the Battle, and to retire themselves into their Camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turks  
fly away  
by night.

The Turks Baffies taking view of the Army, and finding that of an hundred thousand fighting men which they brought into the Field, there was scarce a third part left, and most of them also maimed or hurt; and doubting to be set upon again the next morning by their resolute Enemies, fled away secretly the same night, leaving behind them for half their Tents well stored with Victuals and all other things needful. The Egyptians also having lost one half of their Army (which was at the first seventy thousand) and wanting their necessary provision, were retired also the same night into the Mountain *Taurus*, not knowing any thing of the Flight of the Turks. And some of the Souldiers passing quite over the Mountain without stay, into *Asia*, raised a report all over the Country as they went, that the Sultans Army was overthrowen, and that the Turks had got the Victory; so uncertain was the true knowledge of the event of that Battle, even unto them that were present therein. The Egyptians lying that night upon the side of the Mountain, had speedy intelligence from *Aladules*, of the flight of the Turks; which being also confirmed by his Espials to be true, he presently came down from the Mountain, and entered into the Turks Camp, where he found plenty of Victuals and of all other things needful for the refreshing of his Army.

*Aladules* the Mountain King, with the People called *Vasfaides*, by whose confines the Turks must needs in their return pass, robbed and flew many of them in their disordered Flight; and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying overtake by the Mamelukes, and slain with so great a slaughter, that of all that great Army of the Turks few remained alive to carry news home. *Calibius* and *Cherfogles* the Baffies, were in that flight both taken Prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Cayteibus* the Sultan, at *Caire*, with

eighteen Ensigns of the Turks Sanzachs, which are great men amongst them; having every one of them the regiment and command of some one Province or other, and are in degree next unto the Baffies.

Neither was the fortune of *Bajazet* his Navy at Sea, better than that of his Army at Land; for as it lay at rode upon the Coast of *Syria* at the mouth of the River *Orontes*, which runneth by the famous City of *Antioch*, his Gallies were by tempest and rage of the Sea put from their Anchors, and in the fight of their Enemies, swallowed up of the Sea; or else driven upon the Main, and there with the Surges of the Sea beaten in pieces. *Bajazet* not a little troubled with these losses both by Sea and Land, at length with much ado, by his Embassadors concluded a Peace with the Sultan, unto whom he reformed all such places as he had before taken from him; for which the Sultan delivered unto him *Calibius*, *Cherfogles*, *Alchmetis*, and *Ulug*, with all the rest of the Turks Prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

Shortly after this Peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mighty Princes, *Cayteibus* the Sultan died; who of a *Circassian* Slave, by many degrees of Honour, and by the favour of the *Mamelukes* his Fellows, obtained the rich Kingdom of *Egypt*, which he right worthily governed to his immortal praise by the space of two and twenty years; commanding at one time the great and rich Country of *Egypt*, with all *Africa* as far as *Cyrene*, *Wellward*; and *Judea* with the great part of *Arabia*, and all *Syria*, unto the great and famous River *Euphrates*, Eastward. In the later end of his Reign he (overcome with the importunity of his Wife *Dulrike*, an *Arabian* born, a Woman of an haughty Spirit) joyined his Son *Mahometus*, a young man of about four and twenty years old, with him in the Fellowship of his Kingdom; that so possessed of it his Father yet living, he might the better enjoy it after his death. Contrary to the custom of the *Mamelukes*, who of long time had not used to have their King by succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choice, immediately after the death of *Cayteibus* flew *Mahometus* his Son; and in few months after, four more, who one after another without their good liking had aspired unto the Kingdom; neither could they be contented, until such time as that they had according to their wonted custom set up a Sultan of their own choice.

About the same time that the aforesaid Peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometan Princes *Bajazet* and *Cayteibus*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation against *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*; giving it out, That after he had recovered that Kingdom, he would forth with thence invade the French Dominions in *Grecia*. Which great attempt the haughty King was endued to take in hand, by the persuasion of divers of his Nobility, but especially the solicitation of *Lodovius Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*; whereby the whole state of *Italy* was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sforza* himself, Author of those troubles, at last carried away by the French, miserably ended his days as a Prisoner in France. *Alphonfus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatness of the French King his Enemy, entered into a confederation with certain of the States of *Italy*, against the French, but especially with *Alexander* the Sixth then Bishop of *Rome*; for the better alliance whereof, he gave his bafe Daughter in Marriage to *Godfrey Burgie*, the Bishop's Son, and made him Prince of *Carmela*; his

1492.

A Peace concluded betwixt Bajazet and Cayteibus.

his other Son *Francis* he entertained also in great pay to serve him in his Wars. And by his Embassador *Pandionius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gave *Bajazet* to understand, what the French King had purposed against them both, requesting him to aid him with six thousand Horsemen and as many Foot, against their common Enemy, promising to give them honourable entertainment during those Wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Bishop sent *George Buciard*, a *Ligurian*, skilful in the Turkish Language, Embassador to *Bajazet*, to declare unto him with what great preparation, both by Sea and Land, the young French King (desirous of honour and enlargement of his Kingdom) was about to invade *Naples*; and then, with what great power (after he had dispatched his Wars in *Italy*) he purposed to pass over into *Grecia*; and that he had to that end earnestly travelled with him to have *Zemes* his Brother delivered into his hands, whom he desired to use as a most fit instrument for the troubling of his State and Empire, by reason of his many Friends; yet that his Holiness (having the French in distrust as a proud and ambitious People, as also of the State of *Italy* in general) had entered into a confederation with *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, with their united Forces to withstand that proud Nation, both by Sea and Land; wanting nothing more for the accomplishment thereof, than *Money*; by which means only, *Bajazet* might (as he said) provide for the safety of his Kingdom in *Grecia*, if he would put to his helping hand, to furnish them with *Money* for the entertainment of Souldiers; forasmuch as the City of *Rome* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, were the surest Walls of that side of the *Osman* Empire; if he not altogether refusing the charge, would not spare for a little cost to maintain the War rather in that foreign Country, than to receive it brought home to his doors, concluding, That it were much more commodious and safe with his Treasures to repress his Enemies in a strange Country afar off, than by dint of sword and plain battle in his own. A thing by experience well known, That they which have neglected and set at nought remote dangers, for sparing of charge, have afterwards been enforced with greater danger to receive the same into their own bosoms, when as they were become desperate and past remedy. *Bajazet*, who he had by his Espials and often Letters and Embassadors from *Alphonfus*, knew all this to be true, gave great thanks to the Bishop by his Embassador, for that he sitting in so high place, did so friendly and in so good time admonish him, both a Stranger and of a contrary Religion, of things of so great consequence; yet for answer, he willed him to return again unto his Master with one *Dautius* his Embassador, who should carry with him both *Money* and others his secret resolutions concerning those matters. Among other things given him in charge, was an Epistle written in Greek, wherein the barbarous King with great cunning perwaded the Bishop to poison *Zemes* his Brother; for indeed of a Religion altogether contrary *Verus Bajazet* stood in fear and doubt, lest he should by some chance escape out of the prison the troubling of his State. For the performance of this his request, he promised faithfully to pay unto the Bishop, two hundred thousand Ducats, and never after so long as he lived, to take up Arms against the Christians. Otherwise than had his Father *Mahomet*, and his Grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly Enemies unto the name

Alphonfus King of Naples, and Alexander Bishop of Rome, gave all of Bajazet against Charles the French King.

Bajazet sends Dautius his Embassador to Alexander Bishop of Rome.

of Christians never ceased by continual Wars to work their woe.

But *George* the Bishops Embassador, and *Dautius*, Jo. Rovere travelling towards *Italy*, and having about to have landed at *Ancona*, were boarded by Jo. Rovere Brother to *Julianus* the Cardinal (a man of great Treasure in those quarters) and clean cut of their *Roveres* and whatsoever else they had aboard. That the Bishop did owe him a great sum of money, due unto him for his good service done in the time of *Innocentius* his Predecessor, for which he now paid himself. Neither could the Bishop, much troubled with that injury, ever after recover one part thereof, although he threatened revengeance with Fire and Sword, and also sought for recompence of the *Venitians*, whom it concerned to have the Turks harmless in those Seas; for why, *Roveres* bearing himself upon the French, which were now upon coming, whose faction he Bishops thundering Curles and vain Threats, *Dautius* himself *Bajazet* Embassador being let on shore, was glad to go on foot to *Ancona*; and so thence passing up the River *Padus*, came to *Franciscus Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantua*, of whom for (the ancient Friendship betwixt him and *Bajazet*) he was courteously entertained and furnished both with *Money* and Apparel, and so spoiled returned into *Grecia*, to carry news unto his Master how he had sped.

When *Bajazet* understood by *Dautius*, the evil success he had in his late journey, he forthwith sent *Adolphus* one of the Baffies of the Court, unto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before given to *Dautius*; who with better hap arrived in *Italy*, and came to *Rome* in safety; where he forgot no part of that was given him in charge by his great Master. But amongst many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

At the same time, which was in the year 1495, the French King *Charles* the Eighth of that name, passing through the heart of *Italy* with a strong Army against *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*; and taking his way without leave through the City of *Rome*, so terrified *Alexander* the Bishop, who (as we have before said) altogether favoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cause of *Alphonfus*; that he was glad to yield to all such Articles and Conditions as it pleased him then to demand, not purposing in himself at all the performance of any of those things, which for fear he had with great solemnity promised, as the sequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was enforced to give unto the King his graceless Son *Cesar Burgie* *Palatinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises; Which disgrace the crafty old Bishop fought to cover, by giving his Son with the title of his Legate; and with him, he was also enforced to deliver *Zemes* the Turk, *Bajazet* Brother, his honourable Prisoner; who to the great profit of the Bishop and his Predecessor, had remained in safe custody at *Rome* about the space of seven years. But *Zemes* within three days after he was delivered to the French, died at *Cajeta*, being before his deliverance poisoned (as it was thought) with taste of powder of which he was not so much as but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death; which pleasant poyson, *Alexander* the Bishop, skilful in that practice (corrupted by *Bajazet* Gold, and

1495.

Zemes delivered into the hands of Alexander Bishop of Rome.



envying to great a good unto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* used to temper the Water which he commonly drank. His dead Body was not long after sent to *Bajazet*, by *Mulapha* his Embassador, who to the great contentment of his Master, had thus contrived his death with the Bishop. Not long after, this dead Body so far brought, was by the appointment of *Bajazet*, honourably interred among his Ancestors at *Pusfa*. *Cesar Borgia* also the Bishops Son, a little before given in hostage unto the French King, deceiving his Keepers at *Velitras*, returned again to *Naples*. This wicked, low cunning, and evil brain, not worth the remembrance but by way of detestation (the very monster of Nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, envying at the honour of *Camdianus* his Brother, who then was General over the Bishop his Fathers Forces, which were at that time great; when he had one time merrily supped with his said Brother, with their Mother *Vannotia*, traitorously caused him to be unawares murdered in the Streets as he was going home, and his dead Body to be cast into the River of *Ther*. Then calling off his Priestly Habit with his Cardinals Robes, he took upon him the leading of his Fathers Army in his Brothers stead, and gave himself wholly to Martial Affairs; a vocation best fitting his fierce and bloody disposition; and with exceeding Prodigality, wherever he exhorted his Fathers Coasters and the Treasures of the Church, bound fast unto him desperate Ruffians and Souldiers (especially *Spaniards*, his Fathers Country men) such as he knew fit to serve for the execution of his most horrible devices. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet the old Hypocrite his Father winked thereat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himself, when it should serve for his himself, and that he was become a terror to all the Nobility of *Rome* and the Seigniories thereabout, he by the advice and help of his Father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first drove the most honourable Family of the *Colonnij* out of the City, and afterwards out of *Latium*; and by most execrable Treachery, poisoned or killed the honourable Personages of the great Houses of the *Ursini* and *Casani*, taking to himself their Lands and Possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time four Noblemen of the *Camertis*; and drove *Guido Feltrius* out of *Urbis*. He took the City of *Paviam* from *Yo. Sforza*, who with much difficulty escaped his bloody hands; and drove the *Malatestas* out of *Ariminum*. The great Lady *Katharine Sforza* he thrust out of *Forum Livij* and *Forum Cornelij*, and shamefully led in triumph through *Rome*. And never satisfied with blood, which he without measure shed, he took the City of *Ferentina* from *Affor Adamfredas*, a young Gentleman of rare piety; whom after the heady Tyrant had most horribly abused against Nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead body to be cast into *Ther*. Having thus filled the measure of his iniquity, and as a fretting Canker, having either devoured or driven into exile most part of the *Roman* Nobility, and purposing by the supplantation of his Father, to make himself Lord and Sovereign both of the City, and of all *Latium*, in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the most High attached and cast down, and that by such means as he least feared; for being with his Father at a solemn Supper in the *Pav-*

The cruel  
life of Ce-  
sar Bor-  
gia.

cam, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certain rich Cardinals and some other honourable Citizens, they were both poisoned by the fatal error of one of the Waiters, who mistaking of a Flaggon, gave the poisoned Wine to the accused Bishop and his Son, which was prepared for the Guests; whereof the old Bishop in few days after died. But his Son who had drunk the same with Water, although he died not of an long time after, yet presently fell into such an extreme sickness, that he was not able to help himself, or to command his desperate Followers, whereof he had great store; but lying sick, he shut up himself of them forsoke, and two of his Enemies, *Pius* the Third, and *Julius* the Second, one after another sitting in his Fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enjoyed that Pontifical Dignity but sixteen days; and *Julius* succeeding him, caused this *Cesar Borgia* (who of right had deserved a thousand deaths) to be shut up in the Castle called *Mole Adriani*, from whence he set him at liberty upon the delivery of certain strong Holds which were yet holden by his Garrison. After he had thus rid himself out of *Julius* the Bishops hands, he fled to *Offia*, and so by Sea to *Naples*; where he was by the commandment of *Ferdinand* King of Spain, apprehended by *Gonsalvus* the Great, and transported into Spain, for fear lest he, being of a most troublesome Nature, and much reformed unto by his old Favourites, should raise some new stir in *Italy*. He was no sooner arrived in Spain, but he was cast into Prison in the Castle of *Medina*, where after he had ten three years he deceived his Keeper and with a Rope which he had gotten, let himself down from an high Tower of the Castle; and so escaping, fled to the King of *Navar*, whom he afterwards served in his Wars, and was in an hoc skirmish against the Kings Enemies (wherein he had obtained the Victory) slain with a small shot. Unwounded after in many battles and victories, to have ended his days so honourably. His dead Body was found stript, and so brought unto the King upon a bad Beast, as if it had been a dead Calf all naked; which was by his commandment honourably buried at *Pamphilona*.

But to return again from whence we have something too long with this troublesome Body gone astray. The French King having thus lost both his great Hostages, *Zemes* the Turk by death, and the Cardinal *Borgia* by escape, held on his journey towards *Naples*; and with wonderful success prevailed as he went, all places yielding unto him without any great resistance. *Alphonso* seeing himself destitute of such aid as he had in vain required both of the Turkish Emperor and of the *Venetians*, and now almost beset with his mighty Enemy, to whom so many strong places had in shorter time been delivered than any man had before imagined; and withal considering with himself, how that he had lost the hearts of his Subjects (the strongest defence of Princes) for that most of the Nobility, and especially the *Napoletons*, hated him for his too much severity in punishing the Offenders in the late Rebellion, wherein the Princes of *Sarno* and *Salerno* were chief; and the common People were no less offended with the grievous and heavy exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these Wars, informing that their murmuring Speeches came oftentimes to his own hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the Subjects against their Princes, which hath for fear of long time been diffembled during their prosperity, more frankly and severely breaketh out in their declining estate; for these causes, *Alphonso* fearing to be forsaken of his People, as a man in despair, with

The death  
of Cesar  
Borgia.

The French  
King's  
vanish  
Naples.

with abundance of tears openly in the sight of all the *Napoletons*, reigned his Kingdom of *Naples* to his Son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely reigned one whole year after the death of *Ferdinand* his Father; and with four Gallies passed over to *Macerus*, a City of *Cicilia*. His Son *Ferdinand* a Prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the virtues of true Nobility, and thereto dearly beloved of all the People was to the wonderful contentment of the *Napoletons* with great joy and acclamations fluted *Kings*; and having performed all the Ceremonies owing to his Coronation, returned presently to his Army. By this time the French King with all his Forces was entered far into the Kingdom of *Naples*; and having taken by Assault certain Cities which trusted too much to their own strength, struck such a general terror into the minds of the *Napoletons*, that they thought no place now strong enough to abide his batteries, or power sufficient to abide his Forces. *Ferdinand* the young King with his Army had taken the Straits of the Forreist of *S. Germane*, thereby to impeach the further passage of the French King. But whilst he was there buied, he was suddenly advertised, that *Fabrizius Colonna* with a great power of Frenchmen, had by the *Appennins* broken into *Campania*, and so was marching towards him; wherefore doubting to be shut up betwixt two strong Armies of the Enemies, he retired speedily to *Capua*, a strong City situate upon the River *Vulturnus*; purposing thereby by means of that deep River, to stay passing from the French King. But whilst he lay there, news was brought unto him, That all the City of *Naples* was in an up-rore, and that the Citizens were all up in Arms, as men in doubt which way to turn themselves. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with these bad news, commended the charge of his Army and the defence of the City of *Capua* to his eldest Son *Alphonso*, and rid himself in post back again to *Naples*.

Ferdinand  
depart  
from Ca-  
puia to  
assist at  
Naples.

It is a strange thing to tell, what a sudden alteration ensued upon his arrival there; for suddenly all the tumult was appeased, every man laid down his Arms, and welcomed him with a general gratulation; for he was a man of a great and invincible Courage, and of so comely a Personage, as might easily win the hearts of his Subjects; inasmuch, that when he earnestly requested them, that they would not traitorously betray him to his barbarous and cruel Enemies, being their natural King, or rather their Brother born and brought up amongst them; they all with one consent answered, That they would spend their Lives and Goods in his quarrel, so long as he should keep his Army whole, and defend the City of *Capua*; but if it should so chance that the *Aragonians* should be overthrown, or else for fear abandon that City, and the French King, as *Victor*, to approach the City of *Naples*, he should do both against his Person and Kingdom, by exchanging Fidelity and Allegiance of his Subjects, apprehended with so just a fear, he should expose that noble City with the fruitful Country thereabout, to be spoiled and destroyed by a merciless and cruel Enemy. Whilst *Ferdinand* was thus busied in appealing and confirming his wavering Subjects to *Naples*, the French King had taken his way to *Naples*, where he was come before *Capua*. The Citizens of *Capua* although they were always well affected to the *Aragonian* Kings, yet seeing the French King as a most violent Tempest to bear down all before him, began now to consult amongst themselves of yielding up the City; whereunto they were the more ready to be forced by the sudden revolt of the great Captain *Trivul-*

sius with his Followers; as also by the departure of *Virginus* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous Commanders, who seeing themselves forsaken of *Trivulsius*, fled with their Companies unto the City of *Nola*. In this discomfiture of King *Ferdinand*'s Army, the Frenchmen had entered into the Suburbs of the City; which thing *Gothofredus* and *Gaspar* (two valiant German Captains) beholding, sallied with their Companies out of the City, of purpose to abate the pride of the French, and to confirm the doubtful Citizens. These worthy Captains when they had with exceeding Valour repulsed the French, and thought to have again returned into the City, could not be suffered to enter, but were by the Citizens shut out of the Gate, in danger to have had their Throats cut by the Enemy. In which perplexity they were glad upon their knees to intreat the cowardly Citizens standing upon the Walls, not in such a traitorous manner to betray their Friends ready in their defence to bestow their lives; and with much intreating, at length obtained of those heartless men, that they might by ten and ten in a Company be received in at one Gate of the City, and so put out at another, fasting from the danger of the Enemy; in which fort when they had passed through the City, they took the way towards *Naples*; and upon the way met with the King at *Aversa*, unto whom they declared all that had happened in his absence at *Capua*; who although he saw his Army dispersed, and all things now desperate, yet went he on forward, and came to the very Gates of the City, where he called upon divers of the chief men of the City, requiring to be let in. But when he saw there was none to give him answer, and an Ensign of the French King displayed upon the Wall, in token that the City was become French, he returned to *Naples*; where he found the Gates now shut against him, and all the Citizens up in Arms, and not willing to receive any of the Souldiers which came from *Capua*, more than the King himself; for flying Fame preventing his return, had filled every corner of the City with report, That all the chief Captains of his Army were either gone over to the Enemy, or else for safeguard of their lives fled; That the whole Army was broken up, and *Capua* yielded to the French. Wherefore the *Napoletons* framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now also to lawn upon the good fortune of the French, and to have King *Ferdinand* in contempt; which he well perceiving, and feeling a compass farther off from the City, came unto the Castle, whereinto he was received with his Followers by his faithful Captains therein before left. But providently foreseeing that he could not there long stay, but that he should be besieged by his Enemies both by Sea and Land, he commended the keeping of that Place unto *Alphonso D'avalos*, a most valiant Captain, and departed himself with 20 Gallies well appointed unto *Astunaria*, an Island not far from *Naples*, having in it a commodious Harbour and a strong Castle; where Fortune, never firm but in misery, seemed again to deride the poor remainder of his Honour; for coming thither, the Captain of the Castle, unworthily named *Taffus*, forgetting his duty towards his Sovereign, of whom he had before received many extraordinary favours, most traitorously now in his so hard distress took the Gates of the Castle against him at his landing, and unkindly refused to receive him. With which unexpected ingratitude, the poor King was wonderfully perplexed and almost abused; yet with earnest intreaty and ample commemoration of the benefits and premisses which both his Fa-

ther

ther and himself had in times past bestowed upon him, he prevailed so much with this unthankful man, that he was content to receive him into the Castle, so that he would come but himself alone; of which his offer, when no more could be got, the King seemed to accept. So the Captain having opened the Gates, the States were in the very entrance thereof suddenly laid to the heart with a Dagger by King Ferdinand and slain in the middle of his armed Soldiers; which was done with such a Countenance and Majesty, that the Warders with their Weapons in their hands, dismayed with his look, forthwith at his commandment opened the Gates, and received him in with all his Followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the Countenances of Princes rests a certain Divine Majesty, in all Fortunes above the common curse of Nature; which is of power to daunt the Hearts of most disloyal Traitors in the performance of their unnatural Treasons. The next day after the departure of King Ferdinand from the Castle of Naples, Charles the French King was received into the City, with much Pomp, Triumph and Acclamation of the Neapolitans, as if they had even then by the benefit of that foreign King, been restored to perfect Liberty, and delivered out of so long and hard Bondage. Shortly after, the Castle of Naples, with all the strong places thereabout were yielded unto the French, and Embassadors sent from all the Princes and People of that Kingdom, yielding themselves into the power of the French King. Then Ferdinand seeing all lost and gone, departed from *Avanzo*, where he lay expecting the event of his hard fortune, and failed into *Cicilia*. Thus the House of *Aragon* in less than five months, lost the Kingdom of Naples, about sixty three years after it was first taken from the French by *Alphonfus* the elder, this Ferdinand his great Grandfather.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this War, had long before filled the Ears of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks Dominions in Europe; but when they saw the French Ensigns displayed upon the Walls of the Castles, and strong Towns along the coast of Calabria and Salerno, such a sudden fear fell upon the Turks Garrisons along the coast of *Epirus* and Macedonia on the other side of the *Adriatic*, over against that part of Italy, that many of them forsook their charge; the Christians in those places, as also in *Grecia* and *Peloponnesus*, beginning then to lift up their heads in hope of their deliverance, and to make the best preparation they could to joyn with the French against the Turks; but especially the rough and wild People inhabiting the high Mountains called *Aerocbraunij* in the borders of *Epirus*, who presently took up Arms, refusing to be any longer tributary unto the Turkish Empire.

This prosperous and speedy success of the French King in the conquest of Naples, filled the minds of most of the Christian Princes, as also of the Turkish Emperor, with a doubtful expectation, whether his greatness would grow; many being of an opinion, that he covertly affected the empire of *Rome*, and to make himself the sole Monarch of Italy. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Bishop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperor. *Bajazet* also feared much lest he should upon the sudden turn his Forces into *Epirus* or *Grecia*, to his no small inquietude. And *Ferdinand* the second King of Spain, was no less careful for the safety of *Spain*; *Lodovicus Sforzia* also (shortly after created Duke of Milan, the chief occasion of the French Kings coming into Italy, and a great aider of him in

those Wars) now to consider better of the matter, and to stand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceived to make small reckoning of his word or promise, so that he might thereby enlarge his Dominions. And the *Venetians*, who in all these Wars had stood looking on as neuterers (in hope that when the *Aragonsians* and French had with long Wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleasure share out something for themselves) were now in doubt with the rest of the States of Italy to lose some part of their own Territory; for now there was no Prince or State in Italy able to oppose them, whereas against the French, but stood all as it were at his devotion.

Wherefore the aforesaid Princes, namely *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Ferdinand* King of Spain, *Alexander* Bishop of Rome, the State of *Venice*, and *Lodovicus Sforzia*, Duke of Milan, for the more assurance of their Estates, by their Embassadors speedily sent from one to another, concluded a strong League among themselves; whereof the chief Capitulation was, That if any of these Confederates should upon their own accord make War upon any other Prince, they should do it upon their own charges; but if any of them should chance to be invaded by any other, that then every one of these Confederates should of their own charge send four thousand Horse and ten thousand Foot in aid of their Confederates so invaded, until the Wars were ended; which League was to endure for twenty years. The fame of this League was welcome to many other Princes, but especially to *Ferdinand*, who now feared nothing more, than the Forces of the French, and had therefore offered unto the *Venetians*, to aid them both by Sea and Land against the French, if their Affairs should so require. This League so much pleased not other Princes, but it troubled the French King more, as of purpose made against him; although it was by the Confederates pretended to be made only for their own safety. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his best Captains with strong Garrisons in all the Cities and strong Holds of the Kingdom of Naples, and left *Mompaner* his Viceroy in the City of Naples, and with the rest of his Army returned into France, purposing by the way as he went to terrify the dissembling Bishop, so if it were possible to draw him from the League; and afterwards to deal with *Sforzia* and the rest as he might. But when he was come near unto Rome, the Bishop for fear led out of the City to *Perugia*, intending from thence to have fled to France, if the French King should have further pursued him. The Bishop deceived of his purpose, in peaceable manner entered the City, and there staid three days, and so departed; using violence against none, but against such as were well known to be of the *Aragonsian* faction.

From Rome he marched to *Pisa*; and so with much pain passing the *Apennines*, was at the River of *Tarnus*, not far from *Farma*, sent upon by *Franciscus Gonzaga* Duke of *Montua*, General of a great Army which the *Venetians* and *Sforzia* had raised upon the sudden to have stopped his passage; in which Battle he was in great danger to have been taken or slain, and to make himself, with all the rich Spoil gotten in the rich Kingdom of Naples; yet having at length with great slaughter valiantly repulsed his Enemies, he afterwards returned in safety home.

About the same time that this Battle was fought at *Tarnus*, the young King *Ferdinand* had fled out of his Kingdom by the River *Adria*, and returned again out of *Cicilia* to Naples; where he was joyfully received of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his Friends (but especially of the great

Gonfalvus

*Ferdinand* recovered his Kingdom of Naples from the French, and died.

*Gonfalvus*, sent in his aid by *Ferdinand* King of Spain) in less than a years space recovered the Kingdom of Naples from the French, and then dying without issue left the same to his Uncle *Federicus*. Wherein the uncertainty of worldly Honor, the chief felicity of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one Kingdom the chief Government was six times changed in less than the space of three years: for first *Ferdinand* the elder reigned, let that Kingdom and to his Son *Alphonfus*, at such time as the French King was making preparation for those Wars: *Alphonfus* despairing of his own Forces, resigned the Kingdom to his Son *Ferdinand*, when he had scarcely reigned fully a year: *Ferdinand* in less than three months was driven quite out of Italy by Charles the French King: Charles possessed of the Kingdom, in short time after was again dispossessed by the same *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* having with much trouble thrust out the French, died within less than a year: After whom succeeded *Federicus* his Uncle, no less unfortunate than the rest: and Charles the French King himself lived not long after, but died suddenly as he came from playing at Tennis, being then but seven and twenty years old, leaving the flourishing Kingdom of France; with the troublesome Title pretended to the Kingdom of Naples, unto *Lewis* his successor, who lived with great trouble to Conquer the same, and with greater grief to lose it again.

But to return again to the course of our History, from whence the great Occurrences of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpose) have a little too far led us. *Bajazet* delivered of two great fears, first by the death of his Brother *Zemas*, and after by the calling out of the French out of Naples, began now to turn his Forces upon the Christians, and by his Lieutenant *Bail-bey* Santzack of *Silivria*, invaded the Countries of *Podolia* and *Russia*, being part of the Kingdom, where the Turks did great harm, and carried away many Prisoners. But coming again the second time, and making such like spoil as before, they stayed so long, that the cold of Winter (which in those Countries is very extreme) was now come on; and in their return as they were about to have passed through *Madavia*, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Country, denied both passage and victuals, and forced to take the way along the River toward the west, where many of them starved from their Army, by the way cut off and slain by the *Moldavians*; and the rest, what by the extremity of the cold, what for want of food, and foulness of the way, perished, so that of that great Army very few returned home. The Turks Historians report, that in this expedition were lost forty thousand Turks.

He sent also *Cadumet* one of his Baskies into *Illyria*, who spoiling that Country, with a part of Croatia, was encountered by nine thousand *Croatians* and *Hungarians* near unto the River *Morava*, under the leading of Count *Bernard Francopans*, where after a cruel and bloody Fight, the Christians were put to the sword, and above seven thousand of them slain; the rest saved themselves by flight through the Mountains and Woods. Of the Christians that were lost, many were drowned in *Morava*, chusing rather to end their days, than to fall into the hands of their cruel Enemies. This overthrow was imputed to the *Croatians*, who would needs give the Turks Battle in plain Field, although he was earnestly entreated by Count *T. Torquatus* to have kept the Straits of that Country, whereby he might have had great advantage of the Enemy. *Torquatus* himself had

lost all his Horsemen in that Battle, and his Horse killed under him, fought valiantly on foot, until he was by the multitude of his Enemies oppressed and slain. The Baskia gave *Bajazet* a true testimony of the Victory, caused all the Notes of the slain Christians to be cut off and put upon strings, and so by Wagon sent them as a barbarous Present to Constantinople. After the death of Charles the French King, *Lewis* the Twelfth of that Kingdom having obtained that Kingdom, wrote himself also Duke of Milan, as descended of one of the Daughters of *Jo. Galeasius* first Duke of Milan; in which his supposed right he was fully resolved to make War upon *Sforzia* then Duke of Milan. And for his better success in those Wars, fought by all means he could, to draw some of the Princes and States of Italy into the Fellowship of that intended War; but above all others the *Venetians*, as most commodious for his purpose; with whom he made a firm League, and for the aid they were to give him, covenanted that they should have their share of the City of *Cremona*, with all the pleasant Country about *Adria*, then part of *Sforzia* his Dominion; which was afterwards accordingly performed.

*Sforzia* understanding of this compact made against him, and knowing himself far too weak of himself to stand against so puissant Enemies; attempted first to get *Maximilian* the Emperor, with the States of *Germany*, upon the French King. But that not forcing to his desire, he sought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his Dukedom of Milan, by paying him a yearly Tribute. After he had thus in vain proved all the means he could devise, to have appeased the French King, and provided for his own safety; he by his Embassadors sent of purpose, certified *Bajazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the *Venetians*, and that their purpose was after they had oppressed him, and some other of the States of Italy, then with their united Forces to invade his Dominions; and that therefore it were good for him in time to look unto it, and to give aid against those which would in short time become his most dangerous Enemies. By this means the Duke was in good hope, so to baffle the *Venetians* by bringing the Turk upon them, as that they should stand the French in small stead. At which time also the Embassadors of Florence did what they could to persuade the Turk to make Wars upon the *Venetians*; for the malice they bare against them for proceeding them of *Pisa* against the oppression of the *Florentines*.

*Bajazet* persuaded by the Embassadors, and calling to remembrance the injuries before done him by the *Venetians*; first by giving aid to *John Capris* the Son of *Sunderghy*, and *John Chrenich* another Prince of *Epirus* (whereby he lost a great part of that Country, and was also further enforced to yield to such conditions as altogether stood not with his honour) and again by denying to give his Fleet leave to put into their harbours of *Cyprus*, in the time of his Wars against the Sultan of *Egypt*, all which he was glad then to endure, for fear lest that his Brother *Zemas* (then living) should by their means be set up against him; promised now to do what the Embassadors had requested; glad in his mind that the discord of the Christian Princes had presented unto him to fit an opportunity of Revenge. Hereupon he made great preparation both by Sea and Land against the *Venetians*, and upon the sudden called *Scander Basha* his Lieutenant in *Illyria*, with twelve thousand Horse to break into the Country of *Friuli*, part of the *Venetian* Territory upon the frontiers of Italy. The Basha as he had

1499.

Friuli part of the Venetian Territory bordering on the Turks

had in charge, passing over divers great Rivers, at length entered the Country, burning and destroying all before him as far as *Liquentia*, carrying away with him all the poor Country People Prisoners. But when he was come to the Banks of *Tilaventum*, and understood that he came too late to please the Duke of *Milan* (for why, the French with the *Venetians* had before without resistance driven him quite out of *Italy* and *Germany*) he there, with more than barbarous cruelty put four thousand poor Prisoners to the Sword; and so having filled the Country with mourning and with blood, returned from whence he came, loaded with spoil of that rich Country.

At the same time also, *Bajazet* put to Sea such a Fleet as none of his predecessors had before set forth; and with a great Army in person himself marched along the Sea Coast of *Morea*, in such fort, as that his Army by Land, and his Fleet at Sea, as near as they could, kept even pace the one with the flight of the other. Neither were the *Venetians* unmindful of themselves, but set forth a strong Fleet under the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admiral; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for Equipage, Strength, skillful Mariners, and all other manner of warlike provision, much superior. For which cause the Turks, although defeated and braved by the *Venetians*, yet durst not at the first join with them in battle, but still kept along the coast of *Morea*, not daring to put further off into the Sea. In this their course the *Venetians* troubled them exceedingly, sometimes making less as if they would have constrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giving them chase, never departing far from them, yet by accounting it in the good service, if they could but keep that huge Fleet from landing in *Italy*, or other place of the *Venetian* Territory. Most men were in good hope, that if those great Fleets should have joined in battle, the *Venetians* should have had a notable Victory; for that the Enemy as afraid kept so dangerous a course, and so near the main. The longer they thus failed, the more was the State of *Venice* offended with their Admiral, that he contrary to all expectation, delayed to fight, and still suffered the dangerous Enemy to approach nearer and nearer their Territories; and there were none which had not rather he should have set all upon the hazard of one battle, than to protract by delay a long and doubtful War. Whilst all mens minds were thus in expectation of some great exploit to be done upon the Enemy, news came to the City, that the Turks Fleet had put into the Haven *Sapientia* in the Island *Sphragia*, to water, and was there embayed by the *Venetians*. This news was of more than joy to the City, as if the Victory had been already assured; and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed, that it would be gained without any great loss. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwhise, saying, That the place wherein the Enemy lay was deep, as that the *Venetians* attending at his pleasure depart thence. Yet forasmuch as the Turks Fleet was more subject unto danger in putting out of the Harbor, than in the wide Sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the *Venetian* Admiral would set upon them as they should come forth again. Whilst men were thus dividing too and fro, and the *Venetians* attending at his pleasure forth of the Enemies Fleet, it returned that *Andreas Laurdanus* and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant Gentlemen) but a little before come from *Coccyra*, of purpose to be present at the battle, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble Ships (after they had

changed a few Bullets) boarded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of such beauty and burthen, that the seemed rather a Castle than a Ship, whereof one *Baruch of Smyrna* (a notable Pirate) was Captain; who after a long and cruel Fight, perceiving that he must either yield, or by force be taken, desperately set fire on his own Ship, by the rage whereof both he and the *Venetian* Ships felt grappled unto her, were all three together burnt down to the Water. Many of the Men (to shun the violence of the Fire) leapt over board into the Sea, where some of them were taken up by the other Ships, and some perished. Some few other of the *Venetian* Fleet courageously assailed the Turks, and the winning out, and doing great harm; put the Turks whole Fleet in no small fear. But the most part of the *Venetian* Gallies lay looking on a far off, unto whom the other before in fight with the Turks, after they had done what they could, retired aloft. But by that they had done, it appeared plainly, that the *Venetian* Admiral that day let slip out of his hands a most notable Victory, if he as a resolute Man had with his whole Fleet charged the Enemy.

After this Fight the Turks held on their course, still keeping *Morea* on the right hand, whom the *Venetians* still followed; at length the Turks Fleet was come to the entrance of the Gulf of *Pateza*, where the *Venetians* again faintly setting upon them, suffered them to recover the Gulf; with no less dishonour than they had before let them escape at the Port *Sapientia*: for the *Venetians* having the advantage of the place, and better opportunity of fight, might easily (as it was supposed) have gained the Victory, if the Commanders (but especially the Admiral) had been so forward in the service as became Men of their place. But many of them afraid to Fight lay aloft, so that *Dauter* the Turks Admiral (who perceiving himself too weak, had purposed to run his Gallies to shore, and so to have fled to the Army at Land, if he had felt himself overcharged by the *Venetian* Fleet) was now contrary to his expectation recovered the Gulf he desired, though not without loss of some of his Gallies. Within this Gulf lieth the ancient City of *Naupactus* (now called *Lepanto*); then subject to the *Venetians*, whether *Bajazet* was then come by Land with his Army; and now by the coming of his Fleet into the Gulf, laid hard Siege unto the City both by Sea and Land. They of the City seeing themselves on every side beset with their Enemies, without any great resistance left to composition with *Bajazet*, and so yielded up to him the City, which the Turks held at this day.

*Grimani* the *Venetian* Admiral returning to *Venice*, was for all his evil service (or rather for that he, according to his mild nature, had not used severity against such Captains as refused to Fight) cast into Prison; and forasmuch as there was a Man mightily befriended, yet was he by a publick Decree Banished into one of the *Abissides*, Islands upon the Coast of *Liburnia*. From the first foundation of the City of *Venice* was never Man impugned with more spite, or defended by greater friends; but common hatred prevailing, he was nevertheless exiled; *Bajazet* having made a Republick of the *Venetian* Territory by *Scander Basha*, and taken from them the City of *Naupactus*, with the Country thereabout, returned with Victory to *Constantinople*.

The next year following, which was the year 1500, *Bajazet* put to Sea a greater and stronger Fleet

Lepanto yielded to the Turks.

Methone besieged both by Sea and Land by Bajazet.

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pilos, and Critium yielded to the Turks.

Fleet than he had the year before; and himself in person with a puissant Army of an hundred and fifty thousand men entered by the Strait of *Corinth* into *Peloponnesus*, and marching through the Country, came and incamped before the strong City of *Methone* (now called *Modon*) then under the Government of the *Venetians*; at which time his great Fleet met him there aloft by Sea, as he had before appointed. When he thus had beset the City both by Sea and Land, and with long and continual battery made three great and fair breaches in the Walls, he gave unto the same two terrible Assaults, and that with such desperate fury, that many of them which were first unto the breach, overthrowen by the press of them which followed, were trodden to death. Yet nevertheless the City was both times valiantly defended by the Citizens and Garriſon Soldiers; so that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retire from the Walls, having filled the Town-Ditches with the Bodies of his slain Turks. The *Venetian* Admiral *Trivisanus* lying at the Isle of *Zacynthus* (but far too weak to fight with the Enemy) in the beginning of the Siege sent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptista Polanus*, with two Gallies full of Men and Munition in relief of the besieged; and now doubting their further wants, sent *Jo. Marquis*, *Alex. Catius* of *Coccyra*, and *Casius* of *Hydruntum*, with three other great Gallies, with Men, Munition, and such other things as he thought needful for the defence of the City. These three resolute Captains coming with a full wind, and packing close to the Walls, broke through the Turks Fleet lying in their way, and then themselves aground under the Walls of the Town; for they of the Town had so barred the Haven for fear of the Enemy, that they could not at that way possibly get in. The Citizens and Soldiers joyful of the coming of this fresh Supply feared without delay that the Gallies should be set off again from them by the Enemy, came running by heaps from all parts of the City towards the Sea, to receive this new come Aid; which was done with such confused disorder, that divers places of the City towards the Land were left without Defendants, as if there had been no Enemy near. Which the Janizaries quickly perceiving, presently entered by those forsaken places with little or no resistance. Then the Citizens all too late began to make head; for the Janizaries already entered made way for the rest of the Army; which swarming into the City, slew without pity all that came in the way, as well *Greeks* as *Venetians*, with all the Soldiers, but even then newly landed out of the three Gallies. In this slaughter, *Antonius Fabius* and *Bardella* (Governors of the Town) with *Andreas Falco* Bishop of *Methone*, in his Pontificalibus and his Myre on his head, were slain; none escaped their fury, but such as were for their strength reared up on the Walls, and shot down by the Victors lust; and of these a thousand bodies fast together in long Ropes, were brought to *Bajazet's* Pavilion, and there in his sight by his commandment cruelly murdered. The Cities of *Corone* and *Pilos* (now called *Navarrinum*) sometime the dwelling place of old *Nestor*, terrified with the taking of *Amyclae*, yielded themselves by composition to *Bajazet*. This City of *Critium*, now known by the name of *Capri S. Galli*, was taken also by *Chegeles*, *Bajazet's* Son in law. All these were Cities belonging to the *Venetians*. *Naupactus* was also besieged by *Haly Basha*, but yet still defended by the *Venetians*. *Bajazet* having now fortified the City of *Methone*, and stored it with new Inhabitants, left in it a strong Gar-

riſon, and so with Victory returned to *Constantinople*. At this time *Trivisanus* the *Venetian* Admiral died of grief of mind, as some supposed; in whose place the Senate sent *Benedictus Pifaurius*, a noble and valiant Gentleman, who with the *Venetian* Fleet followed the Enemy, then departing from the Siege of *Naupactus*, pursuing them even unto the Straits of *Helleſpontus*, till cutting off such as straggled or tarried behind the rest of the Fleet; by which means he took above twenty of their Gallies, and in his return took from the Turks the Island of *Aegina*, and landing in divers places of the Turks Dominions, left unto them the awful remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Gonſalvus*, firamed the Great (sent by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to aid him against the Turks) at *Zacynthus*, he invaded *Cephalonia* (which *Trivisanus* his Predecessor had in vain attempted the year before) and laid hard Siege to the City; which was at length bravely defended by the Turks, yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonſalvus* it was by force taken, when as *Giflare* the Governor thereof, with his Garriſon of Turks had before fought it out even to the last man. The City being taken, all the whole Island yielded forthwith to the *Venetians*. *Pifaurius* having taken *Cephalonia*, repaired the City, and leaving a strong Garriſon for defence of the Isle, departed to *Coccyra*; where he was advertised, that the Turks were rigging forth a great Fleet against the next Spring, whereof the first part lay in the Bay of *Ambraſia*, not far from *Coccyra*; some of the rest within the Straits of *Helleſpontus*. Wherefore purposing to do some exploit upon those Gallies which lay in the Bay of *Ambraſia*, to avert the mind of the Enemy from perceiving of that he had secretly with himself intended, he sent the greatest part of his Fleet unto the Island of *Nerius*, who suddenly landing thence, put the Inhabitants in fear. The Captains first about the business, cheerfully put in execution what the Admiral had commanded, and by their sudden landing raised such a tumult, that all the Countries thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which should ensue thereof. The Bay of *Ambraſia* is so fringed on either side with the Mountains of *Epirus*, that the entrance thereof is but half a mile over; but by and by opening it fell into a great wideſs, and running up into the Land, maketh a most pleasant and safe Harbour for Ships and Gallies to ride in. *Pifaurius* with a fair Wind coming thither with eight Gallies well appointed, when the Turks thought him to have been at *Nerius*, and entering the Strait, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turks great Gallies, to the terror of all them that dwell round about the Bay, and carried with him eleven more, laden with Munition and Victual, through the Strait; the Turks in vain fearing thereof, and doing what they could with their great Ordnance from Shore to have sunk him going out of the Bay. But having done what he came for, he returned with his Prey again to *Coccyra*. Not long after he also recovered the Castle of *Pilos* in *Morea*; which, as it was suddenly gotten, so it was as suddenly lost; for *Jo. Cambray*, a notable Pirate of the Turks, who had been abroad seeking after purchase, putting into that Harbor by chance, took three Gallies thence, left by the Admiral for defence of the place, and so terrified the faint-hearted Captain, that he fell to composition with the Pirate, to yield him the Castle, so that he and his Soldiers might in safety depart; which the Pirate granting, had

1501.

Cephalonia taken by the Venetians.

Pilos taken by the Turks, and again yielded.

the Cattle delivered unto him, which he could not wish far greater strength have possibly won. So was *Pylos* for fear twice in one year yielded up unto the Turks; and was both times the death of the cowardly Captains which gave it up, being both beheaded by the commandment of the Admiral. About the same time, *Pifaurius* attempted to have burnt the other of the Turkish Gallies lying in the River *Euxine*, upon the coast of *Macedonia*; but not with good success as before; for the Turks, made more careful by the loss they had but a little before received at *Ambracia*, did now more vigilantly look unto their Gallies; so that when *Pifaurius* had in certain small Vessels, made of purpose for that service, embarked two hundred resolute Soldiers to have gone up the River to have fired the Gallies, they were by the way after they had entered a good way into the River, encountered by the Turks, and enforced to return. But before they could get out of the River, the wind rose so contrary, with such a stiff gale fall in the mouth of the River, that the Mariners overmastered with the violence of the Weather, when they had done what they could, and spent all their strength, were driven ashore, some on one side of the River, and some on the other, and so fell into the hands of their Enemies, of whom it booted not to crave mercy.

*Dyrachium* taken by the Turks.

About this time *Bajazet* took also the ancient and famous City of *Dyrachium*, now called *Durazzo*, from the *Venetians*; before ruinous, and almost quite abandoned by the Inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got the Country round about it. The *Venetians* fore professed with these Wars so long maintained against the Turk, had many times prayed Aid of other Christian Princes, and were well helped by the *Spaniards* in the taking of *Cephalonia*; and now *Lewis* the French King, upon a good devotion to that War, sent the Lord *Roxefin* with seven tall Ships and fifteen Gallies well appointed out of *Provence* and *Genoa*, to aid the *Venetians* his Friends. This Fleet departing from *Naples*, where they had by the way put in, and passing about *Italy*, and so through the *Ionian* Sea, came to *Melos* one of the *Cyclades*; at which Island *Pifaurius* with his Fleet in short time arrived also; from whence they by mutual consent departed together to invade the Island of *Leibos*; and being there safely arrived, landed their Forces, and laid siege to the strong City of *Mytilene*, where by the fury of their Artillery they in short time had made a fair breach in the Wall. In the time of this battery, whilst the breach was in making, *Pifaurius* with part of his Fleet failed to *Tenedos*; for it was reported, that certain of the Turks Gallies were then coming for that place out of *Hellepontus*. Which report, as some write, was of purpose given out by the French, thereby to draw the *Venetian* Admiral from the Siege, that so in the mean time they being in good hope to take the Town in his absence, might themselves carry away the honour thereof, together with the rich spoil. Others favouring the French, blame the *Venetian* Admiral, as if he had of purpose departed, envying at the honour of the French. Which is hardly to be believed in so honourable a Personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his Common-Weal. Howsoever it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the French presently assaulted; although that *Valentius* the *Venetian* Vice-Admiral, earnestly requested the French Admiral to defer the Assault for a while; and to expect the return of *Pifaurius*. Which his Counsel the French Admiral gave him

the hearing of, but yet went forward with the Assault. The Frenchmen after their manner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsed by the Turks; so that in the breach was made a deadly and most terrible Fight, many falling on both sides. Yet for all that, the City was manfully defended by the Turks, and the French men were enforced to retire. The French Admiral having taken this repulse, commanded all things to be carried aboard, purposing to have forsaken the Siege, and so to have departed; when in the mean time the *Venetian* Admiral returned, and with much ado persuaded the French to stay. Whereupon the battery was begun with much greater fury than before, and now the Leaders were confounding of a fresh Assault to be given, when suddenly news was brought, That the Turks Fleet was coming to relieve the City; and thereupon the Assault was for a time deferred and the battery continued. But those Turks which came, being in number but few, were for the most part by them in the Gallies taken and cast over board; some few that got to Land, saved themselves in the Woods and desert places of the Isle. By this time the City was again made assailable, and the *Venetians* with great Courage assailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the Rampiers, from whence they were again both times beaten down by the Turks, the French all the while looking on. Many valiant men were there slain and hurt, and in the end the *Venetians* were glad with loss to retire, as had the French done before. Whilst this was in doing, a Pinace came to the Fleet with news, That the Great Master of the *Rhodes* was coming with his Gallies, to the Siege; whereupon the Admirals determined to maintain the Siege until his coming. But the next day after, the French Admiral changing his purpose, shipped his men, and hofing fail departed to *Chios*; and falling thence towards *Italy*, was overtaken with a most terrible Tempest, wherein the Admiral Gally with two others were lost, with eight hundred good Soldiers, the Admiral himself with above forty others were by chance contrary to all hope saved, and with much danger with his Weather-beaten Fleet recovered the Haven of *Larentum*. The *Venetian* Admiral thus forsaken of the French, and seeing the time past wherein he expected the coming of the Great Master of the *Rhodes*, brake up the Siege and departed from *Leibos* to *Chios*, and from thence to *Paros*, where he found the Master of the *Rhodes* with his Gallies; unto whom he complained greatly of the inconstancy of the French, imputing it unto them, that the City of *Mytilene* was not won. Neither were they behind with him, but in every place where they came, laid the fault as much or more upon him. From *Paros* the *Venetian* Admiral took his course to the Island of *Melos*, where he found one *Richius* an Arch Pyrat of the Turks, who by force of Tempelt was driven on Shore, and by the sudden coming down of the Island people, taken him (for that he had exercised exceeding Cruelty upon certain Christians that he had taken) *Pifaurius* caused to be fast bound to a Spit, and with a small fire to be roasted to death. From *Melos* he returned to *Cyprus*, and there wintered. The next Spring *Pifaurius* with certain Gallies which *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome* had sent unto him, under the command of *Jacobus Pifaurius* Bishop of *Paphia*, failed to *Netis*, now called *S. Maura*, which is an Island parted from the firm Land with a little fret of the Sea, long time before that way led in by the *Corinthians*. Here *Pifaurius* suddenly landing his men, surprised the Island, and with wonderful celerity and industry

The Siege of Mytilene broken.

1502.

Netis taken by the Venetians.

1503.

A Peace concluded betwixt Bajazet and the Venetians.

cast up two great Trenches, in such sort, and to so good purpose, that the three hundred of the Turks *Horfemen* coming at a low water over that narrow Strait which parteth the Island from the Main, were with loss repulsed and forced to retire. Whereupon *S. Maura* the chief City was forthwith delivered unto *Pifaurius*, with the rest of the Island.

The *Venetians* weary of this long and chargeable War against so mighty an Enemy, sent *Lodovico* *Mantius* their Embassador to *Bajazet*, to treat with him for Peace; but *Bajazet* stood upon such hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Mantius* so discreetly used the matter, that *Bajazet* sent him at his return to *Venice*, his Embassador, to propound unto the Senate such Conditions as it pleased him to grant them Peace upon. This Embassador had audience in the Senate twice, where he in the name of his Master propounded such proud and unreasonable Conditions, that they were by the Senate rejected, and so he himself dismissed and sent back again.

The year following, the *Venetians* sent an Embassador to *Bajazet*, who moved with the pitiful complaints of his own Subjects, for the daily harms they received from the *Venetians* along the Sea Coast, as also for want of Trade; and fearing also some troubles like to arise in his Kingdom in *Asia* (as he had thereof heard) yielded himself more willingly to hear Peace, than before. This Embassador called *Zacharias* *Pbricius*, was well heard of *Bajazet*, and after long suit had brought the matter he came for unto some good terms: and being honourably rewarded by the Turkish Emperor, returned home, carrying with him unto the Senate far more reasonable Conditions of Peace than had at any former time before been by *Bajazet* propounded. Hereupon the *Venetians* shortly after sent *Andreas* *Gritti* (an honourable Senator) a man well known to *Bajazet* both for his famous traffique in former time at *Constantinople*, and also for that in these late Wars he was taken Prisoner at the winning of *Methone*, and his life spared at the intercession of *Chefoglies* (*Bajazet* his Son-in-Law) and afterward ransomed; he in the name of the State from whence he came, concluded a Peace with *Bajazet*. The Capitulations thereof were, first, That the *Venetians* should deliver up the Islands of *Netis* and *Leucadia*, referring unto themselves the Island of *Cephalonia* only. Then, That *Bajazet* should restore all such Goods as had been taken from the *Venetian* Merchants, in these late Wars; And that it should be lawful for them (as they were wont) freely to traffique into the *Euxine* Sea, and to *Constantinople*; and that they have their Consul or Governor as they had had in former time; And last of all, That the *Venetian* Territory should be certainly known, and separated from the Turks by certain Bounds and Limits. These Conditions were solemnly agreed upon, and confirmed both by *Bajazet* and the State of *Venice*; and so a firm Peace concluded in the year 1503, after the Wars had continued betwixt them about the space of five years.

The same year *Bajazet* assembled a great and puissant Army of his best and most approved Soldiers, as well in *Asia* as *Europe*, which met together at *Constantinople*, and there wintered, to have invaded *Hungary*; but worthily considering the success of that War against so warlike a Nation, he changed his purpose, and leaving *Archmetes* *Bajla* with his *Asian* Soldiers at *Sophia*, turned himself with the rest of his Army into *Albania* (to reduce thence the rebellious People again to his obedience) and had before sent his Fleet of Gallies to stop the passages of that Country

alongst the Sea Coast. But the Country People understanding of his coming, fled into the high and rough Rocks and Mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harm; who nevertheless with incredible labour and adventure, mounted those difficult places; and killing an exceeding number of those mountain and savage People, carried all the Women and Children they could light upon, away with them Prisoners; and with Fire and Sword made all the Country desolate. After which Spoil done, *Bajazet* returned with his Army to *Manisium*; and departing thence, upon the way met with a *Dervish* (which is a phantastical and beggarly kind of Turkish Monks, using no other Apparel but two Sheep-Skins, the one hanging before and the other behind) a lusty young fat Fellow, attired after the manner of his order, with a great Ring in each Ear; who drawing near unto *Bajazet*, as if he would of him have received an Alms, desperately assailed him with a short Scimitar which he had closely conveyed under his hypocritical habit. But *Bajazet* by the starting of the Horse whereon he rid (being afraid at the sudden approach of the *Hobgoblin*) partly avoided the deadly blow by the Traitor intended, yet not altogether un wounded; neither had he so escaped the danger, had not *Isander* *Bajla* (one of his *Horfemen*) come presently thence down the desperate Villain to hear what he was about to have doubled his stroke; but being thus struck down, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the soldiers. This treacherous and desperate fact so much moved *Bajazet*, that he prohibited all them of that superstitious Order, and banished them out of his Empire.

After so many troubles, *Bajazet* gave himself unto a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in study of Philosophy, and conference with learned men; unto which peaceable kind of life, he was of his own natural disposition more inclined than to Wars; albeit that the regard of his State, and the earnest desire of his Men of War, drew him oftentimes even against his Will into the Field. As for the Civil Government of his Kingdom, he referred it wholly unto his three principal Bishops, *Alia*, *Archmetes* and *Jachia*, who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After he had in this quiet and pleasing kind of life to his great contentment passed over five years, of a little neglected Spark suddenly arose such a Fire in *Asia*, as was hardly after with much blood of his People and danger of that part of his Empire quenched; the reliques whereof yet trouble those superstitious People at this day. Which thing was brought to pass by the crafty device of *Cadmus* *Chelife*, and *Schach* *Cali* his Boy (whom some call *Tekeli* *Sachak*), and others *Tekelins* two Hypocritical *Perfians*; who flying into those Countries, and with the counterfeit shew of feigned Holiness having procured to themselves a great name amongst those rude People, with a number of windy headed Followers (filled with the novelty of their new Doctrine) raised first such a diversity of opinions about the true successors of their untrue Prophet, and afterwards such a Rebellion amongst the People, as that the one yet remained, and the other was not in a good while after without great bloodshed, appeared.

But for the better understanding of the ground of these troubles, which happened at this time in the Reign of *Bajazet* by occasion of these two fugitive *Perfians*; as also for the mortal Wars which afterwards ensued betwixt *His Majesty* (as he was called the Great *Sophi* of *Persia*) and *Selim*, *Bajazet* his Successor, it shall not be much

*Bajazet* in danger to have been slain by a Dervish or Turkish Monk.

*Bajazet* by nature peaceable.

from our purpose briefly to declare the great mutation which at this time happened to the *Perfian* Kingdom, as well in the State itself, as in Matters of their Superstition. At such time as *A-symbius Ufun-Callanes* reigned in *Perfia*, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Jovius* calleth by the name of *Hardules*) a man honourably descended amongst the *Perfians*, who concerning worldly Honour, Riches, Pleasure, and whatsoever else belonged unto delicacy of life (commonly accounted the greatest part of Human Felicity) as meer Vanities and Trifles, led such a straight and austere kind of life, with such continency and contempt of the World, as that the vulgar People, for most part which they could, wondering at that in him which they could not or would not imitate, began to have the man in singular admiration for the opinion they had conceived of his upright Life and Vertues. The fame of this new Prophet (for so he was accounted) was grown so great in the *Perfian* Kingdom, that People without number resorted out of all parts of *Perfia* and *Armenia* unto the great City of *Tauris* to see the man. And he the more to seduce the Multitude (delighted with Novelties) began to inveigh against the common received opinion of the *Mahometans*, concerning the true Successors of their great Prophet, and to revive the opinion of the famous *Sopis*, perwading the People (as if he had been inspired with some divine Inspiration) That none of the Professors of the *Mahometan* Religion should inherit the Kingdom of Heaven after they were dead, but such as were the Followers of *Haider*, the true Successor of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, and his Followers in living; whom he taught them only to honour as privy to the mind of the great Prophet, and to receive his Writings as of all others most authenticall; rejecting *Eubekir, Omer, and Osman*, with their Writings, as most wicked and accursed men; whom the Turks had ever, and yet do with the other *Mahometans*, honour and worship as the true successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and his sincere Interpreters, together with the aforefaid *Haider*, whom the *Perfians* do only acknowledge, and therefore in their Prayers do commonly say, *Cursed be Eubekir, Omer, and Osman, and God be favourable to Haider, and well pleased with him*. Which their difference about the true Successor of their Prophet, in whom was no truth, hath been, and yet is, one of the greatest causes of the mortal Wars between the *Turks* and *Perfians*; and not the divers interpretation of their Law (as many have written) which amongst the *Turks* and *Perfians* is all one.

*Ufun-Callanes* moved with the Fame and Vertues of this new Prophet, or rather (as some thought) desirous to win the Hearts of the Multitude of them that had received this new philosophy, gave him in marriage his Daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Christian Lady *Defpina* the Daughter of *Calo Vassan*, the Emperor of *Armenia*. With this marriage the Christian Emperor made with the *Mahometan* Prince, and he also accepted thereof, thereby to strengthen themselves against the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet the Great*; whose power was then become a terror unto all his neighbour Princes, but to how small purpose this policy proved both, is before declared. With this marriage the Christian Emperor made with the *Mahometan* Prince, and he also accepted thereof, thereby to strengthen themselves against the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet the Great*; whose power was then become a terror unto all his neighbour Princes, but to how small purpose this policy proved both, is before declared. At the conclusion of this marriage, the Emperor had especially covenanted with *Ufun-Callanes*, that his Daughter *Defpina* might have the free exercise of the Christian Religion. Whereby it came to pass, that this *Martha* her Daughter, instructed by her Mother, became a Christian also, and now married by her Father unto this precise Hy-

poctite *Haider Erdebil*, in short time bare him a Son called *Hyfmael*, whom the so much as the could trained up in the Principles of the Christian Religion. Whereby it came to pass, that afterwards when he had by rare fortune obtained the Kingdom of *Perfia*, he always during his life had the Christians in good regard, and never found fault with their Religion.

*Haider* thus graced with the marriage of the great Kings Daughter *Martha*, only for his rare Vertues and Purity of Life, as was commonly supposed, grew now into far greater Credit and Estimation of the People than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began to be generally received, and the number of his Followers to greatly augmented, that *Jacup* succeeding his Father *Ufun-Callanes* but lately dead, began to have the Power and Credit of *Haider* his Brother in law in suspect; and to distrust left the *Perfians* (who fiercely favour the remainder of the Posterity of their ancient Kings) should assemble together under the colour of this new Superstition, and raise some dangerous Rebellion before he were well fed in his Seat. For he was not ignorant, that *Alfembius* (*Ufun-Callanes* his Father) had but by Force and Policy usurped the Kingdom, having killed *Mahomet* the lawful King; whereof there arose two Factions, some favouring the Usurper, and other some the poor remainder of the descent of their ancient Kings of the race of *Tamerslan*. For which causes *Jacup* (as he was of a suspicious and troublesome Nature, and above measure jealous of his State) nothing regarding the near Alliance or relationship (suspecting no such matter) to be fiercely murdered; and to having struck off his Head, with *Haider Erdebil* Fire and Sword persecuted all the Professors of that new Doctrine; so to deliver himself for ever of that his vain and needless Fear, called the Son of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great *Sopis* of *Perfia*) being then but a Child, as it were by fatal Destiny elcaped the Fury of his cruel Uncle *Jacup*, and fled into *Hyrcania*, unto one *Pyrcheles* his Fathers Friend, who then ruled in a small Territory near unto the *Caspian* Sea.

Amongst many others of the Disciples and Followers of *Haider* (which in that cruel Persecution were glad to flee for safeguard of their lives) the two before named, *Chafan Shelif*, and *Schach Cali*, afterwards surnamed *Cufilbas*, in outward shew both of Vertue and Learning not inferior unto their Master, flying that dangerous Tempest, and passing over the River *Euphrates*, came into *Armenia* the lesser, and there took up their dwelling at the great Mountain *Avitauran*; at the foot whereof the broken Rocks have divers dark and obscure Caves; made partly by Art, and partly by Nature; which place is of the Inhabitants called *Tekel-Is*; whereof divers Historiographers, I know not how, have received by the name of the place, or else wittingly transferring the name of the place unto the man that lived therein, have called this *Schach Cali* (who of the two proved of greater fame) by the name of *Tekellis*, by which name we will also from henceforth call him. A thing therefore much used amongst the religious, and also some of the Children of great Princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were born, or where they most lived. This place is both wholesome and exceeding pleasant, for the variety of Fruits and lively Springs, wherewith the Plains adjoining are continually watered, and the Mountains at all times of the year gar-

nished. Here *Shelif* with his Companion *Tekellis*, having

having separated themselves far from the Company of men, and given themselves wholly to a contemplative life, for divers years lived most frugally and austere, converting themselves with such things as the Earth of it self afforded them, without seeking for better. These Hypocrites were first seen, and afterwards acquainted with the Shepherds and Herdsmen living upon the Mountains; and in process of time with the rude Husbandmen and Country People, who wondering at their frugal and devout kind of life, resorted them with all things necessary. *Bajazet* himself hearing of their austere and devout manner of living, then yearly six or seven thousand Alpers, as his Alms given them upon Charity and Devotion. But afterwards when they began to tell Fortunes, and as it were by the way of tradition to propitiate of things to come, the Rural People held them for more than men, and conceived of them a firm opinion, that they were some divine Prophets. And so were by the Country People first drawn into the Country Villages, and afterwards, as if it had been against their Wills, into the Cities; where they had in short time filled all the Country far and near, with the admiration of their fame; But after they began to publish their new plantated Doctrine concerning the true successor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted not their new angled followers (as had *Haider* their Master before amongst the *Perfians*) who had them in singular Reverence, perwaded now by them, that they should be condemned for ever, if they did not (as they were by them taught) give the honour of the true succession of their great Prophet, only to *Haider*, and him only to reverence and call upon next unto the great Prophet himself.

When they had thus with their often Sermons and blinded Prophecies seduced the People, and in short time won great Credit amongst the vulgar sort, of themselves too much given to Novelty and Superstition; they commanded their Disciples and Followers to wear upon their Turkish Hats a red Band or Ribband, whereby to be known from others that were not of their profession. Of which red Bands or Ribbands, they which professed this new Superstition, were, and yet are over all the East part of the World called by the name of *Cufelassers*, which is to say, *Red Heads*.

*Hyfmael* also living in exile, most earnestly embraced that new Superstition, which *Haider* his Father had before taught in *Perfia*, but with a better Fortune and Success. For as soon as he was grown to mans Estate, he following his Fathers manner of life, and being by nature wonderful eloquent, comely of person, exceeding wife, and of an invincible Courage, was of the rude vulgar People accounted of more like a god than a man; so that he grew to be of greater esteem and power amongst those barbarous People with whom he lived. And not the base and vulgar sort only, but divers Noblemen also, and others of good reputation, once allured with the Novelty of his Doctrine, the more to manifest their good Will towards the Author of their sect; after they had forsaken their old Superstition, ceased not (as the manner of men is) to commend him in the highest degree of Vertue and Honour. And he himself as yet but a youth, altogether bending his Wit to the setting forth of himself, making semblance of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had been against his Will, Riches, Honour, Fame, and Authority; of all which things, he as a notable dissembler seemed to make no account or reckoning; neither were there

some wanting which would faine, that *Haider* his Father (as he was an excellent Astronomer) calculating his Nativity, should say, That he should prove a great Prophet, and the Author of the true Religion, who fubduing the greatest part of the East, should become as glorious both in matters of Religion and Martial Affairs, as was *Mahomet* the Great Prophet himself. Which report being bruited abroad amongst the vulgar People, greatly increased his Authority, and gave them occasion to talk of wonders. Not long after, *Hyfmael* was first by the admiration, or rather affection of his Friends and Followers, and afterwards as if it had been of a general consent, surnamed *Sopis*, which amongst the People signifieth a wife man, or the Interpreter of the gods. These prosperous beginnings, with the troubled State of the *Perfian* Kingdom, encouraged him to take in hand great matters; for his Uncle *Jacup* the *Perfian* King was long before dead, being together with his Son poisoned by his adulterous Wife; which thing he presently receiving, enforced her to drink of the lime Cup; and because he would be sure that she should not escape, with his own hand struck off her Head, and immediately after died, with his Son. After whose Death great Troubles arose about the Succession; and divers great men, one after another aspired to the Kingdom, which they enjoyed not long. And amongst the rest *El-van-Beg* (whom *Jovius* calleth *Alvantes*) at that time stood in no great possession of the Kingdom, being mightily impugned by his Brother *Mahomet*.

*Hyfmael* taking hold of this opportunity, armed divers of the most able men of his Followers, and receiving some small Aid from his poor old Friend *Pyrcheles*, entered into *Armenia*, and there partly by the Fame that ran of him, and partly by the good Will of the People, rather than by any force, recovered his Fathers Inheritance, whereunto the remembrance of his dead Father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, daily grew stronger and stronger, by the continual repairing unto him of such as having once received the Doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long (for fear of Persecution) to dissemble the same; but now having got an Head and Chieftain to cleave unto, began openly to shew themselves again, and in great number to resort unto him, in hope of the good success of their Religion, not so happily begun by his Father.

His power thus daily increasing beyond his expectation, he laid Siege unto *Samachia*, a City in the Confines of *Media*, which he took by force and sacked; and with the Spoil thereof both enriched and armed his Soldiers, which before were for most part naked men. The taking of this City wonderfully increased both his Fame and Courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, That haughty minds, conceivably attempting high exploits, by the good event of the first attempt, make way unto the full of their flatly desire. So after this, *Hyfmael*'s thoughts were not so low, as to think of the taking of this or that little City; but how he might now compass the great City of *Tauris*, the very Seat of the *Perfian* Kings, and afterwards the Kingdom it self. Whereupon redoubling his confidence in his own good Fortune, than the Valour of his Soldiers, he marched with his Army directly to the City of *Tauris*, and that with such expedition, that he was come before it before any such thing was feared, much less provided for. *Elvan* the *Perfian* King was then at *Tauris*, and had but a little before fought a great Battel with his Brother *Mahomet* the

The Turk and Perfian differ as about the interpretation of their Law, but about the true Successor of their great Prophet Mahomet.

Haider married Martha the daughter of the great King Ufun Callanes.

Hyfmael was Armenians, and afterwards his inheritance.

Samachia taken by Hyfmael.

Hyfmael sent to Tauris.



the Kingdom; and having vanquished him, drove him out of Armenia and Persia; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding up of Civil Wars, had caused divers of the chief Citizens of Tauris, which had taken part with his Brother against him, to be severely executed, filling the Eyes of their Friends with the horrible spectacle of their dismembered Bodies, and the Hearts of most men with sorrow and heaviness; whereby he had so alienated the minds of the Citizens from him, that now upon the approach of Hyfmael, they were all ready to forsake him; of which disposition Hyfmael was before-hand, filling the Eyes of the good Men thereof had hastied his coming. Elvan the Persian King thus overtaken on the sudden, had not time to raise such Forces as might suffice either to encounter his Enemy, or defend the City; wherefore despairing of his own Strength, and justly fearing the revolt and fury of the discontented Citizens, as a man dismayed, suddenly fled out of the City. After whose departure the Gates were presently set open to Hyfmael. For the Citizens which in those troublesome times (wherein the two Brethren contended for the Kingdom) had suffered great calamity, chose rather in that present danger to receive a Conqueror of so great fame as was then Hyfmael, than to their utter destruction to oppose themselves against him in the quarrel of their cruel King; and the rather, for that they saw a general security and open way to Preferment, proposed unto all such as should receive the reformed Religion of this new Conqueror.

Hyfmael entering the City, flew certain of the Kings Guard which were not yet departed, and then utterly rased the stately Tomb wherein his Uncle Jacup was after the manner of the Persian Kings royally buried. And to mitigate the sorrow he had so long conceived of his Fathers death, and with revenge to appease his angry Ghost, he caused the Tyrants bones to be digged up and scattered abroad, and the memorial of his name to be quite rased out of all places of the City.

Although Hyfmael was thus possessed of the Royal City of Tauris, and had thereby made a way for the obtaining of the whole Kingdom, yet he knew that so long as Elvan lived, his Conquest was not unto him assured; and therefore to the uttermost of his power he augmented his Army with new supplies taken up in that populous City, whom he furnished with Armor and Weapons taken out of the Kings Army. In the mean time news was brought unto him, that the Persian King before fled into the farthest part of his Kingdom, was now coming from Seyras with a great Army against him; and that Morachamus his Brother, forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raised a great Army about Babylon in Assyria, in short time to join with his Brother.

Hyfmael nevertheless nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two Brethren against him, to the intent he might seem to undertake this War by the appointment of God, and upon a greater assurance than upon his own Strength, resolved to go against them. And so after he had mustered his Army, and in best manner he could provide all things necessary, he set forward from Tauris; using no other persuasion to encourage his Soldiers, but that they should all as became resolute men, make haste and follow him whom God had given them for a Chieftain and Leader, unto a most assured Victory. The Persian King was at the same time ten days journey from Tauris, when Hyfmael with incredible celerity preventing the fame of his coming, was come

to the Mountain Niphates, which parteth Assyria from Assyria; which Mountain, Elvan purposing shortly to pass over with his populous Army, had sent before his Scouts to discover the strait passages; and a multitude of Pioneers to make the ways more convenient for his great Army to pass. Which thing Hyfmael understanding, and politically considering that it would be much for his advantage, if he should first himself pass over those great Mountains, and so upon the sudden find upon his Enemies then lying in security, and fearing nothing less than such a desperate attempt; upon that resolution, raising his Ensigns upon the Mountains; and having with small resistance discomfited them, which kept the passages, came down the same Mountains like a tempest, and furiously assailed the King, then lying in his Camp on the other side at the foot of the Mountain, upon the approach of whom, such a hurly burly was raised in the Kings Camp, that what for the confused tumult of the Soldiers, and fearful outcries of the multitude of base People which followed the Camp, the King could scarcely give order unto his Captains what he would have done, or yet encourage his Soldiers, or put them in order of Battle. So that Hyfmael, giving a horse on foot with his Assyrian Soldiers, there was suddenly begun a most terrible and bloody Battle. Neither did that day the fortune of Hyfmael fail him, whose courage and prowess never failed; for assailing the Kings Battle of Footmen, with three Squadrons at once, he had overcome them and put them to flight before that the Horsemen could arm themselves and mount their Horses, which were for most part unadvised and unbridled at his coming. The King, who had nothing either feared or foreseen this so sudden a mischief, but had vainly perwaded himself, That the very fame of his coming with so huge an Army, would so terrify his Enemies, as he should find none either at Tauris, or in all Assyria, that durst make resistance; was glad now to run to and fro to encourage his Soldiers, to stay his discomfited Battels, yea and to come to handy-blows himself. But when neither his Captains nor Soldiers could put in execution his sudden directions which he was enforced to give in that imminent danger, being at once overcome with shame and desperation, he resolutely thrust himself into the head of his Battle, and there valiantly fighting was slain. Whereupon the Persian Horsemen, the greatest Strength of the Kings Army, having now no King for whom they should fight, betook themselves to flight, after whom followed the Archers, and all the rest of the Kings Army.

When as Hyfmael had with less loss than a man would have thought to great a Victory could have been achieved, possessed the Enemies Tents, he made no great pursuit after them, for that he thought it more requisite to refresh his Soldiers thoroughly wearied and almost spent with long travel and late fight; wherefore for certain days he reposited himself with his Army in those his Enemies forsaken Tents. Afterwards, when he had received Embassadors from divers places, yielding their Cities and Towns, and that the favour of the People generally inclined to him, together with the Victory; he marched with his Army to Seyras; where he was of the Citizens who had before heard of the Victory, joyfully received, and his Army relieved with all things he could desire. Hyfmael there entertained with the greatest honours that the East could afford, as possibly attributing him, did offences preach unto them of the truth and excellency of his Fathers Doctrine, and withal gave out strait Proclamations,

Hyfmael  
gave  
the  
Persian  
King.

tions, That he would account all them for his Enemies, which did not within the space of thirty days renounce their old Superstition, and receive this new found verity (as he would have it.) Wherefore, forasmuch as on the one side were proposed most certain rewards, by the happy course of his Victories, and on the other, was threatened Exile and Torture to such as should obstinately persist in their opinion; in short time he drew all the vulgar People to embrace his new Doctrine. And afterwards having paid his Soldiers with the riches of that great City, he gallantly furnished both his old and new Soldiers that he wanted, with most excellent Armor and Furniture; for in that City one of the greatest and most famous of the East, were many Shops full of all kind of Armor, which the Armors with wonderful cunning used to make of Iron and Steel, and in the juice of certain Herbs, of these which are much used in Europe; not only, but whole Caparisons for Horses, curiously made of thin plates of Iron and Steel. Departing from Seyras, he took also the great City of Sapha supposed to have been the City in ancient time called Sapha, which for the wonderful ruins of the huge Buildings, is deemed to have been the ancient and famous City Tegeracerta. These great matters quickly dispatched, and having in every City placed Governors of his own Sect, he passed over the River Tigris in Mesopotamia of purpose to expulse Morachamus the late Kings Brother, out of Babylon, who was yet in Arms, and had intended (as is before said) to have passed into Assyria, to have joined his Forces with the King his Brother; but now terrified with a most puissant Army, and the Strength of the Persian Kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of so great a Fortune (thought it not best to try his fortune in the Field against so fortunate an Enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himself into the remotest places of that large Kingdom, and from thence to expect some better Fortune. For he well knew that he was not able to withstand his victorious Enemy, now leading before him a most puissant Army, who not long before had with a small power vanquished and slain his Brother in a great Battle. Hyfmael now by the greatness of his Fame and Forces, and as it were by the Favour of God himself, become a terror to all the Princes of the East, entered into Mesopotamia after the flight of Morachamus, and received all that great Province into his Subjection, every man as it were flying who should first by his Speedy Submission purchase the Favour of the victorious Conqueror. To be brief, Morachamus already terrified, and reposing great hope in himself, or his own power, neither deeming it for his safety to shut himself within the Walls of any strong City, trust up his things of great price, and with his Wives and Children fled into Arabia.

This Morachamus is he whom some Historiographers called Mano-Bog, and is in the Turks Histories called Imis-Bog, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the Daughter of Bajazet, and recovering part of the Persian Kingdom, was suddenly murdered by some of his Nobility, whom he purposed fiercely to have put to death, if they had not prevented the same by murdering of him first. Hyfmael having victoriously subdued a great part of the Persian Kingdom, and filled all the East part of the World with the glory of his name, returned out of Assyria into Media, and took in such Cities and strong

Holds as were yet holden by the Garrisons of the late Persian King. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made War upon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell upon the Borders of the Caspian; for that those Nations, in ancient times tributaries unto the Persian Kings, taking the benefit of the long Civil Wars which were with the Kingdom of Persia, and all the East Countries, with the ruin of the Kings House, had been of late unmolested; had neither paid any Tribute by the space of many years, nor sent any honourable Embassage, for their service, and as was expected, especially in so great a Victory and alteration of the State.

Hyfmael having thus obtained the Persian Kingdom, in short time became famous through the World, and was justly accounted amongst the greatest Monarchs of those Ages. But nothing made him more to be spoken of, than the innovation he had made in the Mahometan Superstition; for by his device and commandment a new form of Prayer was brought into their Mahometan Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before used. By reason whereof, Eubeker, Home, and Osman, the successors of their great Prophet Mahomet, began now in great regard and reverence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of Hali exalted, as the true and only Successor of their great Prophet. And because he would have his Subjects and die Followers of his Doctrine known from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they should all wear some red Husbands Laces, or Ribband upon their Heads; which they Religiously observe in Persia until this day; whereas they are of the Turks called Cufibis, or Red-heads. And in short time he had so far advanced this matter, that he was more known for his piety and reverence of his Subjects, than for the greatness of his sayings were accounted for divine Oracles, and his commandments for Laws: so that when they would confirm any thing by solemn Oath, King; and when they wished well to any Man, they usually said, Hyfmael grant thee thy desire. Upon his Coyn which he made both of Silver and Gold, on the one side was written these words, La ilaha illallahu Muhame dam refut allah: which is to say, There is no God but one, and Mahomet is his Messenger. And on the other side, Immal braf, lullab; which is to say, Hyfmael the Vicar of God.

Whilst Hyfmael was thus wrestling for the Persian Kingdom, Chafan Chelife and Tebellis (whom we have a little before declared to have bin brought out of the Mountains and Deserts, into the Country-Villages, and afterwards into the Cities, and to have filled the Countries of Armenia and a great part in the latter with the novelty of their new Doctrine and Opinions, first phantastied by one Giumi Siech, and afterward revived by Haider Erdeshi, Hyfmael his Father) having gathered a great Army of such as had received their Doctrine, invaded the Turks Dominion. For after that Tebellis (this cold Prophet) had with wonderful felicity in the presence of many prognosticated of things to come, and the Sophi (of late a poor exiled and banished man) was thought to have grown unto the highest type of Worldly Honours, not by mans help, but by uprightness of life, and the fortunate passage of an undoubted Religion, such a desire of receiving that new Superstition filled the minds of the People in general, that the Cities and Towns thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profession had taken upon them

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them the wearing of the Red Hat, the known Cognizance of the *Cafibah*. First they met together at the City of *Tafia*, at the Foot of the Mountain *Antiaurus*, or as the Turkish History reports, at the City of *Attalia*, to the number of ten thousand, upon a great Fair-day; where they laid hands upon the chief Magistrate of the City, and executed him, setting his quarters upon four of the highest Towers of the City; and further perwaded by these new Masters of this new Superstition, to take up Arms in defence of themselves and of their sincere Religion (as they termed it) by the force of Publick should be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all swore never to forsake their Captains for any diffire, or yet refuse any labour or adventure for the honour of their most holy Religion (as they would have it) in defence whereof they had already vowed their Souls and Bodies. These Ringleaders of Rebellion, seeing the minds of their frantick Followers so well prepared for their purpose, and reposing a great confidence in their valor and resolution; and withal considering that the money which was bountifully brought in unto them by the Country People, partly for Devotion, partly for Fear, was not sufficient to maintain so great a multitude, gave leave by publick Proclamation to their unruly Followers, to forage the Country round about them, and to live upon the Spoil of them which would not receive their new found Doctrine. Whereupon they dividing themselves into divers Companies, and ranging up and down the Country, brought in to the Camp abundance of such things as the Country yielded; and forthwith (their multitude still increasing) they entered into *Lycania*, a populous and fruitful Country, where they refreshed themselves many days, roaming up and down to the great grievance and terror of the People; and brought glia a fear upon the whole Country, that they which dwell in open Durps and Villages, were glad to live with their Wives, Children and Goods, into the strong City of *Iconium* for Proclamations were in many places set up in the names of *Chafan* and *Techellis*, wherein many both Spiritual and Temporal Blessings were in most ample manner propoed to all such as should forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new Doctrine already established in *Perfia*; but unto such as should obstinately persevere in their old Superstition, after they had once drawn their Sword, was threatened utter destruction without without hope of pardon of Life. So that all the Inhabitants thereabout, terrified with the terror of this Proclamation, some for fear of Death, some upon Inconformity, some for safeguard of their Goods and Possessions (dearer unto them than any Religion) some other indebted, infamous, in danger of Law, besides many fugitive Servants, daily resorted to these new Masters. Not long after, whilst the Turks were in preparation for the suppressing of this dangerous Rebellion, certain Troops of Horsemen sent from *Hyfmael*, came in good time to these new Prophets; for *Hyfmael* in favour and furtherance of that new Superstition, had a little before by fit Messengers exhorted them to proceed courageously in their so religious an enterprise, and to join Martial Force unto the Religion they professed; promising further, not to be wanting unto them at their need, but to send them skilful Leaders, and from time to time to furnish them with Coin for the maintenance of that War. All this *Hyfmael* did openly in despite of *Bajazet*, of small beginnings to sow the Seed of greater War. For he bearing an old grudge against *Bajazet* for

the former Wars betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perfians*, as also for their disagreement in matters concerning their Superstition, and prick forward with the heat of youth, desired nothing more in the greatness of his power, and prosperous success of his Affairs, than to have occasion to make War with the Turkish King; for which purpose he sent his Embassadors unto the State of *Venice*, to joyn with them in League and Amity, in which form and *Chafan* as they had long time before, by *Caterinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embassadors, concluded with *Ufian-Calfanes* the Persian King his Grants that any chief things that he requested of the *Venitians*, was That they would send him out of *Italy* by the way of *Syria*, men skilful in the casting of great Ordnance, and with their Fleet to trouble *Bajazet* by Sea; promising in the mean time himself to fill *Asia* the less with his Army by Land, and so to give a fair occasion unto them, to recover by Sea all such places as they had before in the late Wars lost unto the Turks upon the Coast of *Peloponnesus* and *Grecia*.

The *Venitians* having with all countreite entertained the Embassadors, gave them answer, That they would never be forgetful of the ancient League and Amity they had made with the Persian King; the remembrance whereof was unto their State a thing most pleasant; and that they were wonderful glad, that the new King was an Enemy unto the Turk, and had them in such regard, as to participate to them the causes of that War; and further to promise unto them those things, which if his Grace the Emperor of *Rome*, his Uncle *Yaup* would have performed, he should not now have had need to make Wars with the Turkish Emperor. But such was the alteration of things and times, that as the *Perfians* King then living at home in peace, thought it not good to fit whilst *Bajazet* was busy in *Europe*; so now their State standing in far worse condition, and fortune, could not perform that which they heartily wished, and most of all desired; for that they thought it not good to break the League which they had not long before made with *Bajazet* the Turkish Emperor; especially then, when sundry warlike Nations of *Europe* conspiring together, and divers mighty Kings provoked with no injury, but only envying at their happy estate, made Wars upon them; yet nevertheless were in good hope, that God would stand in their just defence, and still preserve their State, which no Enemies power had for the space of seven hundred years, and more been able to overcome. Wherefore they thought it best to leave unto God, who would as occasion should serve, and as it should stand with the good of their State, do their uttermost devoir to make him understand, that nothing was dearer unto them than the Friendship of so great a King; nor any thing more honourable, than by mutual Counsel and conjunct Forces to assail the Turk their common Enemy.

Shortly after, the Embassadors (having obtained nothing more than the hope of a League to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their Gallies to *Cyprus*, and so from thence to *Syria*, where they had frequent conference with *Contarinus Zeme* (the Son of *Caterinus Zeme*, a man famous for his Embassyage unto *Ufian-Calfanes* into *Perfia*) Governor of the *Venitians* Merchants at *Damafco*. Which thing *Bajazet* having intelligence of, and of the passage of the *Perfian* Embassadors that way, complained grievously both by his Embassadors and Letters unto *Campan-Corum* Sultan of *Egypt*. That he dealt not as a Friend and Confederat with him, in suffering these Embassadors to pass

Hyfmael sends Embassadors unto the Venitians in joy in league with them against Bajazet.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Bajazet's stepsons overthrow by Techellis.

pass throughout the midst of *Syria*, unto the Christians their common Enemies, to fit them up to War. Wherupon all the *Venitians* Merchants, which were at *Triplis*, *Alppo*, *Damafco*, *Berytus*, and *Alexandria*, and especially *Zeme* himself, were forthwith apprehended by the commandment of the great Sultan, and carried in Bonds to *Chaires*, where they were many times enforced in Chains to answer unto such things as were laid to their Charge; and after they had by the space of a year endured the manifold despights of the proud *Mamelukes*, hardly obtained to escape with Life and Liberty.

The two feditious Prophets, *Chafan* and *Techellis*, well strengthened with the aid of the *Perfians*, were now come unto *Iconium*, the most famous City of *Lycania*; and waiting all the Country before them, drew a great multitude of People to receive their new Doctrine. For the prepping of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahometes*, two of *Bajazet* his Nephews (who in stead of their Fathers *Alon Schach* and *Tasim Schach*, the Sons of *Bajazet* before dead, governed those Countries) gathered together their Forces, and disdaining to suffer such disgrace by such a Rabble of rascal People, in the fight of so famous a City, came into the Field to give them battel. But they in their youthful heat making too much halt, and joyning battel in a place of disadvantage, were by the Rebels overthrown and put to flight. Neither would these Ringleaders in that Victory have forborn to have assailed *Iconium*, but that they wanted Artillery and Engines of War requisite for the besieging of Cities.

*Corcutus* also, one of the Sons of *Bajazet*, having at the same time levied a convenient Army, called *Thiatyri*, *Spiulus*, *Magnefia* and *Phoea*, durst not further lit or sit forward against the Rebels, although they lay dispersed about the Country fast by him. These new Prophets with Ensigns displayed, marching from Country to Country through the heart of the lesser *Asia*, entered at length into *Bitunys*, where near unto the River *Sangariar* they met with *Caragofa Bassa* the Viceroy of *Asia*, coming against them with a great Army well appointed, which he had a little before raised upon the Bruit of the coming of these Rebels; and had also commanded *Achmetes* (whom the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldest Son of *Bajazet* then living, Governor of the great Countries of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, to raise his power, and to follow at the Back of the Rebels; who if they should hap to be put to the worse, would neither be able to retire, neither to keep the Field, being so shut up betwixt two so great Armies. But *Techellis* by his speedy coming frustrated the designs of the Viceroy; for marching with all speed, he was upon *Caragofa* before he was well aware of his coming, near unto the Mountain *Hormus*, as he was then taking up of more Soldiers, and daily expected the coming of others, as if he had been going against some puissant Enemy. The Viceroy seeing the Rebels so approach, although he had before not purposed to have encountered them before he had raised far greater Forces; thought it not now to stand with his honour, to refuse to give them battel, although his Army for the most part consisted of the rude Country Fellows, taken up upon the sudden, out of *Endygonia*, *Galaris*, *Pontus*, and *Bitunys*, raw Soldiers, and for most part unarmed; as commonly they are which in those Countries are pressed against their Wills out of the Towns and Villages, and are of the Turks called *Aspis*, who of the Janizaries are scarcely accounted for men. But his greatest confidence

he reposed in the approved Valour of his ancient Horsemen, by whose means he doubted not, in safety to retire out of the Battel, and to save himself if any thing should fall out otherwise than well; making no great account of the common Soldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the Force of the Rebels; who on the other side (their greatest Force consisting of Footmen) had no hope to save themselves by Flight, but only by place and dint of Sword. Which *Techellis* well considering, exhorted his Soldiers to remember into what Country they were come, and that there was no Cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to fly unto, if they should not that day play the men. Wherefore he encouraged them to fight far forward against our Enemies, and by Victory defend our Lives, together with the Truth of our Religion, for which we have vowed both our Souls and Bodies. He had scarcely said thus much, but that his whole Army, in token of cheerfulness, gave a most terrible shout, and with one further lay far upon the Rebels. The Viceroy had placed his Footmen in the main Battel in the middle, and his Horsemen in the Wings, thereby to have compassed his Enemies; but *Techellis* had set all his Footmen in one great square Battel, and his *Perfian* Horsemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his fresh-water Soldiers could scarcely abide the sight of *Techellis* his Army; for in the front of the Battel those Soldiers thronged armed, and all the rest of his Army with red Hats upon their Heads, as if they had been imbrued with Blood, which wonderfully terrified the *Bassas* cowardly and unskilful Soldiers; so that having endured the Fight scarcely half an hour, they turned their backs and fled. The Turkish Horsemen which had valiantly assailed the Rebels Army on both sides, although they had slain many with their Arrows and Lances, and somewhat disordered the Battel, for that the Footmen were enforced to leave their places, and to press still on forward against them; yet when *Techellis* his Soldiers (having overcome the Footmen, and dividing themselves into divers Squads) began with their long Pikes to kill their Horses, and to lay hardly unto them, they likewise betook themselves to Flight also. Then the *Perfian* Horsemen (which all this while had stood still as lookers on) left their standings and following the Rebels, gave many of the Turks in their disordered Flight; and following fast on, inclosed the Viceroy as he was flying of his Horsemen, and could not for the thickness of the dust well discern his Enemies; so that he had been there taken, if he had not been speedily rescued by his Guard, and so delivered from that danger. The rest of the Turks Horsemen saved themselves by flight. In this Battel seven thousand of the Turks Footmen were slain, and all their Ensigns taken, with great store of Provision.

After which Victory, *Chafan* and *Techellis* resting their Army one day, marched to the City of *Cutais*, near unto the mountain *Hormus*; in this City it is situated as it were in the midst of *Asia* the less, and is the Seat of the Turkish Emperors Viceroy in *Asia*; as *Sophia* in *Messia* is for his other Viceroy in *Europe*; for it was reported, that the Country People had for fear of the present War conceived either the greatest part of their Wealth, or the Rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himself with his chief Horsemen were fled thither also; neither doubted they, but that all the Army might be greatly incited by the Wealth of that City, if they should without delay imploy their whole Forces for the

The Battel between Caragofa and Techellis.

Techellis resting his Army one day, marched to the City of Cutais, near unto the mountain Hormus; in this City it is situated as it were in the midst of Asia the less, and is the Seat of the Turkish Emperors Viceroy in Asia; as Sophia in Messia is for his other Viceroy in Europe; for it was reported, that the Country People had for fear of the present War conceived either the greatest part of their Wealth, or the Rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himself with his chief Horsemen were fled thither also; neither doubted they, but that all the Army might be greatly incited by the Wealth of that City, if they should without delay imploy their whole Forces for the

T e gaining

gaining thereof, their Enemies now altogether disarmed with their overthrow. *Tecellus* also deeming that enterprise of so much worth as whereon to gage his whole Forces, coming before the City, placed such Field Pieces as he had before taken in the Battel, and his Archers in such fit places as might annoy the Defendants; afterward he caused scaling Ladders to be set up, and Proclamation made through his Camp, That the whole Spoil of the City should be the Soldiers if they could take it; with promise of greater rewards to them that should first recover the top of the Walls. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the Wall, fearing neither Enemies Force, multitude of Shot, or danger of Death; striving who should first mount the Ladders, and some climbing one in the neck of another, so to get up by the ruins of the Wall. The Defendants in the mean time from above casting down upon them great Stones, Timber, Fire, scalding Water, Lime, Sand, and such like without measure; wherewith although many were overthrown and crush'd to death or spoiled, yet others profane flew up in their place; neither was any of them less, for fear of the present danger to shrink back or be discouraged; for the Viceroy on the one side, and *Tecellus* on the other, were both Eye-witnesses of every mans Valor in that hot service; the one quick forward with doubtful hope, for fear to be enforced to give over the City; the other with the other with the due regard of his Honour, Life and State, all subject to that danger, and therefore in person himself performed all the parts of a worthy Chieftain and courageous Soldier. But at length the Defendants wearied with the fierce Assault of the Enemy, and for most part wounded, *Tecellus* contented with the flight of his men, and withdrawing such as were hurt, by plain force brake into the City in two places over the heads of the dead bodies; and having repulsed the Defendants, burst open one of the Gates, and thereby brought in his whole Army. Then began a miserable Slaughter of the Soldiers and poor Citizens in every House and Corner of the City. At which instant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retired himself with his Family) was also taken; the Viceroy himself with his Wives and Children were there also taken Prisoners, and the lately Palace built with Marble, in a rich and sumptuous manner.

The rich City of *Cassia*, the Seat of the great Commander of the Turkish Empire in *Asia*, thus taken by *Tecellus*, and his whole Army both beautified and enriched with the spoil thereof; he perwaded himself, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the City of *Pras*, the ancient Seat of the Turkish King, and so to endanger the whole State of the Turks Empire in *Asia*, if he should now without delay carry the terror of himself thither, before the Turks could in that Country make head against him, or the Citizens be able in so sudden a fear to make any sufficient provision for the defence of themselves and their City; and so in the course of his good fortune to use the courage and cheerfulness of his Soldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would set forward, he commanded all things necessary to be made ready for the taking of that rich City, being neither strongly walled, neither furnished with any good Garrison for the defence thereof.

But whilst he was making this preparation, a new Army, lately thipt over the Hellespont from *Calpis* into *Asia*, enforced him to change his former determination. For *Bajazet* awak'd at the name of *Tecellus*, and the fame of the new

Superstition now generally received in *Perfia*, had long before given countenance to his Sons, Nephews, and the Viceroy of *Asia*. That they should with all carefulness provide, that that part of his Kingdom took no harm thereby. But after he saw *Tecellus* of a poor Hermit become a great Captain, and backt also with the *Perfian* King, and all his Dominions in *Asia* in danger of some great alteration; he sent *Alis* *Bassa* with his *Euxerian* Army. This *Alis* an Eunuch, born in *Macedonia* (yet for his courage comparable with the greatest Captains) had for his many and worthy deserts, in the time of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Bajazet* his Father, got unto himself both the honour and name of a most famous Chieftain. He having made choice of the principal Horsemen of *Egypt*, *Macedonia*, *Serbia*, *Thracia*, and joining unto them seven thousand Janizaries (the most assured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) pass'd over from *Calpis* into *Phrygia*, and upon the way directed his Letters unto *Achomet* and *Ceremus*, *Bajazet* his Sons, and to all the other Sanzacks and Governors of the Turks Provinces in *Asia*. That they should with as much speed as they could, raise their Forces and meet him in *Galatia*. But *Tecellus* advertised of his coming, thought it best for him to depart out of *Pontus*, and to retire to some place of more safety, lest by longer staying he should be inclosed by his Enemies, repairing thitherwards on every side. He therefore made great disadvantage to join Battel; for he saw, that if he staid never so little, he should find no safe passage or place of refuge to retire unto, having left such large and spacious Countries, so many Enemies Cities, so many great Rivers, so many discontented People behind him all which the first favour of the favour of the first course of his Victory, had a little before laid open unto him. Wherefore calling together his Captains and most expert Men of War to consult upon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meer madness, or else of extreme necessity, with so small a power of unskilful Soldiers, without any sufficient strength of Horsemen, to joyn Battel with such an Enemy as better knew the Country than he, and far exceeded him both for number and experience of his Soldiers. Wherefore *Tecellus* trusting up with his rich Prey he had before gotten, began now with speed to retire back again with his followers through *Galatia*. But the *Bassa* having intelligence almost every hour by Letters and Espials, both of the retiring of *Tecellus*, and the way he held, pass'd over the River *Sangarius*, and coasting the Country, came and encamp'd betwixt the Cities of *Cassia* and *Amyra*, which way it was supposed the Enemy would take. Where when he had there a while rested his wearied Soldiers, and was certainly advertised, that the Rebels had taken another way, he set forward again, and after five days march in the Plains of *Galatia*, overtook the stragglers of the Enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the Army; all whilst the *Bassa* commanded to be cruelly put to the Sword. And *Tecellus* to terrify the great body, or at leastwise with a most horrible spectacle to stay his pursuit, caus'd *Caragofes* the Viceroy, whom he had carried along in his Chains, to be cruelly impaled by the highway side, upon a sharp stake fixt in the ground, and so left him lying for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis* *Bassa* nothing dismay'd with the horrible death of so great a personage, held on his way with more hast than good speed, exhorting his Soldiers patiently to endure the painfulness of the long march, and to strive themselves

*Bajazet*  
*Indeth A.*  
*his Bassa*  
*of Eu-*  
*rope*  
*gall'd*  
*Tecellus*

The battel  
between  
*Alis* *Bassa*  
and  
*Tecellus*.

*Chafan*  
*Ch-life*  
*Ch-life*

*Alis* *Bassa*  
*Indeth*

themselves to take revenge of those rebellious Thieves and Robbers, who destroying the Country before them, spared not so much as the Turks Children, and the Temples of their Religion; and so the day following came into the Plains of *Amyra*. The same day *Alis* *Achomet* came to the *Bassa* with ten thousand Soldiers. *Alis* perceiving that he could not possibly with his whole Army overtake his Enemies, marching with greater speed before him, and grieved at the heart to see them escape out of his hand, resolv'd to prove if he could with his Horsemen overtake them; whereupon leaving his Footmen, *Alis* *Achomet*, he himself with eight thousand Horse following the Enemy upon the spur, overtook the Rearward of their Army at the Mountain *Olyga*, a little from the City of *Amyra*, unto whom he gave an hot skirmish.

*Tecellus* which a little before had taken a fit place for his Camp, upon the rising of the Hill, although he saw his men faint with long travel and the scorching heat of the Sun, yet quickly perceiving that he should have to do only with Horsemen, and that in a place of advantage; turning his Army, and orderly placing his Soldiers, as the ground and the shortness of the time would give leave, valiantly received the imposition of the Turks, and with their long Pikes and Arrows at the first repuls'd them; so that it seem'd they would neither have given ground unto the bragging Horsemen, neither have done any thing not becoming their former Victories, had not *Alis* *Bassa* sent a thousand Carabines, who in Troop orderly following one another, delivered their Shot as thick as Hail upon the Enemy; with which form many of them being slain, and more wounded, their ranks began to be somewhat disorder'd; whereupon the other Horsemen breaking in, with great slaughter overthrew the Vanguard of *Tecellus* Battel; in which conflict *Chafan* *Ch-life* himself was slain. *Tecellus* always at hand where most need was, even in the midst of the Slaughter of his men set in order a new Battel of his most ready and best armed Soldiers, the only remedy in so great a distress; and bringing them on into the front of the Battel, oppos'd them against the Horsemen, now (as they thought) in possession of the Victory; commanding them by little and little to retire unto the Mountain, to the intent that they might seem to do that by commandment of the General, which they were like enough to have done of themselves for fear; hoping that it would come to pass, that the Turks finding the disadvantage of the place, would leave so hardly to assail them. But the *Bassa* encouraged with the first success of the battel, exhorted his Soldiers to urge the Victory, now almost as good as gotten, and not to give the Enemy space to recover the strength of the Mountain, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little short pains the day to end all that War, to the honour of *Bajazet* their Sovereign, and worthy commendation of themselves in general. In this fort encouraging them, he with a Troop of his best Horsemen (to animate the rest, and to show his own Valour) brake through the Enemies Battel; which thing he in the same heat, with more courage than discretion, attempting to perform the second time, was inclosed by his Enemies and slain; upon whose fall the fortune of the Battel was in a moment changed; for the Turks, which had fought courageously, having been backt almost overthrown eleven hundred men, now difmay'd with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, and by little and little to give ground, and at last turning their Horses

about, fled. On the other side *Tecellus* his Soldiers, who but a little before had repaid greater hope in the strength of the place and the Mountain, than in their Weapons and Valour, now incouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint Charge of their Enemies, began to thrust forward, and with a most terrible noise crying Victory, put to flight the Turks Horsemen, before wearied with long travel, when as they had by the Generals rashness left a notable Victory almost already gain'd. *Tecellus* although he knew that the Enemy could neither refresh his Forces, nor with any assurance keep the Field, if he should have pursuit; yet having lost many of his best Soldiers, and the rest of his Army fore weakned with Travel, Fasting, and Fighting, determin'd to refresh his wearied Followers upon the Mountain *Olyga*. From whence after a few days he march'd over the River *Halyz* unto the City of *Tafis*, his old dwelling place, and so to the City of *Calpis*, which the River *Manis* (much spoken of by the Poets) runneth through, and is now call'd by the name of *Maras*, but as then the Royal Seat of the Mountain King *Aladulus*. The Turks Horsemen having thus in some small fort rather revenged the injuries done by the Rebels, than obtained any Victory, returned *Achomet*, who was then coming on with the Footmen. Not long after, *Bajazet* understanding of the death of *Alis* *Bassa* his General, first *Jemal* *Bassa*, a warlike Captain, and of great experience (born in *Egypt*) in his stead. Who as soon as he had received the Charge of the Army from *Achomet*, marching forthwith into *Cappadocia*, and leaving the way on the right hand towards the Mountain *Antinarus*, came in few daies unto the City of *Tafis*, the place of *Tecellus* his abode; where burning and destroying the Country all about, he came and encamp'd with his Army at the foot of the Mountain; the *Bassa* had in his Army about forty thousand Horse and Foot well appointed, with many Field Pieces, and plenty of Victuals which he brought with him, for fear of want in that bare Country. *Tecellus* terrified with his coming, having of late received no Aid from *Hysmael* the *Perfian* King, and wanting also great Artillery, and besides that seeing his Soldiers greatly both diminished and discouraged with the late Battel at *Olyga*; determin'd not upon so great disadvantage to meet his Enemy in the plain Field, but to keep the rough Mountains and thick Woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keep those strong places, he should either receive some Aid from *Hysmael*, or by the heat of the Turks Leaders take them at some notable advantage. In the mean time many notable skirmishes pass'd betwixt the Soldiers on both sides; for the Turks fetching a compass about the Mountains, and seeking for the best passages, by the easy rising of the Hills, came to skirmish with their Enemies; and *Tecellus* his Soldiers on the other side falling many times out of the Woods and abrupt places of the Mountains, valiantly assailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this sort, as if it had been in disjunct, rather proved their Forces one upon another, than done any great matter; the Turks trying into every corner, at length perceived two ways whereby their whole Army with Ensigns displayed might without any great difficulty be brought unto the top of the Mountain, and so into their Enemies strength. The *Bassa* having well viewed these considered places, caus'd the Janizaries at one instant to march up to the Mountain by one of the aforesaid ways, and the rest of his Army by the other;

who with soft pace climbing up the steep Mountains, with their Targets defended themselves as well as they could against their Enemies Darts and Shot. For *Techellis* his Soldiers having before taken the high Mountains and places of advantage, cast down upon the Turks great Stones and Shot without number, as if it had been of fowls from the Fens. The Turks therefore certain small Field Pieces against the places which most annoyed them, easily drove them from their handings; the Harquebusers still following their Ensigns, shrouded close under the Targeteers and delivered their deadly Shot as showers of Rain upon their Enemies. Whose desperate defence *Techellis* perceiving, caused a Retreat to be founded, and with all his Army retired farther off into the higher Mountains and rougher Woods. The night following, perceiving that by the evil success of the former skirmish he had lost a great part of his credit and strength, he with great silence forsook the Woods, and passing quite over the Mountains fled into *Armenia*, then part of the *Perfian* Kingdom. Neither did the Turks perceive their departure until it was light day, and that their Scouts entering the thick Woods, and finding the Enemies baggage, with some wounded Soldiers were able to flee, brought news unto the Baff, of the Enemies departure, and of his speedy flight into *Armenia*. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, understood to be certainly true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not presently upon the Enemies Retreat betwixt the Wood round, he sent his Horsemen forthwith to pursue them; but all in vain, for *Techellis* was by direct and known ways gone into *Armenia*. Some few stragglers not able to make so much half the rest, were overtaken by the Turks Horsemen, and brought back to the Baff.

*Techellis* thus put to flight, *Tamir* caused strict inquisition to be made through all the Cities of the lesser *Asia*, for all such as had professed the *Perfian* Religion; and them whom he found to have born Arms in the late Rebellion, he caused to be put to death with most exquisite Torments, and the rest to be burnt in their Foreheads with an hot Iron, thereby to be known; whom together with the Kinsfolks and Friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he caused to be transported into *Europe*, and to be dispersed through *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Peloponnesus*; for fear lest if *Techellis* now fled into the *Perfian* Kingdom, should find thence return with new Forces, they should also again repair unto him, and raise a new Rebellion. This was the beginning, course, and ending, of one of the most dangerous Rebellions that ever troubled the Turkish Empire; wherein all, or at leastwise the greatest part of their Dominions in *Asia*, might have been easily suppressed by the *Perfian* King, if he would thoroughly have prosecuted the occasion and opportunity then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his Followers, flying into *Perfia*, by the way lightning upon a *Caravan* of Merchants laden with Silks, and other rich Merchandise, took the Spoil thereof; for which outrage coming to *Tamir*, the Captains were all by the commandment of *Hymel* executed, and *Techellis* himself to the terror of others burnt alive.

The next year (which was the year 1509, the fourteenth year of *Seydhan*) happened a great and terrible Earthquake in the City of *Constantinople*, and the Countries thereabouts; by the violence whereof, a great part of the Walls of that imperial City, with many stately Buildings both

publick and private, were quite overthrowen, and thirteen thousand People overwhelmed and slain. The terror whereof was so great, that the People generally forsook their Houses and lay abroad in the Fields; yea *Bajazet* himself, then very aged and fore troubled with the Gout, for fear thereof removed from *Constantinople* to *Edirne*; but finding himself in no more safety than before, he left the City and lay abroad in the Fields in his Tent. This Earthquake indured by the space of eighteen days, or (as the Turks Historiographers report) a month, with very little intermission; which was then accounted ominous, and portending the miserable calamities which shortly after happened in the *Ottoman* Family. After this Earthquake ensued a great Plague, where-with the City was grievously visited, and for the most part unpeopled. But after that the Earthquake was ceased, and the Mortality swallowed; *Bajazet* caused the imperial City to be with all speed repaired, and to that purpose gave out commissions into all parts of his Dominions for the taking up of Workmen; so that there were at once in work eighty thousand Workmen, who in most beautiful manner in the space of four months again repaired the ruins of that great City.

*Bajazet* had by his many Wives, eight Sons and six Daughters, which lived to be Men and Women grown; and the Sons all Governors in divers Provinces of his large Empire; whom the Turkish Historiographers reckon up in this order, *Abdullah Zelihi*, *Alam Seah*, *Tishan Seah*, *Achmet*, *Machmet*, *Corat*, *Selim*, and *Mahmet*. Yet *Antonius Ursus* a German, who long time lived in *Bajazet* his Court, and (as he of himself writeth) waited in his Chamber at the time of his death, reckoning up the Sons of *Bajazet*, maketh mention of these five, *Sciemfius*, *Alfemius*, *Alfemius*, *Machmet*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*; naming the forenamed by names something differing from the other. *Sciemfius* the eldest, Governor of *Carmania*, for his towardsness most dearly beloved of his Father, died a natural death before him, and was of him and his Subjects greatly lamented. *Alfemius* died in like manner, of whose death as soon as he was advertised, by mourning Letters written in black paper with white Characters (as their manner of writing is, in certifying of heavy news) he cast from him his Scepter with all other tokens of Honour, and caused general mourning to be made for him in the Court, and throughout all the City of *Constantinople*, by the space of three days; during which time all Shops were shut up, all trading forbidden, and no sign of mirth to be seen; and for a certain space after the manner of their Superstition, caused solemn Sacrifices to be made for the health of his Soul, and seven thousand *Alpens* to be given weekly unto the Poor. His dead body was afterward with all Princely Pomp conveyed to *Prusa*, and there with great solemnity buried. *Tashan* Governor of *Caria* and *Mahmet* Governor of *Cephis*, upon their Fathers heavy displeasure, were by his commandment both strangled.

Of his other four Sons *Achmet*, otherwise called *Achmet*, *Machmet* or *Machmet*, *Corcut* or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*; the second (namely *Machmet*) was of greatest hope and expectation, not given to sensuality or voluptuous pleasure, as *Achmet* his eldest Brother, neither altogether bookish as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of so fierce and cruel a Disposition as *Selymus*; but of such a lively Spirit, sharp Wit, bountiful Disposition, and Princely Carriage of himself, that in the judgment of most men, he seemed already worthy of a Kingdom. Which immoderate favour of the People,

The child of Bajazet.

People, caused his elder Brother *Achmet*, yea and *Bajazet* also himself, to have him in no small jealousy, as if he had affected the Empire; and was in short time the cause of his untimely death; which thing he nothing doubting, hastened (as fatal things are) by such means as he left ready might have procured any such mortal distrust or danger.

Most of *Bajazet* his Children were by divers Women, yet *Achmet* and this *Machmet* were by one and the same Mother; for which cause *Machmet* took greater pleasure in him than any his other Brethren; although it were not answered with like love again. *Achmet* was Lord and Governor of *Amasia*; and this *Machmet*, of *Magnesia*; who desirous to see the manner of his Brothers Life and Government, disguised himself with two of his familiar and faithful Friends, as if they had been religious men, of that Order which the Turks call *Imanier*. These men are for the most part comely Personages, born of good Houses, who in cleanly Attire made after an homely fashion, do at their pleasure wander up and down from Town to Town, and Country to Country, noting the disposition and manners of the People; whereof as first best their purpose, they make large Discourses afterwards to others; they commonly carry about with them Silver Cymbals, whereon they play most cunningly, and therewith sing pleasant and wanton Ditties; for which while doing, they receive Many of the People, as an Alms given them of Devotion. These are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether given to ease and pleasure, and are of the Turks called, *The religious Brethren of Love*; but might of right better be termed, *Epicurus* his *Hogs*; than any professors of any Religion at all. *Machmet* and his two Corrupters, as men of this profession, travelled up and down the Countries of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* (where *Achmet* commanded) and so to the City of *Amasia*; receiving for their merry glee by the way as they went, the Alms and Devotion of the foolish Country People: And being at the length come to *Amasia*, by coming of *Achmet* to the Church; who passing by, staid a while listening attentively unto their pleasant and alluring Harmony; which was for that purpose most curiously and skillfully before devised, and by them both with their instruments and voices performed. When they had ended their Music, and according to the manner of their idle profession expected his devotion; *Achmet* being a man of a spare hand, commanded five *Alpens* to be given them in reward (which is about six pence of our Money.) *Machmet* disdaining his Brothers base reward, as a sign of his miserable disposition, would in vain discover himself, as he had before determined; but taking horse, returned with speed to *Magnesia*; from whence he wrote taunting Letters unto his Brother *Achmet*, scoffing at his good Husbandry (no praise to a Prince) and in contempt sent him back again his five *Alpens*; which thing *Achmet* took in so evil part, as that he was never after-wards friends with him. The report of this fact was in short time dispersed throughout all parts of the Turkish Empire, divers men diversely deeming of his purpose therein.

Not long after *Machmet* had in this sort played with his Brother *Achmet*, he attired himself with certain of his trusty Followers, as if they had been Seafaring men, and with a small Bark came to *Constantinople*, and there landing as Adventurers from Sea, took diligent view both of the imperial City, and of the City of *Pera* standing

opposite against it, curiously noting how all things were by his Fathers appointment ordered and governed. It happened whilst he was thus staying at *Constantinople*, that *Bajazet* had appointed a solemn assembly of all his chief Baffes at the Court; which *Machmet* was desirous to have the sight of; as also of the fashion of his Fathers Courts; but as he with his Companions pressed to have entered in at the Courts Gate, they were by their bafe Apparel taken of the Porters to have been rude Mariners, and so by them kept out. Wherefore consulting what to do in that case, he went and presently bought a most beautiful Christian Captive Boy, and the next day coming again to the Court with two of his Companions (as if they had been Adventurers at Sea) requested to be let in, for that they had brought a Present for the Emperor. So finding means to be admitted to the presence of *Bajazet*, one of his Confessors (as if he had been a Sea Captain) boldly thrust forth, and with due reverence offered the Present unto the Emperor; which he thankfully took, and in token thereof gave him his hand to kiss, and commanded a rich Garment wrought with Gold to be given unto him, with two others of less value unto *Machmet* and his Fellow; supposed to be the said Captains Followers; who all this while stood a far off, as if it had been for reverence of the Emperor, but indeed for fear to be discovered. As these counterfeit Guests were returning from the Court in their Garments of Favour, they hapned to meet with three Courtiers which knew *Machmet*; who discerning from their Hories, had done him Honour and due Reverence, as to the Son of the great Emperor, had he not by secret signs forbidden them, as one unwilling to be known. When he had thus seen his Father, the Court, and the Imperial City, he went again aboard, and so with speed returned to *Magnesia*.

The report of this doing, had in short time filled both the City and the Court, and was at last brought to *Bajazet* Ears; which raised in his suspicious Head many a troublesome thought, greatly fearing, that in these life practices lay hidden some secret and desperate Conspiracy, dangerous to himself and his other Children. Wherefore after long discourses had with the three great Baffes then of his secret Council, concerning the matter, to rid himself of all fear, he resolved in any case to take him away. And therefore caused them in his name to write unto *Alfemius*, a gallant warrior, and always near unto *Machmet*, to poison him with a secret Poyson, for that purpose inclosed in those Letters sent unto him; with promise of great rewards and preferments for that his service, to be afterwards received from the Emperor; charging him withal, that if he could not effect the matter, he should so conceal it, as that *Machmet* should have no distrust thereof; the least suspicion whereof, would tend to his utter destruction. This *Alfemius* for some unkindness bare a secret grudge against *Machmet*, which *Bajazet* knowing of, made choice of him the rather; and he on the other side partly to perform the will of his Tyrant command, and partly to revenge his own private wrong, vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Machmet* having disposed himself in his Gardens of Pleasure, and being thitherly after his exercise, called to him a *Alfemius* always at hand, in a gilt meubank. *Alfemius* him first desired, where-into he had secretly conveyed the deadly Poyson sent from *Bajazet*. *Machmet* having drunk thereof,

Machmet was poisoned by Alfemius.

Techellis burnt at Tauris. 1509. A great Earthquake at Constantinople.

thereof, in short time began to feel himself evil at ease, and presently sent for his Physicians; who thinking that he had been smothered, did to him himself with drinking too much cold drink in his heart, perceived not that he was poisoned, until that within six days after, he died. Of whose death Bajazet advertised, could not abstain from mourning, although he himself had been the only Author thereof; and the more to manifest his heaviness, caused all the Court to mourn with him, and Prayers to be made in their Temples after their superstitious manner, and Alms to be given to the Poor for the health of his Soul. His dead body was afterwards carried to *Prusa*, and there honourably buried with his Ancestors. *Alimohamed* the Traitor in reward of his unfaithfulness towards his Master, was by the commandment of Bajazet cast into Prison, and never afterwards seen, being there (as it was thought) secretly made away.

Now had Bajazet but three Sons left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Cercesius*. *Achomates* Governor of *Amasia*, was a man both politic and valiant; but much given to pleasure and delight; him Bajazet and most part of the great men of the Court favoured above the rest of his Brethren; except such as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Cercesius* for his mild and quiet nature, was of most men beloved, but not thought to fit for the Government of so great an Empire; especially by the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, before the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more haughty disposition than to brook the life of a Subject under the command of either of his Brethren, and altogether given to martial Affairs, fought by infinite Bounties, feigned Courtesy, subtil Policy, and by all other means good and bad, to aspire unto the Empire. Him therefore the Janizaries with all the great Souldiers of the Court, yea and some of the chief Baffles aloft (corrupted with Gifts) withstood above the rest, for their Lord and Sovereign; desiring rather to live under him which was like to set all the World on a hurly burly whereby they might increase their Wealth, the certain rewards of their Adventures than to lead an idle and unprofitable Life (as they termed it) under a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whilst men stood thus diversly affected towards these Princes of so great hope, Bajazet now far worn with years, and so grievously tormented with the Gout that he was not able to help himself; for the quietness of his Subjects and preventing of such troubles as might arise by the apirings of his Children after his death, determined whilst he yet lived (for the avoiding of these and other such like mischiefs) to establish the Succession in some one of his Sons; who wholly possessed of the Kingdom, might easily repress the pride of the other. And although he had far down with himself, that *Achomates* should be the man, as well in respect of his Birth-right, as of the especial affection he bare unto him; yet to discover the disposition of his Subjects, and how they stood affected, it was given out in general terms, That he meant before his death to make it known to the World, who should succeed in the Empire, without naming any one of his Sons; leaving that for every man to divine of according as

they were affected; which was not the least caution that every one of his Sons with like ambition began now to make full account of their former Preferences, as thinking only upon the Empire, it self.

First of all *Selymus*, whom Bajazet had made Governor of the Kingdom of *Trapezond*, rigging up all the Ships he could in *Pomus*, sailed from *Trapezond* over the *Euxine* (now called the *Black Sea*) to the City of *Capra*, called in ancient time *Tridulia*, and from thence by Land to *Malatras*, the son of the *Tartars* called *Preceptus*, a mighty King of the *Tartars*, whose Daughter he had without the good liking of his Father before married; and discovering unto him his intended purpose, besought him by the sacred Bonds of the Affinity betwixt them, not to shrink from his loving Son-in-law in to fit an opportunity for his advancement. And whilst shewed unto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empire was propoed unto him by his most faithful Friends and the Souldiers of the Court, if he would but come nearer unto his Father (then about to transfer the Empire to some one of his Sons) and either by fair means to procure his favour, or by entering with his Army into *Thracia*, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other Brethren for the Successor. The *Tartar* King commending his high device, as a kind Father-in-law with wonderful delicacy caused great store of shipping to be made ready in the *Pontic* Sea, and *Amasia*, but especially at the Ports of *Cape* and *Amasia*, upon the great River of *Tanais*, which boundeth *Amasia* from *Asia*; and arming fifteen thousand *Tartarian* Horsemen, delivered them all to *Selymus*, promising forthwith to fend him greater Aid if he should have occasion to use the same. These things being quickly dispatched, *Selymus* passing over the River *Borysthenes*, either to *Amasia*, or *Lebia*, came at length to *Danubius*, and with his Horsemen passed that famous River at the City of *Cebia*; his Fleet he commanded to meet him at the Port of the City of *Varna*, called in ancient time *Dionysopolis*, in the Confines of *Bulgaria* and *Thracia*; he himself left levying more men by the way as he went, pretending in these quiet another thing than he had indeed intended; which the better to cover, he gave it out as if he had purposed to have invaded *Hungary*.

But Bajazet a good while before advertised, that *Selymus* was departed from *Trapezond*, and come over into *Europe*, he sent word that he had left his charge in *Asia* (the Rebellion of *Tachalis* and the *Perfian* War yet scarce quered) and that upon his own head he had entertained foreign Aid to make War against the most warlike Nation of the *Hungarians*; and farther, that with his Army by Land, he had seized upon the places nearest unto *Thracia*, and with a strong Navy kept the *Euxine* Sea; he began to suspect, as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and intended against himself; for the crafty old Sire had good proof of the unquiet and troublesome nature of his Son, especially in that without his knowledge he durst presume to take a Wife from amongst the *Tartars*, and afterwards with no less presumption of himself raise an Army both by Sea and Land: whereby he easily perceived, that he would never hold himself contented with a small Kingdom, so long as he was in hope by a desperate adventure to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like resolution to appease his violent and fierce Nature, than by sharp reproof to move him to farther Choler, he sent unto him Embassadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkish Kings had in former times taken upon them those *Hungarian* Wars;

1511.  
Selymus  
aided by  
Mahomet  
his Father  
against his  
Father.

Wars; for example whereof he needed not to go so far further than to his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding loss had made proof of the *Hungarian* Forces; wherefore he should do well to expect some fit opportunity, when as he might with better advice, greater power, and more sure hope of Victory, take those Wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus*, answered, That he had less cause to be troubled by the injuries of his Brother *Achomates*, than was therefore come over into *Europe*, by dint of Sword and the help of his Friends, to win from the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion a larger and better Province for that little barren and peaceable one which his Father had given him, bordering upon *Hiberia* and *Chelodis*, bare and needy People, living as Conies among the Rocks and Mountains. As for the *Hungarians*, whom they thought to be a People invincible, and therefore not to be dealt withal, he was not of that bafe mind to be daunted with any danger, were it never so great; and yet that in his opinion the War was neither so difficult or dangerous, as was of his late pretended; so far from the ancient propoews of that warlike Nation was now much changed, together with the change of their Kings; and their Discipline of War not only much decayed, but almost quite lost, after that *Uladislav*, far unlike in Policy and Prowess, had succeeded the renowned *Matthias* in that Kingdom. Neither had he (as he himself in his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chance of War, as knowing that neither God nor Man would be wanting unto him, who with an honourable resolution did adventure upon virtuous and worthy attempts; and that therefore he was fully resolved for his own honour (which his Father had in full esteem for himself) either to die honourably in the Field in battle against the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, or else gloriously to extend the bounds of the Turkish Empire; and that he would not (though one of the youngest in the *Osman* Family) be accounted inferior to any of his Brethren in Virtue and Prowess. Thus was the *Hungarian* War never by *Selymus* intended, notably by him pretended; and with no less diffimulation by Bajazet disavowed. The Embassadors, although *Selymus* in all his Speeches shewed no token of Peace; yet in his private conference, he flattered unto him divers Gifts, thereby if it might be to appease his fierce and cruel mind. Unto his old Government he joyntly sent *Scamandria*, which the *Hungarians* call *Schederovia*, a strong City of *Servia* upon the borders of *Hungary*; with many other strong Towns in the same Country; they gave him also three score thousand Ducats, beside a thousand Garments of Cloth and Silk; with good Store of Provision wherewith to relieve and content the Souldiers by him entertained; left that they drawn far from home in hope of Spoil, should take it in evil part if they should be sent away empty handed. *Selymus* in a happy time having received these Gifts, returned the Embassadors unto his Father, with more doubtful answer and uncertain hope than before; yet changing nothing in himself of his former resolution, secret Messengers and Letters from his Friends in the Court still whetting him forward (too much already inflamed with desire of Sovereignty) perswading him to make hie and to repulse his greatest hope in his quick speed; for that they understood, that about the time of his setting forward, his Brother *Achomates* was coming with a great power, being sent for out of *Cappadocia* by his Father.

In the mean time Bajazet, moved the rather with the fear of *Selymus*, resolved upon that, whereof he had long before in his mind deeply considered, and now laid openly, That he would appoint his Successor, who instead of himself, spent with years and sickness, should bring with him the flower of Youth and strength of Body, fit to govern to great an Empire. But when those things were propounded unto the Souldiers of the Court by the four great Baffles (who place unto the Emperours of Peace and War had next with gainful by those Martial Men, crying aloud with one voice, That they would know no other Emperor but Bajazet, under whose conduct and good fortune they had now served above thirty years; and therefore would not suffer him to live a private life in obscurity, who with so many Victories and strong Cities taken, had brought the *Osman* Empire unto that height of Renown and Glory. They said moreover, that there was in him yet strength enough, if he would but with the reverend honour of his Age retain the Majesty of his place, and the Glory he had gotten with his long and happy Reign, and most famous Victories; and that of his Children, such an one should undoubtedly in his due time succeed in the Empire, as of right ought; only they wished, that the old Emperor might in the mean time live in health with a long and happy Reign; neither needed he (as they said) to fear that after his death any controversy should arise among his Sons about the Succession; for that the *Osman* Progress used to attain the Imperial seat, according to the old custom of the Ancients, the *Osman* Kings, by Right and Order only, and not by Corruption or Faction. But if he would needs upon his own private good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of such an one as the People and the Men of War (his most loyal and faithful Subjects) could not so well like of, it would be an occasion of much more trouble, and happily the means to bring in that confusion of the State, which he thought thereby to eschew. For then, beside the dislike of the People, the other Brethren would never endure so notable an injury, or ever be at quiet, until they had (as men wrongfully cast off and disinherited) by strong hand and endangering of all, recovered their honor lost by the headstrong Will of their aged Father.

The Souldiers thus before instructed by the Friends and Favourites of *Selymus*, (who with many and large Promises had corrupted their Captains and chief Officers) spake these things frankly, to have deterred the old Emperor from his purpose. But he thinking that they had (as he himself did) especially affected *Achomates* his eldest Son, (for that they had generally protected, that they would against all injuries defend his honour, unto whom the Empire should of right appertain) said he would make choice of *Achomates*, if it should stand with their good liking. But the chief of the Souldiers (who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together fold both their Faith and themselves) cunningly commended *Achomates*, and seemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their Sovereign, Bajazet yet living, they said was not agreeing with the ancient custom of the *Osman* Kings, neither for the behoof of the men of War, neither yet good for the State of the Empire; forasmuch as neither his Brethren *Cercesius* and *Selymus*, neither the Souldiers of the Court, could patiently endure the least touch of the suspicion of Infolity; which they must needs do, if he as a suspicious Father should doubt either of the Love or Loyalty

Alimohamed  
judged  
by reward  
ed for his  
Treachery.

Bajazet  
would appoint  
his Successor  
while he yet  
lived.

Gifts  
given to  
Selymus  
by his Fa-  
ther, Em-  
bassadors.

Bajazet  
first chose  
to prefer  
Achomates  
and his Em-  
pire.

Bajazet  
sends  
Embassadors  
to Selymus.

alty of his most dutiful Sons, or of the Faith and Contancy of his most faithful Servants, whereof he had made so many trials. Bajazet, being thus focused unto them all unquestonable, that by the odious prejudice of that Fact, the Soldiers should be left debarred of the rewards usually granted unto them during the time of the vacancy of the Empire, arising of the Spoil taken from them which are of Religion different from the Turks. For it is a custom, that immediately upon the death of the Turkish Emperor, all the Jews and Christians which dwell at Constantinople, Pera, Hadrianople, Thessalonica, and Prusa, especially Merchants, exposed unto the injuries of the Turks, are by the Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court, spoiled of all their Wares and Goods, and become unto them a Prey; neither will they give their Oath of Allegiance unto the new Emperor, until he have granted unto them all that Prey, as a Bounty, and have solemnly sworn by his own Head (the greatest assurance that can by Oath be given amongst the Turks) freely to pardon all the Offenders, and for ever to forget all the outrages before committed. When Bajazet saw his Men of War thus generally to oppose themselves against the translation of the Empire to *Achmet*, he of purpose to corrupt the minds of them which were before already corrupted, promised to give them five hundred thousand Ducats if they would forsake *Achmet* to *Achmet*, and accept him for their Sovereign; which Mass of Money his Customers and Receivers undertook to levy of the same Merchants Strangers and Jews, and to pay it as *Bajazet* had promised. Yet the overthwart forwardness of these Men of War overcame the good Fortune of *Achmet*, although the reward promised was great; for why, they had in their Martial Minds conceived far greater Rewards and Preferments, if instead of a peaceable and quiet Prince, a monstrous Tyrant of restless nature (as was *Selymus*) might by their help and means aspire to the Empire. Thus *Bajazet*, driven from his hope, thought it best for the present to dissemble the matter; and concealing his grief, with patience to put up that dishonour, until a fitter opportunity were offered for the effecting of that he so much desired.

*Selymus* advertised from his Friends, with what affection and favour the Soldiers of the Court had in the secret favour of him openly withstood the earnest desire of *Bajazet* for the preferment of *Achmet*; because he would no longer frustrate the expectation of his Favourites by lingering and delay, or seem to distrust the ready good Wills of the Men of War towards him, left the borders of Hungary, and with his Army marching through *Thracia*, incamped at length upon the rising of an Hill not far from *Hadrianople*, from whence the neighing of his Horses might easily be heard, and his Tents from the high places of the City discovered. From thence he sent a Messenger unto his Brother now lying in the City, and certified him, That forasmuch as he had not of many years before seen him, he was now therefore desirous to come unto his presence to visit him, before he crossed the Seas back again by his appointment to *Trapezond*; and the rather, because it might chance that he should never see him again, being now become both aged and disabled; besides that, it much concerned (as he would have had him to believe) the quietness of his Kingdom in *Asia*, and the unity of his Children, if the controversies betwixt him and his Brother *Achmet*, which could not safely be committed to Messengers, might by themselves be discovered to him their Father, as an in-

different hearer and decider thereof. Wherefore he humbly besought him to appoint him a time and place to give audience, and not to deny him leave to come and kiss his Father, which thing his Ancestors never refused to grant to their poor Friends, much less to their Children. *Bajazet* who a few days before understanding of the coming of *Selymus*, and thoroughly seeing into his devices, had called unto him certain of his Sanzacks or chief Captains, and had sent them Companies out of the nearest parts of *Greece*, and had also set strong Watch and Ward through the City; fearing left under the colour of parlie, his Soldiers attending about his person, corrupted by *Selymus* and his Friends (who even then loaded with Gifts and Promises, were secretly upon the point of revolt) should be quite drawn away from him, and so he himself at length be either by open force oppressed, or secret Treachery circumvented, thought it best to cut him off at once from all hope of conference or access unto his presence. Wherefore seriously blaming him, that he had upon his own head brought his Army into another mans Province, that he in Arms required audience, and last of all, he insolently abused his Fathers lenity and patience; he by the same Messenger sent him farther word, That he should not presume to approach any nearer unto him, or expect any thing appertaining to peace, who guarded with forearmed hands had without his Fathers leave entered into Arms, and spoiled the Countries of his Friends; and that therefore he should do well, with all speed to retire out of *Thracia*, yea and out of *Europe* also, and disbanding his Forces, again to retire himself unto his own charge in *Pontus*; in which doing he should find greater favour and kindness with him his Father, than ever he had before; but if he would needs proceed in the course by him begun, that then he would no more take him for his Son, but for his Enemy, and before it were long, sharply chastise for his malapert Insolency, little differing from unnatural Treachery. The Messenger with his answer dismissed, it was not long after, but that *Bajazet* was by his espials advertised, that *Selymus* the night following was risen with his Army, and marched directly towards *Constantinople*; whether he was sent for by his Friends, in hope that upon his forwardness to his avail arise in that so great and populous City. Whereupon *Bajazet* fearing left in flying at *Hadrianople*, he might lose the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, early in the morning by break of the day departed from *Hadrianople* towards *Constantinople*. Upon his departure *Selymus* peaceably entered the City of *Hadrianople*, the Citizens fearing, that if they should have made any resistance, their unfeasonable faithfulness towards *Bajazet* might have turned to their utter destruction. *Selymus* after he had a while retrained his Army with the plenty that City, according to his former determination for forwardness of purpose by long and speedy Marches to have prevented his Fathers coming to *Constantinople*. *Bajazet* was yet scarcely come to *Chirius*, or rather *Taurulum*, an ancient ruinous City almost upon the mid way betwixt *Hadrianople* and *Constantinople*, when warning was given of them that followed his Army, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the stragglers of his Army, and with hot skirmishing stayed and troubled his Rearward. The aged Emperor more moved than terrified with the strangeness of the matter, because his marching should not seem as if it were a Flight or Chase, commanded his Standard to be set up, and all his Army to make a

stand

The chief  
men about  
Bajazet  
secretly  
favoured  
Selymus,  
and  
dissembled  
him  
from  
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him  
notice.

stand, of purpose that if *Selymus* should come on to give him Battle, he might find him in readiness. The great Captains and Noblemen then present with *Bajazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or upon some new inclination of their affection, or else upon hope of new Alliance and Preferment, withholding well unto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly and cunningly favouring him, seemed not to like of *Bajazet* his resolution, to be so far moved (as they said) with the youthful heat and lightness of his Son, as to seek revenge, whereas the Victory it fell out, he held him nothing but sorrow; but the overthwart threatened destruction both to himself and all them that were with him; the imminent event thereof seemed to be so much the more dangerous and fearful, by how much he was at that time inferior unto his Son in warlike Provision and number of men. Wherefore it was good for him (they said) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding up of his life to make too much haft by a miserable death in a woful Battle to stain the whole glory of his former life. There was (as they would have persuaded him) but one only course to be taken, full of whole some Policy and Safety; and that was, That he should with such speed as he had begun, march on forward to *Constantinople*, that so *Selymus* excluded out of the City, (his chiefest hope) and then not knowing which way to turn himself, should either of his own accord, or for fear of his greater Forces, be driven out of return; and so by with his rascal Followers more honestly by the hands of them whose Countries he had spoiled, and upon whom he must of necessity live in his return, than by the sword of his Father. The Author of this Counsel was *Musapha*, the most ancient *Baia* of those which being in greater favour with the Emperor, were only members of his Privy Council, and sway all matters of importance concerning either Peace or War; he then upon an unthankful and malicious mind loathing *Bajazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him also for certain private displeasures conceived of the emulation of the other younger *Baia*'s by him promoted; and secretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and favour, resembling his Grandfather the Great *Achmet*, by whom he was brought up himself, and him of all the Sons of *Bajazet* he thought most worthy of the Empire. This *Musapha* was born in the Town of *Serez*, near unto *Amphipolis* the Son of a Greek Priest, a man of a lively crafty, and fit to wit, always subject to corruption; which diseases of mind were in him well to have been discovered by his froward look and faine Eyes, the certain notes of a nature to be suspected. Next unto this *Musapha* was *Bostanges Baia*, born of the honourable House of the *Ducagins* in *Asiabula*, and therefore called *Ducagins*; a man for his Covetousness, Ambition, and Treachery, infamous; as the foul and miserable end of his life afterwards declared. Unto this man, *Selymus* had by secret promise betrothed one of his daughters, not marriageable, as a reward of his corrupt Fable. By which sleight he had also allured *Aga* (Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, and great Master of the Household) to promise his Aid for the obtaining of the Empire; whereunto he said he was by Destiny called; and by his means drew other inferior whom he hoped not to remove whatsoever might please their humors. Yea the Captains almost generally either corrupted with reward, or for fear following the inclination of the greater Commanders, of themselves leaned that way.

Of all the rest, only *Cherlogies Baia* (whom the Turks Historians call also *Achmet Horrecaoglu*) a faithful, constant, and upright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a faithful and assured Friend unto *Bajazet* his Father in and Insolvency of *Selymus*; was even there by oppressed, before he should approach any nearer unto the Imperial City, for fear of raising some further trouble or tumult there, than were well to be appeased; which was the thing that *Selymus* he thought (as *Cherlogies* said) that the naked *Tartarian* Horsemens, although they were in number more, would ever be able to abide the first charge of *Bajazet* his well armed Penions. As for the Janizaries, of whose approved Faith and Valour tried in many dangers, he had before that they would none to the uttermost of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time so well of them deserved; and also to revenge his quarrel upon disobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God the just Revenger of such ungracious dealing, neither the infamy of men, had most unseasonably lift up his Sword against his Father, wickedly to deprive him of life, of whom he had received life. Wherefore he persuaded him, in his own just quarrel to go forth unto his Soldiers with cheerful countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the bene-received at his hands, at all of their Allegiance and Duty; to make them to understand, that reposing his trust in their Fidelity and Valour, he had resolutely set down with himself, in that place before he went any further, by their faithful hands to chastise the presumptuous insolency of his unnatural Son, together with his rebellious Followers.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherlogies*, it shall not be amiss, both for the honour of the man, and the great love he always bare unto the Christians, to step a little out of the way, to see the cause why he being a Christian born, turned Turk. For he was not (as almost all the rest of the great men about *Bajazet* were) of a Child taken from his Christian Parents, and so brought up in the Mahometan Religion; but now being a man grown, turned Turk; yet so, as that he never in heart forgot either the Christian Religion or love towards the Christians; a thing not common among such Renegades. He being the Son of one *Cherlogies*, a small Prince of *Byzia* near unto the black Mountains, and going to be married unto a Lady whom he most entirely loved; and unto whom he was already betrothed, honourably defended of the House of the Despot of *Serez*; his incontinent Father with lustful Eye beholding the young Lady, as a rare Feature and incomparable Beauty, desired to have her for himself; and regarding more the satisfying of his own inordinate desire, than his own honour, or the Fatherly Love of his Son, took her in marriage himself; all his Friends labouring in vain to dissuade him, as with open mouth crying shame of so foul a Fact. Wherefore the young man, moved with the indignity of so great an injury, and driven headlong with despair, left first to the Turks Garrisons which lay not far off, and from thence to *Constantinople*; where the fortune of the man was to be wondered at. For being brought before *Bajazet*, who with cheerful countenance entertained him, for that

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*Cherlogies Baia*  
the only  
great man  
faithful to  
*Bajazet*,  
throughout  
his life to  
give Battle  
to his Son  
Selymus.

*Selymus*  
marched  
with his  
Army to-  
wards  
Hadrianople

*Selymus*  
his dissem-  
bling em-  
bellished  
unto his Fa-  
ther.

*Selymus*  
secretly  
favoured  
his Father.



he was honourably defended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cause of his revolt; smiling upon him, said, Be of good cheer Noble Turk, for thy great courage is worthy of far greater fortune than thy Father's! He could afford thee now in stead of thy Love wrongfully taken from thee by thy Father, (the Kingwoman of a poor exiled Prince) thou shalt have given thee in marriage the Daughter of a great Emperor, of rare and singular perfection. And not long after abjuring his Religion, and changing the Name of his Father's Adornments and Christofites, he married one of Bajazet his Daughters, a Princess of great Beauty; and deferred to have a place among the Baffes of greatest honour in the Court. Yet still retaining the remembrance of his former Profession, with a desire to return thence again; inasmuch that he kept close a secret closet and image of the Crucifix, which he shewed to Jo. Lafaris, as to his trusty Friend, as he himself reported. This man at such time as the City of Modon was taken by the Turks, and a multitude of poor Christian Captives cruelly put to death in the sight of Bajazet, by earnest intreaty saved the Venetian Senators there taken; and afterward by earnest suite delivered Andreas Gritti, being Prisoner at Constantinople, and condemned to die: who not many years after was chosen Duke of Venice. He was the chief means whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained Peace of Bajazet. He also by his great Authority, and of his own charge released considerable Christians from the servitude of the Turks and set them at liberty. Neither is his kindness towards the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten; for at such time as the foresaid Jo. Lafaris the notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of Leo the Tenth, fought ancient works of famous Writers, he procured the Turkish Emperors Letters and Patents, that he might freely at his pleasure search all the Libraries in Greece, to the great benefit of good Letters. Now Bajazet encouraged by this mans perswasion (as is aforesaid) and hearing as he lay in his Pavilion, the Alarm of the Enemy, with the tumult and clamor of his own Souldiers as if they had been men afraid; and sundry Messengers also at the same time coming unto him with news, That Selymus with his Tartarian Horfemen had almost inclosed the Rearward of his Army, and already taken some of his Baggage; grinding his Teeth for very madness and grief of mind, with Tears trickling down his hoary Cheeks, got him out of his Pavilion, and in his rage he was at the same time so troubled with the Gout, that he was not able to sit on Horfback; and turning himself unto the Pensioners and Janizaries standing about him, as their manner is, said unto them,

Will you, Foster-Children, valiant Souldiers, and faithful Aspers of my Person, who with great fortune have served me in Field above the space of thirty years; and for your faithful and good service have both in time of Peace and War, of me received such rewards, as by your own confession and thanksgiving far exceeded your own expectation, and the measure of our Treasures? Will you, I say, suffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his wicked Son? And your old Emperor, tormented with age and diseases, to be cruelly murdered by a company of wild Tartars, little better than arrant Rogues and Thieves? Shall I be now forsaken in this my heavy old age and last act of Life? And shall I be delivered unto mine Enemies, by them, I say, who many years ago with great faithfulness and invincible Courage defended mine Honour and Right against

my Brother Zemes? And have many times since, not only valiantly defended this Empire against most warlike Nations, but also most victoriously augmented the same? But I will not so lightly believe that which to my no small grief is brought unto mine ears, concerning the revolting of mine Army; neither if I did believe it, am I so fearful as to be therewith discouraged, or to seek to make shift for my self. For to what purpose should I think of flight; as though I could in any other place find more faithfulness or surer defence than with you? And concerning your Asbomates and Christofites, which should be your duty to defend Treachery? If any of you (for I cannot believe that you are all so mad) without regard of faith, of worldly shame, or the fear of God, have polluted your minds with the pernicious conceits of so foul a Treason; do you think to gain greater Rewards and preferments by your Treachery and Villany, than by your Fidelity and Integrity? There be many, which wish of my Person, persuade me to reserve this my sick and feeble Body unto my better fortune, and to commit my self to flight, so rather to save my life with shame and infamy, than to end my days with honour and glory; Which is so far from my thought for the apprehension of my fear to do, that I will to the contrary forthwith give the first Enemy battle; and in this my last danger make proof of all your Fidelity and Valour, and of every one of your good Wills in particular; and so by conduct of the Highest, either defeat the power and break the strength of this graceless man, or else having reigned above thirty years as my Emperor, and all my days together with them which shall unto the end continue with me, I will die in fullness and Loyalty, although I should be most shamefully and dishonourably betrayed and forsaken of some of mine own Guard; which thing though lying Fame would make me believe, yet will I not fear it until I see the proof thereof.

The common fort of Janizaries, unto whom the great Commanders and Captains corrupted by Selymus, had not for their levity and multitude communicated their purpose of transferring the Empire to Selymus, began to cry out as if it had been with general consent. That he should not doubt to join battle with his Enemies, and to make proof of their constant Fidelity and wonted Valour. Which was done with such cheerfulness and desire expressed by great Shouts, clapping of Hands, and clattering of Armor, that it seemed they would play the parts of resolute Souldiers, and that as guiltless men they took it grievously to be once suspected of Treason or Infidelity. Others also who formerly had their hearts were well affected to Selymus, for faithful sake followed them with like cry; but especially the great Commanders both of the Army and of the Emperors Court, now changed their affection, whether it were for shame of the Fact, or for fear of discovering themselves out of season, is uncertain. Wherefore according to the manner of such men, which through their Fidelity and mischievous disposition, fearing to be convinced and discovered, add unto the present a second and new Treason or Treachery, to cover the former; by Mustapha and Bosphanus (not daring now to shew themselves for Selymus) to make a great shew of their feigned Loyalty towards Bajazet, departed themselves out of his Pavilion, to encourage the Souldiers; and to martial the Barrel.

Bajazet sick in his Chariot, by the advice of Cherfogeles the faithful Bassa, placed his Barrel in this order: The Sarzacks (which are the Governors of Provinces) with their Horfemen, in number about six thousand; set in the Front of the Barrel; the Spachlogans and Siliphits, which

the same fort of the Janizaries faithful to Bajazet, despite their ill.

which are the chief Horfemen of the Court, and as it were the Emperors Pensioners, were placed as two Wings on each side the great Squadron of the Janizaries, in the midst whereof was old Bajazet himself. Other forty thousand Horfemen (Servants to the great men of the Court) were left in the Rearward, and to guard the Baggage. These Slaves (so for indeed they are) for their Apparel and Furniture, yea and Valor also are so inferior to their Masters, by whom they are so sumptuously maintained, both for strength and ostentation. The Barrel thus ordered, Bajazet commanded the Trumpets to sound, and a red Ensign in token of battle to be displayed. On the other side, Selymus placing his Tartarian Horfemen in both Wings, and his Turks in the midst, in manner of a half Moon, for that in number of Horfemen far exceeds his Father, did almost on every side inclose him, and to charge him. The Tartars when they were come within an hundred paces of their Enemies, casting themselves (after the manner of their right) into great Rings, empty within in manner of a Crown, and so running round, that they might both hacke and cut the Enemies liver their Arrows, cast upon their Enemies whole showers of Shot; as if it had been Hail, to the great annoyance of the Turks; when as in the mean time the other Tartarian Archers further off, shooting their Arrows not right forth, but more upright towards Heaven, which falling directly down, fore gauged the Turks Heads and feet. But the old Souldiers (taught by the example of their Father) fered close together, and casting their Targets over their Heads, as if it had been one whole Roof or Penthouse, received their Arrows with less harm, and hasted with as much speed as they could to come to handy blows. The Pensioners also at the same instant heavily charged the middle of Selymus his Barrel, where the Turkish Horfemen stood; and Ajax Captain of the Janizaries, drawing out seven hundred ready Harquebussiers out of the Squadron of the Janizaries, with them assailed the hindmost of one of the Wings of the Tartars; and the four thousand Servants left in the Rearward, as desirous as the rest to show their forwardness, with great Slaughter repulld the other Wing of the Tartars, which came to have spoiled the Turks Carriages. This fierce battle betwixt the Father and the Son, with doubtful event endured from Noon until the going down of the Sun; Selymus in many places still restoring his declining Barrel, and fighting himself, as for an Enemy. But after the Tartars, hardly charged by the Harquebussiers, were not able to abide the Shot, especially their Horfes, being with the unwonted noise thereof wonderfully terrified, and so carrying back their Riders whether they would or no, began to fly; the rest of the Horfemen could neither by commandment, threatening, or wounds be enforced to stay, but turned their Backs and fled. The Footmen also whom Selymus had attired and armed after the manner of the Janizaries, being forsaken of their own Horfemen, were now by Bajazet his Horfemen compassed about and almost all slain.

Selymus his Army thus overthrown, and himself hardly beset, was by certain Troops of his Turkish Horfemen which yet staid with him, delivered from the present danger; and being wounded, was mounted upon a fresh Horfe, and to with all the speed he could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be pursued and overtaken by his Fathers faithful Horfemen, he changed his Horfe, and took another of a wonderful swiftness; and so referring himself to his future fortune,

with a few of his Followers fled to Varna, and from thence by Sea to Capha.

The Horfe whereon Selymus fled was all black, called Carabul (that is to say, a black Horse), whom Selymus as a good Servitor ever after exempted from all service; and had him in such estimation, that covered with Cloth of Gold, he was as a spare Horfe without a Rider led after him in all his great Expeditions, first into Persia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he died at Cairo, and there to the imitation of Bucephalus, Great Alexander, Horfe had a Monument erected for him: wherein Selymus shewed the Father and the Son in his own Brethren, whom he cruelly murdered, and hardly afforded to some of them to honourable a Sepulture.

In this Barrel, of forty thousand which Selymus brought into the Field, escaped not above eight thousand, but they were either slain or taken prisoners. Of Bajazet his Army were left about seven hundred, and three thousand hurt with Tartarian Arrows: which loss he presently revenged with extreme cruelty, causing all such as were taken prisoners to be without mercy put to the Sword in his sight; whose heads were laid together by heaps, and their dead bodies cast into the River and Towed. Of this notable Barrel betwixt the Father and the Son in the year 1511, Chirulius called in ancient time Teurulum, before an obscure old ruinous City, (or as Jovius calleth it, a Village) became famous; but much more afterwards by the fatal Ministry of Selymus: who not many years after, stricken with the same disease, and with the same disease, ended his days in the same place with an untimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with revenging hand in the same place taking just punishment for his former disloyalty towards his Father, as shall hereafter in due time and place be declared.

Where he says Bajazet fled in the same place where he had obtained the Victory, till such time as all his Souldiers were again returned from the chase of the Enemy; after that, he held on his way to Constantinople, and there bountifully rewarded his Souldiers. In the mean time Accomates heark of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his Father and his Brother Selymus, with the event thereof, came with an Army of twenty thousand from Amasia, through the Countries of Galatia and Bithynia, unto the City of Scutari, called in ancient time Christopolis, (though some suppose it to have been the famous City of Chalcedon) which City is situated upon the Straite of Bosphorus, directly against the City of Constantinople. In this place Accomates encamped his Army, near unto the Sea side, expecting what course his Father would take after so great a Victory. For beside the Prerogative of his Age, and the especial love of his Father towards him, the general affection of the Vulgar People, with the good opinion he had of himself, had already filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherefore he ceased not night and day to find Messengers over that narrow Straite, to Constantinople; and most earnestly to solicit Bajazet his Father, in so far an occasion to make halt to dispatch what he had so long before determined, concerning the resignation of the Empire. He also implored his Friends and Familiars in best manner he could to commend him to his Father, and in most ample sort to extol his grave purpose for translation of the Empire; and to do the utmost of their device, that seeing God and good Fortune had justly overthrown the rash attempt and force of his Brother Selymus, and by their good means might the sooner obtain the Empire, whereof he was the undoubted Heir.



Bajazet  
willing to  
listen to  
the Em-  
pire.

Bajazet, who of himself and according to his old good liking was altogether desirous of the Preference of *Achometes*, was by their persuasions easily intreated to hasten the performance of that he had before determined for the transferring of the Empire. And making no great secret of the matter, caused the Carion *Gallies* to be made ready for the transporting of *Achometes* from *Scutari* to *Constantinople*. But the great Baffices with the Souldiers of the Court (the secret Favourites of *Selymus*) understanding the matter, began again openly to resist and impugn his purpose determination, and to allege the same reasons they had before at *Helles* ample alleged in fine they said plainly, That they would by no means suffer him so far to disfigure himself as an insufficient man to resign the Empire, who of late had with so valiant and courageous an heart fought for the honour of his Crown and Dignity; and that therefore so long as he lived, they would acknowledge no other Sovereign, but *Bajazet*: yet for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achometes* his hope, so neither ought he to distrust the good will of the Men of War; but that he being a Man of most approved and known Valour, might in due time by their general good liking enjoy his right, which should then without all question be due unto him as the eldest Son of their Emperor. They said moreover, that they had in the late Battle against *Selymus* sufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperor and *Achometes*, and what confidence they were to repose in the fidelity of their Souldiers, who to manifest their Faithfulness and Loyalty, had not refused to offer themselves unto the hazard of a most unequal Battle, yea their lives unto death it self. O foul diffimulation, the covert Mask of all Mischief, under which meer Treachery is here pretended for great Loyalty, the aged Emperor too much flattered, *Achometes* shamefully deluded, and (the Man that might not as then without some addition of disgrace be named) *Selymus*, even Bloody *Selymus*, secretly fought for above all Men to be preferred.

*Bajazet* by this forwardness and infidelity of the Souldiers again disappointed of his purpose, or else (as some thought) delighted with the Victory of Sovereignty; for that after the late Victory he seemed (as one grown young again) neither to feel himself old or unable fit to govern so great an Empire: sent word to *Achometes*, how the matter stood, and that he should forthwith depart from *Scutari* to his old charge at *Amasia*, from whence he would again call him at such time as he had with new bounty won the minds of the Souldiers, and procured the good liking of other the great men in Court, whereby to great a matter and not usual might the better and with more security be effected.

*Achometes* thus deceived of his hope and expectation, grievously complaining that he was so mocked of his Father, and contemned of the Souldiers of the Court, began to mix his new request with words of heat and discontentment, and to inveigh against his Father, for making him a by-word (as he termed it) and a laughing stock unto the World, after he had taken the pains to come so far, and that by his special appointment. But if he proceeded so to doat, and to make so great reckoning of the Souldiers of the Court, that in respect thereof he neither regarded his promise, nor did was right and just; he would himself by force or Arms take upon him the defence of his own honour and right, so lightly esteemed by his Father, and revenge the disgrace offered unto him by others.

Whereunto *Bajazet* answered by the Cadelecher (which is a man of greatest place and authority amongst the Turks in matters concerning their Superstition, and therefore of them honoured above others, as the sacred interpreter of their Law) that he neither well nor wisely without just cause to fall into so great rage and choler, as by his speech and force to think to extort that good which was only by love and loyalty to be gained; whereas all things should be surely kept for him, and the Empire undoubtedly defend unto him, if by uncinely haste he did not mark that hope which he ought by suffrance and patient expectation to cherish; he might as the Cadelecher told him) learn by that late example and fortune of his Brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger, desperately to thrust himself headlong into such an action as he could not possibly see the end of, than moderating by reason his hot passions, expect with patience the opportunity of time, and fitness of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

*Achometes* inflamed with anger and grief of the repulse, all the while the Cadelecher was delivering his Fathers Message, gave him many sharp rants, and had much ado to stay himself from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatening him, that in short time both his Father should dearly buy the changing of his purpose, and the Souldiers of the Court their treacherous dealing; and so sending him away with this short answer, he presently rose with his Arms, and passing through *Bithynia*, cruelly spoiled the Country in his return to *Amasia*. There daily more and more enflamed with the grief and the indignity of the repulse before received, he determined to invade the lesser *Asia*; that if it should fall out, that he must needs by force of Arms try his right against either of his Brethren, he might thereby use the Wealth of that rich Province. Whereby if it should chance that he should by the practice of any, fall of the whole Empire, yet he should at the least wife be possessed of the one half thereof, and be the reader for all events, having all these great and rich Provinces in his power. Wherefore calling unto him his two Sons, *Amurath* and *Aladin*, young Princes of great hope, after he had grievously complained of the unkindness of his Father *Bajazet*, and of the injuries done against him by his Enemies in the Court, he declared unto them, that there was now no time to be lost, but that he should forthwith depart from *Amasia* to his old charge at *Amasia*, from whence he would again call him at such time as he had with new bounty won the minds of the Souldiers, and procured the good liking of other the great men in Court, whereby to great a matter and not usual might the better and with more security be effected.

*Achometes* thus deceived of his hope and expectation, grievously complaining that he was so mocked of his Father, and contemned of the Souldiers of the Court, began to mix his new request with words of heat and discontentment, and to inveigh against his Father, for making him a by-word (as he termed it) and a laughing stock unto the World, after he had taken the pains to come so far, and that by his special appointment. But if he proceeded so to doat, and to make so great reckoning of the Souldiers of the Court, that in respect thereof he neither regarded his promise, nor did was right and just; he would himself by force or Arms take upon him the defence of his own honour and right, so lightly esteemed by his Father, and revenge the disgrace offered unto him by others.

*Achometes*  
his  
two Sons  
*Amurath*  
and  
*Aladin*  
in take  
him with  
him  
their  
Grandfather  
Bajazet.

own

own youthful disposition ready enough for such a matter, and now encouraged with their Fathers persuasion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in short time raised a notable Army of voluntary Souldiers, of whom the greatest part were of servile condition. But *Achometes* himself, besides his old Army which he had in former time lead against the *Perfian* Rebels, levied new Forces also, and called forth into the Field all the able men that were to be found in the Cities round about; and so running through the Provinces proclaimed himself King of *Asia*, and such as would not forthwith yield unto him, those he and his two Sons in divers places persecuted with all hostility; by which means many Cities, especially such as were but weakly fortified, partly for fear, partly by constraint, were delivered over unto him.

After that, he entred with his Army into *Lycania*, and the borders of *Cilicia*, where by Embassadors and often Letters he requested *Mahomet* his Brothers Son (who then governed those Countries) to aid him in his just quarrel against them, who by crafty and insinuating persuasions had to his dishonour and disgrace withdrawn his Fathers good will from him, and so far seduced him, as that he was determined to appoint another Successor in the Empire, than him his eldest and first begotten Son; which their malice he would (as he said) prevent, and by force of Arms recover his right, which his Father knowing to be due unto him, was about to have put him in possession of whilst he yet lived, had he not by the insinuating practice of others been hindered; for the recovery whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his Province aid him with men and victual, and so further his just cause, he promised that he should find a far better Uncle than he had found a Father; and that his present Friendship should in time be most amply and bountifully repaid.

Whereunto *Mahometes* answered, that he could not do what his Uncle had required, except he were so commanded by his Grandfather *Bajazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread Sovereign; and that it was not for him to judge, whether he did right, or otherwise: That he would not in his life time resign the Empire to his Son. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that he was not to yield his obedience to any other, so long as he lived possessed of the Empire; to whom both his Father *Tizik* and *Aladin* were bound to live, and himself also had given their Oath of Obedience and Loyalty. Wherefore it was good for him to pacify himself, lest in seeking untimely revenge of his Enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his Father; and by too much heat and half overthrow both his hope and honour; which of right should be most grievous if he could but in the mean time have patience, and stay himself a while. *Achometes*, who expected nothing less than such an answer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for love or fear presently come unto him, and now finding his requests to be with greater gravity and consideration denied by his Nephew, than they were by reason of him demanded, entred with his Army into the borders of his Province, and with fire and sword began to destroy the Country before him. Which *Mahometes* with such power as he had thinking to remedy, was by the way encountered by his Uncle not far from *Amasia*, and there they were both slain. Wherefore for refuge, was there certain days besieged by *Achometes* and at last together with his Brother (then but a Child) delivered into his hands, at such time as the City was by the fearful Citizens

by composition yielded unto him. *Achometes* having taken the City with his two Nephews, called *Mahomet* his Counsellors, with his Foster Brother, by whose persuasion it was supposed that he had so answered his Uncle and endangered himself, to be put to death.

Their proceedings of *Achometes* filled *Bajazet* with grief and indignation, that he should in so great years be fet upon by two of his own Sons, one after the other. Yet to prove if those troubles might without more bloodshed be pacified, he sent his Embassadors unto him to approve him of his dilatory; and to command him forthwith to fee a liberty his two Nephews, *Mahometes* and his Brother, and so without more stir to get him again to *Amasia*; which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce unto him open War. But he, which by how much the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the Empire, had resolved with himself to deal so much the more cruelly in his proceedings; having received this Message from his Father, caused the chief Embassador (for that he had in frank speech delivered his Message and denounced unto him Wars) to be in his own presence put to death; and threatened the rest with the like, if before the going down of the Sun they avoided not his Camp.

This outrage highly offended *Bajazet*, and alienated the minds of many before well affected to *Achometes*; for that without any reverence of his Father, and contrary to the Law of Nations, he had violated the Embassadors sent to him for Peace. Upon the first bruit hereof, the Souldiers which then waited at the Court Gate, in the hearing of *Bajazet* exclaimed, that the infidelity of *Achometes* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be repressed; that by suffrance and delay he would grow from evil to worse; and that if *Bajazet* should prolong the time, and in facterily seek by fair means to reclaim him, he should afterwards in vain crave the aid of his best Souldiers against his rebellious Son strengthened by his own long suffrance. *Mahomet* also the chief Baff, with *Bajazet* and others of great place (who secretly favoured *Selymus*, and had cunningly caught these things by fit men to be dispersed amongst the Souldiers) began at the first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangeness and inhumanity of the Fact, in such like sort, as if they had condemned the Deed done, but not the Doer. But afterward, when they saw that *Bajazet* was thoroughly heated, both by his own angry disposition and the speech of the Souldiers, and upon the confidence of his former Victory against *Selymus*, now ready to seek revenge; they began then to heap fresh coals upon the fire, and bitterly to inveigh against *Achometes*, as a Traitor to his aged Father and the State; and withal highly commended the Fidelity and Courage of the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, who for the safety and honour of their aged Emperor, were most preit and ready to expose themselves, their lives, and whatsoever else they had, unto new dangers.

So was *Achometes* by the craft and subtlety of these great men, by the anger of his Father, and the judgment of the Souldiers, proclaimed Traitor; and order taken, that the Souldiers of the Court with the *European* Horsemen, should with all possible speed be sent against him into *Asia*. But when choice was to be made of some valiant and worthy General that might take upon him so great a Charge, which seemed especially to appertain unto some one of the great Baffices; it was strange to see, how they all began to strain to courtship at the preference, and every one to refuse

1512.  
Bajazet  
justified  
Embassadors  
Achometes.

Achometes  
his  
brother  
Bajazet.

Achometes  
was  
declared  
traitor.

refuse the place and disfigure himself, saying, That it were a great indignity, that the Emperors Army should be led against his Son by any of his Servants; and the Souldiers (having their selfe beforehand) said plainly, That they durst not, nor would they fight against his Son. And thus ended against the Son of the Emperour, and their Apparent of the Empire, except they were conducted and commanded by some of the *Othoman* Blood in person present with them; for so had his Brother, long before when he rebelled in *Cilicia*, and now of late, *Selymus* his rebellious Son, beene so much assisted by his Souldiers. And the conduct of *Bayazet* himself, and not by any of his Servants. These things all tended to this purpose, that *Selymus* might by indirect means be reconciled to his Father (whom they secretly favoured, although for fear of displeasure they durst not so much as to name him) but not by direct means, and this very means, to make way for his return to *Constantinople*, and so consequently give him power to seize upon the Empire. For it was probably supposed, that neither *Bayazet* himself, being very aged and diseased; neither *Corusmus*, altogether buried in his study, would undertake the Government of the Affairs of the *Othoman* Family: only *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed, all the Nephews of *Bayazet* by reason of their tender years, as yet unfit for the same. At these speeches of the Baffes and the Souldiers, *Bayazet* as a man perplexed and in doubt, flung away in discontent and rage, exclaiming, that his real Affairs, and diseased Body; but complaining deeply, that *Corusmus* in following the vain title of Learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the mean time neglected other studies and honourable qualities, better befitting his Princely Birth, than to be thus buried in his study, and toiling with himself, and devising what course to take. *Musapha* the old Baffi, who all the time of his Reign had used to disburden him of his Cares, having by way of talk drawn him into a full discourse concerning the proceeding to the intended War, set upon him with this crafty and premeditated Speech, framed of purpose for his destruction.

Thou *Majesty* may not (*most* dread *Sovereign*)  
 although by years and strength of *Body* you were ne-  
 ver so well able, you may not I say, either trans-  
 fer your *Army*, or your *self* *plac'd* into perform into  
 Africa, to *chase* the *Barbary* *troops* from *Liby-  
 a*, and *chase* *Achomates*, you leave a far more dangerous  
 Enemy behind you in *Europe*, who may in your ab-  
 sence *seize* upon *Thracia*, *Grecia*, *yea* and the im-  
 perial City it *self*, destitute of sufficient defenders.  
 Do you think, that *Selymus* *strawling* the new Forces  
 above *Varna*? or that *Scanderbeg* a new *Harfen* from  
 the *Tartar* King his *Father* in law? And al-  
 ready as it were hovering over our heads? Is not he of  
 greater Spirit and Courage, than to be daunted or dis-  
 mayed with the misfortune of one battle? Or if you  
 think that our *own* *armies* will be able to *conquer*  
 and call *Concitus* into *Europe* with the Forces he  
 levied the last year, who in time of your sickness may  
 withstand the attempts of *Selymus*? will be *far* those  
*Few*-water *Souldiers* of *Asia*, or their philosophical  
*General*, which feared not the *Souldiers* of your  
*Court*, the pickt *armies* of the *World*, and your  
*self* a most worthy and victorious Emperor? You are  
 deceived, and (if I may be bold so to say) you  
 thoroughly see not into the doubtful Event of things,  
 if you think not, that you must at one time wage  
 against two, and that you must either be the re-  
 mainer part of your Empire, in *Achomates* and *Europe*;  
 For whilst you shall go to expulse *Achomates* out of

**Capadda**, **Selyms** nearer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities, will by and by at your back, raise a most dangerous War in the very heart and chief strength of your Empire. But if you, moved with the greatness and due consideration of the danger, shall go about to defend Thracia, and for that purpose resist with you the most approved and faithful Soldiers, and the best of the Army of Asia, on a fire of your face; neither will Achomemans be able to resist if Welf and War, until such time as he hath drawn the Empire of Asia unto himself. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your self should by your self and the consent of all men be judged Traitors to your Crown and dignity; whereas the One through valour, the other through craft, and by your contentment, hath risen up in arms against you. Why do you not in so doubtful and perplexed a matter prefer safe and sound advice before that which maketh under the shew of Majesty and Honour; and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be revenged upon, to set upon them as occasion shall require. If they are together by the edge betwixt themselves; Then, by the way of safety, this is the only way, if you shall resolve (as I am sure you will) to drive out one nail with another, and so to overcome your Enemies. Moderate a while your hot desire of revenge, and for the present dissemble your grief; grant unto one of them pardon, and in such take him into your grace and favour, and lay him against the other; so shall you without danger, and without blood, have the one slain whom you love not, with the hazard of the other whom you trust not: and at your pleasure oppress him to whom you shall commit your Ensigns and Army, the hands of your faithful and trusty Soldiers being ever at your appointment ready to take revenge. So shall you with security make an end of this war, expelling ungrateful Achomemans from you, and rather to overcome (as your Enemy) by him whom you wish also to perish.

*Mulissabai* had scarce made an end of speaking, but the other Baffaes (as they had before agreed amongst themselves) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to pervert *Bajazet* to call home his Son *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army against his Brother; *faying*, that he had already indured sufficient punishment for his former disloyalty, and that therefore he liked that he should be reduced Child would from thenceforth contain himself within the compais of his most dutiful obedience; whereas *Achmet* proud of his Birth-right, having of late violated his Fathers Embassadors, and filled all *Asia* with Rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reasonable comformity, until he were by force of Arms plucked down from his Throne; and in like manner as was his Brother *Selymus* of late, perceiving that in resolving of a matter of so great consequence, *Cherogezes Baffa* (his Son-in-law, and the only faithful Counsellor then about him) fat fell, hanging the head, as a man not of the same opinion with the rest, flood a great while in doubt what to resolve upon; he could not but have forgot, that he had already done against him by *Selymus*, who was yet alive, and he thought that he had out of *Asia* invades Europe, surprised *Hadrinople*, given him *Bartel*, endangered his person with his *Tartarian* Horsemen, and that only by the goodness of God he had obtained the Victory; on the other side, his Majesty considering, his Nephews imprisoned, his Country invaded, and the Cities of *Asia* ransacked, and all those goodly Countries presently burning with the fire of Rebellion, to filled his old heart

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heart with anger and indignation, as that he desired nothing more than to be revenged. Whilst he was thus struggling with his own thoughts, and doubtful what to do, the unfaithful Balaïes by deep deceit and treachery (*Chefegies* most infamously perfwading the contrary) overcame him so far, as with his own hand to write Letters to the *Empress*, promising him, that forgetting all injuries past, he would upon the hope of his Loyalty receive him into his former grace and favour, and make him General of his Army, if he would without delay repair to *Comstantinople*, and so pass over into *Asia* against his rebellious Brother *Achomates*.

Whilst these things are in doing at *Confamingle*, *Cocurus* advertised by Letters from his Friends of the weak estate of his aged Father, and by what persuasions he had been induced (after *Achmetus* was proclaimed Traitor) to call upon him *Selymas*, and to make him General of his Army; but when he was arrived at the place, and finding it unliking him in his Gallies, failed to *Confamingle*; where being arrived, he went presently to the Court, attended upon with a great number of his Friends and Favourites; and entering into the Privy Chamber, humbled himself before his Father, and kissed his hand; and after much talk had betwixt them of divers weighty matters, he was reported to have spoken unto him as follows:

It is now about thirty years, since I (most reverend Father, and dread Sovereign) pac'd that I (being chofen and proclaimed Emperor by the Prerogative of the Souldiers of the Court, by general consent of the Citizens of this imperial City, and by the grave judgement of the wise and grave Judges of the Court) have been oblig'd to my self, and to my glory, to leave you with mine own hand delivered from this self glorious world, and the pollution of this most glorious Kingdom and Empire: Which thing what worldly wight would have done? but either a mad man, or else a most kind and loving Son? Unto which so rare an example of a religious and loving heart, I was not by the least able to come up, but by the assistance and contemplation of your crows (sacred presence) and the due consideration of my duty. Neither did it in the course of so many years; ever repeat me of that my singular kindeff: and duty done, when as I contemning my self with such things as you had unto me assigned, and with the general commendation of my well affected friends, I was oblig'd to leave you, and to pursue the great estate and highst type of worldly honour, not to be compar'd with the quiet contentment of most pleasing studies: when as I account'd it a vain thing, and not becoming the resolution of a fitted and quiet mind, to long after thes'e worldly things, which being bad and enjoy'd to the full, work no full contentment in the insatiable desire, man and beast is furnished withall. Forsooth, O how false meditation of Heavenly things promit'd unto my contemplative and ravish'd mind, things of far more worth and Majesty than all the Kingdoms and Monarchies of the World. But whilst I was tracing this path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glory of an Empire, and was for pure Devotion and desire of the Kingdom of Heaven, I was oblig'd to leave Arabia, and the Altar of our most dread Prophet Mahomet, and so to the Indians, as to men of a more exact Knowledge and sincere Profession: you in the midst of my travell drew me out of Egypt by the long hands of the Egyptian Sultan, bad again into Phrygia: commanding me, that shewing the manifest signs of Heavenly things, which in my heart I had, I should fall into the hands of the learned Priests, to be more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruits both of my Loyalty towards you, and of your

fatherly Love towards me as if you had been then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the evil disposition of some, and the good of others, I should be obliged to the study of Wisdom and Learning, might be a stay both unto your self and the whole Ottoman Family. Since which time I have ever both dutifully obeyed your command, and with as much care and industry as I could, discharged my charge; and in the late Persian War, did with the assistance of my Field mine Army, wherewith I defended the Frontiers of my Province from the incursions of the Barbarians. But after that they were vanquished, and by your Forces driven out of the lesser Asia, and that my unworthy self, a greater General, the one of them in Europe, as a still more desperate Regiment, had in plain Battle assailed the person of your most sacred Majesty (his reverend Father, far spent with age, and then grievously tormented with the Gout) of purpose to have at once deprived you both of your Life and Empire, and of the Kingdom of Asia (seeking by this Disloyalty and most horrible Treason, to have in plain Battle, your Kingdom, had beheaded and taken Prisoner your Brothers Son, your Nephew, young Princes of great expectation, your faithful and loving Subjects;) and proceeding further, had set all that part of your Empire on fire and brul; I thought my self in duty bound to repair hither, to your Majesty, for I saw it was come to pass, not without the assistance of your Majesty, that I might at such time especially request the just reward of my due desert of you my most reverend and loving Father, the most religious observer of Equity and Justice; whom as you having had too good knowledge of the fidelity of your poor Brethren, might most fully and most advantageously perceive, in which you on that great occasion might even grant unto me your faithful and obedient Son, although my former deserts had merited no such thing. Wherefore most gracious Sir, I humbly pray and beseech you by all that tenderly Love and affection towards me, and known to me of your Majesty's favour, and the coming of Selymus, to have regard of mine Honour, with the state of your Empire's for when he shall once in Arms break in, he will at a trice cut off all hope of pacification; and supported by the Men of War, he will confound all things at his pleasure; for I have seen, and know, that he will be so. Therefore, O Commanders of your Armies, altered in disposition towards you, do but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly salute for their Emperor and Sovereign, him, whom your good fortune of late full force against their Will, overthrow in open Field. I therefore beseech you, to have regard of mine self, and for the rare desert of mine ancient Loyalty towards you, as of good right due unto me, restore to me again what you may, and whilst it is yet in your power, in this sudden and momentary occasion now presented. For your Majesty shall in vain favour my most just and upright claim, after that you (having seen the same) shall have granted me my just and ambitious man have for ever lost your liberty, together with your self.

*Constantine* with tears standing in his Eyes having ended his Speech, the aged Emperor moved with a Fatherly Affection, and the reasonable persuasion of him, his only loyal and most kind Son, comforted him up with good words, and willed him to be of good cheer; and wittall discovered that he was a true Son, and a true Christian, in the loving home of *Sophus*; telling him further, that he could be well content to resign to him power of the Empire, but that it was not in his power to presently do so, for fear of the Soldiers of the *Cæure*; who had (as he said) of late wittifood him in the like motion, and would again with tooth and nail gallynify it, if he should attempt the least occasion for them to suspect any such matter.

Bajazet  
comforted  
Corcutus,  
and pro-  
mised to  
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him the  
Empire,  
after that  
Selymus  
was pass-  
ed over into  
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matter; but that by the plot now laid, *Selymus* should under the title of honour be drawn out of *Europe*, together with the Soldiers of the Court, into *Asia* against *Achometes*, both bars unto his present desire for transferring of the Empire, in whose absence it should be in his power freely to dispose thereof at his pleasure; which he promised presently to resign unto him, so soon as they were once passed over into *Asia*. Which thing once done, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the Captains of Soldiers, who had of late so honourably and faithfully defended him against *Selymus*, should now for his sake dislike of *Corusus*, or attempt any thing not befitting the glory of their late desert; but rather hoped, that if his two unnatural and rebellious Sons, *Achometes* and *Selymus*, should once joyntly batten (as it was most like they should) that either the one or the other, by the just Judgment of God perished for their too great disobedience, murdered by the hands one of another. *Corusus* not much disliking of his Fathers purpose, and resting himself wholly upon his Favour, thought it not good further to argue the matter his Father had so well considered of; but taking his leave, returned to his lodging, not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and so remained many days after at *Constantinople*; during which time he fought neither by Gifts nor golden Promises to procure the love and good liking of the great Baffees or Soldiers of the Court; for that he as a plain upright man, thought it not good by suit and corruption (the great Promoters of the unworthy) to seek for that at their hands which was of right due unto him by his Fathers Favour and Promise.

In the mean time *Selymus* his last Friends advertising him of the coming of *Corusus* to the Court, advised him to make haste, and with all speed possible to come to *Constantinople*; for that it was to be feared, lest *Bajazet* being very aged, and vitally easily to be drawn away, might by the persuasion of *Corusus* be induced to alter, yea and perhaps quite break off the course before well for his most ready preference. Upon which news, *Selymus* attentively waiting upon nothing more than to have access unto his Friends in Court, and before resolved, at his first coming thither not to spare for any cost in corrupting the Men of War, and so to possess himself of the Empire; made now no stay, but with certain Troops of Horsemen, commanding the rest to follow after, came with wonderful celerity to *Constantinople*. *Corusus* with the great Baffees and Courtiers, and most part of the Soldiers of the Court, going to meet him at the Gate of the City, at his entrance received him with a kiss (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the middle of the City, all the People running out by heaps to have a sight of the man, of late in every mans mouth for his desperate Rebellion, but now welcomed with much thundering Shot in token of triumph, and the joyful Acclamation of Men, Women, and Children, and People of all sorts. So that it easily appeared, that all the hatred before conceived against him for his late outrage against his Father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in short time before his other Brother arise upon the Empire.

The next day after, *Selymus* came to the Court, and having access to his Father, fell prostrate before him and kissed his Feet, and with the greatest show of humility possible, craved of him pardon for his Disloyalty. O deep Dissembler, and Traitor of all other most treacherous! of late in

Field with Sword drawn to have slain his aged Father, but now prostrate at his Feet; and within an hour mounted perforce into his Imperial Seat.

The old Emperor smiling upon this Crocodile, in most kind manner, took him up, and courteously said unto him:

*Thy Faults, Son Selymus, are so much the less, for that they have found speedy repentance; wherefore do the more willingly grant thee pardon; but since thou hast hereafter endeavoured thyself, that God who hath bestowed on thee a notable Spirit and Courage, may also be thought to have indited thee with a good and well disposed Mind. There is a Marital matter ready, worthy thy hardness, wherein thou mayst sufficiently manifest unto the World thy forwardness and courage; there when time serveth let it appear.*

Shortly after was called a Counsel for the Wars, but especially for the shuffling of a General to go against *Achometes*; the honour of which place where many would have given to *Selymus*, he began with great diffimulation to refuse, making as though he would not in any case be preferred before his Brother *Corusus*, to whom he would (as he said) willingly give place, both in respect of his years and learned discretion, who could no doubt with greater Authority and Willom manage that War: As for himself, now he had obtained his Fathers gracious Pardon and Favour, he could well content himself with any corner of the Empire, were it never so little.

But *Corusus* and his Friends, who had repented all their hope and all their devices in the departure of *Selymus* with the Soldiers of the Court; as if they had with great modesty contended on both sides, again perswaded him, yea and instantly requested him, not to refuse that honour by general consent without any difference to his Brother given to him as to a worthy Captain of great experience in Martial Affairs. So *Selymus* with wonderful cunning deluding *Corusus* and his Favourites, whilst he seemeth craftily to refuse the thing he most desired, is by the general consent of all parts chosen General of the Army; to go against his Brother *Achometes*, which was no sooner made known unto the Soldiers, especially the Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court; but they before instructed, with loud Acclamations fluted him not for their General only, but for their Sovereign Lord and Emperor also; and so without further delay put themselves in Arms to defend and make good that they had done, if any better disposed should seem to withstand them or dissent from them.

*Selymus* by the Soldiers thus flattered Emperor, at first made shew as if he had been half unwilling to take upon him the Empire; and so began faintly to refuse it, as moved to do by the due reverence and regard of his Father, yet living. But after a while he suffered himself to be intreated; and then commending himself and his cause wholly to the Men of War, to bind them unto him the faster, promised beside the particular favours he ought them, to bestow a right great and general Largess amongst them; which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that he received the chief Prefates and Commanders of the Army, there before sent, to go forth with unto his Father, and to take such order (seeing it was the mind of the whole Army) it should be so that the Empire might by his good Will, without further trouble or tumult be forthwith transferred unto him.

*Mulapha* the great Baffee, in whose wily head all this matter was (to his own worthy satisfaction) first hammered; whether it were upon a new furnace of his own, or that *Selymus*, (as it

*But since thou hast hereafter endeavoured thyself, that God who hath bestowed on thee a notable Spirit and Courage, may also be thought to have indited thee with a good and well disposed Mind.*

*The crafty diffimulation of Selymus.*

*The reluctant entrance of Bajazet into the Palace.*

was given out) had threatened to kill him, except he would go and shew all the whole process of the matter to his Father; coming as a man diffamated to *Bajazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the Soldiers, was come out of his Chamber, into the open rooms of his Palace) in few words delivered unto him this most unwelcome Message, as followeth:

Emperor (said he) the Men of War have in their Counsel flattered *Selymus* both their General and Emperor, which their choice they require thee to ratify, being ready presently to break into the Court to kill us both, if thou shalt refuse forthwith to resign the Empire. They all with one consent request thee to resign the throne, which they have already put into the hands of another. Wherefore it is a thing of far more danger, to seek to recover that thou hast already lost, than willingly to yield that which is already taken from thee, seeing it is not by any force or policy to be regained. They in Arms, in fury, and now entered into Rebellion, think upon some greater mischief.

*Bajazet* troubled with fear and choler, and then too late perceiving the treachery of the Baffees, and how he had been by them betrayed, pausing a while at the strangeness of the matter, afterwards in fury broke out into these Words:

*Faith and Forsworn, do you thus betray me? and with such monstrous villany requite mine infinite Bounty of old ty? Why do you not also as Murderers take away my Bajazet to life, which could not endure for a while to expect the dissolution of this my weak and aged body? but despite your just and lawful Sovereign, must needs in just hope sit up my wife and graceless! mean to resign over you my Kingdom good as it was with your desired Empire, the Centre of God, and Murderers of his Father; to whom ere it be long, you shall sell dearly pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and treachery against me. And be himself beginning his Empire by most unnatural treason, murder and bloodshed, shall now (I hope) escape the heavy hand of God, the undoubted and severe Revenger of so great Impiety and Treason.*

*Mulapha*, with *Bosfanges* and *Afax* as false as himself, returning back again to the Soldiers, speaking not a word of the sorrow and indignation of *Bajazet*, told them how that he was well content to resign the Empire, and so had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the general consent of the Men of War had already delivered the Empire) to succeed him in the Empire. When this their Speech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold up their hands and look big on the matter; and others who before stood doubtful what to do, seeing now no other remedy, in half joynted themselves unto the same Faction. Whilst all these things were thus disorderly carried by the unruly Soldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted upon a courageous Horse, and so with all Pomp conducted up and down most of the fair Streets of the imperial City; and with the general voice and clamor of the People (howsoever their minds were for most part otherwise affected) flattered Emperor. And the same day both the great Baffees and the Soldiers in general, were all solemnly sworn unto *Selymus*, as their only Lord and Emperor.

*Corusus*, whether it were for grief of his hope now lost, or fear of his life, although *Selymus* had promised to give him the City of *Myrleus*, with the Island of *Lebes*, secretly embarked himself, and so returned to *Adenople*.

*Bajazet* of late one of the greatest Monarchs of the World, but now thus thrust out of his Empire by his Son, detesting both him and the treachery of his Subjects, and overcome with sorrow and Melancholy, determined of himself, before he were thereto enticed by *Selymus* to forsake

*Constantinople*, and to retire himself to *Dumetia* (a small City wholly situated in *Thracia*, not far from *Hadrinople*, where in former time he had for his pleasure bestowed great cost, and now as he thought best fitted his present estate.) Wherefore causing great store of Treasure, Plate, Jewels, and rich Furniture to be trussed up, he with five hundred of his Household Servants, full of Heaviness and Sorrow, with Tears trickling down his aged cheeks, departed out of the Imperial City, towards *Hadrinople*, with purpose from thence to have gone to *Dumetia*. *Selymus* brought him about two miles upon his way, and so returning again to *Constantinople*, took possession of the Palace.

*Bajazet* being then about seventy five years old, or as some report full fourscore; and beside his old distaste of the Court, fore weakened with heaviness and grief of mind, was not able to travel above five or six miles a day, but was constrained by the extremity of his pain and weakness, to stay sometimes two or three days in a place. Whilst he was thus travelling, *Selymus* no less careful of the keeping of his Estate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the same, began now to doubt, That if he should depart from *Constantinople*, and with all his Forces pass over into *Asia* against his Brother *Achometes*, *Bajazet* in the mean time might in his absence return to *Constantinople*, and so again possess himself both of the City and Empire. Wherefore to rid himself of that fear, he resolved most Viper like, before his going to kill his Father, and so most unnaturally to deprive him of life, whom he had received life; such is the cruel and accursed Nature of Ambition, that it knoweth neither Father, Mother, Brother, Wife, Kindred, or Friend, no sometimes not her own Children; the fury whereof was never in any one more pregnant, than in this most monstrous and cruel Tyrant *Selymus*.

The readiest and most secret way he could devise for the effecting of this his damnable device, (which without great impiety could not be so much as once by him thought upon) was to work it by poison; upon which resolution he secretly compacted with *Haman* a Jew, his Fathers chief Physician, to poison him; promising him for his reward a Pension of ten Ducats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terror and fear, as well as with reward, enforced to be the ministers of mischief; he to be the more sure of this Jew, (prone enough for gain to do evil) threatened him with most cruel death, if he did not both secretly and speedily work this feat, commanding him so soon as he had done it, to return unto him to *Constantinople*.

The deceitful Jew moved both with the fear of death and hope of reward, (two great motives) coming shortly after to *Bajazet*, and finding him very weak, seeming to be very careful of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a portion, which should both redress to him his health, and also strengthen his weak body, if it would please him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Bajazet* nothing distrusting his old Physician whom he had so often and so long trusted, said he would gladly take it. Early the next morning cometh the Jew with the deadly poison in a Cup of Gold, *Bajazet* yet sleeping, which he set down in the Chair of State, and so stood waiting until the aged Prince should of himself awake. But *Bajazet* sleeping soundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men sleep their last) and wishal somewhat longer than flood with the Jews purpose, he presuming of his wonted practice, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the portion was almost past, and

Bajazet  
poisoned by  
the Jew.

asked him if it were his pleasure then to take it. Bajazet doubting no Treason, willed him to bring it; whereof when the Jew had taken the essay, (having before himself taken a preservative against that poyson) he gave it to Bajazet to drink, who cheerfully drank it up; the Physician commanding them that waited in his Bed-Chamber, and attended on his person, to keep him well covered with warm clothes, and not to give him any thing to drink until he had well sweated. This cursed Jew having thus poisoned the aged Prince, to avoid the danger of the Fact, and to carry off the first news thereof to Selymus, secretly conveyed himself away, and in hast fled to Constantinople. But Bajazet attainted with the force of the Poyson, began first to feel most grievous gripings in his Stomach, the strong pain whereof appeared by his miserable complaining and heavy groaning; in the midst of which torments he gave up the Ghost in the year 1512, when he had reigned thirty years. The Turks report that he died a natural death, but *Antonius Utrinus* a Genoway, who at that time served in Bajazet his Chamber, and was present at his death, reporteth, That upon his dead Body the evident tokens of Poyson were to be seen. His dead Body with all his Treasures were presently brought back again to Constantinople, and delivered to Selymus, who caused the Body of his Father to be with the greatest solemnity that might be, buried in a most sumptuous Tomb, in a Chappel near unto the great Mahometan Temple, which he had before built for himself at Constantinople; which Monument there remaineth this day to be seen. His Servants were all by Selymus restored to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old Master, excepting five of the Pages of his Chamber, who lamenting the death of their Master above the rest, had attired themselves all in mourning Apparels for which cause they were by the commandment of Selymus cast into prison, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the suit of Selymus, Selymus his Son, and of other two Baskies, were saved; but being stript of their rich Apparel, and whatsoever else they had gotten under Bajazet, they were inrolled for Common Souldiers under *Sulphares Bassa*. Of these three, *Antonius Utrinus* (the Genoway before spoken of) was one, who after ten years miserable Cap-

Selymus  
causeth  
two of his  
Pages  
to be  
put to  
death for  
mourning  
for their  
Master.

tivity amongst the Turks, at last escaped at such time as Selymus was by the Persian discomfited; and with much ado returning again into Italy, wrote the History of all such things as he himself had there seen, with the calamities of Bajazet his House, and a great part of the tyrannous Reign of Selymus.

Haman the false Jew (as the same Author reporteth) coming to Constantinople, and expecting some great reward for his foul Treason, by the commandment of Selymus had his head presently struck off, with this exprobration of his Treachery, *That opportunity serving, he would not stick for reward to do the like against Selymus himself.* Of this Bajazet, *Janus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

*Dum rerum exquiris causas, & dum procul Hannes  
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromatasque domas:  
Bajazeth, domi proles tua te petit armis,  
Et te per Pandet amovet imperio.  
Adjicit inde novum sceleris scelus, & tibi miscet  
Pocula letiferis illita gramminibus.  
Intempestivos crudelis vipera fatuus,  
Per sua sic tandem funera, rupta, parit.  
Quid tutum est, cui sint ingentia regna Tyranno,  
Si timant natos, progeniemque suam?*

Palaeus Jo.  
vius illust.  
victorum  
Elog. lib.  
4.

In English thus:

Whilst that thou Bajazeth's seeks of things the  
hidden cause,  
And fain wouldst bring the Hunne and Rus under  
thy Turkish Laws:  
Thy Son at home steps up in Arms against thy  
Royal Crown,  
And by false Treason and Deceit finds means to  
pluck thee down.  
Whereto he addeth mischief more, and straight  
without delay,  
By Poyson strong in glittering Bowl doth take  
thy life away:  
The cruel Viper so brings forth her foul untimely  
Brood,  
Who eat and gnaw her Belly out, their first and  
poisoned Food.  
Which things may Princes hold for safe, that  
do great Kingdoms sway,  
If of their Children they must stand in dread and  
fear away?

Christian Princes of the  
same time with Ba-  
jazet the Second.

Emperors of Germany	Frederick the Third, Arch- Duke of Austria.	1440. 54.
	Maximilian the Third.	1494. 25.
Of England	Edward the Fourth.	1461. 22.
	Edward the Fifth.	1483. 0.
	Richard the Third.	1485. 3.
	Henry the Seventh.	1485. 24.
	Henry the Eighth.	1509. 38.
Of France	Lewis the Eleventh.	1461. 22.
	Charles the Eighth.	1483. 14.
	Lewis the Twelfth.	1567. 17.
Of Scotland	James the Third.	1460. 29.
	James the Fourth.	1489. 25.
Bishops of Rome	Xylus the IV.	1471. 13.
	Innocentius the VIII.	1484. 8.
	Alexander the VI.	1492. 11.
	Pius the III.	1503. 26 days.
	Julius the II.	1503. 9.

The



*In Selymus, scelere ante alios immondo omnes:  
 In Patria, et Fratribus, dirigit omnia necem.  
 In Peras movet inde ferax, Memphisque Regna  
 Destruit et Syros, Athopaeque domat.  
 Nunc in Christianis incunum effundere fluctus,  
 Ipsorumque uno vertere regna parat.  
 Cum duo victus prostrantur ulcere, Christus  
 Sollicit est populi, portus et aura sui.*

*Lo Selymus, the villain of the Othoman brood,  
 Embrued his hands in Father's Brothers blood.  
 Persian, Egyptian, Syrian and Moore  
 Submit their Sceptre to his insolent power;  
 But when the Christians Realm he vainly thought,  
 To speedy desolation to have brought,  
 A mortal ulcer seized him, to make knowne  
 The great Messiah can protect his owne.*

The LIFE of

# SELYMUS,

First of that NAME,

The THIRD and most WARLIKE  
 Emperor of the Turks.

1512. **T**HIS Selymus, by favour of the great Baffles and Men of War whom he had before corrupted, having deprived his Father Bajazet first of the Empire, and shortly after of his Life also, and now fully possessed of the Empire himself; first took view of the Treasures which the Turkish Kings and Emperors his Ancestors had before of long time heaped up in great abundance; out of which he gave unto the Soldiers of the Court two millions of Ducats; and for a perpetual remembrance of his thankfulness towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing unto every Horseman four Aspers a day, and to every Footman two, above their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bounty, he greatly assured unto himself the minds of the Men of War.

Selymus going in to Asia against his Brother Achomates.

Shortly after he passed over with a great Army into Asia, leaving the government of the Imperial City of Constantinople unto his only Son Selymus; and marching into Galatia came to the City of Anagor, in hope there to have oppressed his elder Brother Achomates, but he was understanding before of his coming, whilch wisely considering how unable he was to withstand his Forces, fled before into the Mountains of Cappadocia upon the Confines of Armenia, taking up men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all sorts of People, yea even of such as were but of small ability themselves, and unto him meer Strangers; that so he might in best manner he could, provide such strength as might serve him to make head against his Brother, and for the recovery of Asia.

Selymus having spent that Summer without doing any thing worth the speaking of, and considering that he could not well winter in that cold Country near unto the great Mountain Taurus, by reason of the deep Snows and extrem cold there usually falling, and that to go farther was to no purpose, forasmuch as Achomates flying from place to place, and Mountain to Mountain was not to be surprised, he retired back again into Bithynia, and sending his European Horsemen down to the Sea-coast, and the Janizaries to Constantinople; resolved to winter with the rest of his Army at Prusa. At which time being wholly bent against Achomates his Competitor of the

Empire, he for certain years continued the League which his Father Bajazet had before concluded with Uladislau King of Hungary, Sigismundus King of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) superfluous which might concern the establishing of his Empire, he called unto him five of his Brothers Sons, Orchemes the Son of Alem Scach; Mahometes the Son of Teian Scach; Orchemes, Emirja, and Musa the Sons of his Brother Mahometes; all young Princes of great hope, of years betwixt sixteen and twenty, excepting Musa who was not past seven years old; Of all these, Mahometes (whom his Uncle Achomates had a little before taken Prisoner at Laredo, as is before declared, and upon the death of Bajazet had again set him at liberty) being about twenty years old, was for rare Figure and Princely Courage accounted the Paragon and Beauty of the Othoman Family; which great perfection, as it won unto him the love and favour of the Men of War, and also of all the People in general; so did it hasten his speedy death, only Selymus his cruel Uncle envying at his life. After he had got these poor innocents into his hands, he sent for divers of his great Doctors and Lawyers, demanding of them, Whether it were not better that some five, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than that the State of the whole Empire should with great effusion of Blood be rent in sunder, and so by civil Wars be brought in danger of utter ruin and destruction? Who although they well perceived whereunto that bloody question tended, yet for fear of displeasure they all answered, That it were better such a small number should perish, than that the whole State of the Empire should by Civil War and Discord be brought to confusion; in which general calamity, those few must also of necessity perish with the rest. Upon colour of this answer, and the necessity pretended, he commanded these his Nephews before named, to be led by five of his great Captains into the Castle of Prusa, where they were all the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that Mahometes with a Pen-knife slew one of the bloody Executioners sent into his Chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell down for dead; and that Selymus being in a Chamber

Selymus murdering five of his Brothers Sons.

X x 2

Chamber fast by, and almost an Eye-witness of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poor Prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest; whose dead bodies were buried at *Prusa* among their Ancestors. The cruelty of this Fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, inasmuch that many even of his Martial men filled with fierce indignation, for certain days absented themselves from his presence, thumning his fight as if he had been some fierce or raging Lion.

1513.  
Selymus  
secretly ap-  
proacheth  
the Lists of  
Amurat  
and Aladin,  
the Sons of A-  
chometes  
his Breth-  
ther.

Of all the Nephews of old *Bajazet*, only *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the Sons of *Achometes*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surpise upon the fuddain, and so to rid himself of all fear of the Brothers Children; having then left none of his *Othoman* Family, but them and his two Brethren upon whom to exercise his further Cruelty. These two young Princes had a little before recovered the City of *Amasia*, from whence they were the Summer before expelled by their Uncle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achometes* their Father was glad to flee into the Mountains of *Cappadocia*. *Selymus* fully resolved upon their destruction, sent *Ufegi* one of his Baffes with five thousand Horsemen, who by great journeys travelling to *Amasia*, might upon the fuddain come upon these two young Princes, and take them altogether unprovided, and as then fearing no such danger, which was thought no great matter for the Baffa to do, forasmuch as he might with his light Horsemen easily prevent the lame of his coming; and the City of *Amasia* where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient Garrison for defence thereof; besides that, *Achometes* himself was at that time absent, busied in making up of Soldiers upon the Frontiers of *Caramania*. But *Mulphaba* the old Baffa, by whose special means *Selymus* had obtained the Empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Bajazet*) being privy unto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, detesting his most execrable Tyranny, both for the unworthy death of *Bajazet*, his Father, and the guiltless blood of so many young Princes his Nephews by him shed without all pity; and having compassion of the imminent danger whereto these two Brethren were now like also to fall; by secret and speedy Messengers gave them warning of the coming of the Baffa, and all that was intended against them. Who upon such knowledge given, presently advertised *Achometes* their Father thereof, and laid secret ambush to meet that within few days after the Baffa coming with his Horsemen towards *Amasia*, fell before he was awar into the midst of his Enemies; at which time also, *Achometes* following him at the heels, so that him in with his Army on every side, that most of his men being slain, he himself with divers other Captains were taken Prisoners and brought to *Achometes*, and by his commandment committed to safe custody.

Now it fortuned, that some of *Achometes* Soldiers spying that the Prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had been deceived, and how all the matter had been carried (so hard a thing it is to have even the greatest Councils in Court kept secret) boasting that they wanted not their Friends, even of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly favored the better cause, and would not long follow the cruel Beasts to rage further: all which things *Selymus* his soldiers returned again after they were ransomed and retained home. But *Ufegi* the Baffa lying still in Prison, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by secret Letters gave

*Selymus* to understand, that *Mulphaba* the great Baffa whom he most of all trusted, had secret intelligence with *Achometes*, and had been the only cause of the loss of his Army.

*Selymus* of late envying at the great Honour and Authority of *Mulphaba*, and wishing him dead, (whose desert he was not able, or at least unwilling to require) caused him upon this accusation without further trial to be secretly strangled in his fight, and his dead body (as it were in scorn of his former felicity) to be cast out into the Street for every man to gaze upon. This was the shameful end of this treacherous Baffa, who had of long time at his pleasure commanded all things in the Turkish Empire, and was for Riches, Power and Authority, next unto the Emperors themselves; but now lieth as a dead Dog in the Street, no man daring for fear to call earth upon him. A rare spectacle of the uncertainty of worldly Felicity, and a worthy example of Disloyalty. But *Achometes* hearing what had happened to *Mulphaba*, in revenge thereof, as according to his courteous nature let all the rest of the Prisoners at liberty.

*Selymus* thirsting after nothing more than the guiltless blood of his Brethren and Nephews, upon whom he had against all right usurped the Kingdom, whereof he never thought himself sufficiently assured so long as any of them breathed; began with the first of the Spring to devise against them; he might first take away his with himself, how he might first take away his Brother *Corcutus*, who then lived at *Magnesia*, Brother *Corcutus*, who then lived at *Magnesia*, and having cast off all hope of the Empire, gave himself wholly to the study of Philosophy, which he (seduced with Ambition) had now in evil time a little before forsaken; but now retiring himself thereto again, as to his greatest contentment, spent his time in quiet contemplation, not attempting any thing against his cruel Brother usurping the Empire. *Selymus* resolved upon the destruction of this harmless Prince, suddenly commanded his Captains to make choice of ten thousand Horsemen to be in readiness within three days, giving it out that he would make an inroad upon the fuddain into *Cappadocia*. In the number of these Horsemen, *Antonius Manervinus* a Genoway, Author of this History (as he himself reporteth) was one.

All things being in readiness against the appointed time, *Selymus* in person himself set forward with his Army from *Prusa*, still keeping the way on the right hand; so that the Soldiers, who thought they should have marched directly into *Cappadocia*, and so to *Amasia*, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceive by the contrary course they held, that they were to go for *Lydia* and *Ionia*. When a valiant Soldier among the rest, who had sometime served one of the Baffes in *Corcutus* his Court, by divers circumstances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, secretly conceived himself out of the Army, and being excellently well mounted, taking the nearest way, came to *Magnesia*, and gave *Corcutus* warning of the coming of his Brother. *Corcutus* considering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the Messenger, and leaving his Houle in such order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his Servants to the Sea side, in hope to have found passage either into *Crete* or else *Rhodes*.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the Morning came *Selymus* to the Castle of *Magnesia* before the rising of the Sun, in hope to have found *Corcutus* yet in his bed; but being deceived of his expectation, he fell into a great

rage, and with cruel torments examined all his Brothers Servants and Eunuchs. What was become of him, and where he had hid himself? and with much ado got it out of them. That he had warning of his coming by a fugitive Soldier, and was thereupon fled, but whether they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* staid there fifteen days, during which time he caused diligent search to be made all over the Country, and along the Sea Coast, for to have apprehended him. But when after much search he could hear no tidings of him, he caused all his Brothers Treasure and rich Furniture to be trussed up, and to be sent by Sea to *Constantinople*. So leaving one of his Captains with a thousand Horsemen in Garrison at *Magnesia*, he returned again to *Prusa* with as much speed as he came from thence; verily supposing, that his Brother was for safeguard of his life, by Sea fled into *Italy*. And while *Selymus* was thus gone, his Son in Law, lying with a Fleet of Gallies upon the Coast of *Ionia*, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of escaping by Sea: so that he was fain to hide himself in a Cave near unto the Sea side, not far from *Smyrna*; living in hope, that after a few days the Fleet would depart, and so he should find some opportunity to escape.

After he had thus a great while in fear most miserably lived with Country Crabs and other like wild Beasts (as a Diet for a man of State, and was with extreme necessity enforced to find his man for relief to a poor Shepherds Cottage thereby, he was by a Country Peasant discovered to *Gassime*, who with too much diligence sought after his life; and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the Tyrant his Brother at *Prusa*.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking; who as soon as he understood that he was within a days journey of *Prusa*, sent one *Kritzen-Ogli* (who of his quaint look was called *Kritzen-Zeinal*) to strangle him upon the way, and to bring his dead Body to *Prusa*.

This Captain coming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleep, told him his heavy Message; how that he was sent from his Brother *Selymus* to see him executed, which must as he said presently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with these heavy news, and fetching a deep sigh, desired the Captain so long to spare his life, until he might write a few short lines unto his Brother *Selymus*. Which poor request being granted, he called for Pen and Paper, and readily in Turkish Verse (for he had spent all his time in study) reproved his Brother of most horrible Cruelty; upbraiding him, that he had not only most disloyally thrust his Father out of his Empire, but also most unaturally deprived him of Life, of whom he had before received the fame; and not so content, had most tyrannously slain his Brothers Children; and now like an unmerciful wretch thirsted after the guiltless blood of himself, and *Achometes* his Brethren. At last concluding his Letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him just revenge for so much innocent blood by him most unaturally spilt. And when he had thus much written, he requested the Captain, that it might together with his dead body be delivered unto *Selymus*. So without any further delay he was according to the Tyrants command presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead body was presented unto *Selymus*, he uncovered the face thereof, to be sure that it was he, and seeing a Paper in his hand, took it from him; but when he had read it (for all his cruel nature and stony heart) he burst out into

tears; protesting that he was never so much grieved or troubled with any mans death as with his; for which cause, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the Court, and with Princely solemnity buried his body. Three days after, he caused fifteen of those diligent searchers who first found *Corcutus*, to have their Heads struck off, and their bodies to be flung into the Sea, saying, That if he were by any extremity driven to fly and hide his Head, they would not stick to serve him in like manner as they had done his Brother.

Now of all the Posterity of *Bajazet* remained none alive to trouble the cruel Tyrants thoughts but only *Achometes* and his two Sons; who upon the approach of the Spring, set forward with his Army from *Amasia*, excited by the often Letters of his Friends, who assured him, that *Selymus* might upon the fuddain be easily oppressed, if he would with all expedition come to *Prusa*; forasmuch as the Janizaries and *European* Horsemen, the undoubted strength of his Army, were at that time absent, and he himself as one hated both of God and Man, could not in so fuddain and unexpected danger tell what he were best to do, or which way to turn himself; wherefore they wished him without delay to hasten his coming, and not to expect the milder Weather of the Spring. Left in the mean time *Selymus* should call together his dispersed Forces, God (they said) did oftentimes offer unto men, both the opportunity and means to do great matters if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he should do well now by celerity and courage to seek to better his evil Fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his Fathers Kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he must either gain the Victory by plain Battle, which would be a hard matter, or else get him packing out of *Cappadocia* and all *Asia* the less.

*Achometes*, who before had promised unto himself better success, as well for the great Strength he had of his own, as for the new supply of Horsemen he had procured from *Hymael* the *Persian* King, but especially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late Cruelty, should in the time of the Battle be forsaken of his own Soldiers; yielded to the persuasions of his Friends, who with many pleasing words fed before his Eyes glorious things, easy to be spoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore, when he was come into *Galaia* with somewhat more than fifteen thousand Horsemen, having for half left his Footmen by easy marches to come after him, *Selymus* advertised of his coming, by speedy Messengers sent for his Horsemen to *Prusa*. In the mean time whilst he is levying other common Soldiers, and expecting the rest of his Forces, Fortune which always favoured his attempts, did then also aver the danger prepared for him by the unfaithfulness of his Followers, and shewed to him the open way to Victory. For *Achometes* secret Friends which were in *Selymus* his Camp, concluding firm in their good will toward him, did earnestly by Letters persuade him (being already set forward, and now come as far as *Paphlagonia*) to make halt, and to come before *Selymus* his Forces were come together; for that he had sent for the Janizaries, and *European* Horsemen, and did with all speed and diligence make all the preparation he could possibly, which for all that would all come late, and he should upon the fuddain come upon him, before he were provided. Which Letters being by chance intercepted, gave *Selymus* certain knowledge both of his

Mulphaba Baffa  
shamefully  
murdered.

Selymus  
secretly the  
spirit of his  
brother  
Corcutus.

Ufegi Baf-  
fa taken  
Prisoner.

Corcutus  
taken.

Ufegi Baf-  
fa taken  
Prisoner.

The lament-  
able death  
of Corcu-  
tus.



Trafalgar 4.  
April 50.  
Selymus died  
covered.

his Brothers purpose and coming, together with the Trefalon intended against him by his own Servants; wherefore executing them who had writ those Letters, he in their names caused others to the same effect to be written to *Achomates*, perswading him with all force possible to come to him, and not to stay for his Footmen, for that *Selymus* might easily be oppressed with a few Troops of Horsemen, if *Achomates* would with speed but come and show himself unto his Friends and Favourites; who upon the first signal of Batel would raise a tumult in the Army, and upon the sudden kill *Selymus*, and having got the victory in the Batel. Which Letters so written, *Selymus* caused to be signed with the Seals of them whom he had before executed, and found means to have them cunningly delivered to *Achomates*, as if they had been sent from his Friends; who giving credit to the fame, and presuming much upon his own Strength, doubted not to leave his Footmen, who followed easily after him, under the conduct of *Amurat* his Son; and came and encamped with his Horsemen near unto the Mountain *Horminus*, upon the Bank of the River *Parthemus*. *Selymus* also departed from *Prusa*, and having received into his Army ten thousand Janizaries (but a little before came over the Strait) sent before *Sinan Baf*, General of his *Asian* Horsemen, to know and make proof of the Strength of his Enemies. The Bafsa not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was, being deceived by the darkness of the Morning, fell into a place of disadvantage, where he was met by the Army of *Selymus*, who lost seven thousand of his men, was glad with other eight thousand which were left, to fly back to *Selymus*.

Sinan Baf  
a dilem  
which by *Achomates*,  
back to *Selymus*.

For all this loss, was not *Selymus* discomfited, or doubtful of the Victory, but forthwith marched on forward to the River *Elatas*, which runneth directly out of the Mountain *Horminus* into *Pontus*, watering most large Fields upon the right hand, which at this day are called the Plains of the new Land. So did *Achomates* also, who although he knew his Brother to be every way too strong for him, yet being incouraged by the late Victory, and in hope that his Friends in *Selymus* his Army whom he vainly supposed to have been yet living) would in the very Batel do some notable matter for him, and that Victory would follow his just quarrel; resolved neither to retire back, neither to expect the coming of the rest of his Army. The River was between the two Camps, and the number of both Armies certainly discovered, yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open Fields offered a safe retreat unto the rest of his Army) possessed with a fatal madness, be perswaded (considering the greatness of the danger) in time to provide for the safety of himself and his Army, by a sudden retreat; but by inevitable destiny to his fatal destruction, which presently after ensued.

*Selymus* a little before the going down of the Sun, with his Army passed over the River *Elatas*, and gave general commandment through all his Camp that every man against the next day should be ready for batel; and in a Wood not far off placed a thousand Horsemen in ambush, under the leading of *Canoglis*, his Wives Brother, a valiant young Gentleman, whom his Father had a little before sent from *Taurica* unto his Son in law with a chosen Company of *Tartarian* Horsemen; untill *Selymus* gave in charge, that when the Batel was joyned, he should show himself with his Horsemen upon the back of his Enemies, and there to charge them.

*Selymus* with his  
Army pass-  
ed over the  
River.

As soon as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open Field put his Army in order of Batel, placing his Horsemen in two Wings, so that all his Spearmen were in the right Wing, and the Archers and Carabins in the left; in the main Batel stood the Janizaries with the rest of the Footmen. On the other side *Achomates* having no Footmen, divided his Horsemen into two Wings also.

Whilst both Armies stood thus ranged, expecting but the signal of Batel, a Messenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his Masters name, to trie the equity of their quarrel in plain Combat hand to hand; with this offer he did refuse, he then took both God and the World to witness, that *Selymus* was the only cause of all the guiltless blood to be shed in the Batel, and not he; whereunto *Selymus* answered, that he was not to trie his quarrel at the appointment of *Achomates*; and though he could be content so to do, yet would not his Soldiers suffer him so to adventure his person and their own safety; and so with that answer returned the Messenger back again to his Master, giving him for his reward a thousand Aspers.

*Achomates* having received this answer, without further delay charged the right Wing of his Brothers Army, who valiantly received the first charge; but when they were come to the sword, and that the matter was to be tried by handy blows, they were not able longer to endure the force of the *Persian* Horsemen; who being well armed both Horse and Man, had before requested to be placed in the foremost ranks, by whose Valour should the right of *Selymus* his Army was disordered, and not without great loss enforced to retire back upon their Fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them again; and presently brought on the left Wing with their Arrows and Pilots, instead of them that were fled; and as the same time came on with the Janizaries also, who with their Shot enforced *Achomates* his Horsemen to retire. *Achomates* himself carefully attending every danger, with greater Courage than Fortune came in with fresh Troops of Horsemen, by whose Valour the Batel before declining was again renewed, and the Victory made doubtful; but in the fury of this Batel whilst he was bearing all down before him, and now in great hope of the Victory, *Canoglis* with his *Tartarian* Horsemen rising out of ambush, came behind him, and with great outcries caused their Enemies (then in the greatest heat of their Fight) to turn upon them; at which time also the Footmen standing close together assailed them afront, and the Horsemen whom the *Persians* had at first put to flight, now moved with flame, were again returned into the Batel; so that *Achomates* his final Army was beset, and hardly assailed on every side. In fine his Ensigns being overthrow, and many of his Men slain, the rest were fain betake themselves to flight. Where *Achomates* having lost the Field, and now too late seeking to save himself by flight, fell with his Horse into a Ditch, which the rain filling the day before, had filled with water and mire; and being there known and taken by his Enemies, could not obtain so much favour at their hands as to be presently slain, but was reserved to the farther pleasure of his cruel Brother. *Selymus* understanding of his taking, sent *Kiregen* (the same squint-eyed Captain which before had strangled *Cornelius*) who with a Bow-string frangled him also. His dead Body was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commandment in royal manner buried with his Ancestors at *Ergla*.

Now

*Amurat*  
and *Abdulla*  
the Sons of *Achomates*,  
fly, the one  
into *Per-*  
sia, and the  
other to  
Egypt.

Now *Amurat*, *Achomates* his Son, understanding upon the way by the *Persian* Horsemen (who ferred together, had again made themselves way through the Turks Army) of the loss of the Field and the taking of his Father, returned back again to *Amur*; and there after good deliberation, resolved with his Brother to leave themselves both to fight; he with the *Persian* Horsemen, passing over the River *Euphrates*, fled unto the younger *Persian* King; but *Aladin* the Hymmer Brother passing over the Mountain *Amarus* in *Cilicia*, fled into *Syria*, and so to *Campfan* *Gaurus* the great Sultan of Egypt.

After the Victory, *Selymus* having in short time and with little trouble brought all the left of *Asia* under his obedience; and there at his pleasure disposed of all things, determined to return to *Constantinople*; but understanding that the Plague was hot there, he changed his purpose, and passing over at *Callipolis* and so travelling through *Gracia*, came to *Hadriacople*, where he spent all the rest of the Summer, and all the Winter following; and afterward when the Mortality was ceased, returned to *Constantinople*; where it was found that an hundred and three score thousand had there died of the late Plague.

*Hyfmas* the *Persian* King, whose Fame had then filled the World, heard of the arrival of *Amurat*, sent for him, and demanded of him the cause of his coming. The distressed young Prince, who but of late had lost his Father, together with the hope of so great an Empire, and now glad for safeguard of his life to fly in to *Amurat*, was oppressed with sorrow, by his heavy Countenance and abundance of Tears, more than by Words, expressed the cause of his coming; yet in a short strained Speech, declared unto him, how that his Father, his Uncle, with the rest of his Cousins, all Princes of great Honour, had of late been cruelly murdered by the unmerciful Tyrant *Selymus*, who with fury fought also after the life of himself and his Brother, the poor remainders of the *Orkoman* Family, who to save their lives, were both glad to fly, his Brother into Egypt, and himself to the Feet of his Imperial Majesty.

*Hyfmas* moved with compassion, and deeming it a thing well becoming the greatness of his Fame, to take the poor exiled Prince into his protection and to give him relief, willed him to be of good comfort, and promised him Aid. And the more to assure him thereof, shortly after gave him one of his own Daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his Tyranny become odious to the World) should by any means miscarry (as with Tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Orkoman* Family, fore shaken with his unnatural Cruelty, none was to be preferred before this poor Prince *Amurat*; besides that, it was supposed, that if he should invade him with an Army out of *Perfia*, that upon the first fight, all the lesser *Asia* mourning for the unworthy death of *Achomates*, would at once revolt from him, who for his Cruelty and shameful Murders had worthily deserved to be hated together both of God and Man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyfmas* furnished *Amurat* his new Son in Law with ten thousand Horsemen, willing him to pass over the River *Euphrates* at *Arifaga*, and to enter into *Cappadocia*, as well to make proof how the People of that Country were affected towards him, as of the strength of the Enemy; after whom he sent *Vala-Ogli*, the most famous Chieftain amongst the *Persians*, with twenty thousand Horsemen more, with charge, That he should

(will follow *Amurat* within one days journey; and he himself with a far greater power laid behind in *Armenia*, doubting to want Victual, if he should have led to great an Army through those vast, barren and desolate places, whereby he must of necessity pass).

*Amurat* marching through the lesser *Armenia*, and entering into the Borders of *Cappadocia*, had some others he took by force, which he either sacked or else quite razed, and brought such a general fear upon the Inhabitants of that Province, that the People submitting to that Promise all the way as he went, it was thought he would have gone directly to *Amur*, had not *Chendemus* (an old Warlike Captain whom *Selymus* had left for his Lieutenant in *Asia*) with a great Army had met him at *Scholia*, which at this day is called *Sivas*; his Chendemus had also long before advertised *Selymus* both of the preparation and coming of the *Persians*, as soon as he had learned by his Espials, That they were passed the River *Euphrates*. Upon which news *Selymus* came presently over into *Asia*, and commanding all his Forces to meet together at *Pusa*, had with wonderful celerity levied thereabout forty thousand common Soldiers, which he soon as *Amurat* understood, as well by such informers as he had taken, as by advertisement from his Friends; although he was very desirous to have fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* should with his wonted celerity come against him, he should be vanquished in the Straits of the Mountain *Antitaurus*, he retired back again to *Vala-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that year had in his haughty thoughts been plotting some such notable exploit as were worthy his greatness, standing in doubt whether he should by Sea and Land invade *Hungary*, the *Rhodes*, or *Italy*, at that time fore shaken with Civil Wars; having now so fit an occasion given him by the *Persians*, to the great joy of all Christendom, converted himself wholly unto the East, and in thirty days march came to *Asfaga*. Where joining his Army with *Chendemus*, when he understood that his Enemies having harried the Country, were again retired, prick forward with the grief of the injury and desire of revenge, with hope of Victory he resolved to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into *Armenia* the greater, the principal Province of the *Persian* Kingdom.

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Counsel propounded by them which had best knowledge of those Countries, were great and many, all which by his own good hap and invincible courage, he himself afterwards overcame; for the Soldiers which had in short time already marched by Land out of *Ilyria*, *Epirus*, and *Macedonia*, into *Cappadocia*, mult of necessity in this long expedition take upon them new labors; they were to endure the sharp and pinching cold of the huge Mountain *Caucasus*, and by and by after the most vehement and scorching heat in the Plains of *Armenia* the lesser, with extremest Thirst, Hunger, and most desperate want of all things; and well the more, for that the *Persians* in their Retreat (spoiling the Country as they went, had utterly destroyed all that might serve for the use of man, of purpose to leave nothing to their Enemies but want of all things, if they should pursue them; besides that, his most expert Captains stood in no small doubt of the petty Princes of *Armenia* the lesser, and the Mountain King *Arctabulus*, whom they were to leave behind them at their backs, without any great assurance of their Friendship, who

1514.  
Armenia  
Arctabulus  
etc.

*Selymus*  
refused  
to invade  
the *Persian*  
Kingdom.

who they well knew would leave them, if any thing should happen otherwise than well to Selymus, either in the Batrel, or for want of Victuals, or in the frail passages. For they were to be relieved with Victuals from the Armenians: and Aladules Forces then in readiness, were neither for number nor power to be consumed; who with their Castles commodiously placed, and strong Garrisons, at his pleasure commanded all the fruits, passages, and entrances which led out of Cappadocia into Armenia and the Persian Kingdom: for all the Mountain Countries were under his command, and his Kingdom stretched from the Mountains called Selimus near unto Pontus, all alongst the great Mountain Taurus unto Armanus, which divideth Cilicia from Syria.

Amongst the rest, old Chendemus Viceroy of Natusia, a Man of great experience, and of all others in greatest credit, favour, and authority with Selymus, perswaded him to stay a while in Cappadocia, and there to refresh his European Soldiers already weary of their long Travel, and so to expect the coming of his Enemies. And to perswade him from the dangerous expedition into Persia, spake unto him as followeth:

It is not to be thought *omit my sight and invisible* Emperor, that the Persians are fled for fear, because they retired before they yet see upon us their Enemies: it is a juggles, and they plainly go about to entrap us, whiles they by flight make a false semblance of fear. Know we not what cunning Heads and able Bodies Persia breedeth? Will they thus flee? *Turkish light Horsemen or Archers, which with their courageous United Hosts and their slow Irony Arm-ed, feared not the Scythian host? or (if they be too little) which by their Valour have vanquished so many Nations, and gained unto their King so great and large an Empire? Think you, that you have either greater or better Forces than had long ago, Caesar's own Uncle, or Great Mahomet your Grandfather's who divers times proving their Force against this Enemy, were more than once put to the worst. I my self then serving in their Camps near unto Trapezond and the Mountains of Nicopolis. I will not deny, but that the great Ordinance which you carry with you may stand you in great stead, so that if place may be found to bestow, so that place may be but this fortified Ground, the frozen and abrupt Mountains, with the vast and solitary Plains beyond them, terrify me, whom all the armed Forces of our Enemies in places of great advantage could not dismay. You must fight not only with your valiant Enemies, but with the difficulties of Nature also. Neither may your Majesty give any credit to the Armenians or Aladules, Princes of most doubtful Faith: although at your first setting forward they shew a fair Face, and seem never so friendly: for they will but expect and await some fit occasion to take you at an advantage, and so to set upon you when you least fear them. But advise you were assured of Victory, O what should worse Blood be shed? For the Soldiers to fight for you the same? with what other Soldiers, with what other Forces will you defend Grecia, if the Christian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or desire of Fame being gone into the furthest part of Armenia, shall in the mean time invade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wisdom, with safety to defend your own, than with danger to fight for you the same? if Princes of doubtful Policy have respect the glory of their Victory, not in the greatness of the slaughter of their Enemies, but in the safety and preservation of their own Soldiers: spare to object your self and your Army to most manifest danger, and unadvisedly to commit all at once to the hazard of great Fortune: which being a most foolish and unwise*

*Mistress, if she shall but once daily with your dangerous attempts, you shall through your rashness in far shorter space tumble down head-long from the top of so great Majesty, than you have thereunto a while ago by your rare Virtues worthily aspired.*

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce Nature, so would he have all things done according to his own device and direction: and though he were not a little moved with this Speech of fo grave a Counsellor and most expert Commander, and saw many of his Captains troubled with the imagination of the future danger: yet in a fume refusing some little of that which Chendemus had said, he dismissed the Council, protesting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpose, hap what hap should, from Friend or Foe: although that old Fellow were (as he said) so careful of his life, that he feared to die a noble Death. Which Selymus had no sooner said, but presently others about him, accustomed to serve his Humor, which envied at the glory and wealth of old Chendemus, took hold upon these words, and beginning with the greatness of his Forces, the valour of his Soldiers, the force of his Artillery, with his own invincible Fortune, made easy matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words laboured to extenuate all that the grave Basia had before said concerning the prowess and power of the Enemy. After that, they began to discredit Chendemus, saying, That he (being a martial Man, and of known reputation in all his most warlike Actions) had not said a false semblance of courage, of any distrust he had of the Victory, but of purpose to hinder that most honourable Expedition, and to cut off all hope of Victory, which was (as they said) as good as already gotten: being before loaded with Amurats his great Promises, and the Gold of Persia. Wherefore they wished him to beware of the loss of his great wealth and treason, and to proceed on in his Expedition so much the more boldly: and not to think that his Soldiers would refuse any danger or labour, so long as they saw courage in himself, but would be ready (as they said) to undertake the most desperate difficulties of War, and desired nothing more, than to be conducted into those far Countries, where by their martial Prowess and valiant Acts they might make their Emperor Selymus equal with the Great Alexander, and themselves comparable to his Macedonians. And to work the utter destruction of this most faithful Counsellor without all recovery, these false Flatterers furnished bold-faced Accusers, who falsely and shamefully affirmed, that he had received great sums of Money from Amurat, and did not therefore in time go against the Persian Robbers, whereby all the former Calamities happened (as they said) to that Province. For which pretended Cause, Selymus commanded Chendemus further hearing to be slain: but he desired to terrify others from like liberty of Speech; and withal to teach them, to deem those devices and counsels as most excellent, which their Sovereign thought as it were by divine Inspiration find out himself, and so to accept of them without contradiction. The sudden death of this most faithful Counsellor Chendemus, struck an exceeding fear into the minds of all Men, for that so honourable a Personage, of late in so great credit and favour with his Sovereign, was without hearing Executed; who they had known as a Man of great account, both for his prowess and policy, to have stood fast on Selymus his side, first in his Wars against his Father, and of late against his Brother: not doubting but that Selymus

Chendemus Basia by his commandment Selymus slain.

by nature cruel and suspicious even of cringes; would with little Tyranny, not spare Men of meaner calling, which spared not his dearest and most ancient Friends.

Selymus marching from Arsenge, came to the Confines of the lesser Armenian Kings, and of Aladules; where by his Embassadors he requested the Kings of those Nations (who were then in Arms) that they would join their Forces with his against the Persian, and to go with him into Armenia the great; promising that when the Wars were happily ended, he would give unto them all such Territories as should chance in those Wars to be taken from the Enemy as a reward of their Aid. But these poor Kings, which hated both Hydarnas and Selymus for their manifold injuries they daily received in the Frontiers of their Dominions, lying in the midst between them, (as commonly it falleth out, that the weakest go to the walls) craftily expecting the Event of this War, would not openly show themselves; but answered that they had taken up Arms for no other purpose, but for the defence of themselves and their Kingdoms. Not meaning in that doubtful War to bear themselves as Enemies unto either of those great Princes their Friends and Neighbors, of whose just grievances they were not able worthy to determine; yet if he would without Hostility in reasonable manner pass through their Dominions, they promised to give free passages unto him and his Army; and after he was entered into Armenia the greater, to relieve him with such Provision of Victual as their bare Countries could afford.

Selymus thus deceived of his this first Hope, (for why he thought that those poor Kings, who were the first, either for love or fear have been ready to have done him all the service they could) dissembled his grief for the present, as wholly bent against Hydarnas, fearing that if he should by word or deed defend those poorer Princes, he should have them at his back his most assured and most dangerous Enemies. Wherefore passing the Mountains called *Pendjes*, he came in eight days unto the great Mountain called *Mofchi*, which the famous River *Euphrates*, with his mighty stream and huge broken banks, separateth from the great Mountain *Antitaurus*, and with perpetual steep ridges runneth into *Iberia* and *Celchis*, and on the East discovereth Armenia the greater; here Selymus with Ensigns displayed marching along the bank of the River, departed not from the same, for fear to lack Water in that hot and dry Country; and so held on his way directly Eastward, leaving the Country of Armenia the less upon his left Hand, and the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Aladules* on the right, until he came unto the Mountain *Persia*. This great Mountain, famous by the rising of two great, and notable Rivers out of it, is for the wonderful fertility of all things, of the barbarous People called *Lepus*, which is to say, fruitful, for *Euphrates* and *Araxes* there running out of two divers and contrary Mouths, with many arms, water and enrich that champaign and dry Country every way, if happily they could intercept some which might give him the knowledge of his Enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for fear of the coming of the Turks, or that Hydarnas their King had so commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the Country, where by Selymus was to pass with his Army; and having forsaken their Houses and carried away with them, or else by Fire destroyed whatsoever might serve for the use of Man.

The Turkish Scouts after they had by the space of two days scoured up and down the Country, returned back again to Selymus, not having taken so much as any one Man; shewing unto him, That all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wild Fields and a most desolate Country, without any appearance of Man or Beast; and that they were of opinion that either the Armenian Guilds were deceived in the way, or else had of purpose brought them into such desert places, whereas wanting Pasture for their Horses, and Food for Men, they must needs together perish with Hunger. Which their present fear was greatly increased by the weak Kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but especially by the hatred both Hydarnas and Selymus had had a few days at the first taken the Turks with Victual, but after they were further entered into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before most faithfully promised; seeking therein the favor of Hydarnas, who he thought would with the same good fortune vanquish the Turks; that he had not long before the greatest part of the East. Selymus perplexed in mind, began now to suspect Treason, to fear Famine, to dread the Deserts and forsaken places, and with grief of mind to call to remembrance all that old Chendemus his faithful Counsellor had before most truly told him; for that he, who showed himself in so reasonable manner, with cheerful Countenance, as a Man nothing dismayed; which firm constancy seemed to promise unto their discouraged minds good success, with speedy Victory. Wherefore calling unto him his Guilds, and such as best knew the Country, and understanding by them, that on the right Hand beyond the Mountain *Persia* lay the rich and fertile Country of all Armenia, he rose with his Army, and compassing the Hill toward the North, turned down toward the River *Araxes*, and above the City of *Coy* passed his Army over the River, his Footmen by little Bridges, and his Horsemen by Fords; for *Araxes*, until it have passed such Rivers as fall into it out of the Mouths of *Pendjes*, runneth but with a small stream, and in some places eafie to be passed over.

Selymus had scarcely well got over the River, and incamped his great Army, when *Vasfa Oglu* (who having joyined his Forces with Amurat, lying incamped not far off and fearing lest the City of *Coy* and the unprovided Citizens should by the sudden coming of the Enemy be oppressed) quickly rose with his Army, and set forwards to meet the Turks, for that City of all others in that Country, for fresh Fountains and Rivers, most pleasant (wherein the Persian Kings for the great plenty of all manner of Fruit, and whollomness of the Air, leaving *Taurus* were wont to spend most part of the Summer) had then in many rich Citizens, and sumptuous Buildings; which *Vasfa Oglu* thought good betimes to refuse, and not with dishonour to lose that rich City, looking as it were upon it, and leaving it unto the Enemy, to suffer him there to refresh his hunger-starved Soldiers with plenty of all things. Callistan an Armenian Born, and present in those Wars, who by many good probabilities (as he writeth) shew unto him, That this City of *Coy* was in ancient time that most famous City which was called *Artaxata*, which *Domitius Corbulo* destroyed. Neither did Hydarnas himself (although he had but a little before sent the greatest part of his Forces against the *Caramani*, who were then risen up against him in Rebellion, as he that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or ever thought that they durst have come so far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as soon as he had heard of the coming of Selymus, came also in person himself unto his Army.

By chance *Vasfa Oglu* (who contrary to all Mens expectation had until then slunked to fight, or come

Selymus finish out his Scouts, who do not take with him.

Selymus Oglu or Araxes.

come in fight of his Enemies, of purpose with less danger and loss of Men to overthrow them afterwards, being fore weakened and almost spent with long Travel and want of Victuals) lay then incamped near the City, when as the Turkish Scouts, upon the coming of *Hyfmael*, perceived by the great rising of the dust, and by the neighing of the *Perfian* Horses, that some greater power was at hand. Which so soon as it was noised in the Turkish Camp, they began to rejoice exceedingly, and to conceive the first hope both of their safety and victory; glad, that now meeting with their Enemies, they should either by Victory turn their labour, toil, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time driven, into ease and plenty of all things, or else by honourable death and all their miseries at once: for many of the Horsemen, especially of them that came out of *Europe*, whose Horses were starved for want of Forrage, and the common Footmen spent with long Travel, and grievously troubled with the Flux, (who travelling in the extreme heat of the Sun, had for most part lived upon Crabs and other wild Fruits, with a bad dipping made of Meal and Vinegar, and almost despairing to get the fight of their Enemies) began now to die in every corner.

*Hyfmael* as soon as he was come within sight of his Enemies, reposing great confidence as well in the valour of his Soldiers, as in his own rare Fortune, the more to terrify them, thought it good forthwith to give them Battle: Thereupon he sent an Herald unto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain skillful Soldiers, which should in best sort they could take view of the number and force of their Enemies, of their Artillery and in what for they lay incamped; and to tell him, That forasmuch as he had no Title unto *Armenia*, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed any interest therein, he could not but marvel, why he had against all right entered with his Army into his Dominion: but if he happily upon a vain presumption, to the imitation of *Alexander of Macedon*, should think too much of the World his own, as he could by the Sword and his own good Fortune win, he should then make himself ready against the next day to make proof of his Fortune, and the Forces of others not inferior to his own.

Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That the fresh remembrance of the manifold Injuries done to the Turks by the *Perfians*, was such, as might give him just cause to take up Arms: for as much as long ago both his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his Uncle *Cajum*, and even of late his Father *Bajazet*, and he himself also in his Wars against his Brother *Achomet*, had received great wrong and dishonour from the *Perfians*. All which things, although they were of themselves important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of War, but only fought after his Enemy *Amurat*, his Brothers Son, who had of late spoiled *Cappadocia*; whom if he would quietly and friendly deliver unto him, as the mutual Laws of amity and friendship amongst Princes of Estates and Kingdoms required, then he would withdraw his Forces, and peaceably return into his Kingdom; otherwise, he threatened with Fire and Sword to destroy, not the Frontiers of *Armenia*, but even the heart of *Perfia*. And so dismissing the Herald, both the Armies for that day lay still in their Trenches, expecting the dreadful issue of Battle.

The next day *Selymus* by perswasion of his Captains brought his Army into the open Field, and in order of Battle set forward against his

Enemies, which lay about two Miles off, thinking that *Hyfmael*, a Prince of so great name, would without delay accept of Battle: yet what though the *Perfian* King was of what number of Men he had, what manner of Horsemen, how Armed, and with what Weapons, he could not certainly learn: for beside that the *Perfians* are by nature ingenious and subtil, the Soldiers generally so revered and loved *Hyfmael* their King, that not one was found to have gone from him to the Turk; whereas many revolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the *Perfian* Captains.

*Selymus*, who had at that time eighty thousand Horsemen under his Ensigns, placed *Chafan Bassa* his Lieutenant General of *Europe*, with his *European* Horsemen in the right Wing; and *Snan Bassa* with his *Asian* Horsemen in the left; and before them both the *Acanziz*, which were voluntary Horsemen, the forerunners of the Turks Army, who in hope of spoil follow the Turks Wars out of all Countries: In the middle Battle he placed the *Aspi* or Common Soldiers, which were and half naked People, as Men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the Front of the Turks Battels, to receive the first fury of the Enemy, and to blunt their Swords, more than for any other good service; directly behind them he bestowed his great Artillery, guarded with four thousand Horsemen: Last of all followed himself with his chosen Penions and Janizaries, compassed about with small field-Pieces, and his Carriages, as with a double Trench; for he had (as their manner is) so environed himself round with his felled Camels made fast one to another with long Chains, that they stood him in stead of a strong Trench, from whence he might speedily relieve any part of his distressed Army; and in case of extremity being in the midst of his strength, might as out of a sure Fort repulse the furious Assault of his Enemies. He also commanded his Footmen in the vanguard of his Battle, that upon the approach of the Enemies Horses, they should speedily withdraw themselves aside into two parts, leaving place for the great Ordnance which was placed behind them, to play in the middle between them. On the contrary part *Hyfmael*, who by the Turks Fugitives understood all the devices of his Enemies, calling unto him the chief Commanders of his Army, shewed unto them, That there was no doubt of the Victory, so that they could shun the fury of the great Artillery, which he assured them would easily be done: when they saw the Turkish Footmen divide themselves, they would also in like manner withdraw themselves into two parts, and give place to the fury of the great Ordnance; for which purpose he caused two great Engines to be displaced, whereunto they should at the time appointed retire, the one for himself and those whom he conducted, the other for *Vasfa Oglu* and the rest of his Army.

*Hyfmael* (as *Josius* reporteth) had in his Army about thirty thousand Horsemen, without a great number of Footmen, amongst whom were ten thousand Men at Arms, resolute Gentlemen, of great experience; all gallantly mounted upon courageous barbed Horses, and themselves bravely Armed, both for the flesh and terror of the Enemy: their Weapons were a good Lance, a fure Sabre, and a Horseman's Mace; the rest were Armed with strong Curbises and Head-pieces, and were either Archers on Horseback, or else used light Horsemen's Swords made of Ash after the Spanish Fashion, wherewith they served as the half Staff. As for Guns they had none, in which thing only and number of Men, they were inferior

*Hyfmael* with thirty thousand *Perfians* drew nearest to *Selymus* with three hundred thousand Turks.

inferior to the Turks. But such was the invincible courage and noble minds of the *Perfians*, that concerning the huge multitude of their Enemies (who were in number about three hundred thousand) and making no great reckoning of their great Artillery, they doubted not with few to give them Battle.

*Hyfmael* having given the signal of Battle, came on with his Army, exhorting his Soldiers then to remember the Honour they had long before gotten in many Battels, and courageously to follow him their Sovereign, whom they by their worthy service and many victories made the greatest Monarch of the East; telling them, that they should have now to do but with naked Men, whose Weapons were but weak Staves and light Targets, and their Horses little poor Jades almost dead with hunger, never able to abide the first charge of his valiant Men at Arms.

On the other side, *Selymus* perceiving the coming of his Enemies by the rising of the dust, caused knowledge to be given through his Army by his Captains and Officers, that the time of Battle which they had so long wished for, was now come; wherein if they would worthily accept themselves against those their proud Enemies, they should to their immortal Fame extend the Turkish Empire from the *Perfian* Sea to the Mountain *Caucasus*: but if they cowardly forgetting their ancient Prowess, should faint in time of Battle, they were not then to think by any means to escape by flight back again through those great Plains and desolate countries; where they should by the way either shamefully perish, or else to their perpetual infamy be taken Prisoners, and as base Slaves, during their lives be enforced to serve the *Perfian* Women; forasmuch as beside the great distance of the place, both the great River *Euphrates*, and the huge Mountain *Taurus*, and the faithless King *Adalens*, who had shut up all the passages, did cut off all hope from them, if they should be overcome, by any means possible to escape back again into *Cappadocia*.

When *Hyfmael* was come near with his Army, and the *Aspi* upon sign given dividing themselves, made place for the great Artillery to play, as was before appointed; he also presently dividing his Horsemen, charged the right Wing of the Turks Army, which with force, that after a most terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant *Perfian* Men at Arms, *Chafan Bassa*, the great Commander of the *European* Horsemen, with the foremost of that Wing being slain, and many more after them, he enforced all that Wing to retire unto that place where *Selymus* himself with the Janizaries stood. On the other side, *Vasfa Oglu* having received no little harm by the Turks great Ordnance, because he had not so speedily cleared himself and his followers of that danger, as had *Hyfmael*, charged the *Asian* Horsemen in the left Wing, and there in bloody Battle made great slaughter of the Enemy, but not with like good hap as did *Hyfmael*; for whilst he most courageously in the foremost Ranks, assailed his Enemies, he was struck with a small shot and slain. With whose fall the Turks were greatly encouraged, inasmuch as that they which but now were glad to give ground, and had lost the third part of that Wing, began afresh to renew the Battle, and valiantly to withstand the *Perfians*; and with their Harquebusers (wherewith the *Perfian* Horsemen were wonderfully terrified) drove them head-long upon the Turks common Footmen. The *Perfians* whether it were forced by necessity for that they had lost so great a Commander, and not well able to govern their Horses, terrified with

the thundering shot, or else for that the open side of the Footmen presented unto them greater place of advantage, setting themselves together brake through the middle of the Battle of those Turkish Footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mighty slaughter, came to the great Ordnance, and there flew the Canoniers, who discharging their Field-Pieces at all adventures, in that great medly made a foul slaughter, as well of their own Men as of their Enemies. And so without stop (as victorious Conquerors) made way through the midst of their Enemies, until they came to the right Wing, where *Hyfmael* was still hardly charging the *European* Horsemen, who having before lost their General, and being many of them slain or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afresh upon the side, had much ado to endure the fury of their Enemies, but as Men in extreme danger, were glad to cry to *Selymus* for help.

In this hard distress, *Selymus* in two places opened his Carriages, and with such flood as it were entrenched, and presently sent out part of his Horsemen. And by and by turning himself unto his Janizaries, said, *This day Victory is reserved (most worthy Soldiers) unto your valour and labour, wherefore now valiantly set forward, and as fresh and courageous Men, assail your wearied Enemies; your Horses are all on a water with Sweat, and the Men themselves faint under the weight of their Armour.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could say, those great Plains and desolate countries, where still, as Men willing in going to a dangerous to keep themselves within the safeguard for their Masters, were whistling at their leisure left forward, the *Perfians* in the midst of the heat of this Victory, compassing in the *European* Horsemen, flew them down, *Selymus* looking on and seeing in vain to help them. *Fabrizius Carreus* great Master of the Rhodes, who of all the things had certain intelligence, wrote to *Leo* the Tenth then Bishop of *Rome*, that the Janizaries refused to be commanded by their Masters, were not by any perswasion or intreaty to be induced to relieve the distressed *European* Horsemen; but as Men distrustful the event of the Battle, chose rather in their strength to expect the success thereof, than with most manifest danger to expose themselves unto the violence of the *Perfian* Horsemen, which had as a Tempest overturned the vanguard of the Turkish Footmen.

The *Perfians* were now ready on every side to have assailed *Selymus* in his greatest strength; when *Snan Bassa*, although the Wing he led was sore rent and weakened, yet following the *Perfians* through the midst of the heaps of the slain Footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*, and with certain fresh Troops which had escaped the fury of *Vasfa Oglu*, restored the Battle before almost lost; but especially by the invincible courage of *Ala Beg* and *Adalens* his Brother, descended of the honourable family of the *Mahometziz*, which for Nobility amongst the Turks is accounted next unto the *Osmanis*; both of them for courage resembling their Warlike Father *Malcovezin*, famous for that woful expedition he made into *Friss* against the *Venicians* in the Reign of *Bajazet*. *Selymus* also not yet discouraged but still in hope, commanded all the great Ordnance wherewith he was environed, which he had reserved as his last refuge, to be discharged; by the violence wherof, such slaughter was made, as well of his own Men as of his Enemies, mingled together, that what for dust, what for smoke, and thundering of the Artillery, having on both sides almost lost the use of sight and hear-

The terror  
of the Bat-  
rel between  
Selymus  
and Hyf-  
mael.

ing, and their Horfes being fo terrified with the  
thundering report of the great Ordnance, that  
they were not now to be ruled, the Bartel was  
broken off; the Victory yet doubtful. The  
Turkish Historiſts to expreſs the terror of this day,  
number it amongst their dimal days, terming it  
The only day of Doom.

Hyfmael in this furious Batrel, having received  
a Wound under his left Shoulder with a ſmall  
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew him-  
ſelf to have his Wound ſearched; which thing  
undoubtedly was the ſafeguard both of Selymus  
and his Army: for the *Perſians* by and by follow-  
ing their King, left the Victory, now in all Mens  
opinion almost gotten. But after that Hyfmael  
perceived the Wound was not deep, for that the  
ſtrength of his Armor had fo broken the force  
of the ſhot, that it pierced not far into his Body,  
he was about to have charged the Turks aſreth:  
but underſtanding of the death of *Vaſſa Oglu*, in  
whom for his ſingular experience in martial Af-  
fairs, he had reposed his greateſt confidence; and  
his Captains alſo perſuading him not to make  
fo light reckoning of his Wound, the grief where-  
of he yet felt not, being warm, but to have re-  
gard to his own Health: He in fearely order ſol-  
ly marched away in ſilence, that his departure  
had no reſemblance of flight. And paſſing by  
the City of *Tauris*, willed the chief of the Citi-  
zens to open the Gates of the City to Selymus (if  
he ſhould come thither) and to receive his Gar-  
riſons, rather than by vain conſtancy to fall into  
utter deſtruction; and ſo marched himſelf into  
the Conſines of *Media*.

The *Perſi-  
an* Tents  
taken by  
the Turks.

But the Turks intrigued with many difficulties,  
having no hearts for ſo far, nor ſtrength for  
wearied to purſue their Enemies, yet coming  
to the *Perſian* Tents, took them without re-  
ſiſtance: where beſide the rich Pavillions wrought  
with Needle-work of Silk and Gold, and much  
other precious Furniture, many noble Ladies and  
Gentlewomen were found, which after the  
manner of the *Perſians* had followed their Hus-  
bands in thoſe Wars, whom Selymus cauſed to  
be all freely ſet at liberty untouched, excepting  
one of the Wives of Hyfmael, whom he detained  
and gave her in Marriage to one of his Baſſes.  
Some which were preſent at this Bartel, reported  
that amongst the heaps of them that were ſlain,  
were found the dead bodies of divers *Perſian* Wo-  
men, which being Armed, and following their  
Husbands, died with them in the Batrel; whom  
Selymus cauſed to be honourably buried.

Thus was that notable Bartel fought in the *Gal-  
deran* Fields near unto the City of *Coy*, betwixt  
thoſe two great Princes, the ſeventh day of *Auguſt*  
in the year of our Lord, 1514. In which Bartel  
Selymus loſt above thirty thouſand Men, a-  
mongst whom was *Chofan Baſſa* his great Lieuten-  
ant in *Europe*'s ſeven Sanzaks, in which were the  
two *Malaccian* Brethren, who labouring the one  
to reſcue the other, were both together ſlain.  
Bide his command, and the great City of *Tauris*,  
leaſt reckoning he loſt moſt part of his *Illyrian*,  
*Maccedonian*, *Servian*, *Epirot*, *Theſſalian*, and *Thracian*  
Horſemen, the undoubted flower and ſtrength of  
his Army, which were in that mortal Bartel al-  
moſt all ſlain, or grievouſly wounded.

Selymus for all this great loſs, by the confeſſion  
of his Enemies having gotten the Victory,  
and receiving Embaſſadors from *Coy* and the  
Cities thereabouts, and the great City of *Tauris*,  
promiſing to relieve him with whatſoever he  
needed, and to do what elſe he ſhould command;  
marched directly to *Tauris*, deſiring both to ſee  
and poſſeſs himſelf of that City, as one of the  
chief Palaces of the *Perſian* Kings. This City

is two days journey diftant from *Coy* where  
the Bartel was fought, and is verily thought to  
be the famous City called in ancient time *Ez-  
bahana*, about an hundred and fifty Miles diftant  
from the *Caspian* Sea. The Citizens were ready  
at the coming of the Turks, and brought them  
great ſtore of Victuals out of the Gates of the  
City, where Selymus had lodged his Army in  
the Suburbs, thinking it no ſafety to lodge with-  
in that great and populous City, contenting him-  
ſelf to have the Gates thereof delivered unto him,  
which he kept with ſtrong Guard. Some  
report that Selymus durſt not truſt the *Perſians*,  
and therefore never went into the City but dif-  
guised in the Habit of a common Soldier. Yet  
ſome others ſay, that he did with great magni-  
cent Banquet in the ſtately Palace of the *Perſian*  
King, and there had great diſcours with them of  
*Tauris* concerning his late Victory. But whilt  
he thus ſtaid at *Tauris*, and with himſelf pur-  
poſed to ſpend that Winter in *Armenia*, he called  
together his great Captains and Commanders of  
his Army, to know how they liked thereof;  
who fearing his diſpleaſure, wholly referred them-  
ſelves to his own reſolution. Only *Maſtaſpa* his  
chief Baſſa chafed to ſay, That it were good  
that the minds of the Janizaries and the other  
Soldiers of the Court ſhould therein be known.  
Which his Speech Selymus took in ſuch evil part,  
that he preſently commanded him out of his  
ſight, and deprived him of his greateſt Honour;  
and the more to diſgrace him, ſent one of his Jeſſers  
after him, who in great ſcorn and deriſion com-  
ing behind him, cut off part of his Tailcoat that  
hung down, as the Faſhion was. But the Jani-  
zaries underſtanding the matter, and much offend-  
ed with the indignity offered unto the great Baſſa  
whom they dearly loved, roſe up all together in  
Arms, and told Selymus flatly, That they would  
not in any caſe Winter ſo far from home in the  
Enemies Country; and therefore that it were  
beſt for him beſides to conſider of the matter, ſo  
that they were reſolutely ſet down to forſake  
him if he would needs ſtay, and not with  
ſpeed return. Selymus much troubled with this  
infolency of the Janizaries, and hearing daily,  
that Hyfmael with new ſupplies out of *Iberia*,  
*Albania*, and *Parthia*, was coming upon him  
with greater power than before, and conſider-  
ing withal what difficulty and danger he had  
eſcaped in the late Bartel, preferred rather  
by his good fortune and force of his great Ar-  
tillery, than the valour and proofs of his Soldiers,  
and withal ſuſpecting the multitude and ſtrength  
of the *Taurians*, of whoſe fidelity he could make  
no reckoning, he changed his former determi-  
nation, and reſolved again to return into *Cappa-  
docia*; whereupon having contrary to his pro-  
miſe exacted a great Maſs of Money from them  
of *Tauris*, he departed thence, carrying away  
with him three thouſand Men, the beſt Ar-  
tificers in that City, eſpecially ſuch as were ſkil-  
ful in making of Armor and Weapons, and ſo  
with ſpeed retired towards the River *Euphrates*,  
a longer way than that whereby he came; fear-  
ing to return again by the head of *Araxia* and the  
Mountains *Periander*, for meeting the *Iberian* and  
*Albanian* Horſemen, who were reported to be then  
coming againſt him.

Hyfmael underſtanding of his departure, fol-  
lowed after with as much ſpeed as he could,  
leaving behind him for haſt his Carriages and  
ſuch of his Soldiers as were not able to endure  
ſo long and ſpeedy a march: yet for all his haſt  
(forasmuch as Selymus was gone a great way  
before him) he could not overtake any part of  
his Army, until he was come to the great River  
Euphrates,

Selymus  
is paſſing  
the River  
Euphrates,  
yet, recit-  
ing great  
loſs.

Selymus  
cometh to  
Amſia.

The *Tau-  
ritic* in  
mating a-  
gainſt  
Selymus.

*Euphrates*, where Selymus ſtaying two days, and  
having made divers little Boats, was paſſing  
over his Footmen; which becauſe they were  
not ſufficient for the ſpeedy transportation of ſo  
great a multitude, many for haſt ſwam over  
the River with Bladders, and ſome adventured  
to go over upon the broken pieces of their  
Carriages, which they had for that purpoſe burſt  
in ſunder. Selymus himſelf got over to the farther  
Bank in a little Boat, having before cauſed his  
Horſemen with their Horſes at once to take the  
River, of purpoſe to break the violence of the  
ſtreem, whereby his Footmen and Camels with  
their burdens got over with leſs danger, and  
ſome of his Field-pieces were alſo with leſs dif-  
ficulty tranſported; yet for all the ſpeed he could  
make, the *Georgian* Horſemen, the force of  
Hyfmael's Army, being come within ſight  
before the Turks were all got over, raiſed ſuch  
a fear and a fit all along that ſide of the River,  
that two thouſand of the Turks were in their  
haſty paſſage there drowned, divers Field-pieces  
left ſticking in the Mud, and much of their Bag-  
gage carried away with the force of the River.  
The *Georgians* conſidering themſelves with ſuch  
things as were left, purſued them no further:  
for the wheels of the Turks Carriages entangled  
together with the violence of the ſtreem, had ſtayed  
a great part of the Turkish Traſh, floating in  
the River; and much more was in divers places  
driven upon the ſhore, all which the *Georgian*  
Horſemen eaſily drew out. Hyfmael in the mean  
time rejoicing at nothing more, than that having  
chafed away his Enemies, he had alſo recovered  
much of the great Ordnance whereby he had be-  
fore received ſo great hurt.

Selymus by ſpeedy flight thus got out of the  
hands of the *Perſians*, found his paſſing much  
more dangerous at the Mountain *Anitauras*, than  
he had before thought of: for *Aladulles*, the Mountain  
King having now his fortune in contempt,  
and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his  
ſavage People before taken all the trait paſſages  
of the Mountain Country; who every night in  
theiſt manner aſſailed the Turks, as they with  
their weak and weary Companies paſſed through  
thoſe rough and broken ways; and robbing their  
Carriages, preſently fled into their haunts and  
places of refuge in the thick Woods and rocky  
Mountains. *Aladulles* himſelf in the mean time  
(by whoſe flight all this was done) every day  
excusing himſelf, if it had been done againſt  
his will, by the rude mountain People, enured to  
ſuch deſperate Robberies, whom nevertheleſs  
he ſaid he would in ſhort time ſeverely chaſtiſe  
fo ſoon as he could find the Authors thereof.  
In the mean while, for ſaſhion ſake ſending a  
little ſpare Provision for certain days, did every  
night rob and ſpoil the Turks by his Soldiers,  
as they could take them in places of advantage.  
Agaiſt which theiſt Selymus could neither  
by Policy, neither his Soldiers by Induſtry  
provide any ſufficient remedy. Wherefore diſ-  
ſembling the injuries he daily received, pur-  
poſing to be thereof in time revenged, toge-  
ther with the ſoul and treacherous dealing of  
the faithleſs King; holding on his way, he with  
much ado came at length to *Trapendaz*, and  
from thence to *Amſia*, where he ſpent that  
Winter in repairing his ſoreweakened Army, pur-  
poſing with the ſiſt of the Spring to make War  
upon *Aladulles* and the mountain People, who  
in his return had done him ſo great harm and  
injury.

In this fort *Jovian*, one of the great Hiſtoriogra-  
phers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid Wars  
betwixt Hyfmael and Selymus, whoſe credit in that

matter other Writers have ſince for moſt part fol-  
lowed. Howbeit, *Jo. Ant. Manavimus*, a *Gene-  
way*, who ſerved in thoſe Wars, doth in his Book  
concerning Turkiſh Affairs, dedicated to the  
French King, much otherwiſe report the ſame:  
which to ſatiſſie the deſirous Reader, I have  
thought good here in few words to ſet down, as  
it is by himſelf reported.

Selymus (ſaith he) with his Army, in number  
about three hundred thouſand Men, being come  
to the River *Euphrates*, found the Bridge bro-  
ken down by his Nephew *Amuraz*, and his En-  
emies encamped in convenient place on the far-  
ther ſide of the River, with their Forces greatly  
increaſed by new ſupplies lately ſent from the  
*Perſian* Army about ninety thouſand Men Horſe  
and Foot, the Horſemen for moſt part furniſhed  
with two Horſes apiece for ſervice: And though  
Selymus did what he might, to know whether  
the *Perſian* King were in perſon himſelf in the  
Camp, or elſe (which he moſt feared) was rai-  
ſing of greater Forces in *Perſia*, yet could he by  
no means learn the truth of that he deſired.  
Wherefore repairing again the broken Bridge, he  
firſt ſent over his two great Lieutenants *Jo. Gre-  
cia* and *Natolia*, who paſſing over the River,  
encamped themſelves as they thought conve-  
nient. The next morning, about two hours be-  
fore the riſing of the Sun, *Amuraz* ſuddenly aſſail-  
ed the great Commander of *Grecia*, *Chofan Baſſa*,  
in his Trenches, and by plain force diſcomfited  
the Turks, and by good Fortune took from them  
their Tents: Whereupon ſuch a terror and  
fear came upon the other great Commander of  
*Natolia*, that his Soldiers thruſting themſelves  
for fear into the River, ſwam over with great  
danger, and again joyned themſelves with the reſt  
of the Army. Selymus troubled with the great  
loſs thus received, cauſed all his great Artillery  
to be placed all alongſt the highmoſt Bank of  
the River *Euphrates*; and becauſe the Enemy  
ſhould not perceive the ſame, ranged certain  
Companies of his Soldiers before the Ordnance,  
as if they ſhould preſently have paſſed the River:  
who upon ſignal given, ſhould forthwith with-  
draw themſelves and give place to the great Or-  
dnance bent upon the Enemy. But when Fire  
was given to theſe great Pieces, many of them  
being overcharged, burſt in ſunder, and ſlew  
divers of the Turks: Many alſo of their rich  
Horſes and Mules being ſunder unto the River ſide,  
and terrified with the thundering Shot, leaped  
into the River, and were there drowned toge-  
ther with their riders. The *Perſians* alſo receiving  
great loſs, retired farther off for fear of the great  
Artillery. So Selymus without reſiſtance paſſing  
over the River, marched forthwith toward the  
Enemy, whom the *Perſians* as Men nothing dif-  
mayed, notably encountered. The Bartel was of  
long time doubtful, and much Blood ſhed on  
both ſides; and if the approach of the night had  
not broke off that mortal Fight, the *Perſian* Army  
rather overcharged with the multitude of the  
Enemy, than vanquiſhed by valour, had un-  
doubtedly received a great overthrow; but  
through the benefit of the night, they without  
further loſs eſcaped the purſue of the Turks.  
Upon this Victory, Selymus left his Carriages and  
Baggage with his Footmen; and taking with  
him only his Horſemen, ſet forward with inten-  
tion to have upon the ſudden ſurprized the regal  
City of *Tauris*, before the news of the late fought  
Bartel could be carried thither: but in the mean  
time being no leſs careful of their affairs.  
The day before, ten thouſand ſelect Horſe-  
men well appointed, which had not yet been  
in

The former  
Hiſtory as  
it is re-  
ported by  
*Jo. Ant. Ma-  
navimus* a *Ge-  
neway* ſpe-  
cifies three-  
ſcore thou-  
ſand.

in the Battel, where coming to *Hyfmael's* thefe he craftily laid in the Turke way, commanding them upon the approach of the Enemy to fly as if it had been for fear. *Selymus* in the morning having defcried thefe Horfemen at hand, fupposing them to be fuch of his Enemies as being overtaken with the night, were not able to follow the rout of his Army, exhorted his Souldiers courageously to purfue their difcouraged Enemies.

The *Persians* feeing the Turks, of purpose be- took themselves to flight; and they following no deceit, followed fast after them, until that about mid-day being weary of the purfuit, and coming to a little River which was in their way, they there halted to refresh themselves; and after they had taken a short repast, again purfued the *Persians*, still leaving behind them fuch as were not able to fall to follow, prick forward with hope, that before night they should furprife and ransack the rich City of *Tauris*; and thefe *Hyfmael's* Horfemen thus drew far from the Footmen, the *Persian* Horfemen left in ambush, in the mean time fet upon the Turks Footmen, lying (as they fuppofed) in great security, and with a great slaughter overthrow them; at which time they also took all *Selymus's* his Treasure and great Artillery. Which overthrow was by speedy Pofts, about two a Clock in the night made known to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceived the ficking of *Tauris*) and withal that the fierce Enemy was within at the heels. *Selymus* wonderfully abashed with this unexpected news, and the loss of his Footmen, forthwith came to retire; which the ten thousand *Persians* which had before of purpose fled, perceiving, now turning themselves upon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly; so *Selymus* enclofed both before and behind by his Enemies, received a great overthrow; and the Turks thus hardly be- trove, and almost despairing of their lives, and having lost their Legions, brake out fiercely to bat- tle, to rescue their Enemies and flock. *Selymus* seeing all desperate and forlorn, breed himself to fight aloft with the rest; and passing the River *Euphrates*, brake down the Bridge, which he had but a little before repaired, for fear the *Persians* should further purfue him, and with much trouble and no less danger coming at length to *Amfias*, assembled thither the relics of his difcomfited Army. Such of the Turks as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keep way with the rest, were all slain by the *Persians*.

The *Genaway* Author thus concludeth his History, that the *Persian* King did not more rejoyce at this Victory, than did he himself for the overthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their so great a confufion, to free himself of his long and miserable thraldom, and to find a way un- to his native Country Parents; as afterwards he did; for flying first to *Trapfand*, and then tak- ing passage into *Europe*, he came to *Hadrin- ople*, from whence he travelled by Land on foot to *Salonica*, and there chancing upon certain Ships of Christian Merchants which had brought Corn thither, he was by them transported un- to the Island of *Chios*; from whence he joyfully returned to *Genoa* his native Country, after he had amongst the Turks endured ten years Cap- tivity; most part whereof he lived as a Page in old *Bajazet's* Privy-Chamber, and the rest as a Souldier of the Court in the Reign of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the fashions of the Turks Court, and manners of that barbarous Nation.

Now shall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpose, here with *Jovius* a little to digress in comparing thefe two great Princes *Hyfmael* and

*Selymus* together, who in that Time had filled the World with the glory of their Fame; that wa- tered with bloody Broils, and the wonderful chances of War, may a little repose our selves with matter of a milder Van, neither unpleafant nor unprofitable.

These two mighty Princes, as they were for royal descent, strength of body, courage of mind, riches, and power, equal, and had there- by obtained like fame and renown; so in condi- tions and qualities of mind, and martial disci- pline, they much differed. First of all (beside the mutual hatred of the one Nation against the other, delivered as it were by Succession from their Grandfathers and Fathers) thefe two Princes, and so likewise their Subjects also, were at great odds about an idle Question of their vain Super- stition, the one preferring and honouring *Eubeke- rik, Henavrik, and Otoman*, as the most true and lightfull Successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*; the other with no less devotion honouring *Hely*, and detesting the three former; differing otherwise in few or no points of their most fond Superstition; yet did they under the colour and zeal of their Religion (as they would have it) both pretend just causes of War, although their evil difsembled ambitious desires, plainly declar- ed unto the World, that they both ftoe at

one and the same Mark, *viz.* By confirming their power and strength, to extend the bounds of their great Empires. For *Hyfmael's* of purpose affected the fame and glory of *Darius* and *Xerxes* the ancient *Persian* Kings; who having subdued *Asia*, with great boldness passed over into *Eu- rope*; and *Selymus* the greatness of *Alexander of Macedon*; who subverted the *Persian* Empire. Which their aspiring thoughts, masking under the veil of zeal towards their Religion, seemed not altogether vain; Fortune with like indiffer- ence immediately favouring their bold ambi- tions and endless desires. But in *Hyfmael* ap- peared such a wonderful devotion and gravity, that his haughty thoughts were with the reverend Majesty thereof covered; whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot and obscure all his o- ther princely Vertues; for he with reward and punishment retained the Majesty of his Empire, but with the greater fame of severity than bounty. Because it was expedient in the exact disci- pline of that fertile Government, whereof the greatest strength of the *Ottoman* Empire consist- ed, to use all rigor and severity; otherwise it stood with the State of *Hyfmael*, who leaved al- ways his Armies of his Nobility and Men free Born, with whom temperate Justice, civil Courte- sie, and popular Clemency, are of greater force, to win their Fidelity, Faith, and Loyalty; for that there is no Man well Born, which feareth not more the blench of infamy than the heaviness of punishment; so that it was not to be marvelled, if *Hyfmael* by fuch honorable Vertues did mightily defend the glory of his Majesty and Renown. Unto thefe his rare Vertues, was also joyned a comeliness of Face (the fairest gift of Nature) well befitting so great a Monarch; for he was well Colored, quick Eyed, yellow Bearded, and that which amongst the *Persians* is accounted the sign of ancient Nobility, hookt Nofed; and was withal exceeding Eloquent; by which good Gifts, he wonderfully won to himself both the Eyes and Hearts of fuch as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his stern Countenance, his fierce and pierc- ing Eyes, his Tartar-like pale Color, his long Mustacho on his upperlip, like Britfles, frild back to his Neck, with his Beard cut close to his Chin, did fo exprefs his martial difpofition and inexor- able nature, that he seemed to the beholders to have

*Selymus*  
and *Hyfmael*  
com-  
pared to-  
gether.

*Hyfmael*  
the most  
magnifi-  
cent.

*Hyfmael*  
contested.

*Selymus*  
cheerful.

nothing in him but Mischief and Cruelty. Which diversity of countenances was also accompanied with no less diversity of affections, and to con- sequently with far unlike manner of Govern- ment. For *Hyfmael* was of nature courteous and affable, eafie to be seen and spoken withal, doing nothing that befeemed his Regal Function, but in the fight of all men; his manner was to dine openly in the company of his Nobility, delighting much in Hawking and Hunting, ac- companying with his Noblemen and the Embaf- sadors of foreign Princes; He would oftentimes run, leap, and prove Maltresses with his chief Courtiers, being himself a most excellent Horf- man and cunning Archer; in his exercises he was fo popular, that he would not stick open- ly to bath himself and swim in his Princely Baths; his Wives, the beautiful Daughters of his Nobility or Neighbour Princes, Ladies of great Chastity, he kept so lowly and undiversed; as if the ancient manner of the *Persian* Kings, who always used most tendrly to love and cherifh their Wives, doing them all the honour poffible in Court, as Partakers of all their Fortune; and carried them, their Children, Nurfes, and rich- est Furniture into their farthest Wars, to their great trouble and charge, by the presence of fo dear Pledges, the more to encourage their minds in time of Battel. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwise did all things in fecuring his meat alone with- out any company, attended upon with his Pages and Eunuchs only, and fatisfying Natures want with fome one simple dish of meat: He seldom went abroad but to the Church, upon the Friday the Turks chief Sabbath; and then so befet with his Penfioners and other Souldiers of the Court, that although he used to ride alone mounted up- on fome courageous Horse, yet was it a hard mar- cher by face to know him among fo many armed men, who with great Pride and Infoleny kept back the beholders: He was seldom feen abroad in the City, chusing rather for his recreation to pass over in his Gally into *Asia*, and there along the Sea coast to take the air; his Wives he would not suffer to come to Court, neither used their company but for procreation fake, and that (as was thought) without any great good coun- tenance or familiarity; for that he being not greatly given to Women, but more delighted with un- natural pleasure, sought a mans body and mind to be not a little weakened with the allurements of Women; wherefore he seldom referred to the cloister of choice Paragons in the midst of *Con- stantinople*, thur in on every side with high and blind Walls. Those dainty pieces, either taken from their Christian Parents, or by chance fur- prised by Pirates, are there most curiously kept by ancient Matrons and old Eunuchs, by whom they are with all diligence instructed in the Prin- ciples of the Mahometan Law, and to read the Arabian Tongue, and withal, cunningly and comely to sing, play, dance, and fow; but *Selymus* of all others used seldomest to fee their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with Women, or desirous of many (and oftentimes unfortunate) Children; having but one Son (*Selyman*) by the Daughter of *Amhamet a Tartar King*, who afterwards by the fuffurance of God, proved a great Plague to the Christian Com- mon-Weal. Such part time as he had from his serious and weighty Affairs, he used to spend in walking in his Gardens with fome of his Bafifes or other great Courtiers, and in beholding and noting the Noblemens Children there sporting themselves, would discourse and confult of many things of great importance. Some hours he would spend in the Baths, and reading the Hi-

stories of his Ancestors and other foreign Princes; imitating therein his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who caused almost all the Histories of the famous Princes of the World to be tranflated into the Turkish Language, and their lively counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more enflamed to extend his fame and glory. He would many times scoff at the great busi- ness of his Father *Bajazet*, who (as he said) was fo drowned in the Study of *Averrois* (de- termining nothing certainly of the Nature of the Soul, and the Motions of the Heavens, that he desired rather the name of a flurr Difputer, amongst the idle Professors of Philosophy, than of a renowned Chieftain amongst his valiant Souldiers and Men of War.

One of the *Persian* Embassadors finding him pleafantly difposed, demanded of him, why he did not wear his beard long, as his Father *Bajazet*, and other great Princes of that Age had done, thereby to seem unto their Subjects of greater Majesty; to which he answered, That he liked not to carry about with him fuch an unnecessary handfil, whereby his Bafifes might at their pleafure lead him up and down the Court, as they had done his Father; noting thereby, that *Bajazet* whilst he yet lived, had been too much overruled by the Bafifes; which he could by no means indure, following no mans advice but his own in whatsoever he took in hand.

But to come unto the *Persians* themselves, they in their Wars had great difadvantage of the Turks; for as they were strong in Horfmen, fo were they destitute of expert trained Foot- men, by whose only means the Turks have achieved their greatest Victories, and performed their greatest Wars. Beside this, it was a great want in the *Persians*, that they had not the use of Guns, against whose fury no sufficient re- sistance can be made, or force of man opposed; as appeared by the lamentable example of *Umm Calfone at Aranga*, and now of *Hyfmael* in the *Caladeran* Fields; whose victorious Armies of Horfemen were in both places put to the worst by the terror and violence of the Turks Artil- lery. For the naked Turkish Horfman is not to be compared with the *Persian* Man at Arms; who comes into the Field armed with a strong Cuiras, a fure Head-piece, and a good Target; whereas the Turkish *European* Horfmen, al- though naked, use only a fquare or crooked Buckler, wherewith they dearcely cover them- selves; and the *Asian* Horfmen Bucklers made of soft Reeds, wound round, and covered with fome kind of Silk. The *Persian* Horfmen also, wearing their Pouldrons and Gauntlets, and bearing Staves of good Ash, armed at both ends, fight with them as occasion ferveth at the halt Staff, after the manner of the *Nudimians*, and with doubling and redoubling their often thrusts from high, do easily wound or kill the unarmed Turks, with their Horfes; whereas the Turkish Horfmen, after the manner of the *Grecians*, couching their Staves in their Reits, do at the first course most commonly break the fame, be- fore made of light and brittle Fir, and fo pre- fently come to their Scimitars, or Horfemens Macces, being in all other things far inferior to the *Persian* Men at Arms. As for the Turkish Archers on horseback, they are in no respect to be compared with the *Persians*, who well mount- ed and furely armed, and using both greater and stronger Bows, shoot more deadly Arrows, and fo make small account of the Turks, so that all things well considered, the *Persian* Army

devoted

The *Persian*  
Horfman  
thus the  
Turk.



The cause  
why Hy-  
mus I came  
with his  
small army  
against Se-  
lymus.

devoted to their King, as well for the great and firm opinion conceived of his high Courage and divine Spirit, as for that they were to him by Faith obliged; although it was in number far inferior, yet had it been of the Turks invincible, if it had not been overwhelmed by the cruel, cowardly, and murdering Artillery, and wonderful multitude of Men. The cause why Hy-mus came out of so many great and large Provinces under his command, was for that he came with his multitude to cover the face of the Earth, and to drink the Rivers dry brought now to small an Army against the Turkish Emperor, breaking into the heart of Armenia; was for that Hy-mus to win the hearts of the People by Bounty, had remitted a great part of his Customs and Tributes, so as then stood best with his Policy, having but lately applied to the Kingdom, and thrust down his near Kinsmen, the Posterity of *Urfu-Cassians* and *Jacup*, the rightful Inheritors thereof; so that his Coffers being empty, and wanting Money, the finews of War, he was not able to raise to great an Army as otherwise he might out of those populous Kingdoms and Countries, yielding plentifully all things necessary for man's use. Whereas with Selymus it was far otherwise; whose Horsemen, Footmen, Captains, Canoniers, both at Sea and Land, Officers of Peace and War, received their daily Wages and monthly Pays in ready Money, of his Customs and Paymasters; for the delaying of which charge he never wanted Conjoining an incalculable Mass of Money always in store in the seven Towers at *Constantinople*; and his yearly Tributes and Revenues fell exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The Strength of the Persian King consisted in three kind of Soldiers; the first of which were they which were accounted Soldiers of the Court; the second, such as were by Custom and Duty bound to serve him in his Wars; and the third, such as were sent to him from the Princes his Neighbours and Confederates. Those which were accounted Soldiers of his Court, had their certain Stipends, and were altogether maintained of the Kings charge; of whom, according to the old custom of the Persian Kings, they at certain times receive Armor, Horses, Apparel, Tents, and Wages, every one as he is in place and degree. And being attended upon with a gallant and strong Garrison of these, he maintained the Majesty of his Court, especially when he rideth in Progress. The Nobility and ancient Gentlemen of his Country, who hold Lands and Possessions defended unto them from their Ancestors, or holden by the gift of the King, are sent for in time of Wars, and are of duty bound to perform such like service as the Nobility and Gentlemen of Italy, France, and Spain do unto their Sovereigns; these hardly amount to the number of twenty thousand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the rest content themselves with Head-pieces and Jacks; and use for their Weapons under Arms, Spears or Bows, which they can most conveniently handle, discharging their Arrows very near unto that they aim at, either forward or backward. They which come unto him from foreign Princes, confederate or tributary, are commonly sent from the Kings and Princes of *Berberia*, *Albania* and the Countrey bordering upon *Africa*, *Armenia*, who being half Turks, bear a mortal hatred against the Turks. Hy-mus the Persian King had then under his Dominion these great and famous Countries, *Armenia* the greater, *Sulvania*, *Perfia*, *Allyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media* and *Parthia*; whereof *Armenia* is the chieftest, famous for the great City *Taurus*, called in ancient

The cause  
why Sel-  
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lymus.

time *Ecbatana*; this Country yieldeth unto the Persian King his best Footmen; but his choice Horsemen come from out of *Perfia*, and especially from *Sograt*, called of old *Cyropolis*; next unto them are from *Affria*; the chief City whereof is *Begdat*, called in ancient time *Babylon*. The *Medes* and *Parthians* are of all others accounted the best Archers next unto the *Syrians*.

But now to return again from whence we have a little too far strayed. Selymus after his great expedition against Hy-mus, wintering at *Amasia*, Selymus with a small army entered into *Armenia*, raised such a power, that with the first of the Spring he entered again into the Confines of the Persian Kingdom, with a greater Army than he before, and that somewhat sooner than the extreme cold of that part of *Armenia* (subject to the snowy Mountain *Taurus*) would either well suffer, or that the Enemy thought it had been possible for him to have done. There was upon the further side of *Euphrates* a strong Town called *Clamassum*, situate a little above that place where the River *Mela* (much celebrated by the Grecian Poets) falleth into the River *Euphrates*; which Town for the commodious situation thereof, standing upon the first entrance of the passage into *Armenia* the great, the Persian had furnished with a strong Garrison; this Town Selymus thought good in any case to be master of, by taking whereof, and of some other Holds thereabout, he should open a fair way for himself into his Enemies Country. Hy-mus at the same time was gone with all his power against the *Hyrcanians*, *Bactrians*, and other savage People dwelling near unto the *Caspian* Sea, then up in Arms against him; which withheld opportunity Selymus taking, and making a bridge over the River *Euphrates*, passed over with his Army, came before the Town, and laid hard Siege to the same before his Enemies were well aware of his coming. The Turks at their first approach compassing the City round with their huge multitude of Harquebusers and Archers, drove the Defendants from the Walls; and still without rest or intermission bringing on fresh men, as Selymus had before taken order, and others at the same time breaking open the Gates, and in divers places scaling the Walls, enforced the Defendants to forsake their standings, and to retire themselves into the Market place; where although they were before fore spent with labour and wounds, yet did they there with wonderful courage a great while notably withstand the multitude of their Enemies till warming in, and in defence of their Country, like resolute men, fought it out unto the last man.

Selymus having taken and ransacked *Clamassum*, with two other small Castles which the Defendants had for fear been abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious desire prick forward against Hy-mus, and thirsted after nothing more than the subversion of the Persian Kingdom; yet he thought it not good further to enter into *Armenia*, before he had out of those Forests and Mountains chased the Mountain King *Aladules*, who but the year before had most treacherously done him and his Army so many injuries in his return from the Persian Expedition. For *Aladules* was not without cause fearing his own estate, as soon as he understood that Selymus had again taken the Field, and that he was come to the River *Euphrates*, and to *Clamassum*, speedily assembling his Forces, had in short time raised a great Army for the defence of himself and his Kingdom, purposing then if Selymus should go farther into *Armenia*, then after

1515.

Aladules  
his King-  
dom.

after his wonted manner to look on as a beholder, and by the event of the War, to take occasion of Prey, and by shutting up the passages of his Country, at his pleasure to rob and spoil the Turks in their return. Wherefore Selymus leaving a Garrison at *Clamassum*, retired back again over the River *Euphrates* unto the Mountain *Antitaurus*, where it was reported that his Enemies lay.

This *Aladules* (as is aforesaid) ruled over the rude and savage Mountain People, inhabiting the great Mountains *Taurus* and *Antitaurus*, which Mountains as it were linked together one to another, run from the Mountains called *Sandrisi*, and the *Boydices* of *Cappadocia*, with a perpetual rising, through many large Provinces and Countries unto the great Mountain *Armenus*, and uttermost bounds of *Cilicia*. The People of this Country were by Nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things, who as men dwelling in the rough and bare Country, could little or nothing profit by Husbandry; yet in such places as would bear any pasture, they had their breed of Horses and Camels, and did with all diligence use grafting; but the greatest part of their living consisted in hunting and stealing. These are supposed to have had their beginning from the *Galatians*, *Cappadocians*, *Armenians*, and the old Inhabitants of *Affa* the less, which by long and continual Wars in former ages, and especially the lamentable irruption of the *Syrians*, were enforced to forsake their Cities and Dwellings, and for safeguard of their lives to fly into those rough and desolate Mountains. These distressed People searching every Hill and every Dale, and following the opportunity of the Mountains and Fountains, but especially the mildest temperature of the Air, and favourable aspect of the Sun, built in many places poor Country Villages, and afterwards divers fair Towns; where in process of time they growing to better estate, raised up some amongst them, which overlooking the rest, ambitiously took upon them the name of Kings, desiring to be had in regard, and to be feared of their Neighbours, although they commanded but over rough Woods and ragged Rocks. Near unto the Confines of *Aladules* Kingdom is the City *Orpha*, which many suppose to have been the famous City *Edessa*, because that as yet there remaineth certain Monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine Letters; who after his Brother *Godfrey* was possessed of *Jerusalem*, is reported to have taken *Edessa*, and there reigned. Not far from thence is also the ancient City *Amida*, which at this day is called *Carimide*, joyning upon *Mesopotamia*; which Country lying between the two great Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, is now called *Diarrhache*. The chief City of *Aladules* Kingdom was *Maras*, so called as may be thought of the fair River *Maras* running through it out of the Mountain *Celme*, taking the name of *Maras* overcome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the Verses of many learned Poets. But *Aladules*, after he saw that Selymus with his Army was entered into the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and drawing near unto him, brought down all his Horsemen, in number about fifteen thousand, and his Footmen, into a fair large Valley; commanding his Footmen, whereof he had great force, to keep the Mountains on the right hand and the left; where having the high rocky Mountains and strait passages much for his advantage, he determined in that place which he had long before chosen and fortified, to expect the coming of his Enemies. Selymus considering the disadvantage of

the place, although he perceived the Victory could not without great loss of his men be obtained; and before proceeding that his Enemies would never have willingly been drawn to Battle; yet made no doubt to adventure his Fortune, presuming upon the multitude and strength of his Army. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan*, *Balla* the Eunuch (whom he had made General of the European Horsemen instead of *Clamassum* before slain) with a figure Battal to charge the Enemy first of front, as forasmuch as length, nor to use any Wings; and he himself with his Janizaries and *Affian* Horsemen followed after in the Rearward. Neither were the Soldiers of *Aladules* unmindful of themselves or of their King, who valiantly fought in the head of the Battal, but having spent their Arrows, did courageously receive the furious assault of the Turks; and standing close to them, still keeping the advantage of the ground, did with little force repulse them; that the old beaten Soldiers of the Turks, seemed little or nothing to prevail either with their Multitude or Valor; for the Turks by reason of the strangeness of the place, could not incline them on either side, and were befide grievously wounded by *Aladules* Footmen, who standing upon the sides of the Hills with their Darts and Arrows from above, overwhelmed the Turks in the Valley. When Selymus saw that *Aladules*, contrary to his expectation made good his resistance, and valiantly withstood his Forces; he drew certain Companies of Harquebusers out of his own Squadrons, and sent them to relieve their Fellows; and at the same instant commanded the Janizaries for all the danger to mount the Hill. Then the Mountain People terrified with the strangeness of the Shot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by known ways fled into their fire haunts, in the Mountains and Woods fast by; yet the greatest slaughter kill amongst these Footmen, who when they saw the Horsemen put to flight, and the Janizaries coming up the Hills against them, did with much difficulty, by steep and broken ways clamber up the high Mountains; as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the strength of mens legs and other their wonted forces fail them most, when surprized and overcome with sudden fear, they desire to run and fly fastest. The Turks having them in chase had the killing of them until the going down of the Sun. The Horsemen with the King, upon their swift Horses, well acquainted with those Rocks and rough Ways, with little loss retired themselves into the further and stronger places of the Mountains.

*Aladules* after this discomfort, finding himself in all things far inferior to his Enemy, thought it best by protracting the War, to weary him out; wherefore as the Turks pursued him, and burnt the poor Country Cottages standing in their way, he filled them from Mountain to Mountain, never offering Battel or shewing himself, but in places of great disadvantage; and therefore Selymus hearing left in that barren rough and unknown Country, he should either want Victual, or by some other means be entrapped, if he should fill with his whole Army follow after his strong Enemies, upon the seventh day left off to pursue them any further. And encamping himself in the most convenient place of that Country, sent *Sinan* back with his light Horsemen, who carrying with them certain day Victuals, should still at the heels follow the Enemy, and with all speed and policy possible hunt after the King himself. Selymus in the mean

Selymus  
afflicteth  
Aladules.

Aladules  
flies into  
the Moun-  
tains.



time curiously inquiring of the Country Captives after the strength of *Aladules*, and what means he had to maintain the War; found, that he had taken with him his best men both Horse and Foot; and had commanded the Country People to forsake the Villages, of purpose to leave all desolate to the Enemy; and having thus fired and treacherously upon a certain strong Rock (whither he had before conveyed great store of Provision) was resolved not to give Battle unto his Enemies, until he had drawn them into the impregnable Straits of the Mountains, where their huge multitude should little avail them, but to increase their own loss. Another cause he had also (as they said) for that he feared to be betrayed by *Ali* Beg his Kinsman, General of his Horsemen; who first fled in the late Battle; whose unfaithfulness and hatred might seem to proceed of a just ground, for that *Aladules* had in former time treacherously murdered his Father, upon a jealous suspicion of his aspiring to the Kingdom.

*Selymus* understanding all this, caused the Captives to have their Irons struck off, and instead of their Gyves lading them with Gifts and Promises, sent them to *Ali* Beg with secret Letters and Rewards, to persuade him in to fit a time to revenge his Fathers death; which thing if he would perform by some notable exploit upon *Aladules*, he should both purchase unto himself great credit with *Selymus*, and also the Kingdom. These homely Messengers according as was given them in charge, having imparted the matter to *Sinan* Bassa, within few days had so wrought, that *Ali* Beg (whom the desire of a Kingdom together with his Revenge, did prick forward to seek revenge) was easily drawn to joyn hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladules*, who mistrusting all things, warily looked unto himself, he found the means to go over to *Sinan* Bassa, carrying after him a great part of *Aladules* his best Horsemen; by whose means the rest also which remained being with Rewards corrupted, one Company after another came at last all over unto the Bassa. *Aladules* circumvented with this unexpected Treachery, which never before thought it possible that his Men should all so suddenly have forsaken him and revolted to the Turks, was now glad to repose all his hope in secret flight. But *Sinan* Bassa and *Ali* Beg, hardly pursuing him as he fled through the Mountains, hiding himself in Rocks and the thick Woods, at last drew him out of a Cave, being betrayed by the Country Peasants. *Aladules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few days after put to death, and his head in great derision afterwards carried about through all *Asia* the less; and afterwards by way of barbarous ostentation, sent by *Selymus* to the Senate of *Venice*, as a loathsome testimony of his Victory. *Aladules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his Kingdom to the form of a Province, which he divided into three parts, and his head in great derision afterwards carried about to every part a Sanzack; yet so, that *Ali* Beg should be chief over the rest, with such Sovereignty, as that he wanted nothing of a King but the name only. And for the better Government of all things in that new gained Kingdom, he left *Sinan* Bassa there all the rest of that Summer with commandments, that after he had for all things in good order, he should winter at *Iconium*; and he himself with a small Train returned to *Constantinople*, for he had heard, that whilst he was busied in his Wars against *Hyfmael* and *Aladules* in *Armenia*, that the Hungarians had made

divers incursions into *Servia*, and spoiled that Country. Wherefore for fear of losing *Saman-dria* (which standing near to *Danubius*, for the convenient situation thereof is reputed the Bulwark of *Servia* and *Thracia*) he sent *Tomfies* Bassa then Governor of *Bosna* with eight thousand Horsemen, who passing the River *Savus* entered into *Croatia* as far as *Cattinum*; and at the same time transported another Army over *Danubius* into *Hungary*, to the intent that the Hungarians at one instant beset with double danger, should be enforced to fear their own State; and with all to these unto the World, of what Strength and Power the *Ottoman* Emperors were. Deeming it to concern much, both for the present and the time to come, to the daunting of the Christians; if he should by his happy Attempts make it known, that he could at once easily and readily maintain so many and so puissant Armies, and wage so great Wars in divers parts of the World, and so far distant one from another.

In the end of the year, when he had thus with double invasion repressed the Hungarians, he spent the Winter following at *Hadienaple* and *Constantinople*, in making of greater preparation for War than ever he had before from the beginning of his Reign. For he was advertised, that the great Monarchs of the North his Neighbours, namely *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Uladihu* King of *Hungary*, and *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*, with the Princes of *Germany*, had combined themselves together to make War upon him. But after he had considered his sure Intelligences (whom he had with great charge sent into all parts of Europe, diligently to observe what was done in the Courts of those great Princes) that all the great meetings of the Christian Princes proved nothing but glorious Words and sumptuous Banquets; he being rid of that vain fear (God for apace) turned himself and all those his wonderful preparations again toward the East, to the great quiet of Christendom in general.

Yet left happily in the absence of himself and of his Armies, the Christian Princes might take occasion to invade his Dominions, he strengthened the Frontiers of his Empire with most strong Garrisons; and left his Son *Selmas* (who afterward proved the scourge of Christendom) at *Hadienaple* with a strong power, and *Pyrrhus* Bassa his Tutor (a man of great Wisdom and Government) at *Constantinople*. This great Bassa was of *Cilicia*, a native Turk born, which was a thing accounted strange, forasmuch as the great Bassas were always chosen of the Christian blood. After that, he sent *Cherfogles* (whom of all others he most trusted) with his Army into *Bithynia*, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch, Admiral of his Navy, which he had but a little before built, and with wonderful labor and charge rigged forth. Then staying a few days at *Constantinople* to see the young Soldiers, but then chosen Initiaries, he departed thence and went to his old Army, lying with *Sinan* Bassa at *Iconium*, purposing to have again invaded the *Perfian*.

When he was come thither, he understood that *Campion* Gaurus Sultan of *Egypt* (with a great Army lying in *Egypt* and *Judea*) was gone into *Syria*; giving it out that he would aid the *Perfian* King his Confederates, and with all Hostility enter into *Cilicia*, if *Selymus* should farther proceed to invade *Hyfmael* the Sophi his Friend and Ally. *Selymus* perplexed with these News, and fearing that if he should once pass over the River *Euphrates*, *Campion* lying to near in readiness, should

*Selymus*  
was then  
in  
Hungary.

The Captive  
moving  
Campion  
to fall out  
with  
Selymus.

should forthwith break in at his back into *Asia* by the Mountain *Amannus*, and so to endanger that part of his Dominion; staid at *Iconium*, and sent his Embassadors with great Presents to *Campion* to pacify him. If it might be. The chief Men in this Embassy were the *Captives*, a Man of great account amongst the Turks, and of them exceedingly Reverenced for the opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan Superstition, who afterwards wrote the Commentaries of this War; and *Tachis* a great Captain. The scope of whose Embassy was, to intreat *Campion*, that he would not hinder or disturb *Selymus* from making War upon the *Perfian* King; who had so often, and so forcibly invaded his Dominions in *Asia*, and by bringing in a new form of Superstition, had corrupted and altered the most certain grounds of the Mahometan Religion. And if they found him resolutely set down and not to be by any conditions removed, then with all possible diligence to learn his strength and farther designs, so far as by any means they could, and with all speed to make their return.

But *Campion* now far spent with age, and living in the height of worldly Bliss, although he knew it firmer for him at those years to give himself to ease and quietness, than to thrust himself into Wars and other Princes quarrels; yet thought this Expedition to be for many causes both good and necessary. First, he deadly hated the Man for his inhuman Cruelty, and therefore could never be persuaded to renew the League with him which he had in former time made with his Father *Bajazet*; besides that, he desired to abate and repress his audacious insolence, grown already by his prosperous Success beyond the bounds of reason; for *Selymus* having taken *Tauris*, overthrown the *Perfians*, and slain *Aladules*, began now to seem terrible to all the Princes that bordered upon him, and there were many which said he was another *Alexander*, who whilst other Princes far still as Men asleep, did in the mean time Plot in his victorious mind, the Monarchy of the whole World. But above all things, the fear of the losing of *Syria*, and consequently the loss of all his Kingdom (the quickest motive for stirring up of the suspicious minds of the greatest Princes) most intorted *Campion* to take in hand this War; so as much as the goodly Kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Judea*, and *Syria*, oppressed with the intolerable Government of the Proud Mamalukes, and therefore less faithful to the *Egyptian* Kings, were in danger to revolt to the Turks, if the *Perfians* should by any mischance or fortune of War be of the Turks vanquished. For which cause *Campion* in the beginning of this War, solicited by the *Perfian* Embassadors, had made a firm League and confederation with *Hyfmael*, and also moved by the misery of the woful young Prince *Adalim* the Son of *Achometes*, was in mind perfwaded, that the cruel Turkish Tyrant might by his and the *Perfian* Kings Forces, easily be thrust out of his Empire in *Asia* and *Europe*. For *Adalim*, who after the death of *Achometes* his Father, fled to *Campion* the Sultan of *Egypt* (as is before declared) had lived three years as a forlorn and distressed Prince in the *Egyptian* Court; and by all means he could devise incited the Mamalukes to revenge the injuries and cruelty of his Uncle *Selymus*. The eldest Son also of the late King *Aladules*, a goodly young Prince, having at once lost his Father, his Kingdom, and whatsoever he had else, was in good time fled to the *Egyptian* King, and had to fill the minds of all Men with the indignation and de-

testation of *Selymus* his exceeding cruelty, that the Princes of the Mamalukes of their own accord came to *Campion*, humbly beseeching him to take upon him to justify a War; and if by reason of his great years he should think himself unable to endure the travel thereof, it would then please him yet to give them leave of themselves to take the matter in hand, for the repressing of the insolency of that great and wicked Tyrant.

These Mamalukes far excelled the Turks, not only in strength of Body, skilful riding, and goodly armor, but also in courage and wealth. So that, that they had not forgotten with what small power they had under the leading of *Cain-beis* their great Sultan, overturned the Turks great Armies in *Cilicia*, first at *Adana*, and afterward at *Tarjus*, where they took Prisoners, *Meliss* *Palaologus* the great Bassa, and *Cherfogles*, *Bajazet* his Son-in-Law; by which Victory they grew into such a proud and vain conceit of themselves, as if they had been the only Souldiers of the World, able of themselves to vanquish and overcome whatever they should fit upon. These so valiant Souldiers, were for the most part of the poor People, taken in ancient time *Getae*, *Zinchi*, and *Basfarnae*, born near unto the *Euxine* Sea and the Fens of *Maeotis*, especially on that side where the River *Corax* falleth into the *Euxine* Sea; which Country at that later time called *Circassia*, of the People called *Circassians* unto *Colchis*. These miserable and wretched People, the *Valachians*, *Podolians*, *Polonians*, *Roxolani*, and *Tartars*, dwelling by *Taurica* (pulled from their Mothers Breasts, or by other violent means surprised) were sold to Merchants; who culling out the best for strength of Body, or aptness of Wit, conveyed them by Sea to *Alexandria*, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of *Egypt*; and by his appointment were at *Gaire* (after the old manner of that People) delivered to Masters of fence and such other Teachers, who usually instructed them, being shut up in their Schools, in all manner of feats of Activity; where after they were become able to bend a strong Bow, and taught cunningly to Shoot, Leap, Run, Vault, Ride, and skilfully to use all manner of Weapons, they were then taken into pay, and received into the number of the Kings Horsemen or Mamalukes; and such of them as proved cowardly or unapt, were made slaves unto the rest. So that they being all honour, credit, and preferment, laid up in martial prowess, did with all diligence and courage employ themselves to military Affairs, and therein so well profited, that oftentimes they which at the first were bare and base slaves, of the meanness of the Mamalukes by many degrees of service rose at length to the highest degrees of Honour. All these Mamalukes were the Children of Christian Parents, from the time of their Captivity instructed in the Mahometan Superstition; for no Man born of a Mahometan Father, or of a Jew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke Horsemen; which was so frantically observed, that the honour of a Mamaluke Horseman never descended unto the Sons of the Mamalukes; yet might they by Law inherit their Fathers Lands, Possessions, and Goods; by which reason the Sons of the Sultans themselves never succeeded their Fathers in the Kingdom. Hereby also it came to pass, that many Christians of loose life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Christian Religion, and suffering themselves to be Circumcised, being Men meet for the Wars, grew by degrees to great Honour; as did *Tangarisbards* the Son of a Spanish Mariner,



Selymus  
con-  
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Mountain *Taurus*; breaketh again violently forth into *Meopotamia*; but turning himself upon the right hand; purposed to pass the Mountain *Taurus*; and breaking suddenly into *Comagena* to come upon the Sultan before he were well aware of his coming. Wherefore calling unto him his trusty Janizaries, with the other Soldiers of the Court, he openly declared unto them his countenance declared unto them what he had resolved to do with the reasons of the alteration of his former determination; perswading them, that the Victory would easily be achieved, if they as courageous Soldiers would with all colerity (before the Mamalukes could perceive they were returned) get to the top of the Mountains, and recover those difficult passages; not fearing the vain Names and Titles of the Mamalukes. For *Selymus* (said he) the strength of those *Horsemen* is long since decayed and gone; the old Mamalukes, who in the time of *Caitibes* were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. *You shall* in Battle meet but with a sort of gallant *Horsebreviers* rather than Soldiers; which can cunningly manage their *Horses* in sport, to the pleasure of the Beholders, but know not how to encounter the Enemy, or to induce to be wounded, who as *Carpet-Knights*, effeminate with long paces, and corrupted with ease and delicacy of their great Cities, never saw their *Foes* intrenched, or armed Enemies, neither have heard the sound of a Trumpet, but at Plays or Shows. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store of Ordnance or strength of Footmen. But as the reverend Interpreters of our Sacred Laws and Religion, having orderly performed all their observances, do divine unto us all happiness; so you as Men full of hope, set forward cheerfully unto my offered Victory over your ground Enemies. For God no doubt favoureth the quarter of Men justly provoked, and offered means of Victory to such as take up just and necessary arms. To overcome the Enemy, and to enjoy Victory indeed, which consisteth in the courage and valour of them which deem nothing better or more honourable than to spend their lives for the honour of their Prince and Country. Here the Janizaries shaking their Weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerful voice, That he should lead and conduct them whithersoever he would; saying, That they were ready as courageous Men, to overcome all the difficulties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labours and dangers incident to that War.

*Selymus*, by the mountain People having found out the easiest passages, resolved to pass over the Mountain with his Army in three places; and so appointing three great Companies of the common Soldiers, and Country People, for the opening of the three passages; he commanded the rough and uneven Ways to be made plain and smooth, for the transporting of his Ordnance, and the broken passages to be cast even, that so his Baggage and Carriages might the better pass; and the more to encourage his Soldiers to take pains, he promised present reward to all such as in transporting of his Ordnance, should take any extraordinary pain. Whereby it came to pass, that the same being of the smaller sort bearing Bullets of no great weight, was in short time by the cheerful labour of his Soldiers, drawn over those great Hills and Dales; so that in five days all his Army with his Baggage and Carriages were got over the Mountain *Taurus*, and came into the Plains of *Comagena*. For that Mountain where it taketh the name of *Amnus*, which is almost in the middle where the River *Euphrates* parteth the Mountain *Taurus*, and the Bay *Umus*, is neither exceeding high, or yet im-

passable; for as it cometh nearer the Sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilld by the Mountain Cilicians, a fierce kind of People accustomed to labour and toil, who are now called *Caramanians*, which is to say, the Inhabitants of the black Mountains; for that the burnt Rocks of the Mountain seemed afaroff to be black.

*Alis-Beg* which betrayed *Adalutels*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent foras far as the Army was come down into the Frontiers of the Enemies Country, with a strong power of his light Horsemen, speedily overran all that Country which is at the foot of *Amnus* and *Taurus*; thereby to understand of the Country People and such as they could take Prisoners, where *Campion* lay with his Army; and also by keeping the passages, what might possibly be done, that *Selymus* his coming might not be known to the Enemy.

But *Campion*, who with no less vanity than pride had fondly flattered himself, only by the authority and greatness of his name to have terrified *Selymus*; and overruled him at his pleasure; could not be perswaded that he was come over the Mountain *Amnus*, until certain news was brought him, that he was encompassed with a most puissant Army within two days march of him. With which unexpected news being fore troubled, and in the midst of that danger to seek Council, as one which began rightly to consider of his own strength, and the strength of his Enemy; began then to doubt what were best for him to do; and in great perplexity sometime hoped well; and by and by as a Man half discouraged and dismayed. And now become exceeding careful both of his honour and himself, he began to doubt, whether it were better for him to give place to so great a danger, and shunning Battle to retire with his Army into places of more safety; or else courageously to abide the coming of his Enemies, and to hazard the Fortune of a Battle, although it were upon great disadvantage; forasmuch as he reputed it far more honourable, after the example of his Predecessors from whom he had received that great Kingdom (both gotten and kept by martial Prowess) to die with honour in the Field, than by shameful and unwonted Flight, either to blemish their military Glory continued above the space of 300 years, or for love of a small remainder of life, being now 77 years old, to seem willing to reserve unto an obloquy and shame his last days, deprived of all honour and reputation.

There were amongst his Chieftains many, which preferred wholesome Council before that which was in few more glorious; but above all others, *Jambard* Syrnamed *Gazelles* (sometimes the follower of great *Caitibes*) a valiant Man of great Honour, for his long experience in martial Affairs, and at that time Governour of *Apamia*. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks Army, consisting for most part of expert Soldiers, which to small a power, were a thing of desperate danger; so was he also, that it were good speedily to retire, and to chuse the City of *Damajoe*, as the fittest place for those Wars; forasmuch as the Turks Army could make no haft after them, by reason of their Footmen and Carriages, so that they might at ease and with safety retire; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in Garrison in *Judea* and *Egypt*, and entreating the Arabians their Neighbors, to prostrate the War until Winter, when as they might easily distress the Enemy for want of Victual. And that it was not to be feared that *Alleppe*, if it were furnished but with a reasonable Garrison, could by and by be taken,

The whole  
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Council  
of  
Gazelles,  
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prostrate  
the War.

A fierce  
gudge  
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Campion  
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erebus  
Govern-  
ors of Com-  
agena.

taken of the Enemy, who had but small Field-Pieces not fit for battery. Beside that, in short time *Adalut* would come from the *Perlians* out of *Meopotamia*; yea and *Hysnald* himself hearing of the Turks expedition into Syria, was like enough to break into *Alisa* the less; neither would the Christians refuse to furnish them with great Artillery from the Islands of the *Rhodes* and *Cyprus* against that common Enemy, if they were thereto in time requested. All which things being laid together, he said, the Sultan might afterward upon even hand go into the Field, if he should think it so much to content his honour, to give his Enemies battle. But forasmuch as the greatest Wars, which at the first had most violent and most furious motions, by the politic Enemies delay, did most commonly in time grow calm, he should not therefore make too much haft to adventure the fortune of Battle; for that the errors of War, which many times chanced through the oversight or rashness of the Chieftains, might well of good men be lamented and detested, but hardly or never recovered or amended.

*Gazelles* his grave and considerate Speech had much moved both the Sultan and others; yet the cheerfulness of the Soldiers, and foolish hardness of the Mamalukes did so fill *Campion*'s Ears, that he could not hearken to so good and wholesome Council; for as soon as they heard certainty of the coming of the Turks, they began to leap and dance, and to rejoice among themselves, that the time was come wherein they might make proof of their Valor, and win to themselves Honour. For now (as they said) was come that time they had long wished for, wherein they would by notable slaughter of their Enemies, advance the Honour and Majesty of *Campion* their Sultan far above the fame of *Caitibes*; and some even of the chief men about *Campion*, upon flattery and vain ostentation, alledging how honourably and with what small labour they had before overthrown the Turks great Army at *Taurus*; perswading him that the victory would easily and without any great danger be gotten. But especially *Cayerebus* Governor of *Alleppe* and of the Province of *Comagena* (who after his War ended, was in reward of his soul Treason, by *Selymus* unworthily preferred to the greatest Honour of *Egypt*) extolling with glorious words the Faithfulness, Courage, and Valor of the Mamalukes, and exultating the Power and Strength of the Enemy, forced his Wits to the uttermost to overthrow the wholesome Council of *Gazelles*.

For this *Cayerebus* for all his fair face bore a grudge in his heart against *Campion*, because he had some years before poisoned his Brother, whom he had in jealousy, being a man next to himself of greater Power, Wealth, and Authority amongst the Mamalukes, and wish of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerebus* afterwards thinking it good to look to himself, and doubting the like practice to be intended against himself; being, as the manner of that Kingdom was, summoned to a Parliament at *Caire*, leigned himself sick, and would not come; so that *Campion* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the matter, and to wait some fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, so formidable of his duty, and bearing himself against his Sovereignty, as if he had been an absolute King in his own Province; this he thought might covertly be brought to pass, if he should upon the occasion of the present War (as then it fell out) or else under the color of going in person himself

to the River *Euphrates*, come to *Alleppe*, for it was the manner of the ancient *Egyptian* Sultans, not to account themselves worthy of the name of a Sultan or great General, before they had, as *Cayerebus* had of late done, encamped their Army upon the side of the River *Euphrates* at the City *Byrle* (which standing upon the Bank of the River, retaineth at this day both the old Name and Fame) and there with tolerable Pomp had in the sight of the Army forced their *Horses* into the River to drink; giving to understand by that ceremony, the greatness of their Empire, and that they were ready by force of Arms to prove, that all those Countries were theirs, which lay along the River *Euphrates*, from the Mountain *Taurus* unto the Deserts of *Arabia*. But the consideration of this War letted that he did not at his first coming press him, because he deemed it to stand belt with his present Affairs; and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and *Perlians*, and to defer the execution of his Wrath against *Cayerebus*, until the end of the War; for fear lest the other Mamalukes, dismayed with the hair-raughtness of the sudden fall, should either revolt from him, or else raise some Mutiny or Rebellion in that populous City. For *Cayerebus* had by his Courtesy and Bounty many strong Companies in the Army fast bound unto him; and beside that, was of greatest Credit and Authority with them of *Alleppe*, having in his keeping a strong Citadel, built upon the rising of a Hill in the middle of the City, which he kept with a strong and sure Garrison.

But whilst *Campion* doth thus slowly and considerately pursue his destruction, many of the Sultans secret Friends, in him more officious than faithful, secretly advised *Cayerebus* to beware of the Sultan, and by some good means in time to provide for his own safety. He understanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret Messengers unto *Selymus*, discovering unto him the cause of his grief, and promising as occasion should serve to come over unto him, and to deliver into his power the Castle with the heart of the Citizens, and all the strength of his own Horsemen; thereby to provide for his own safety, to revenge his Brothers death, and to further his Victory against *Campion*; and for performance of promises on both sides, required secret Advantages to be given. By the same Messengers he also advertised him, what Strength the Sultan was of, perswading him in any case to make haft to give Battle before he had gathered any greater Power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to consent to all that the Traitor thus requested, promising of himself far greater things than ever he had required; assuring himself of the Victory, if his Enemy should lose so much of his Strength by the revolt of so great a Commander.

*Campion* enforced by the general consent of his Soldiers, and the violence of his inevitable Destiny then at hand, rejecting the good and faithful Council of *Gazelles*, at such time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand, resolved according to the Counsel of the Traitor *Cayerebus*, to dare him Battle. He lay conveniently encamped upon the River *Singa*, almost ten miles from the City, in such sort as that his Soldiers might use the benefit of the River, and removed from the Houses and Pleasures of the City, might yet nevertheless be easily relieved with the store and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes were scarce in number twelve thousand, but every one of them, according as he was of greater Place or Calling, so had he attending upon him more Servants, well furnished,

The able  
souldiers  
stable  
Souldiers,  
with

with Horse and Armor. A goodly and invincible Army, if the Barrel might have been tried by true Valor. The Mamalukes wearing their Beards long and rough, with grave and stern Countenance, having strong and able Bodies, used such cunning in all their Fights and Barrels, that after they had given the first charge with their Lances, they would by and by with wonderful activity try their bows and Arrows, casting their Targets behind them; and forthwith the Horsemen Mace, or crooked Scimeter, as the manner of the Barrel or Place required. Their Horses were strong and courageous, in making and swift, much like unto the Spanish Jennets; and that which is of many hardly believed, so docile, that at certain signs or speeches of the Rider, they would with their Teeth reach him up from the ground a Lance, an Arrow, or such like thing; and as if they had known the Enemy, run upon him with open mouth, and lash at him with their heels, and had by Nature and Custom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. These courageous Horses were commonly furnished with silver Bridles, gilt Trappings, rich Saddles, their Necks and Breasts armed with Plates of Iron; The Horseman himself was commonly content with a Coat of Mail or a Breast-Plate of Iron. The chief and wealthiest of them used Head-pieces, the rest a linnen covering of the Head, curiously folded into many wreaths, wherewith they thought themselves safe enough against any handy strokes; the Common Soldiers used thrum'd Caps, but so thick that no Sword could pierce them.

The order  
of Camp-  
ion his  
Tent.

Campion of all his Army made four Battels; The first was committed to *Cayerbeus*, because it was in his own Province, where the Barrel was to be fought. The second was led by *Selymus*, who for his wonderful Activity was of them called *Baham*, which in their Language signifieth a Tumbler, or one that throweth Feats of Activity; he was Governor of *Damascus*, a man of singular Faith and Valor. These two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both the Wings of the Turks Army. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third Barrel, to second either the one or the other of the two foremost, as need should require. *Campion* himself led the fourth, all glittering in gilt Armor, behind the rest almost a mile and an half. The last was left for the defence of the Camp.

The order  
of Sely-  
mus his  
Tent.

But *Selymus* according to his wonted manner fo ordered his Barrel, that his Afian Horsemen were in the right Wing, his European Horsemen in the left, his Janizaries and Artillery in the main Barrel, before whom in the middle between the two Wings he placed his most valiant and gallant Pensioners, amongst whom, contrary to his wonted custom, he chose to serve that day.

*Cayerbeus* as soon as he was come near the Enemy, in token of his brave Courage, gave a hot charge upon the European Horsemen; and by and by, as if he would have compassed in that Wing, wheeled a great way about behind them, where charging upon a great Company of Scullions, Drudges, and other base People that followed the Camp, with an infinite number of Camels and Carriages, he made there a great stir with little slaughter, that as a valiant and cunning Traitor he might in the self same time falsify the expectation of his Valor and of his Treason together. In the other Wing, the Governor of *Damascus*, to enter upon the open side of the Enemy, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his Troops on the left hand, entered overthwart their Ranks; where the Mamma-

lukes fought with such fury, that having made great Slaughter of the Afian Horsemen, they brake in amongst them, as if it had been a raging Flood, bearing all down before them, until they came to the Enemies in the midst of that Wing; neither could *Musapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by Birth a Hungarian, and *Selymus*'s Brother in law) neither the Imbrabor-Baffa (or Master of the House) though they did what they might to withstand him, after the first were overthrow, flay the rest, but that they would needs turn their backs and flee. So *Selymus* as a valiant Conqueror having cut in two pieces the right Wing of the Enemies barrel, and thrusting in betwixt the batel of the Footmen and the backs of the Pensioners, brought a great terror and fear upon the whole main Barrel. The matter was now brought to extrem danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeus* was almost cut off from his Footmen, in whom he had reposed his greatest confidence. And now the Janizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the Fortune of *Sybeus*, had set upon the head of the Enemies Barrel. The Afian Horsemen also being put to the worse, and cut in pieces, found no means how to restore again their disorder'd Barrel.

In this extremity *Sinan Baffa* in good time came in with his Horsemen; by his coming, for that he had been but lightly charged by *Cayerbeus* the Traitor, and had brought with him many fresh Troops of Horsemen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repressed, the Turks again encouraged, and the Victory shortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great Artillery being by the commandment of *Selymus* at the same time discharged amongst them, by the terrible thunder whereof, the Mamalukes Horses somewhat troubled, could not so well as before be ruled; neither could the men themselves, although they were of wonderful Courage, much prevail, being on every side oppressed with the multitude of their Enemies. Yet in that distress being nothing dismayed, although they were by *Cayerbeus* and their good fortune forsaken, they were not to seek either of courage or direction; but setting themselves close together, they brake through the midst of their Enemies, with great slaughter of the European Horsemen, and hurt of the Pensioners; and so with speed fled towards the Camp and City. After whom followed *Sinan Baffa* with the readiest and freshest Troops of his Horsemen; for *Selymus* (who that day in the extremest heat, for his wonderful pains, courage, and direction seemed undoubtedly greater than himself) riding up and down, called earnestly upon his Soldiers to urge the Victory, and with all speed to pursue their flying Enemies.

Campion had now (in his Destiny fo leading him) set forward, of purpose to come to the relief of his men sent before; or if the Turks should be overcome, to be partaker of the Victory; when upon the way he understood by them, that fled. That *Cayerbeus* was revolted, his Army overthrow, and the terror so great, as that the flight of his Soldiers was not now possibly to be staid; beside that, to augment the fear, it was reported, That the multitude of his Enemies and Force of their Artillery was so great, that they were not then to be encountered. With which heavy News, the proud old man, who in the perpetual course of his good Fortune had never tasted of evil hap, was ready for the ground, and of mind to have sunk down to the earth. And forthwith his own men, and the Enemy pursuing them, coming upon him, who in their headlong course without regard overthrow whomsoever they met, every man making thir for self,

The death  
of Camp-  
ion.

felt, without respect of others harms; he being a corpulent man of great years, and besides the heaviness of his Armor, troubled also with a Rupture, overcome with heat and grief of mind, fainted in that great press, and fo falling down, was without regard trodden to death, after he had with great Majesty governed the Kingdoms of Egypt, Judea, and Syria many years. The valiant Tetrarchs of *Damascus* and *Tripolis*, whilst others fled for life, either to the Camp or to the City of  *Aleppo*, labouring in the hindmost of their flying Troops to repulse the force of their pursuing Enemies, were both fighting honourably slain. *Selymus* erecting a few Tents in the same Field wherein the Barrel was fought, and keeping most part of his Army in Arms, slept not all that night, but stood fast as a man not yet assured of his Victory or good fortune; fearing lest men of so great Valor as were the Mamalukes, should in the covert of the night return and set upon him in his Camp; for he knew right well, that they were overcome and put to flight, rather by the Treachery of *Cayerbeus* and fury of his great Order, than by the Valor of his Soldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly understood of the death of *Campion*, having given their Horses a short bait, departed in half from *Aleppo* to *Damascus*. The next day *Selymus* removing with his Army, took the rich Tents of his Enemies full of all princely things, which he gave unto his Soldiers for a Prey; and marching from thence to *Aleppo*, had the City peaceably delivered unto him by *Cayerbeus*, where he favourably took the Citizens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted unto them greater Privileges than they had in former time enjoyed.

Aleppo  
delivered  
to Sely-  
mus by  
Cayerbe-  
us the  
traitor.

In this Barrel were slain not above a thousand Mamalukes, but of their Saracens and followers a great number; more being slain in the Flight than in the Fight, when as their Horses fainting for heat, and dying under them for thirst, many of them were enforced to betake themselves to their feet, and so were easily slain of every base Horseman. For a great number of goodly Horses died there, which being foggy fat, and delicately brought up in cold Stables, could not endure the vehemency of the heat, and that unacquainted travel; for that day all things were burnt with the scorching heat of the Sun.

This famous Barrel was fought the seventeenth of August, in the year of our Lord 1516, the very same day (which is strange to tell) whereon but two years before, he had obtained the Victory against *Hyfmael* the great Sophi in the *Chaldaran* Fields. *Selymus* lost in this Barrel three thousand Horsemen; whereby it may easily be gathered, That he had there received a notable overthrow of his Horsemen, if *Sinan Baffa* in the left Wing (which by the Treason of *Cayerbeus* was packed with small loss) had also happened upon his *Sybeus*, as the other General did.

The dead  
body of  
Campion  
laid out  
for all men  
to view.

The dead body of *Campion* found two days after, without any wound appearing thereupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for all men to behold; that such as believed him yet to live, and to be gone to repair his Army at *Cairo*, might be out of all hope of his return; and others that were already revolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all fear of him. Not long after, when the dead Body began to putrify and grow noisome, and to convince the fame of his escape, had lien open to the view of all men by the space of three days, it was without any funeral Pomp or Solemnity, simply buried in the most ancient Temple of *Aleppo*. Of the rising and

fall of this great man, *Janus Vitalis* hath written this *Elogium* or *Epitaph*.

*Fortuna ceca, & furda, vire dicereis,*  
*Et memento una tradida.*  
*Ad alta tollis scama in imo condito,*  
*Ut mox cadant profundius.*  
*Morsu la mortalem appetitum*  
*Vatum, omne fulmine cecus*  
*Fugax, deinde te nulli penitus*  
*Benignitate preceps*  
*Campon ut in Gaurius, nil ambiens,*  
*Nili te proterva flagitavit.*  
*Invenit imperator ora Egyptia*  
*Tumultuosa militum*  
*Ex fec plebis fatis infolentis,*  
*Supra volabat nubila,*  
*Inter receptus altiora fidera*  
*Mox excidit altissimus*  
*Alumpum armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,*  
*Grevius fenule ponderis.*  
*Fit ludus atrox impotentis alia*  
*Taeque pernicacia,*  
*Amisit & cum vicia, opes quas maximo*  
*Cum regno habebat maximas.*

Paulus Jo-  
vius illust.  
vitarum  
Elog. lib.  
4.

In English thus:

Fortune well call'd both deaf, and blind,  
And thereto found withal,  
Thou fust the beggar up aloft,  
To work his greater fall.  
Thou peevish Dame, more fuddain than  
The thunder Clap from high,  
Rejects the fuits of greedy Wights,  
Which to thee call and cry,  
And lavishly confumes thy self,  
And whatso else thou halt.  
O thou such crave nothing of thee,  
Nor wilt not to be grac't.  
As *Campion* *Gaurus* seeking nought,  
Nec craving ought of thee;  
Against his Will by Soldiers rage,  
Was rais'd from safe degree.  
And foaring up above the Clouds,  
Made King of Egypt Land,  
Received amongst the highest Stars,  
Did there in glory stand.  
But forthwith falling thence, oppress  
With Rebels, War, and Age;  
Became the scorn of thine overthrow  
Most fierce and sickle rage.  
And fo with life, together lost  
A World of Wealth also;  
Which with his stately Kingdom great,  
He greatest did forgo.

*Selymus* having received the City of *Aleppo* into his Obedience, sent *Toussif Baffa* before him with a great part of his light Horsemen, to pursue his flying Enemies to *Damascus*, whither he himself in few days after came also with the rest of his Army, when he understood that his Enemies were departed thence and fled to *Cairo*. They of *Damascus*, thinking it not to stand with their good to flay the courts of his Victory, and with their lives to hazard the great Wealth of that rich City; without delay presently opened unto him the Gates at his coming. By whose example other Cities along the Sea-Coast moved, especially *Tripolis*, *Barytus*, *Sydon*, and *Ptolemais*, sending their Embassadors, and receiving in the Turks Garrisons, yielded themselves in like manner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great Council in his Camp, which then lay under the Walls of *Damascus*; for he would not bring his Soldiers

Selymus  
entering  
the  
Damascus.

A a a into

Visible  
delight  
in Sely-  
mus his  
Army.

into the City for troubling the quiet and populous state thereof, together with the great Trade of Merchandise, which at that time was with wonderful security kept there by Merchants of divers Countries, coming from far, even from the remotest parts of the World. And in the Camp such was the military discipline of that most brave Commander, that the Soldiers (knowing the Victory to give them no whit the more liberty) suffered the fruitful Orchards and Gardens of the Citizens, in the most plentiful time of Autumn, to rest in safety untouched, without any keeper. By which severe and frugal government he so politically provided against all wants, that his Camp was in all parts furnished with plenty of all things necessary, and that at prices reasonable. There taking unto him men skillful in the Laws and Customs of the Country, and calling before him the Embassadors of all the Cities of the Country, he heard and decided the greatest controversies of the Syrians, appointed Governors over the Provinces and Cities, took view of the Tributes and Customs, and abrogated many Customs and Tributes due unto the old Sultans, which seemed either unreasonable or grievous to the People; thereby to gain the fame of a just and bountiful Conqueror.

When he had thus set all things in order in Syria, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his Army; and especially his Horses which with long and continual travel were grown maise and lean; he of nothing more delicious than of the Conquest of Egypt, and the utter subversion of the Kingdoms of the Mamelukes Government; sent before *Sinan Bassa* into Judea with fifteen thousand Horsemen, and a strong Regiment of Harquebussiers selected out of the Janizaries and other Soldiers, to try the passage of that Country, and to open the way for him to *Gaza*, which was thought would be unto him very troublesome, by reason of the wild Arabians roaming upon and down that Country. The City of *Gaza* standeth near the Sea towards Egypt, not far from the fandy Deserts, whereby men with much difficulty and dangerous travel pass out of Syria, and so to *Cairo*.

In the mean time, the Mamelukes who under the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to *Cairo*, with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the Kingdom, entering into Council together (as it often falls out in time of danger and distress) without all contention or dissent, *Tamembius* (of the Turks called *Tamambur*) a Circassian Father, to be the King. He was then the great Diademe, and by his Office next in honour and power unto the Sultan, whose Prowess and Policy was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamelukes was thought able and sufficient to stay and uphold the afflicted and declining State of the Kingdom. He by their general consent and good liking promoted to the State of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his own Majesty, and the remainder of the Mamelukes hopes, to be wholly reposed in Arms, and the fortune of Batel began with great carelessness and singular industry to provide Arms, Weapons, and Horses from all places; he also caused great force of Ordnance to be cast, and mustered great Companies of such of his Slaves as seemed meet for the War; beside that, he entertained for Pay, many of the Moors and Arabians his Neighbours. He also had great hired, rare men skillful of the Countries to go through the Deserts of the *Palmyras* into *Adipatania*, and so to *Hijmal* the Persian King with Letters, earnestly requesting him to invade the Turks Dominions in Asia the left, or

with all speed to break into *Comagena*, being by the departure of the Enemy left bare and destitute of sufficient Garrisons; and farther to advertise him, that *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of Judea, might easily be inclosed with their two Armies, and so be annihilated, or for want of Victuals distressed; and the rather, for that there was no Fleet of the Turks upon that coastable from Sea to relieve their Army by Land, or yet to transport them thence in case they should by chance of War be distressed, and so think to return. In which doing, he should both relieve the Egyptian Sultan, and confederate, for his sake brought into great danger; and also without any great trouble or peril notably revenge himself of so many shameful injuries as he had before received from that most capital Enemy. Whilst *Tamembius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, having easily repulsed divers companies of the Arabians, who in manner of Thieves and Robbers lay upon the passages, had now opened the way, and was come to *Gaza*; where the Citizens, although they were in heart faithful unto the Mamelukes, yet for that to thrust their Gates against the Bassa, and so stand upon their guard without a sufficient Garrison, seemed a matter both perilous and unreasonable, forthwith yielded their City upon reasonable composition; and with the plenty thereof relieved the Turks Bassa, giving him great (but dissembled) thanks, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were delivered from the cruel bondage of the Mamelukes; promising for the remembrance of so great a benefit, for ever to remain his faithful Servants. *Sinan* commending their ready good-will, required of them all such things as he wanted, or had occasion to use; which they seemed willingly to deliver; and so lodged his Army near unto the Walls of the City, within the defence of the Gardens, purposing in that place to expect the coming of *Selymus*.

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and most skillful in Martial Affairs) he fought by all means to get knowledge of that Desert, and unpeopled Country, not inhabited for lack of Water; and especially of the nature of the great Sands whereby *Selymus* was with his Army to pass; he also won by rewards the Inhabitants of the Country thereabout, by large offers, to procure unto him the favour of the Chieftains and Leaders of the Arabians, near unto those places; and also to spy what the Mamelukes did at *Cairo*, and wherein they reposed their chief confidence, and forthwith to give him knowledge thereof.

On the other side, the Citizens of *Gaza*, at heart Enemies unto the Turks, as daily feeling the grievances of the present Army, advertised *Tamembius* of the coming of *Sinan Bassa*; and that this order of the Turkish Army might easily be oppressed before the coming of *Selymus*; if at strong power of Mamelukes were sent either under the conduct of skillful Leaders; promising that if the Mamelukes would at an appointed time upon the fuddin in the night let upon the sleepy Turks, they would at the same instant fill out of the City upon their Walls, and so by Fire and Sword do what harm they could for the overthrow of the Enemy.

Of this device, *Tamembius* and the Mamelukes liked well, and to without delay sent *Gazelles* fifteen thousand chosen Horsemen, and a great number of the Arabians, to perform the exploit upon *Sinan*; for *Gazelles* in that his wicked and ambitious heart being by *Campsin* and others rejected (who had been straitway desirous of Batel), had rashly cast

*Sinan* advertised  
of the coming  
of *Gazelles*,  
and that  
he, quite  
secretly  
met him.

cast themselves and the whole State into so great calamity) and afterwards in the greatest danger of the Batel having performed all the parts of such credit, he with Men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

But he was scarcely well for forth, when advertisement was given unto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, that the Mamelukes with the Arabians were coming through the fandy Deserts, upon the sudden to oppress him; and that they would be with him before two days were expired, forasmuch as they had for forward upon the Spur, without any Carriages or Baggage to let them. Which overture in good time given, as it was the safeguard of *Sinan*'s Army, so was it of great import and moment, for the obtaining of the full Conquest of Egypt afterwards. But *Sinan Bassa*, although he knew not of the Treachery of them of *Gaza*, yet as a Man of prudent and subtil Wit, suspecting that such a thing might happen; because he would not at once have to do with a double Enemy, resolved to go and meet the Mamelukes upon the way, and to give them Batel. Wherefore with great silence dislodging his Army before twelve and twelve of the Clock in the night, he set forward and marched out of sight of the City about fifteen Miles toward Egypt. There was near unto that place a little low Village, wherein Travellers used commonly to lodge, for the commodiousness of a lively and plentiful Spring which there issued, and by chance both *Sinan Bassa* had purposed to stay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had also determined to rest a few hours to refresh his Army, that he might by night, after he had well refreshed his Horses, come unlooked for upon his Enemies at *Gaza*; when news was brought to both the Generals almost at one instant, by the runners of both the Armies, that the Enemy was at hand.

*Gazelles* not a little troubled with that unexpected news, for that he perceived himself disappointed of his purpose; and unable to fight with his Enemies in plain Batel, especially his Horses being fore wearied with Travel, was inforced upon the fuddin for the safeguard of himself and his followers, to resolve upon a new resolution; yet nothing discouraged, with cheerful countenance and lively speech exhorted his Soldiers to make themselves ready for Batel, and that which they could not by policy perform to pass, they should now by plain force bring. *Sinan* on the other side having somewhat sooner set his Men in order of Batel than had *Gazelles*, forasmuch as he had before at good leisure taken order what he would have done, if it should come to the point of Batel; with constant look and daring perswasions full of hope, encouraged his Soldiers to fight. But the conclusion of all his Speech was, That the Law of play the Men, and not once think of flight, forasmuch as all places about them would be shut up, and become impassible, if they obtained not the Victory; and that above all things they should persuade themselves, that no one of them could that day perish, but such as the immortal God had by the inevitable Law of fatal Destiny, appointed to die; and that which laid hazard valiant Men found life in the midst of their Enemies Weapons, that Cowards by immutable Destiny found death in their latest flight.

The Bassa had placed his Harquebussiers in the Wings of his Batel, which were ranged at a great length in thin Ranks, thereby to use their Pieces at more liberty, and with more ease

The battle  
between  
*Sinan*  
Bassa  
and  
*Gazelles*.

to inclose the Enemy; in the middle were placed the Horsemen to receive the first charge of the Mamelukes. *Gazelles*, approaching the Enemy, sent before the Troops of the Arabian light Horsemen to trouble the Wings of his Enemies Batel, and with a square Batel of his Mamelukes charged the middle Batel of the Turks. The Batel was a great while most terrible, and the Victory doubtful; for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to endure the armed and courageous Mamelukes, but were glad to give ground; and quite disordered by the breaking in of the Mamelukes, as Men discouraged, began to look about them which way they might fly; when by the commandment of *Sinan* the Harquebussiers, who with the first Volley of their shot had repulsed the Arabians, wheeling about, enclosed all the Enemies Batel. By which means both Men and Horses were a far off slain, with the multitude of the deadly thro; where true Valour helped not them, so on every side inclosed. For where any Troop of the Mamelukes pressed forward upon the Turks, they quickly retired, and in all places of the Batel as much as they could thinned to encounter their Enemies with their Horsemen, labouring only to gaul them with shot. *Gazelles* seeing his Horses spent with extreme weariness, and that he was not to expect any further help from his Arabians beginning now to fall from him, his Arabians being, that many of his most valiant Soldiers were either slain or wounded, and having also himself received a great wound in his Neck, he with the rest of his Army made way through the midst of his Enemies, and having lost divers of his Ensigns, fled back again to *Cairo* through the fandy Deserts whereby he came. In this Batel was slain the Governor of *Alexandria*, and *Orcheman* Governor of *Cairo* (both Men of great account among the Mamelukes) and beside them a great number of Arabians, with a thousand or more of the Mameluke Horsemen. Neither got *Sinan* a joyful or unbloody Victory, having lost above two thousand of his best Horsemen, and amongst them certain Commanders, Men of great mark.

The Turks weary of this Batel, which had endured from noon till night, and many of their Horses fainting under them, were notable to pursue their Enemies, and therefore encamped themselves in the same place where the Batel was fought, near unto the Fountain. The day following they at leisure gathered the spoil, and cutting off the Heads of their Enemies, which were easily known by their long and rough Beards, fastened them up upon the Date Trees growing thereby, as well in witness of their worthy labour, as by that strange and horrible spectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce Emperor, who was shortly after to pass that way, and so to manifest unto him the Victory of that day.

In the mean time they of *Gaza* upon the rising of the Sun, perceiving the Turks Camp left empty, as Men not able longer to dissemble their covert Treachery; and vainly supposing that *Sinan Bassa* upon some knowledge of the coming of the Mamelukes, had for fear retired back into places of more safety, suddenly set upon such as were left in the Camp, which were for most part sick and weak Men (yet in number many) whom they most cruelly flew; and presently after set upon two thousand of the Turks Horsemen, sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the same day, enquiring with great carelessness what was







an invincible courage) presently entered into his wonted and deep devices, and calling to him his chief Commanders, quickly told them what he would have done. Now in this short moment of time he was to do many things at once: the signal was to be given for the Soldiers to mount their Horses, and to make themselves ready, the order of his Camp was to be changed, his Battel to be ordered, his Soldiers as the encouraged, and all his great Ordnances, as the case required, quite the contrary way to be turned; all which things, as they could but hardly and troublefomely by one Commander be directed, so were they hastily and disorderly at once done by many. But above all other things, the great concern of people for turning and removing the great Artillery, most troubled the well ordering of the rest; for many of them were huge Iron pieces of great weight, made fast in Stocks of wood, with Rings and iron Clamps, after the old and rude manner of ship Ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight, could not be out of their places removed, but by the strength of many Horses, and the great labour of Men, with leavers and rouls put under them; and such as were mounted upon Carriages when they were drawn through all parts of the Camp, with the great clamour of the disordered and halcy People, some drawing, some thrusting forward the same, with their tumultuous fire and doings, wonderfully troubled the other Soldiers as they were mounting to Horse and repairing toward their Ensigns. But two things marvellously helped these difficulties, the Soldiers cheerfulness, and constancy, which was such as passeth credit; for they did not upon any apprehension of fear fail either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in suddain accidents, wherein even the old approved Soldiers do many times fail of their wonted valour. And although they were twice overcome in Battel, yet still they were of greater spirit and confidence, as Men delitute neither of courage or skill, but only of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomomheius* having with much ado ordered this Battel, and his Soldiers with great cheerfulness, desiring the signal to be given, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compass in the wings of the Enemies Battel behind, and so to skirmish with them; that so (if it were possible) the Turks Horsemen might with the danger of the doubtful fight with such an uncertain Enemy, be disordered before he set forward to charge them with his Troops; and wihal commanded his great Ordnance (which was now turned upon the Enemy) to be presently discharged. So did the Turks likewise, discharging at once from a convenient distance both their greater and smaller Ordnance; and speedily recharging them, brought them within an Arrow shot; so that for a good space they lay beating the one the other on both sides with their great Artillery only in which manner of fight the Egyptian Cananiers were almost all slain, and many of their Field-pieces broken by force of the Enemies shot. For *Selymus* had in his Camp many excellent and skilful Cananiers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of Italy and Germany; and especially of those refuse Jews, which by the zeal of King Ferdinand being driven out of Spain, afterwards to the shame of the Christians, dispersed those rare and deadly devices through the East. The chief of these Cananiers was one *Jacobus a Regio Lepidis*, a cunning Engineer, who had many times overcome by the Turks rewards, abjuring the Christian Religion, revolted unto the Mahometan superstition.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to Battel on both sides, they gave out a most hideous and dreadful cry, and with exceeding fury assailed the Turks in three places; for *Selymus* still keeping his wonted order, approached his Enemies with his Battel in form of an half Moon. *Mulapha Bassa* had the leading of the Asian Horsemen in the right wing; and *Bassa* of the Europeans in the left; he himself stood in the main Battel with the Squadron of his trusty Janizaries, and great store of Artillery; but *Sinan* the Eunuch Bassa, General of the Field, led after him a great number of most valiant Horsemen, drawn out of every Troop, to be ready against all the uncertain events that might happen in the Battel, unto whom he joyined five hundred Harquebusers, Janizaries, Men of wonderful courage and activity, selected out of *Selymus* his own Squadron, to relieve such part of the Army as should chance to be most pressed by the Enemy.

So almost at one time, whilst *Tomomheius* stood in the main Battel against *Selymus*, and the Wings of the Mamalukes with equal Battel encountered the Wings of the Turks, and the Arabians also valiantly charging them in the rearward as they had in charge, four sharp Battels were at once made in divers places. It is reported by some that were present in that Battel, that what for the clamor and cry of Soldiers, what for the noise of Drums and Trumpets and such like Instruments of War, what for the thundering of Ordnance, clattering of Armor, and rising of the Dust, all Mens minds were so confounded and abashed, that running on headlong Men furious and desperate, where neither their Speeches could be heard, their Tokens known, their Ensigns seen, or Captains understood, mistaking one another in that hurly burly, they flew many of their Friends in stead of their Enemies; for never Battels met together with greater hatred, neither did ever two great Kings with less care of their persons and safety more resolutely or desperately make shew of their strength and courage; for both of them with like danger both of themselves and of their Armies, seeing plainly that they had put both their Lives and Kingdoms to the hazard of a Battel, promised unto themselves no other hope of safety, but what they should obtain by Victory. *Gazelles* desirous both of honor and of revenge, to requite the European Horsemen with like laughter as he had before received from them not far from *Casra*, with wonderful fury assailed *Sinan Bassa*, and at the first encounter brake his first Ranks, and overthrow certain of his Guidons; at which time the Arabians pressing courageously in at their backs, enforced those victorious Troops, which in all Battels had hitherto carried away the prize (the very flower of *Thracia*, *Theflonia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, and *Græcia*) to flee and show their backs, which never Enemy had before that time seen. At which time *Sinan Bassa* carefully attending every accident, came speedily in with his most valiant Troops of fresh Men, upon the side of the Enemy, and reformed against the Battel, now declining and foully disordered. But whilst *Sinan*, who in this his last worthy labour had interrupted the manifest Victory of *Gazelles*, was with an invincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of the Battel, he was by the coming in of the courageous *Biden* with his Mamalukes, overthrown and slain.

His most valiant Followers also labouring to refuse and carry away his dead Body, were by *Gazelles* unfolding his Troops (that standing thin, they might at more liberty use their Swords,

The order of Selymus his Army.

*Sinan Bassa* General of the Field.

*Mulapha* with his Asian Soldiers overthrew the left wing of the Sultan's Army.

*Sinan Bassa* with his Followers slain by *Biden*.

Swords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks for most part slain, and the rest put to flight; and that chosen Company of five hundred of the most valiant Janizaries, now delitute of their Horsemen, when they had most courageously done what was possible for Men to do, being compassed round with the Mamalukes Horsemen, were all in a trice cut in pieces and trodden under foot. Thus refteth this Eunuch Bassa in the Bed of Fame, who living, had the leading of this most warlike Emperor *Selymus* his greatest Armies in his most dangerous Wars.

*Mulapha* in the other Wing of the Turks Battel coming so courageously with his Asian Horsemen, did force press the right Wing of the Egyptians (whereof *Helymus* the Diadare, and *Giapal*, two valiant Captains, had the leading) who but a little before had received great harm by the great Ordnance which was discharged out of the midst of *Selymus* his Battel overthwart the Field; which *Mulapha* perceiving, and desiring to blot out the old infamy he had before received, did fiercely press upon them, so disordered, and with his whole Troops overthrow their broken Ranks; and glittering in his bright Armor, with a loud voice encouraged his Asian Soldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant prowess or honourable death, to recover their ancient Honour of late lost in the Fields of *Aleppo*.

At the same time also *Tomomheius* breaking through the middle Battel of the Turks Horsemen, was entered into the Squadron of the Footmen, with his crooked Scimeter giving many a deadly Wound, himself being a valiant big made Man, and of great strength. The Arabians had also in a ring inclosed the uttermost parts of the Turks Army, and in many places enforced them to turn their Battel upon them, being fore charged with a doubtful fight both before and behind; when *Selymus* set forward with his Battel of Footmen, and his Squadron of Janizaries, his last and most assured refuge in that his hard distress, whose invincible force, neither the courageous barbed Horses nor their victorious Riders were able to abide; for part of them with their Harquebusers, and the rest with their Pikes, had so strongly set the front of their Battel, that nothing was able to stand whereforever that firm Battel, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire body, stayed. Yet was this cruel Battel continued with divers Troops on both sides, from four a Clock until the going down of the Sun; neither was there any part of their Armies, which had not with divers success and change of fortune, endured the fury of that Battel; for both the victors and the vanquished being iraged with an implacable hatred one against another, fought desperately as Men prodigal of their lives; the Mamalukes disdaining to have the Victory wrung out of their Hands by them whom they had in so many places discomfited; and the Turks taking it in no less scorn, that they, whom but of late they had overcome and vanquished in two great Battels, should now the third time make so strong resistance. So that on both sides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakened with Wounds, supported only with anger and obstinacy of mind, seemed yet sufficient to have maintained that bloody Battel until the next day, the darkness of the night now coming on, had not made an end of that days slaughter.

*Tomomheius* undoubtedly vanquished, and fearing to be utterly overthrown, first caused a retreat to be founded, that his Mamalukes which

were indeed not able to withstand the Janizaries, might not seem to be put to flight, but rather as Men commanded, to retire. Which he thought to concern much both for the encouraging of his Soldiers, and for the keeping of his own credit and estimation with his Subjects; for now the self same fortune which had deceived his first hopes, feared unto him (as it fared with them in distress, still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous success, if he were not discouraged; but relieving such remainders of his Forces as were left, he should again courageously renew the War.

The Battel thus broken off by the approach of the night, the Turks as Victors enjoying the Sun, and great Artillery of their Enemies, pursued the Mamalukes until midnight, who held on their way to *Casra* in manner as if they had fled. This great Battel was fought upon a Thursday, the 24 day of January, in the year 1579. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally Wounded, and with him the valiant Captain *Biden*, having in the Battel one of his Legs broken in the Knee with a Faulchion shot, wherewith manded them both the next day to be slain, either for that their Wounds were supposed to be incurable, or else for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honourable Personages to appease the angry Ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wondrously lamented.

The Turks although they still prevailed, yet were their Army greatly impaired even in their prosperous success and fortunate Battels; the fourth part of their Army was consumed with Sickness and the Sweat, and that days labour had tyred a great number of their Horses, before the long journey they had before endured. For which cause *Selymus* was enforced to slack somewhat of his accustomed haste; for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Egyptians which dwelt at *Casra*; neither could he understand by any certain report, where *Tomomheius* layed, or upon what resolution he rested. Which things not thoroughly known, he thought it not good to commit himself and his Army unto that most populous and famous City; but staying four days at the Village of *Altheares* and *Rhodania*, carefully provided for his Wounded Soldiers, and caused the Bodies of such as were slain to be buried; but the dead Carcasses of his Enemies he left to the Birds of the Air, and Beasts of the Field. And afterward removing his Camp thence, that he might more commodiously way his came to the Plains between the old *Casra* and *Belack*.

In the mean while *Tomomheius*, nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his Army commodiously between the new City of *Casra* and the River *Nilar*; he also Ardent eight thousand Ethiopian Slaves (which kind of Men he had never before used, for the remembrance of their old Rebellion,) beside that, he opening the old Armory, put Arms into the Hands of the Mamalukes Sons, and Moors, (his Vassals) into the Hands of the Jews and Arabians also; and courageously prepared for a greater and more mortal War than before. But forasmuch as there were many difficulties in the manning thereof, having almost lost all his great Artillery, with many of his most valiant Horsemen slain in the former Battels, and in his troubled mind did foat the doubtful hopes of his last device, (which cruce necessity wrung from him) that forasmuch as he had by many force nothing prevailed in open Field, he would now altogether

*Selymus* caused to die the Diadare and valiant Captain *Biden* to be slain.

Civilian Cananiers from the Turks as well as the Egyptians.

use policy; as he which of late having unfortunately made proof of his strength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good again to adventure the fortune of a Battle, neither was he in hope if he should do so, to be able with his final power and desperate supplies to protract the War until the heat of Summer, as he desired. Wherefore he resolved by night to assail the Turks Camp, and if possibly he could, to fit it on Fire. For which his device he seemed to have two reasons; whereof the one consisted in the speedy execution, that he might desperately attempt to do some notable exploit in the night, before the Enemy should perceive the weakness of his power, which was not great, and scambled upon the fuddain; as also before he himself should grow into contempt with the natural Egyptians; who desiring nothing more, than to cast off the servile Yoke of the Mamalukes Government, with wavering minds expected but some fit occasion to Rebel. The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might avoid the danger of the great Ordinance; which in fuddain accidents, and especially in the darkness of the night, forth to little or no purpose; in which kind of strength he had before to his great loss learned, that his Enemies were too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when all things were in readiness to have put the flame in execution, were in like manner as the first overthrown by the Treason of such as secretly revolted from him to the Enemy.

For Selymus understanding the whole Plot by certain Mamalukes (which having the Kings evil fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with Men in misery, daily forsook him) commanded his Army to be always in readiness, and making great Fires in divers parts of his Camp, kept most careful and vigilant Watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to pass, that the night following, *Tommebius* approaching his Camp, was repulsed with no small loss of his first Troops which unadvisedly were gone on too far; and had no doubt that night thereby received his last overthrow, but that he wisely minding the unwonted light of the Fires shining in all parts of the Camp, in time called back his halting Troops, which were themselves with more haste than good speed marching into the very mouth of the Turks great Artillery, bent of purpose upon them.

*Tommebius* dissipated of his purpose, by persuasion of his Chieftains retired to *Caire*; for the Mamalukes still put to the works in plain Field, thought it best to proceed in another manner; perswading him, with the whole strength of his Army to Man all the convenient places of that great City, otherwise exposed to the Enemies pleasure, and to keep the Turks from entering. For they as Men brought to this extremity, that they must now fight for their Dwellings, Wives, and Children; thought it more honourable, and better agreeing with their ancient glory, to do so in their fight, and in the entrance of their Houses, than elsewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes coming home to *Caire*, furnished all their Families and flat Roofs of their Houses, with all manner of Weapons; every one of them now humbly requesting the Egyptians their Neighbours, to take Arms against the Turks their ancient and mortal Enemies, and not to suffer themselves to be cowardly slain, their Goods spoiled, and their Wives and Children carried away into most miserable Captivity; forasmuch as the mercilefs and greedy Enemy, if he should once get the Victory, would no whit

fear them, although they should as neutrals stand looking on, and help neither party; for Victory (as they said) always fall of infolent pride, would know no Friend but such as with resolute hand did their utmost effort in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

There were many of the wealthiest of the Egyptians, who as they thought the change of the State would be hurtful to their Trades and Wealth, so were they ready in all they could to help the Mamalukes their old Lords; so on the other side there were many of the middle sort of the Citizens, and a far greater multitude of the basest sort of the vulgar People, who having little or nothing to lose, lived in hope now to make a gain of other Mens Losses; and withal, remembering what misery and slavery they had endured about the space of three hundred years, under the proud Government of the Mamalukes, kept themselves close in their Houses, expecting the last event of Wars; and secretly rejoicing in their Hearts, that the time was come (God so) appointing wherein their outrageous and cruel Matters should be justly and worthily punished for their oppression and hard dealing; and that which gladdened them the more, was, That the revenge should be taken by the hazard of other Mens lives, with which withed spectacle they well hoped shortly to fill their desirous Eyes.

*Tommebius* with much labour and greater care, fortified all the Gates and Entrances of the City, appointed unto every Street a particular Captain, in every publick place encouraged the People, omitting nothing that could possibly be done or devised; and that which in so great a calamity and danger was of all other things the hardest, with cheerful countenance and undaunted courage made shew of greatst hope. The Mamalukes also, beside the necessity (which in cases of extremity is power to encourage and make desperate a faint hearted Coward) provoked with emulation, strove amongst themselves, who should best perform all the duties of worthy Captains and Soldiers; for every one of them according to his conceit and device, caused great Ditches or great Timber-logs to be cast overthwart the Streets; some in covert Trenches fit up sharp Stakes, whereupon the Enemy falling unawares, might be engaged; other some according to their force, furnished the windows and fronts of their Houses in the greatest and most open Streets, with Harquebuses; all which things with many more, were done with such celerity, that none of the best and most honourable of the Mamalukes refused to handle a Spade or Mattock, or to put his hand to any other base labour; so that nothing could be sooner devised, but it was forthwith performed.

This great and ancient City of *Caire* were not compassed with any Walls, yet were there divers Gates and Entrances which led into it; whereof one broad frait Street came directly from the East Gate unto the Castle and middle of the City; the rest were so narrow and crooked, that by them no great Artillery could possibly be brought, or Soldiers enter without great danger. Into this place especially had *Tommebius* conveyed his chiefest strength; for that he knew his Enemies must of necessity come in that way for the largeness of the Streets; the other parts of the City he kept with less Garrisons. But the innermost part where the Castle stood, was kept with a very great and strong Garrison of most valiant Soldiers; that whithersoever the clamor of the Enemy or danger of the Battle should call,

The Egyptians diversly affixed toward the Mamalukes.

The desire of the great City of *Caire*.

they might speedily from thence come with relief. For why, that City of all others the greatest, could not with so small power as *Tommebius* then had, be in every place and entrance sufficiently defended; for within the circuit of *Alemphis* (now called *Caire*) are contained, three great Cities, which joyned one to another with stragling Bridges, make one City; whereof the greatest and most populous, is at this day called *New Caire*. It lieth in length six miles, alongst the River *Nilus*, from which it is equally distant a mile; the breadth thereof, exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midst thereof is a Castle standing upon a little rising ground, somewhat higher than the rest of the City; more notable for the beauty and greatness thereof, than for the manner of the fortification; for in it were many princely Gardens, a fair Street with many large Galleries, divers fair Tilt yards and Courts, with stately Chambers opening every way; the utter part thereof was garnished round about with Towers, Fortresses, and beautiful Battlements, from whence all parts of the City, the River *Nilus* running by, and the high Pyramids, were most pleasantly to be seen. Not far from this princely Palace, is a Lake made by the hand of man, the Water wherein derived from the River *Nilus*, is on every side inclosed with most stately Buildings; and is a place of wonderful pleasure, when as a man standing at a Window may take both Fish and Fowl, whereof there is far greater and finer than this, in form of a Triangle, in the uttermost part of this new City of *Caire* toward *Balach*; it is filled at the rising of *Nilus* by a great Sluce made of Stone with Iron Floodgates, and being joyned to the great River by a broad Channel, is able to bear small Boats and Barges; wherein Gentlemen for their divertisement used to place themselves both by day and night in courting their Mistresses. The Houses were all of stately build, and all about the Lake, with Porches garnished with open Galleries, and paved with smooth Marble even to the brim of the Lake; there the Citizens in their more prosperous times used to row up and down in Boats, and with pleasant Musick to delight the listening Ears of the hearers. On the East side of this Lake stood a most sumptuous and stately Palace, the late work of Queen *Dulide* Wife of the great Sultan *Cyberinus*, for manner of the Building and inward beauty far exceeding the other proud Buildings of this pleasant place; for the Walls glittered with red Marble, and partering of divers colors; yea all the House was paved with checker and tessellated work; the Windows and Gates were made of Alabaster, white Marble, and much other spotted Marble; the Posts and Wickets of massy Ivory, checkered with glittering black Ebony; so curiously wrought in winding knots, as might easier say than satisfy the Eyes of the wondering Beholders; neither was the Furniture in it inferior to the significance of the Building, but such as might fitly answer both a Princes state, and a Womans quaint desire. All which things shortly after *Selymus* (having obtained the Victory) carried to *Constantinople*; not sparing the very Walls, but plucking them down, so to take out the curious Stones whole. Beside the goodly Buildings about the Lake, in every place of *New Caire* were to be seen the fair Houses of the chief Mamalukes, more commended for their commodiousness, than for the manner of their Building. The rest of the Buildings of the City was but low, replenished with the common sort of base People. There are yet extant in divers places of the City, three

Churches of the Christians; whereof one is holden in greater reverence than the rest, for the fame of a low Vault in the ground; where it is reported the Virgin *Mary* flying the fury of *Herod*, to have repelled herself with her Child *Christ Jesus* the Saviour of the World; another dedicated to the Virgin *Barbara*; and the third to *St. George*, which amongst those Nations are of great fame. Unto the City of *New Caire*, the City of *Bulach* is joyned almost with continual Buildings. It is of an high and stately Building, lying close unto the River *Nilus*, and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other Noblemen, that they might at their pleasure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous River. There land all the Ships which come up the River; yet the great meeting of the Merchants is at *New Caire*. On the other side of the River over against *Bulach*, are many Cottages made of Hurdles and Leaves of Date Trees, the Dwellings of poor Fishermen and Watermen. A little above *Bulach* is *Old Caire*, which is also joyned unto the new City with continual Buildings; yet distant from it about two miles and an half, and standeth also built by the River in an Island, notable for the pleasantness of the Gardens and Banqueting Houses therein; in it is an ancient Temple, famous for the love of King *Phorbus* Daughter and the danger of *Moses* (a most ancient History, yet every where there still fresh in memory.) But most part of the Buildings of *Old Caire*, are now grown into Gardens and rude Ruins. It is supposed by many probable Conjectures, that there sometime stood the ancient City of *Alemphis*. Upon the Bank of the River, the late Sultan *Carnifin* built a sumptuous Tower, overtopping the Castle in *New Caire*, to convey Water thither out of *Nilus*; which being by many Wheels and ingenious devices forced into the top thereof, and there received into great Cisterns, was from thence by Pipes of Stone and Lead, conveyed into all places of the Kings great Palace at *New Caire*. About five miles distant from *Old Caire* on *Affrick* side stand the Pyramids, Monuments of the barbarous Egyptian Kings vanity; whose proud Names and Titles time hath worn out of those huge and wonderful Buildings, of purpose made for the vain extermizing of their Fame and endless Wealth; so that of them it may now well be said,

*Miramur perisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt;  
Interitus saxis nominibusque veni.*

What wonder we that men do dy? the stately Tombs do wear;  
The very Stones confume to nought, with Titles they did bear.

Within them are the Sepulchers of the old Egyptian Kings, divided into Chapels, garnished with Stone of great price curiously wrought. Yet are those places of a loathsome smell, and for darkness thereof, dreadful to behold; for as men go down to come into them by a narrow way, almost swarved up with Rubbish, their lights are oftentimes put out; with the damp of the Earth and swarms of Remise flying about their Ears. Some having got to the tops of them, report, that the Watch Tower of *Alexandria*, at the mouth of the River *Nilus* where it falleth into the Sea; is from thence well to be seen; and that for the great height of them, a man cannot shoot an Arrow so high as the middle of the lower Tower whereon the Spire standeth.

B b b 2

Bounty. Not long after, when as the Moors and wild Arabians, with certain Mamelukes that were fled to the City of *Achafia*, made incursions into the Country about *Caire*, and oftentimes did cut off the Turks which were any thing far from the City to seek abroad for forage, he sent *Gegefa* with part of his Army to repress them; who having quickly won and sackt *Achafia*, and slain most part of those adventurers, to his own great praise, and the wonderful contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in less time than was expected.

In the mean time, *Tomombeius* in the Country of *Segessa* (which is on the other side of *Nilus* towards *Cyrenacia*) miserably befel with so many mischiefs, began to make head again. There were come unto him a strong Company of Mamelukes from *Alexandria*, which he had by Letters sent for out of the Garrison of that City, and many others had followed him in his flight from *Caire*. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moors (the Inhabitants of that Country) which promised him their help and furtherance. Besides that, many of the Egyptians, whose Houses and Families were become a Prey and Booty unto the insolent Turks, promised him, That if he would by night come to *Caire*, they would raise such a tumult in the City, as should easily work the confusion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all having endured most horrible Indignities and Villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and reign over them. They sent him word also, that the Turks huge Army was now brought to a considerable number, most part of them being slain in the battle at *Caire*, and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extrem weaknes with wounds and sickness. For which causes, as *Tomombeius* his Forces increased daily, so hope also, which never failed the poor vanquished and distressed King, began now also to revive in his invincible heart, above the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which even then most cruelly and despitely went about utterly to supplant him (Of all other distressed Princes, most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise unto him more happy and prosperous success.

Whilst *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Egyptian, for Authority and Wealth the greatest man by far in all the Country of *Segessa*, whether it were to avert the misery of the present War out of his Country; or by the pleasure of his revolt to gain the good liking of *Selymus*, upon whom all things seemed to fawn, came and certified him both of *Tomombeius* his Strength, and of the new practices of the Citizens of *Caire*. Whereupon *Selymus* caused frong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great City; and such Citizens as he suspected to favour *Tomombeius*, he shut up into the Castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the City in his possession; and placed all along the River, Boats furnished with Men and Artillery, to keep and defend the farther Bank of *Nilus*, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage over. Yet considering with himself, with how great danger he had so many times fought with those desperate Enemies, and what a difficulty it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (prosecuting the War in those vast and unknown Countries, and still preparing greater Forces, without whom he could nothing afford himself of all his former Victories) to prove if he might be won by Clemency and Bounty, he resolved to send Embassadors unto him, to persuade him to lay down Arms, and after so many

overthrows, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the Victor; and withal to promise him upon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and submit himself, he should of the Countess and Bounty of the Conqueror, upon conditions reasonable repeffs that his late Kingdom; which he should never be able by force to regain. But if he would needs desperately proceed to make head again, forgetting his offered grace, together with his own disability, he should afterward when the matter was again tried by Batel, by his own just desert never more find the hands of his angry Enemy, any regard of his Princely State or Dignity.

For *Selymus* seeing himself by the counsels of his Victories drawn into a far Country, and not without cause fearing with so small a power as he had left, to be oppressed in that great and populous a City, even with the very multitude, men of so doubtful Faith; thought it better by some honourable composition to assure himself of some great part of that he had won, than by going on to thrust himself with his Army into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainly adverted, That the Mamelukes before fled into divers Countries, were in every place levying new supplies of Horsemen; and that the Fleet which went into the Arabian Gulf against the Portugals, was daily expected at the Port of *Suezia*, wherein were three thousand Mamelukes under the leading of *Amprafes* and *Roy Salomon*, two expert Captains, with great force of good Brass Ordnance; by which good helps, *Tomombeius* stood in fair possibility to recover his former losses, and to return again to *Caire*, whither he was by his secret Friends most earnestly invited. But above all things, the care he had of the Persians most induced him to think of Peace; for fear that if the Baffa whom he had left at the Mountain *Taurus*, should not be able to withstand the Forces of the Persian King, he should be excluded out of *Asia* the lesser, and *Syria* also, before his Fleet could from *Constantinople* arrive with new supplies of Men and Victuals at *Alexandria*.

Wherefore he sent certain of the most reverend Selymus his Embassadors (being the most honourable Egyptians, Embassadors to *Tomombeius*; who passing over *Nilus*, into the Country *Segessa*, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelty slain by certain Mamelukes which thence upon them thinking, thought to gratify *Tomombeius* as yet not knowing of any such matter, and to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and insolent fact utterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortal War, together with the honour of the Mamelukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruel nature, even when he was nothing as moved, could by no means brook that his Enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should to lightly reject his offers unto them as the case stood, both honourable and profitable; and that worse was, violate his Embassadors against the Law of Nations, most religiously kept even amongst the most barbarous and savage People. Wherefore provoked by so great an injury, he carefully provided for all things necessary for his expedition into *Segessa* against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour, as he took it, nor with the good of the present service, to pass the River by Boats, he gathering together all the small Vessels and Lighters he could possibly, made thereof a large and strong Bridge over *Nilus*.

*Tomombeius* understanding by his Espials, and from his Friends at *Caire*, of the preparations of *Selymus*,

The cause moving *Selymus* to send Embassadors to *Tomombeius*

*Selymus*, and of the Bridge he had made; fearing also the revolt of the Country People, whom he probably suspected to be alienated from him, by the revolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of so great Power and Authority amongst them; determined once again to prove the fortune of batel, which had so often deceived his expectation. For he justly measuring of his own strength, and finding himself in all things inferior to his mighty Enemy, well saw that he was neither able to protract the War, neither in open field to abide his coming with all his Forces; and to fly further into the Deserts, was, as he deemed it, nothing else but to make shipwreck of that small remainder that was left of his Honour and Credit. Wherefore by the advice of his best Captains (which was the last endeavour both of himself and of the Mamelukes) he departed betime out of the Province of *Segessa* with four thousand Mamelukes, and twice as many more of the Arabian People, travelled day and night without intermission to come to the River *Nilus*. By that desperate attempt to deceive the Turks, suspecting no such thing from their vanquished and weak Enemy; as also by celerity to prevent the fame of his coming; hoping so by his sudden and unexpected approach to overthrow that part of the Turks Army which should first pass the River, before they could possibly be relieved from the other side. Neither was he deceived in the computation of the time, which he having before exacted, with the manner of his travel, fell out to fifty, that he came to the place he desired, even at such time as the Asian Horsemen were come over the Bridge, as he had before guessed. The Harbengers and Pages of *Selymus* his Chamber, which were gone something further than the rest, to make choice of the most commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors Pavilion; by the rising of the dust first perceived the coming of the Enemy; and *Musapha* the great Baffa, verified thereof, suddenly raised an Alarm; which so unexpected a matter brought a great fear both on them which were already past over, and also on them that were on the further side of the River.

*Tomombeius* presently affailing his Enemies, as yet but putting themselves in order, and repairing to their Ensigns, at the first onset flew such as made resistance, and the rest he dismissed and put to flight. Neither was *Musapha*, that great Commander (although he did what possibly he could, by his own example to have encouraged them) able either by his own invincible courage or other perswasion, after his first ranks were overthrown, to repair his disordered Batel, or to stay the flight of his men; for in that so hot and sudden a skirmish all was full of tumult, laughter, doubtfulness and fear; and all amongst the Bank of the River, both above and beneath the Bridge, were to be seen fearful Companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking upon the River, and crying unto their Fellows on the other side for help. Many forced by the furious Enemy, took the River and there perished; others striving at the end of the Bridge, to return that way, and overborn by their Fellows or others continually fensed from the further side, or else amazed with fear, fell into the River, and were there drowned; the Bridge was so broad that four or five men abreast might easily pass over at once, and so great numbers of them in short space be conveyed over. But when the great Ordnance (the Turks chief strength) was also to be transported, fewer Troops of Horsemen were sent over, than the greatness of the present danger, or suddenness of the chance required. Neither did their great

*Tomombeius* distressed the Turks in passing the Bridge made over *Nilus*.

Artillery as then stand them in any stead, for that it could neither so speedily be conveyed over, nor without great hurt be discharged from the higher Bank to the further, by reason of their own men standing between them and the Enemy.

In the mean time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmish came down to the Rivers side, filled a great number of Boats and other small Vessels with his Janizaries with their Harquebuses, and withal halted his Horsemen over the Bridge to relieve their Fellows distressed on the further side; in which Boats the nimble Watermen used such diligence in landing of some, and presently in fetching over of others, that in short time they had transported divers Bands of those most ready and valiant Soldiers; whose coming wonderfully comforted the Asian Souldiers, even now at the last call, and ready to have given over, *Cameghis* also, the Tartar Kings Son and *Selymus* his Brother in Law, encouraging his Horsemen to take the River, with loss of some few of his men recovered the further side, to the great admiration of the beholders; which in that Nation was not so much to be marvelled at, as they which by Troops with their Horses had oftentimes swam over the great Rivers *Taurus* and *Volga*, no less dangerous than was the River *Nilus*.

*Tomombeius* at the same time, for that he saw speedy Victory to consist in one thing especially, leaving his Troops together, strained himself with might and main to have gained the head of the Bridge, that by pushing away some few of the great Boats, he might thus in his Enemies already come over; and by cutting the Cables whereby the Boats were fastened to the bank, all the Bridge with the Turks upon it, might be born away with the force and violence of that great River; whereupon rose a most cruel and deadly Fight; for the resolute Mamelukes in the front of their batel fought valiantly; and *Musapha* well considering the danger, had drawn to that place both his Ensigns and his best Souldiers; so that there was fought such a fight, as a matter of so great consequence required: the Mamelukes plainly seeing, that if they could obtain the place, they should shortly after with little ado, overthrow all the former Victories of their Enemies. And the Turks no less ignorant, that except they kept the Bridge whole, they were all but lost men that were already come over; and that the rest of the Army, together with their Emperor so far from home, and in the midst of his Enemies, must of necessity shortly after run the same fortune. But *Musapha* well relieved by the Janizaries and the European Horsemen, which were now come over in great number, not only received his Enemies charge, but pressing upon them, gained ground, and by little and little enforced them to retire. This is that *Musapha* the Hungarian, and *Bajazet* his Son in Law, which for his own glory and perpetual fame, built that notable, lately, and sumptuous Stone Bridge (of the Spoils of this Victory) over the River *Syrus*, which at this day men passing over into *Tracia*, wonder at, as at a work befitting the greatness of the Roman Empire.

*Tomombeius*, to give a time of breathing to his Mamelukes, who, their Horses for weariness now fainting under them, were not able longer to shew their wonted Courage; and desirous by them again to prove the uttermost fortune of the batel, exhorted the Moors and Arabians a while to charge the Enemy, which thing they after the manner of their Fight valiantly performed; and shortly after the Mamelukes having a little refreshed themselves and their Horses, came in breath and renewed the batel; with such fury, that

The Mamelukes first charge upon the Turks.

that *Selymus* doubting the Victory (although he was by his most faithful Counsellors persuaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to adventure the Bridge, and in person himself to go and relieve his distressed Souldiers; who by his coming in, encouraged, and in the fight of their Emperor desiring every man for his part by some notable service to deliver both credit and preferment, repressed the fury of the Enemy; who in short time after, by the coming on of certain fresh Companies of Janizaries, were notably repulsed, and so at length put to flight; whom the Horsemen which were not in the battle, pursued all the Fields over. At length also the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the stream, were somewhat long before they could recover the farther Bank and come to their Enemies) were now come in also, and with their swift Horses following the chase, augmented the slaughter. But *Selymus* above all things desirous of *Tomombeius*, presently commanded *Musapha* the great Basha, *Gazelles* and *Cayserbeus*, with certain fresh Troops of light Horsemen, to pursue him at the heels, and if it were possible not to suffer him to escape; for so long as he lived, he could not assure himself of any thing he had yet gotten. These vigilant Captains not unmindful of their charge, following fast after him, overtook him the next day at the sluice of a great deep Fen, where he had a little rested himself and his Followers, being then about to cut off a wooden Bridge, so to have hindered the Enemies pursuit. Some of his Followers being there slain, and some taken, he was again enforced to fly. The third day when he had almost lost all his men, and was come with some few into the Territory of the Sassanian Prince, these great Captains still eagerly pursuing him, and denouncing upon the poor Country People which dwell in Villages thereabout, all Extremities and Tortures, if they did not with most diligent watch and ward to keep the passages of those Marshes, as that he should not possibly escape; he was so beset on every side, that for safeguard of his life he was glad to hide himself all alone in a foul deep Marsh; where shortly after he the poor Sultan was by the diligent search of the Country Peasants found out, hidden among the Flags and Bulrushes, standing in the water up to the shoulders, who delivered him miserably bound unto the Turks. Shortly after he was by certain Captains and other of his chief Friends taken in that Flight, was brought to *Caire*. *Selymus* before resolved to put him to death, and the rather for the injury done to his Embassies, would not suffer him to come into his presence; but commanded him to be tortured, so to have caused him to have revealed the great Treasures of *Campsin* his Predecessor, which were thought to have been by him hidden; in which most horrible and exquisite Torments it is reported, that he with great constancy and stern countenance uttered nothing but certain deep sighs and groans, overcoming with patience the Tyranny of the proud Conqueror; who after that, commanded him in bafe and ragged Apparel, with his hands bound behind him, as a Thief or Murderer condemned to die, to be set upon a foul lean Camel, and so to be carried in derision through all the public and notable places of the City; that the Egyptians might see him, whom they but a little before had adored for their King, by change of Fortune cast into extreme misery, by most shameful death to end both his life and Empire together, when they had thus despitely led him as it were in triumph, and brought him to the chief Gate of the City called *Bab elah*, they there openly strangled him with a Rope; and that he might be

the better seen, and become more contemptible to all that passed that way, they hanged him up by the neck upon an Iron Hook in an Arch of the same Gate, and so left him to the worlds wonder. *Palaricus* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worse fortune, for all men to look upon, aptly describeth both his happiness and misery in these few Verses following:

*Non fuit in toto, Rex aequo Oriente beatus;*  
*Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miserr.*  
*Quam dolor Egypti, olim Tomombeius, auro*  
*Ingeni, aequo armis, et ditione potens.*  
*Capit ab hoste fero, miserum simul aequo beatum,*  
*Exemplo potius est, quam fides cohibere?*  
*Quid rides temere? quid fies? vis te cohibere?*  
*Es natum postea te meminisse hominem?*  
*Et natum postea te meminisse hominem?*  
*Et natum postea te meminisse hominem?*  
*Cingebat, fulgore, et ditione caput.*  
*Mi quondam manabat pretiosa monilia collum,*  
*Nunc frastuili vili refocile fume gulam.*

In English thus:

In all the East a King more blest was no where to be found,  
Nor in the East one more accursed liv'd not upon the ground.  
Than *Tomombeius*, Egypt grief, sometime for force of gold,  
Of power great for Martial Force, and Kingdom he did hold.  
But taken by his cruel Foe, may good example be both to the happy and distressed, of mans uncertainty.  
Why dost thou fondly laugh? Why dost thou vainly cry?  
Canst thou from henceforth stay thy self, and think th'art born to die?  
My Garments were the Royal Robes, I wore the Crown of Gold,  
With richest Stems most richly set, most glorious to behold:  
My neck adorn'd with richest Gems which I did sometimes wear.  
But now trust up in shameful Rope, behold me hanging here.

This misery befel *Tomombeius* the thirteenth of the Egyptians in the year 1517, upon the Monday in Easter Week. There were many which fled tears to behold that for cruel and lamentable a spectacle, who by his foul and lamentable and pitiful lamentation seemed to detest that foul and unworthy death of their late Sultan; notwithstanding that the Janizaries reproved them therefore, and threatened them with death, who like giddy brain'd Fools (as they termed them) were to the slavery of the Mamelukes, joyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliverance; for the Egyptians were as yet uncertain of their Estate, and therefore as men in suspense (not without cause) stood in doubt what should become of themselves; fearing lest the Turks, a warlike Nation, and a terror to all the Princes of Europe and Asia, nothing more courteous than the Mamelukes, should with no less infidelity rage and tyrannize over them, under their warlike and cruel Emperor. Besides that, the woful sight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the Gate, the unworthy Korn of Fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts; for why, it was yet fresh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and general favour of the Nobility, with good fame rose up all the degrees of Honour both in Field and Court, unto the height of Regal Dignity; and therefore grieved the more to see him

The miserable end of Tomombeius last Sultan of Egypt.

Paulus Jussu, virorum Eleg. lib. 4.

him by inevitable Destiny cast down headlong, so shamefully to end his Life and Empire together. A notable spectacle undoubtedly among the rarest examples of worldly fragility, both to the happy and unfortunate; the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themselves in their greatest bliss; and the other, to learn thereby with patience to endure the heavy and unworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miserable world. And so much the more did *Tomombeius* for hanging, move men to compassion, for that the Majesty of his tall and strong body, and reverend countenance, with his long and hoary Beard, well agreed with his imperial Dignity and Marital disposition. The same fortune with *Tomombeius* ran also divers of the Princes of the Mamelukes, with some others of the common sort also.

*Tomombeius* thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamelukes almost slain, and no power of the Enemy to be heard of in all Egypt to renew the War: *Selymus* dividing his Forces, sent them forth with his Captains, to take in the Countries and Provinces of Egypt lying further off. They of *Alexandria* after the battle of *Caire* having thrust out the Garrison, and easily surprised the Castle of *Pharus* (which the weak defendants chose rather upon hope of promise reward to deliver, than with doubtful event to defend) yielded themselves many days before unto the Turks. *Damascus* also, called in ancient time *Polydamus*, opened their Gates, and submitted themselves to the Victors. There was no City betwixt the River of *Nilus* and the Borders of *Judea* and *Arabia*, which yielded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The Kings also of *Africk* bordering upon *Cyrenia*, Tributaries or Confederates of the Egyptian Sultans, sent their Embassadors with Presents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild Arabians (a People never to be tamed) and especially they of *Africk*, who having lost many of their Friends and Kinsmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would not (as it was thought) submit themselves unto the Turkish obedience. This wandering king of People, living for most part by Theft, had filled the Countries from *Lybia*, where it runneth by the *Palmyrens*, with all the inner parts of Egypt and *Africk* unto the Atlantic Sea, with huge multitudes of men; and being divided into many Companies under divers Leaders, have no certain dwelling places, but live an hard and frugal kind of life in Tents and Waggon, after the manner of the Tartars; their greatest Wealth is a good serviceable Horse, with a Lance or a bundle of Darts: they were always at discord and at variance amongst themselves, by reason whereof they could never agree for the expelling of the Mamelukes, who otherwise had not been able to have stood against them, if they should have joined their Forces together. So that the late Egyptian Sultans seemed to hold their State and Empire among so populous a Nation, rather by their discord than their own strength; whose *Selymus* having now by fit means, upon his Faith before given, allured many of their Chieftains and greatest Commanders to *Caire*, honourably both entertained and rewarded them. By whose example others moved, came also in dayly; and having received their rewards, gave the Oath of their Allegiance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no fair promises or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other Captains, and delivered to *Selymus*, endured the pains of their vain obstinacy and malice. The other remote Nations toward *Aethiopia*, as they had in former time rather acknowledge the friendship than the command of the Egyptian Sultans, so now induced with the fame of the Victory, easily joined in like amity with the Turk.

About the same time, *Selymus* sent certain Troops of Horsemen to *Suezia*, a Port of the Red Sea (of old called *Arifina*) about three days journey from *Caire*; in which Port *Campsin* the great Sultan (a little before the coming of the Turks) had with infinite charge and four years travel built a strong Fleet against the Portugals, who by their Conquests in *India* had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian Merchandise into the Gulf of *Arabia*, to the great hindrance of the Egyptian Kings Customs; over which Fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkish Wars) *Campsin* had appointed one *Amirafes* and *Ras Salomon* Generals, with a strong power of Mamelukes and great force of Ordnance against the Portugals. These valiant Captains having yet done nothing in the service they were appointed unto, as they lay at *Gidda* (the Port of the famous City of *Meccha*, wherein is the Temple of their great Prophet *Mahomet*) understanding of the death of *Campsin*, and of the coming of *Selymus* into Egypt, fell at variance among themselves: one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, and the other no less desirous to follow the good fortune of the Victor. Whereupon a mutiny arising among the Souldiers, *Amirafes*, who favoured *Tomombeius*, was informed to fly to *Meccha*. But shortly after, all hostility except he were forthwith delivered, he was apprehended by them of *Meccha*, fearing to have *Gidda* their Port spoiled, and so sent back again to the Fleet. *Ras Salomon*, that he might be Admiral alone, his Associate being taken out of the way, and by some notable fact to inflame himself into the favour of the Conqueror, caused *Amirafes* in the night to be cast over-board; and leaving them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few days sailing came back again to *Arifina*, where leaving the Fleet, he came directly himself to *Selymus* at *Caire*, of whom he was graciously received. After that, all the Princes which were before Tributaries or Confederates to the late Sultans of Egypt, even to the Confines of *David*, the most mighty King of *Ethiopia* (whom some call *Prestier John*) without delay entered into the like subjection or consideration with the Turks.

Egypt, with all the Provinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into subjection, *Selymus* about the beginning of July, sailed down the River of *Nilus* to *Alexandria* (*Coring-Ogli*, a famous Pyrat of *Halicanus*, sitting at the helm of his Gally) of this there to take view of his Fleet but late come from *Constantinople* with new supplies both of Men and Victuals, sent from *Pyrhus Basha* and his Son *Selymus*, which after he had well surveyed, and diligently viewed the Walls of the City, and of the Castle of *Pharus*, he returned again to *Caire*. In the mean time, the Mamelukes in durance at *Alexandria*, were by his commandment murdered every Mothers Son, in the entrance of the Prison. At which time also above five hundred Families of the noblest and richest of the Egyptians were commanded to remove from *Caire* to *Constantinople*, and a great number of Women and Children, of the race of the Mamelukes, were transported thither also in Ships hired for that purpose. Into this Fleet besides the Kings Treasure and Riches, he conveyed all the public and private Ornaments of that most rich and famous City; with such a covetous and greedy desire of Spoil, that the very Marble Stones, commanded either for the excellency of the workmanship, or beauty of the Stone, were violently rent out of the main Walls, to his great reproach and infamy. Lying at *Caire*, he with great pleasure beheld the rifting of the River

*Nilus*.

The Mamelukes put to flight.

Tomombeius taken and brought to Selymus.

Tomombeius tortured.

Selymus cunningly reduces the Arabians to his obedience.

Of this there to take view of his Fleet but late come from Constantinople with new supplies both of Men and Victuals, sent from Pyrhus Basha and his Son Selymus, which after he had well surveyed, and diligently viewed the Walls of the City, and of the Castle of Pharus, he returned again to Cairo.



*Nilus*, which had then overflowed the Country next unto it; and that with such a desire, that he most curiously enquired of the old Country men the measure and nature to the River; for by the diversity of the rising thereof (which they by certain marks and measures well find out) they prognosticate sometime abundant plenty, sometime extreme dearth, and sometime reasonable store, when as the violent River moderately or furiously breaking out, sometime fo downeth the greatest part of the Country, that all the Seed season it lyeth under water, and at another time floweth so sparingly, that in many places it leaves the Dull, that the Egyptians then assure an undoubted dearth; so that the Egyptians then assure themselves of Plenty, when as *Nilus* keeping a mean, pleasantly rises neither to the highest or lowest marks of his inundation.

Cayberbe  
us the  
Traitor  
General  
of  
Caire  
and  
Egypt.

The Mameluke Kingdom, together with the name of the Mamelukes, thus overthrowen, and the Conquest of Egypt so happily achieved, *Selymus* resolved to make his return into Syria; and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Elymas* the Persian King was coming with his Army into *Mesopotamia*, and so like enough to break into *Comania*. Wherefore having as he thought good, disposed of all things, he left a strong Garrison of his best Soldiers in *Caire*, and appointed *Cayberbe* that notable Traitor, his Deputy and great Commander over all that great and new gotten Kingdom of Egypt, now converted into the form of a Province, as it remained at this day. Which honourable pretence he unworthily bestowed, exceedingly both grieved and troubled *Jonsius* the great Basha, before enflamed with the hope and just desire thereof; for now that *Sinan Basha* was dead, he puffed up with the estimation of his own worth and valour, and proud of the Wound he had of late received in the presence of *Selymus* at the entering of *Caire*, and to the uttermost of his power, suffering no man to grow more in Credit and Esteem than himself the only man now left, to whom of all others, that especial and honourable charge should in the judgment of *Selymus* and of the whole Army of right be committed. Neither wanted he the general good liking of the Men of War, for immediately after he was recovered of his wound, when he in the most magnificent House of the *Diadare* at *Caire* (which he in the Victory had rather than himself usurped, than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained) daily took princely Cheer for all comers (no small means to gain the love of the common Soldiers) and gave frankly to them all: to some Horses, to some beautiful Slaves; to some Money, Plate, Jewels, rich Garments, fair Armour, and such like: he won unto himself such Favour and Credit, that whenever he should (as the manner was) go to the Castle unto the Emperor, he was brought thither with a great and goodly train of his Favorites and Followers, as the man in all mens Judgment designed to the government of that great and rich Kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of *Selymus*, who as he was apt to suspect, and cruel where he feared, so did he also (in secret) envy great Vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

Jonsius  
seeing  
at  
the  
pre-  
sent  
of  
Cayberbe-  
us.

*Jonsius* seeing *Cayberbe* the Traitor thus unworthily promoted, overcome with grief and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughty mind, took it as done to his own disgrace) yet colouring his inward discontentment by counterfeiting himself sick, for certain days came not abroad; nevertheless still more and more tormented both with the injury (as he took it) done to himself, and the unworthy preferment of the Traitor, he could not so well contain himself,

but that in his choler some words fell from him, whereby his discontentment was perceived. It happened that *Cayberbe* coming of courtesy to visit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drink (which was Water and Sugar, after the manner of the Egyptians) immediately after he had drunk, felt such grievous and unwanted gripings and tormentings in his Stomach and Belly, that many supposed him to have been poisoned by the Basha; yet was he by the power and vertue of a more sovereign and effectual remedy preserved. Which report, whether it was true or no, was uncertain; but certain it is, that it sank further into the mind of *Selymus*, than any man would have thought. He had now also a little before heard, that many of those rich Egyptian Families, which he had before commanded to be removed to *Constantinople*, had for great sums of Money obtained of *Jonsius*, (who had the whole ordering of that matter) that they might quietly and in safety remain still in their own Country. Of which his covert dealing, great probability was alleged by such as repined at his honour, and secretly accused him. That those Princelike and excessive charges and expences, which he was not able possibly to maintain of his ordinary Pension were royally supported with the embelished Spoil and Revenues of that new gotten Kingdom. Which malicious suggestions, as they tended to the lighting up of his Credit, so also another crime (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further respect, is uncertain) coming in the neck of the other, wrought his utter disgrace, and final confusion; for *Selymus* after the manner of great Princes (who more severely to punish the former offences, notably despoiling their present anger, expect but the occasion of some new crime) with vigilant Eye waiting upon his words and deeds, prosecuted him with a mortal and deadly hatred, with a full purpose to destroy him.

*Selymus*  
command-  
ed  
the  
wages  
of  
his  
Soldiers  
to be  
left  
in  
Garrison  
at  
Caire,  
to be  
aug-  
mented.

A few days before it was certainly reported that *Selymus* would again return into Syria, the Soldiers appeared to be left in Garrison at *Caire*, alleging the great distance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labors by them already endured, requested of the Bounty of their most fortunate Emperor, that they might have their Wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (never spare hand to his Men of War) readily granted, commanding *Jonsius* the stately Basha, that the sum they required, might be added to their accustomed Wages, and so entered into his accounts for the Wars. But he carried headlong with discontentment, made neither the Treasurers nor Paymasters acquainted with any such matter as *Selymus* had before commanded; of purpose, that the Garrison Soldiers, despoiled of their greater Wages promised them by the Emperor, might even at the first begin to hate and condemn *Cayberbe*, as Author of so great an injury; that so the state of *Caire*, and of that new gotten Kingdom, disquieted by the mutiny of the Garrison Soldiers, *Selymus* enforced to change his former purpose, should instead of that strange Governor (hated of the Egyptians for his late Treason, and not beloved of the Garrison Soldiers, because he was to them a Stranger) of the necessity find some of their own Bashes, a Turk, for the better stay and assurance of that wavering and mighty Province. But all these things (as commonly wicked purposes have their foul events) fell out in fine far otherwise than he had in his troubled mind before conceived. For *Selymus* being departed out of Egypt, and now on his way almost as far as *Jerusalem*, the Garrison Soldiers at *Caire*, the day-day being now come, and re-  
ceiving

ceiving no more but their old accustomed wages, moved with that evil dealing (as contrary to the Emperors promise and their general expectation) began with more fury and rage than ever *Jonsius* had before imagined, openly and insolently to insult and threaten the Treasurer and Paymasters, and with open mouth to rail upon *Cayberbe* their Governor. With which so insolent and opprobrious Speeches, he affronted (as one not yet acquainted with the fashions of the Turkish Garri-sons) together with the Paymasters, in best manner they could excuse themselves unto the Soldiers, requesting them not to think so hardly of them who were altogether innocent in the matter, and with patience to understand the truth of the cause; wherein if they should on their part find any fraudulent or evil dealing, they craved no favour, either refused any punishment. Thus *Cayberbe* and the Paymasters seeking by all means to avoid both the suspicion and the present danger; and the mutinous Soldiers no less halting to find out by whom they were so abused, and to be thereof revenged, it was at last with much ado agreed, That trusty Messengers should forthwith be sent to *Selymus*, who was not yet gone out of *Judea*, to understand of him the truth of the matter.

These speedy Messengers having with wonder-ful celerity dispatched their journey, overtook *Selymus* with his Army a little from *Larissa* in *Judea*; and admitted to his presence, openly declared unto him both the complaints of the Soldiers, and the carelessness of *Cayberbe* and the Paymasters to excuse the matter, together with the danger they were in, with all the other accidents whatsoever which had happened since the time of his departure from *Caire*. Which complaint so incensed the mind of *Selymus* with new passions of anger and choler, being already fore alienated with former displeasures, that he without further delay commanded *Jonsius* Basha to be brought before him to answer the matter; who although he were inwardly stricken with the guilt of his own conscience, and surprised with a deadly fear, which appeared in his colour as pale as Ashes, feeling in the angry face and countenance of his Sovereign the most certain tokens of his heavy displeasure; yet as he was a man of great Spirit, answered boldly, That he had forbidden the Soldiers Wages to be augmented, contrary to his Majesties command, not upon any evil meaning to have inverted that money to his own use, neither thereby to have drawn any man of purpose into disgrace, as was by some his malicious Enemies suggested; but upon great reason, thereby to provide for his Majesties Colours wonderfully emptied with those late Wars; beside that, the constant report of new troubles like to arise out of *Perfia*, gave good occasion for him to spare unnecessary charges: Whereas on the other side, as he said, the Garrison Soldiers were already enriched with the plentiful Spoils of Egypt, and in a most goodly City possessed the sumptuous Houses and Lands of the Mamelukes, feeding upon the Goods of the Egyptians, and had already received both greater Pay and more bountiful Rewards from him, than ever any Soldiers had from any his Predecessors the *Osman* Kings; in which case, if they were not past all modesty, they might well enough take it in good part, if they were something restrained in their unreasonable requests. He alleged moreover, that great Princes which retain their Soldiers in reasonable Pay in time of Peace and War, ought sometime for Warlike Discipline, to require of them a moderation of their desires, lest whilst they all strive with greediness for their private gain, there want

Many afterwards in the common Treasury to maintain a greater and more necessary charge, Wars still rising upon Wars; feeling that no Commander, were he never so valiant, or fortunate, ever did any great matter in Wars, if he wanted Coin, the most proper Instrument and very Sinews of War, answering unto his other most beloved parts and sufficiency. But as he was yet thus speaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him; for if he should have suffered him in longer discourses to have recounted his former deeds and worthy service done as well in the time of his Father *Bajazet*, as of late even in his own preference, he was like enough to have had of them that were able to do much with him, intercessors for him; and so without further delay, caused him even there in his own presence to be executed; saying moreover, that others which would arrogantly presume to prescribe unto their Sovereigns what they had to do, should ever after by the example of that most insolent Servant, be admonished of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the Soldiers in despite of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the unworthy death of this so worthy a man; for he befide his notable and rare valor, so many times to his great honour in sundry Battels approved, had by the celerity of his Grecian Wit, Comeliness of Personage, Military Eloquence, and gallant manner of living, so won the love and favour of all men, that there was few or none in all the Army which did not acknowledge himself some way indebted and beholden unto him; and did therefore condemn the Emperors Cruelty. They then began to tell how *Mustapha* surnamed *Calogier*, a man of wonderful Credit and Authority both with *Bajazet* and himself, was in the heat of his fury slain without hearing; and that in like manner of rage, old *Chondemur*, a man of greatest honour and integrity of life, and of all the Emperors, who came out of the great Emperor *Machmet* Nusur, the most skillful had been for his grave and wholefome Counsel only, without cause murdered; neither was then *Bostang* his Son in Law forgotten; neither *Cherkegier* (the one most honourable for the great place he held in Court and the Marriage of *Bajazet*'s Daughter, and the other a man of no less mark being his great Admiral, and bearing himself high upon his infinite Wealth, but more upon his Wife one of the Daughters of *Selymus*) both which two Noble Gentlemen about two years before had their heads struck off, no man well knowing wherefore; and their dead Bodies cast out at the Court Gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miserable spectacle of their own misery and the Emperors Cruelty. Yea the remembrance of his old tyranny (renewed as it were with this late outrage) preferred a fresh untimely death to the Emperor *Bajazet*, so that all mens eyes the reverend old Emperor *Bajazet*, his Father, with his two Brethren, *Achmet* and *Cocurtus*, by right both called unto the Empire before himself; with many other young Princes of the Blood, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, perished through the unnatural and execrable Cruelty of this most merciless man. So that men generally did both fear him and hate him. Forasmuch as he without all fear of God or regard of worldly fame, accounted no practice wicked, or device detestable, that might serve the better establishing of his Kingdom; and had set down in his mind, (long before corrupted with Ambition and Tyranny) That it was far better for the assurance of his estate, to be feared of all than beloved of many; and therefore spared no mans life, of whom he had but the least suspicion. Howbeit that the severity by him used against this so great a man and so gracious with  
C c c the

The death  
of Jonsius  
the great  
Basha.

The answer  
of Jonsius  
Basha.



the People, may in some sort be excused, as justly moved thereunto by the over-pressing and malicious dealing of the proud Bassa under-hand, contrary to the charge given him by his Lord, to the peril of those his great but late Conquests both in Egypt and Syria.

This great Bassa, whilst he yet lived and flourished in the Court, in nothing so much offended the minds of the People (who generally both loved and honoured him) as by the Cruelty by him shewed upon the person of the fair Lady *Manto* his but beloved Wife. Who being a Greek born, and adorned with all the good gifts of Nature, whereunto her lovely conditions were also answerable, was by *Zehalia* her first Husband (a man of great honour) carried with him into the Wars, as his greatest Treasure and chief delight. But he slain, and she by misfortune falling into the hands of the Turks (her Enemies) remained so prisoner with them for a time; until that this great Bassa *Jemul* shortly after (seeing her amongst the other Captives there taken, so far to exceed the rest as doth the Sun the lesser Stars) surprised with her incomparable beauty, became of her amorous; and in too curious viewing of the captive Lady, was by her himself taken Prisoner. Where finding her outward perfections graced with no less inward virtues, and her honourable mind answerable to her rare feature, took her unto his Wife, and so she was far above all the rest of his Wives and Concubines; and the again in all dutiful loyalty seeking to please him, for a space lived in all worldly felicity and bliss, not much inferior unto one of the great Sultans. But long lasteth not the Summer Fruit of wanton Love, blasted most time in the blossom and rotten before it be well gathered; for in short time the Bassa more amorous of her Person, than secure in her Virtues, and too easily seduced by sensual men, still fearing lest that which so much pleased himself, gave no less contentment to others also; began to have her in distrust, although he saw no great cause, why, more than his own conceit, nor grounded upon her evil demeanor, but upon the excess of his own liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be over purged) of it self still more and more in him increasing, he became so forward and imperious, that nothing could fly or do could now so please or content him, but that he still thought some one or other, although he wist not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearful was the jealous man of his own conceits. Yet could he not chafe but love those great perfections; whereat he could not enough wonder, although he found no contentment therein, commenting still both himself and her whom he so dearly loved with his own passionate distrust; until at length, the fair Lady grieved to see her self thus without cause to be suspected, and wearied with the insolent pride of her peevish Husband, together with his imperious commands, determined secretly to depart from him, and so to return again into her own Country. Which her purpose she discovered unto one of her Eunuchs, to whom she had also delivered certain Letters to be by him conveyed unto such of her Friends, as whose help she was to use in her intended flight; which Letters the false Eunuch opened, and for the more manifesting of the matter delivered them unto the Bassa his Master. Who therewith enraged, and calling her unto him, forthwith in his fury, with a Dagger stab'd her to the Heart and flew her; so together with the death of his Love, having cured his tormenting jealousy.

But leaving this great Bassa with fair *Manto* unto their rest, his course thus run, to return again

unto *Selymus*; who now come into Syria, was by Letters from the Humber-Bassas, or Masters of his Horse (whom he had left upon the Frontiers of his Kingdom to attend the motions of the Persians) advertised, That the Persian preparations which had raised such a hot rumor of Wars in the beginning of Winter, was grown cold in the heat of Summer; and that he had been in all the time of his abode in those quarters, none but certain stragling Companies, making these as if some greater power had been coming, which had many times made suddain roads into the Country, with whom he had sundry times prosperously encountered; and it was generally reported by such Prisoners as he had taken, and by his own Espials also, that *Hysmal*, troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had converted the greatest part of his Forces against those Nations; so the Winter now drawing fast on, and deep Snows already fallen upon the Mountain *Taurus*, he could not though he would that year look into *Asia* the less, or Syria. There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell between the two Rivers, *Tanais* and *Volga*, were by *Selymus* his procurement, and money, set at work to keep *Hysmal* busied, by invading the Iberians and Albanians, which were under his protection; which thing he wrought by the means of *Mahomet* his Father in Law, the Bosporan King who being of the same Language and Nation, he had easily induced the needy Captains of the Tartars his Friends and Confederates, to take up Arms against their Neighbours.

Many men marvelled that *Hysmal* the Persian King neglected to fair an opportunity, whereby he might (as most men thought) have thrust *Selymus* quite out of *Asia* and *Syria*, whilst he thus busied in Egypt, yet he durst not have destroyed him, that up with all his power, especially at such times as the Egyptian Sultans *Cassim* and *Tomonibus* made so great resistance. But they which could better judge of the matter, saw that *Hysmal* was not of so great Power and Strength abroad, as at home; for his Army for most part consisted of Gentlemen, or such as were by custom bound to serve him in his defensive Wars, voluntary men, and such as served without Pay. These as they were the most valiant Foremen of the East, so did they with singular Valour worthily defend the Kingdom of *Perse*, and also as occasion required, make War with their near Neighbours; but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withal, accounting it a grievous thing to depart from their Wives, unto whom they are so addicted that oftentimes they carry them with them into the Wars; and being a true and kind People, are not able without Wages to draw after them according to their accustomed manner, so many Carriages and Horses as might serve both for their necessary and wanton uses. With which difficulty, the great King *Uzun-Cassim*, *Hysmal* his Grandfather by the Mothers side, was much troubled in his Wars against *Mahomet* the Great; but was now much harder for *Selymus* to do, for that he having obtained his Grandfathers Kingdom by the meek good Will of the People, easing them forthwith of their heavy impositions, always thought the love of his Subjects (which is easily gotten with Bounty and Justice) the surest riches of his Kingdom; and that to command only over the Bodies and Goods of his People, their Hearts altogether exalted by much heavy and grievous exactions, seemed not the part of a gracious and natural Prince, but of an outrageous and momentary Tyrant. Where-

as *Selymus* on the contrary part, who had by force, mischief

The cause why *Selymus* could not invade *Syria* wholly busied in the Egyptian Wars.

1518.

and most detestable practices stept up into his Fathers faith, had after the manner of the *Ottoman* Kings repaid his greatest and most affixed strength in a servile and mercenary kind of men, whom he might for pay as his own Creatures, at his pleasure draw far from home, and as he best liked lead them from place to place, and Country to Country, for the enlarging of his Empire, and eternizing of his Name; and therefore according to the quality of his People, deemed true and ready power to consist only in money, and the feverity of his own command; whereby he had learned with most happy success, in short time to obscure all the Victories of the former *Ottoman* Kings, with the greatness of his own.

All the Winter following, *Selymus* busied with his Army in Syria spending the time in visiting the Ports and Cities of that Province, and setting of things in order, for the better assurance thereof. But upon the approach of the Spring, when he certainly understood, that by the procurement of *Leo* the Tenth, then Bishop of *Rome*, the Christian Princes were entered into consultation to make War upon him, and that supplications with great solemnity were made for that purpose, and honourable Embassadors sent into all Provinces to stir up the greatest Kings of Christendom against him, he (leaving *Gazelus* his Lieutenant in Syria) by great journeys returned to *Constantinople*; from thence as at hand to behold the devices and motions of Christian Princes his Enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to arise in the Provinces of Syria and Egypt, forasmuch as he well saw, that *Cerberus* and *Gazelus* his Lieutenants, being at deadly hatred betwixt themselves (as well for old grudges, as for the late Treason of *Cerberus*, the great cause of the ruin of the *Manalukes* Kingdom) would never agree in one against him, but rather with a certain emulation strive betwixt themselves with diligence, faithfulness, and moderation, who should deserve best in well governing the Provinces by him committed to their charge, as indeed they did during the short time of his Reign.

*Selymus* being arrived at *Constantinople*, and purposing from thenceforth to turn all his Forces upon the Christians, caused wonderful preparation to be made for his Wars, but especially at Sea; whereby it was thought, that he would have either attempted the strong Island of the *Rhodes* (a great moat in his Eye) or else some part of Italy. But as he was hatching this mischief, or some other of no less importance, and in the mean time delighted himself with visiting the Cities of *Grecia* and *Thrace*, and sojourned himself in the pleasant Country about *Hadrianople*, he was suddenly attacked with the Hand of God, and stricken in the Reins of his Back with a Cancer; which melancholy and devouring malady concerning all cure, did by little and little so eat and corrupt his body, as that he before so much honoured, became now loathsome and odious both to himself and others.

As he lay thus languishing, his incurable disease still increasing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrribus* the Bassa, whom of all others he most loved, laid, O *Pyrribus*, I see I must shortly die without remedy. Whereupon the great Bassa took occasion to discourse with him of many matters; and amongst others, that it would please him to give order for the well bestowing of the great Wealth taken from the Persian Merchants in divers places of his Empire; persuading him to bestow the same upon some notable Hospital for relief of the poor. To whom *Selymus* replied,

Wouldst thou *Pyrribus*, that I should bestow others mens goods wrongfully taken from them, upon works of Charity and Devotion, for mine own vain glory and praise? assuredly I will never do it; nay, rather see they be again restored unto the right owners. Which was forthwith done accordingly; to the great shame of many Christians, who minding nothing less than restitution, but making *ex rapina bolocaustum* out of a World of evil gotten goods call on some small fragments, to build some poor Hospital, or mend some blind way; a poor testimony of their hot Charity.

*Selymus* lying thus sick to death, and rotting above the ground in his Tent, as he was upon the way going to *Hadrianople*, sent before *Pyrribus* and *Acemeter*, two of his greatest Bassas, to provide for the solemnizing of the great Feast, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Easter) purposing to come after himself at leisure, as his weak Body would give him leave; and kept with him only *Ferbats*, the third of his greatest Bassas and Privy Counsellors. But such was the fury of his foul disease, continually attainting him with intolerable pains, that shortly after the departure of the other two Bassas, he breathed out his cruel Ghost, in the Month of September, in the year 1520, near unto the City *Cebirli*, in the self same place where he had sometime most unnaturally afflicted his aged Father *Bajazet*, with purpose to have slain him, had not the fortune of the old Emperor in a great battle prevailed both against his Force and the Treason of his own People. Thus intending the mischief he could not perform, cut off by a loathsome and untimely death, he to the great joy of all Christians ended his days, when he had lived fix and forty years, and thereof reigned eight; which time of his Reign was nothing else but a most horrible and dreadful time of Bloodshed. His dead Body was afterwards solemnly by his Son *Solyman* buried in a new Temple at *Constantinople*, which he to the imitation of his Father and Grandfather, had for that purpose before built. Upon his Tomb is engraven in the Greek, Turkish, and Slavonian Tongues, this short Epitaph:

*Hic maximus adham Selymus, qui orbem domui. Non bella relinquo, sed pergo inquirere: Non ulla me fortuna potuit evertere: Licet effa jacent, animus quiescit.*

In English thus:

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the World in fear:  
The World I leave, but not the Wars, which I seek, though not here.  
No Fortunes force, or Victors hand, could take from me the Spoils:  
And though my Bones lie buried here, my Ghost seeks bloody broils.

He used commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to reign without fear or suspicion of his Kindred. A little before his death, he commended his Son *Solyman* to *Pyrribus* Bassa, frantically charging him, that after his death he should leave the Persians, and turn his Forces altogether upon the Christians. And the more to incense him to the effusion of Blood, he left him the lively counterfeit of himself hanging at his bed side, with sundry bloody Precepts breathing forth his cruel and unmerciful disposition.

1520.

The death of Selymus.

The judgement of G. d.

Phil. Locrensis Turcice Historici, Tomographi. mo. lib. primo.

Jomules Bassa, jealous of his fair wife Manto.

The fair Lady Manto cruelly slain by her first Husband.

## Tabulæ Epigraphæ.

*Soldanus Selymus Otomanus, Rex  
Regum, Dominus omnium Domino-  
rum, Princeps omnium Principum,  
Filius & Nepos Dei. S. S. S.*

Ad dextram, Versus Græca lingua adscripti in  
hunc sensum.

*T*uus ut imperii Princeps sibi sceptrum capessat,  
Anxia ne dubio corda pavore premat;  
Ne putet esse nefas cognatum haurire cruorem;  
Et nec fraternam, constabilem domum.  
Tura, Fides, Pietas, Regni dum nemo superfit,  
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.  
Hæc ratio est, quæ sola queat regale tuum  
Nomen, & experient te finit esse metus.

Ad sinistram lingua Slavonica.

*Te semel adversus peccantem, mitis haberi,  
Ne fludeas, pæna vindicæ tutus eris.  
Protinus ense rescindendum, putrescere si quid  
Incipiet, clemens Rex male sceptrum geris.  
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porrigis animum  
Quæ se sustinent, ad nova damna ruat.*

Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua Turcica.

*Qui non ipse sua Princeps hastilia dextra,  
Agmen in adversum Marte favente jacet.  
Sed refugit sævis caput obesse periculis  
Dum gravia imparido, prælia corde subit:  
Iste sciat vanis belli sese artibus uti;  
Et votis nunquam fata favere suis.  
Nulla sibi speret, susceptis commoda belli,  
Hostiles acies quisquis adire timet.*

## The Inscription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus* Othoman King of  
Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of  
all Princes, the Son and Nephew  
of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written  
Greek Verses to this sense.

*T*he Prince that safely seeks to reign, and  
hold his State in quiet rest,

Must never suffer troubled care to harbour in his  
Princely Breast.  
Nor think it sin to spill the blood of his most  
near and dearest Kin,  
Not of his Brother, so thereby assured safety he  
may win.  
Law, Faith, Devotion, and such like, to break  
them all he must not spare,  
Nor conscience make of any thing, to rid him  
from aspiring care.  
This is the way and only mean that may protect  
a Princes State,  
And see him safe without all fear, whilst none  
may live whom he doth hate.

On the left hand of the Table was written in  
the Sclavonian Tongue.

Of him that seeks to work thy wo, deserve not to  
be counted kind:  
But take him for thy mortal Foe, and plague him  
with revenging mind.  
The rotten limb, is cut away for fear of doing  
further harm:  
The gentle Prince doth bear still sway, if no  
abuse can make him warn.  
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to pre-  
sume of further grace,  
It doth but strength to Rebels lend, to thrust  
their Sovereign out of place.

At the lower end of the same Table was writ-  
ten in Turkish Verse.

What Prince in person darest not in open Field  
to meet his Foe,  
And there with unapplauded heart, his deadly  
darts himself to throw:  
But hides his head for fear of harm, and thuns  
the danger of the Field,  
When Martial minds with courage bold with-  
stand their Foes with spear and shield;  
Let him well know, how that in vain he beareth  
Arms but for a show,  
And that the honour of the Field will never  
such a Coward know.  
Ne let him hope to gain the Spoil by any Wars  
he takes in hand,  
That feareth with courageous mind his Enemies  
Forces to withstand.

*The bloody  
and tyran-  
nical Pre-  
cepts left  
by Sely-  
mus to his  
Son So-  
lyman,  
which he  
afterward  
most af-  
fectedly  
kept as it  
is to be seen  
in his list  
following.*

Christian Princes of the same time with Se- lymus the First.	Emperors of Germany	{ Maximilian the First. Charles the Fifth.	1494. 25.
			1509. 39.
	Kings	{ Of England < Henry the Eighth.	1509. 38.
		{ Of France { Lewis the Twelfth. Francis the First.	1497. 17. 1514. 32.
		{ Of Scotland { James the Fourth. James the Fifth.	1489. 25. 1513. 32.
	Bishops of Rome	{ Julius the II. Leo the X.	1503. 9. 1513. 8.



*Imperij Solyman patrij moderatur habenas,  
Regnaque Christianum claudibus uoque metit.  
Antiquam cepit ille Rhodon. Naxumque, Parumque,  
Turcheni infestat Littora curua Maris.  
Pannonias multo populatur milite fines,  
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.  
Indolyta Sygeth dum mania concutit armis,  
Cogitur hinc Sygiam nudus adire domum.*

*Magnificent Solyman mounts his fathers Throne,  
With Christian Slaughterers formidable grown.  
Rhodos, Naxos, Paros felt his cruelty,  
And the sweet Shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea;  
Th' Hungarian Territories he did invade,  
And fierce attempts on fair Vienna made.  
Till from the walls of Sygeth meanly come  
Th' aspiring Tyrant crept to his low throne.*

The LIFE of  
**SOLYMAN,**  
THE  
FOURTH and most MAGNIFICENT  
Emperor of the Turks.

THE death of *Selymus* was with all carelessness concealed by *Ferbates* the only Baffa then present, for fear lest the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court getting knowledge thereof, should after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancy of the Empire, spoil the Merchants and Strangers in places where they lay in Garrison, and especially in the Imperial City; and not so contented, after their accustomed insolvency prescribe unto the greatest Baffaes at their pleasure. For preventing whereof, *Ferbates* dispatched a trusty Messenger with Letters in Post to *Solyman* the only Son of *Selymus*, then lying at *Adnegras*; certifying him of the death of his Father; and that he should deserve well of his peaceable Subjects by halting his coming to *Constantinople*, whilst all things were yet in good order, in time to repress with his presence the feared disordered proceedings of his Men of War.

*Solyman hardly perceived that his Father was dead.*

*Solyman* having to his great content perceived the Baffaes Letters, as one desirous enough of the Enlarging the cruel disposition of his Father (who upon a meer jealous conceit of his aspiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in dislike of his Fathers extrem dealing, had practised most unnaturally to have taken him away by Poison; which danger he escaped only by the carelessness of his Mother, who misdoubting the worst, caused the Poisoned rich Shirt sent to him from his Father, to be first worn by one of his Chamber, whereof he in short time after died) and also that the Letters were signed only by *Ferbates*, and the news not seconded from any of the other Baffaes; fearing some hidden and secret Plot of his Father tending to his destruction, durst not adventure to remove from his charge, but returned the Messenger as one to whom he gave little or no credit. Ten days thus spent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet suspected; *Ferbates* undersanding by his Messenger the weariness of *Solyman*, and that he expected more assured advertisement, sent presently unto the other great Baffaes *Pyrhus* and *Musapha* at *Hadrianople*, that they should without delay repair unto the Court; unto whom at their coming he declared the death of the Emperor. Which after they

had seen to be true, they by another secret and speedy Messenger advertised *Solyman* again thereof, confirming those Letters with all their Hands and Seals; whereby *Solyman* now assured of his Fathers death, presently put himself upon the way, and by long and painful journeys in few days came to *Constantinople*, called in ancient time *Chrysopolis*, over-against *Constantinople*. Where he was met with the Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, and by him transported in a Gally over that strait passage to *Constantinople*; where at his landing the Janizaries by the appointment of their Captain were ready to receive him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, until that *Solyman* being now in the midst of them, the Captain with a loud voice said unto them, Behold your Emperor. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, Long live the great Emperor *Solyman*; which consent of the Men of War, is unto the Turkish Emperors the greatest assurance of their Estate. And so with much Triumph he was by them brought into the Royal Palace, and placed in his Fathers Seat in the year 1520, in which year, also *Charles* the Fifth was chosen Emperor of *Germany*. The Janizaries disappointed by the Baffaes of the spoil of the Merchants, especially Christians and Jews, received of the bounty of *Solyman* a great Large, and in the beginning of his Reign had their accustomed Wages somewhat augmented also, to their wonderment contentment.

*Solyman* was about twenty eight years old when he began to Reign, and was at the first supposed to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition; so that the Princes to whom the Name of *Selymus* was before dreadful, were now in hope that a quiet Lamb was come in place of a raging Lion. But in short time they found themselves in their expectation far deceived; and especially the Christian Princes bordering upon him, unto whom he became a far more dangerous Enemy than was his Father before him; converting his Forces most part of his long Reign upon them, which *Selymus* had almost altogether employed against the Kings of *Persia*, and *Egypt*, the greatest Printes of the Mahometan Superstition.

Caizet  
of Syria  
rebelled  
against  
Solyman.

The first that felt his heavy Hand was *Gazelles* Governour of *Syria*; who presently upon the death of *Solyman*, thinking himself now discharged of the Oath of Obedience which he had given to *Solyman*, but not to his Successors; and earnestly desiring to restore again the Kingdom of the Mamelukes lately overthrown, gathered together the remainder of the dispersed Mamelukes, which speedily resorted unto him out of all parts of *Asia* and *Africa*; and alluring with rewards the Leaders of the wild Arabians, with great numbers of the Country People of *Syria*, discontented with the Turkish Government, entered into open Rebellion, and by force of Arms drove the Turks Garrison out of *Birbia*, *Tripoli*, and into his own possession. *Solyman*, taking them into his own possession. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he sent Embassadors to *Caire* unto *Cayrebeis*, who had of *Solyman* received the Government of *Egypt*, the unworthy reward of his horrible Treason; perswading him by any means to take revenge of the injury and wrong before done to the Mamelukes, and by killing of the Turks Garrisons to make himself Sultan of *Egypt*, and restore again the Kingdom of the Mamelukes, offering him therein the uttermost of his devotion and service. But *Cayrebeis*, either not trusting *Gazelles* his old Enemy, or ashamed by new Treason to augment his former dishonor, or else (which was most like) misdoubting his own strength in performance of so great an enterprise; after he had attentively heard what the Embassadors had to say, cautioned them presently in his own fight to be put to death as Traitors, and with all speed certified *Solyman* thereof, who without delay sent *Ferhates Bassa* with a strong Army into *Syria*. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and having in his power most of the Cities of *Syria*, retired himself, with all his Army into the strong City of *Damasco*; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Bassa by long march came also. *Gazelles* resolved to try the fortune of the field, and so either by speedy Victory or honourable Death to end the matter, rather than to suffer himself to be shut up within the Walls of the City, upon the coming of the Bassa, valiantly issued forth with all his power, and gave him Battle; which for the space of six hours was most cruelly fought, and many slain on both sides. At length *Gazelles* being oppressed with the multitude of his Enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly assisted on either side, was enforced to fight in a Ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthy General and valiant Souldier, honourably died together with his Mamelukes in the midst of his Enemies, leaving unto them a bloody Victory. *Gazelles* thus slain, the City of *Damasco* with all the Country of *Syria* without any more ado yielded again unto the Turks obedience, which the Bassa took in so good part, that he would not suffer his Souldiers to enter into the City, then richly stored with Commodities of all sorts, brought thither by Merchants out of divers parts of the World.

Gazelles  
slain.

*Syria* thus pacified, the Bassa went to *Caire* in *Egypt*, and there commending *Cayrebeis* for his fidelity, confirmed him in his Government; and inveigling against the cruelty of *Solyman* (so to please the Egyptians) withheld them to hope for all happiness under the peaceable Government of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And so when he had set all things in order in both the Provinces of *Syria* and *Egypt*, returned again to *Solyman*.

The year following, *Solyman* by the Council

of *Pyrrhus Bassa* his old Tutor (a mortal Enemy unto the Christians) and by the perswasion of the Janizaries resolved to besiege the strong City of *Belgrade*, otherwise called *Taurunum*, situate upon the borders of *Hungary*, where the River *Sava* falleth into *Danubius*. Which City his great Grandfather *Mahomet* (surnamed the Great; and before him the warlike *Amurat*) had with all their power, long time before to their great loss and dishonor, vainly attempted. Wherein until that time were relieved the Ensigns, then taken from the Turks, to their no small grief, with other trophies of the glorious Victories of the worthy Captain *Honiades*, and the great King *Matthias Corvinus* his Son. Wherefore *Solyman* lending his Army before, was come as far as *Sophia*, a City in *Servia* (the place where the Turks great Lieutenant in *Europe* is always resident) before that the Hungarians were aware of his coming; for they living at ease all the time that *Uladslaus* Reigned, and now sleeping in security under the young King *Lodovick* his Son, a Man of no experience; who contenting himself with the Title of a King, suffered himself to be pillaged and polled by his Nobility and great Clergy-Men (inverting all the wealth of the Land to their own private gain) that he was not able to raise any sufficient power to go against his puissant Enemy; especially his Nobility, in whose hands rested the wealth of his Kingdom, promising him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Honiades* with his hardy Souldiers, the courage and terror of the Turks, were dead long before he was also *Matthias* that fortunate Warrior; after whom succeeded others given to all pleasure and ease; to whose example the People fashioning themselves, forgot their wonted Valour, and gave themselves over to sensuality and voluptuous Pleasure; so that *Solyman* without let, presented his Army before the City of *Belgrade*, and with battery and undermining in short time became Lord thereof, having lost few of his People in that Siege. How much the loss of that strong City concerned the Christian Common-wealth, the manifold and lamentable miseries which afterwards ensued by the opening of that Gap, not unto the Kingdom of *Hungary* only, but to all that side of Christendom, did, and yet doth, most manifestly declare. It was won by the Turks the nine and twentieth day of August in the year 1521.

After the taking of the strong City of *Belgrade*, *Solyman* returning to *Constantinople*, brake up his Army and there lay still almost all the year following. During which time, he caused great preparation to be made at *Calipolis* and other his Ports, for rigging up of a great Fleet; which caused the Italians, Venetians, and them of the *Rhodes*, to look about them, as Men careful of their Estates, fearing that those Forces would ere long be employed against some or all of them.

About the same time *Philippus Villerius* a Man of great wisdom and courage, then following the French Court, was in his absence by the Knights of the *Rhodes* chosen great Matter of that honourable Company; who embarking himself at *Marceller*, after a long and dangerous journey (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman*) hardly sailed for at Sea by *Corrug-Ogli* a famous Pirate of the Turks, whose two Brethren the Knights of the *Rhodes* had but a little before surprised at Sea and slain, and then held the third in Prison arrived in safety at the *Rhodes*, where he was with great joy and triumph received.

The great Bassa, by whose grave advice *Solyman* was contented in all his weighty Affairs to be

Belgrade  
won by  
Solyman.

1521.

Philippus  
Villerius  
captured  
by the  
Knights of  
the Rhodes.

be directed, consulting with the other Bassas, of divers great experience, which was first to be taken in hand, for the honour of their Emperor and enlarging of his Empire, were of divers opinions concerning the besieging of the *Rhodes*. *Pyrrhus* the Bassa of greatest account, dissuaded the taking in hand of that Action, as too full of difficulty and danger; producing for proof thereof the example of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Solyman* great Grandfather; by whom it was unfortunately attempted, and in fine shamefully abandoned. But *Mustapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, said, That the greatness of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predecessors as well appeared by the late taking of *Belgrade*; from whence first *Amurat*, and after him, *Mahomet*, two of the most warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great dishonour been repulsed; and should no doubt with like good fortune prevail against the *Rhodes* also, being able (if need were) to bring more Men before it than were stones in the Walls thereof. Which he so confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the *Rhodians*, that he seemed to make no doubt of the good success of that War: presumptuously affirming, that upon the first landing of *Solyman* great Army, they of the *Rhodes* would without delay yield themselves and their City into his hands.

Amongst others of great experience, whose opinion *Solyman* was desirous to have, before he would take so great a matter in hand, was the famous Pirate *Corrug-Ogli*, a Man of a mischievous and cruel Nature, but of great experience in Sea matters. Who presented to *Solyman* by *Mustapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassas, going before him, after due reverence done, and commanded to deliver his opinion, spake unto *Solyman*, as follows:

Corrug-  
Ogli the  
Pirate per-  
suades  
Solyman  
to besiege  
the Rhodes.

The greatness of your desert (most mighty and puissant Emperor) maketh me (being by you so commanded) at this time frankly to speak what I think may be for the glory and honour both of your Majesty and Empire. I daily hear the piteous lamentation of the miserable People of *Mitylene*, *Euboea*, *Peloponessus*, *Achaia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, and all along the Sea Coast of *Syria* and *Egypt*, bewailing the loss of their Countries, the ransacking of their Cities, the taking away of their Cattel and People, with other infinite and incredible Calamities, which they daily suffer of the crossed *Rhodian* Pirates, no Man withstanding them: Many a time have these wretched People bidden up their Hands to me for help, most instantly requesting me to be a mean for them to your Imperial Majesty, whereby they might be protected from the injury, rapine, and slaughter of these cruel Robbers. Wherefore in their behalf I beseech your sacred Majesty, by the most reverend Name of the holy Prophet *Mahomet*, and by your own most heroic Disposition, to deliver your afflicted Subjects from these their most cruel Enemies, and at length to set them free from the fury, captivity, and fear, of these Pirates, more grievous unto them than death is self; and consider with you self, that this injury and cruelty tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poor Subjects, and oppressed People in private, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your Imperial Name and Dignity; which if any other Christian King or Prince should offer, your Majesty I know would not suffer unrevenged. And will you then suffer these Robbers, Cut-throats, base People gathered out of all the Corners of Christendom, to waste your Countries, spoil your Cities, murder your People, and trouble all your Seas? For who can pass by Sea to *Tripoli*, *Damasco*, *Alexandria*, *Caire*, *Chalcedon*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, nay unto this your Imperial City of

*Constantinople*, without most certain and manifest danger of these Robbers? What have we heard every Spring this many years, but that the *Rhodian* had taken some one or other of your Ports, led away your People into most miserable Captivity, and carried away with them the rich spoil of your Countries? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they do under your nose, and in your sight, in the midst and heart of your Empire. Pardon me I beseech your Majesty Emperor, if I too plainly speak what I think: For whatsoever I say, I say it to no other end, but that you should now at length do that which should many years ago have been done. We your most Loyal Subjects may not, nor ought not for the increase of our *Mahometan* Religion, and for the enlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuse to adventure our Goods, our Bodies, our Lives, to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewise be carried with love of Glory and Renown, or ravished with the desire of never dying Fame; in what Wars can you more easily gain the Fame, or better improve your Servants, than in vanquishing and subduing the *Rhodes*, the reputed Bulwark of Christendom, which only keeps us from their Countries? But some will perhaps say, your Ancestors have in former times unfortunately attempted that City; so did they also *Belgrade* in *Hungary*; yet hath your happy Fortune to your immortal Fame, brought the same under your Subjection, being far more strongly fortified than it was in times past; and do you then despair of the *Rhodes*? Cast off such vain and needless misfancies. The Turkish Empire hath always grown by adventures and honourable attempts: Therefore make haste to besiege it both by Sea and Land, if your Subjects mourning under the heavy burden of the Christian Captivity, built it with their own Hands for the Christians; cannot they now at liberty, desirous of revenge, and fitted with opportunity, with like hands destroy the same? If it please you to vouchsafe but to look into the matter (most dread Sovereign) you shall see that there is a divine occasion by the procurement of our great Prophet *Mahomet*, presented unto your most Sacred Majesty, now that the Christians of the West are at discord and mortal War amongst themselves. Your Majesty is not ignorant, that in managing of Wars, the opportunity of the time is especially to be followed, and that when occasion serveth, all remedies and delay is to be carefully avoided; the changes of times are most fickle, and if you suffer your good hap now to pass over, you shall perhaps in vain afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and gone.

*Solyman* by Nature an ambitious young Prince, prick forward thus also by the perswasions of *Corrug-Ogli* and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by fanning his ambitious humor; but most of all by the intigation of the Bassa *Mustapha*, resolved to go in person himself against the *Rhodes*. And first to make some proof of what spirit and courage Villerius the new chosen Great Matter was of, in whose sufficiency the greatest part of the defence of the City was supposed to consist; to him by way of a little cold Friendship, he sent a Messenger with this short Letter thus directed:

*Solyman*

Solymán by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greatest Emperor of Constantinople and Trapezand, most Mighty King of Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; Lord of Asia and Europe; Prince of Mecca and Aleppo; Ruler of Jerusalem; and Master of the Universal Sea; To the reverend Father, Philipppus Villerius Lilladammus, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legate of Asia Greeting.

*Solymán*  
I am glad of thy Kingdom and new promotion, which I wish thou mayest long and happily enjoy, for that I hope thou wilt in Honour and Fidelity exceed all things which before thee Ruled in the Rhodes, from whom as my daughter have withdrawn their hand, so I after their example join with thee in amity and friendship. For thou therefore, my Friend, and in my behalf rejoice of my Victory and Triumph also; for this last Summer passing over Danubius with Ensigns displayed, I there expelled the Hungarian King, who I thought would have given me Battle; I took from him by strong hand Belgrade, the strongest City of his Kingdom, with other strong holds thereabouts; and having with Fire and Sword destroyed much People, and carried away many more into Captivity at a triumphant Conqueror, breaking up mine Army, am returned to my Imperial City of Constantinople, from whence Farewell.

The Great Master having read these Letters, and well considered of the same, perceived forthwith Solymán's meaning; and that Peace was offered him in words and show, but War in deed and meaning. Which because he was ready by force to repulse, he rewarded the Turks Messenger, and sent back with him another of his own, a private Person. For the Rhodians did seldom vouchsafe to send any honourable Embassadors to the Turkish Emperors (with whom they for most part lived in Hostility) either the Turks to them. By this Messenger he answered Solymán's Letters with other of like vain, as followeth:

Philipppus Villerius Lilladammus, Great Master of the Rhodes, to the Turk.

*The effect of Villerius's Letter to Solymán.*  
I right well understand your Letters, which your Messenger brought unto me. The friendship you write of is as pleasing to me as displeasing to Cortugus Ogli, your Servant, who went about to have intercepted me upon the Iudann, as I came out of France; but failing of his purpose, stealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to have robbed certain Merchant Ships bound from Joppa to Venice; but sending my Fleet out of my Haven, I flaid his fury, constrained the Pyrat to flee, and for half to leave behind him the Prize he had before taken from the Merchants of Crete. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

By this answer Solymán perceived, that he was well met withal in his own fancies, and that he should not so easily carry the Rhodes, as he had before done Belgrade. Yet being fully in himself resolved to try his Fortune therein, he called upon him certain of the chief Commanders of his Wars, to whom he opened his whole determination in this fort:

Although I doubt not, worthy Chieftains, but that

you are of the same mind now that you have been always of in the invading of other Nations; yet I have thought it good in matters tending to the common Glory, and good of us all, to use your counsel and advice and counsel. Since the time that my Father left this City, we have made War with divers Nations and People. The Syrians by nature uncontent, and prone to Rebellion, we have by force reduced to their former Obedience. The Sophi, that mighty King, Nephew unto the great King Ulan-Cassians, by his Daughter the Sister of King Jacup, in heart and deed our mortal Enemy, not contented with the Kingdoms of Assyria, Media, Armenia, the greater, Persia and Mesopotamia, we have with our Forces shut up within the compass of his own Dominion. The last year running through Hungary, both on this side and beyond Danubius we took Belgrade the strongest Fortress in that Kingdom. And whatsoever else we attempted, we subdued. Yet for all that (to speak plainly of my self) my mind greater in conceit than my Empire, and the blood of Othoman, findeth no contentment in these Victories. For whatsoever you have yet done, although it be great, yet I deem it all but little, in regard of your words; my desire carrieth me further. This have I always above all things most earnestly desired, to set upon the Rhodes, and utterly to root out all the strength and forces, yea the very name of these Rhodian Soldiers. And have not you also no less than my self desired the Rhodes? How often have I heard you crying out, The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I have expected the time that being discharged of other Wars, I might here employ my whole strength and power. That we so long desired, is now come; there was never greater opportunity of good success offered, a great part of the Walls of the City of the Rhodes now lying even with the ground; we cannot want of time to be repaired, especially in their want of Syn. Beside this, the Garrison in the Castle is but small, and their aid from France far off; which will either come too late when the City is lost, or that which I rather believe, never. For neither will the French King (being at mortal Wars with the German Emperor, and Lords of Italy) suffer his Store-houses to be diminished, or his Ports barred of the necessary defence of his Shipping. Neither do you believe that the Spaniards (disaffected at home with Famine, War, and civil Dissention) will easily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with supplies of Men and Victual. But you may perhaps think that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian Fleet, and the Isle of Crete, which I assure you is not so; for I know (although I will not now manifest [the cause] how I have prevented that mischief). Wherefore our courageous Soldiers (born of the substance of all Christendom, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerful hearts follow me your Sovereign against these your most perfidious and cruel Enemies. How long I pray you will you suffer that stain and disgrace to stick upon the Othoman Family, and generally upon all the Name of the Turks, which these Rhodians cast upon us the last time they were besieged? Which was so much done by their Valour, as by the unfortunate counsel of my great grandfather by Mahomet, calling home Melchies Palaeologus his General in that War, for one unlucky Alliance. But admit that their Valour gained them Victory, will you therefore always suffer these pyrrhical excursions upon our Main and Islands? The ravaging of Cities and Countries? The carrying away of your Cattel and richest Substance? The captivity and slaughter of your Wives and Children? The slavery of your nearest Friends and Kinsmen? So help me great Mahomet, is shall not so for his I Vow in despite of Christ and John, in short time to set up mine Ensigns with the Moon in the middle of the Market place of Rhodes. Neither do I seek any thing more

*Solymán*  
Oration to his Men of War, clearing his people of being living thithodes

*Solymán*  
Meditation on against thithodes

to my self, more than the honour of the enterprise; the profit I give unto my fellow Soldiers, their Coyn, Plate, Jewels, (which is reported to be great) their Riches and Wealth is all yours, to carry home with you unto your Wives and Children. Wherefore let us now with all our forces and courage set forward to the besieging of the Rhodes.

Solymán's purpose thus made known, and the fame with one accord of all his Captains well liked; Pyrrhus the eldest Bassa and of greatest authority, who at the first diffused the War, standing up in the middle of the rest, said:

I cannot but much admire the great Wisdom and rare Vertues of our young Emperor, who so wisely and advantageously hath declared all deep Counsels of a worthy Chieftain in taking of War in hand. Blessed be Mahomet, thrice and four times Blessed is this Empire, Blessed is our Estate, and Blessed are we with such a Prince, which carrieth with him in his Wars, not only Men and Habilliments of War, but most deep wisdom and policy. Which wholesome manner of proceeding, if we had always before our eyes, and would follow, we should in short time bring under our Subjection not the Rhodes only, but all the Kingdoms of the Christians. Yet hold that which our Emperor hath most carefully and expertly devised, mine age and experience would exhort you, by Gifts, Promises, Rewards, and all other means whatsoever, to corrupt, if it were possible, the very chief and principal Citizens of the Rhodes; thereby to enter into their most secret devices and counsels; which but is many wrought, I will in few words give you to understand. I as a Man indifferent, desirous of peace and quietness, will by Messengers and Letters induce the Great Master to send him some honourable Embassage to our dread Sovereign, which if I can once bring him unto, then let me alone with the rest.

This counsel of the old Fox pleased all the hearers well, but above others the Emperor himself, who gave him in charge with all diligence and speed, to prove what he could do; the other Captains he commanded to prepare the greatest Forces they could, both for Land and Sea service. Which preparation was so great both at Constantinople and others places, that it could not long be kept so secret, but that news thereof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of February; which news daily increasing and still confirmed by more certain reports, moved the Great Master for more certain intelligence, sent a Christian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly speak the Turkish Language, as a Spy to Constantinople; who by secret Letters from thence gave him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great Fleet, and raising a mighty Army, advertising him also of a wonderful proportion of Artillery prepared for Battery; but against whom was not commonly known, some deeming it to be for the Invasion of Italy, some for the Rhodes, others supposing it to be for Cyprus or Corica; which diversity of conjectures, made many (whose conceits averted from themselves the fortune of that War) to be more careless and secure. But whilst every Man was of Opinion, that it was made against any Man rather than himself, certain advertisement was given to the Rhodians from divers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, that the Turks did with extraordinary diligence keep strict Watch and Ward in all their Ports thereabouts along the Sea Coast; otherwise than they were before accustomed; which seemed to prognosticate some farther

matter than the defence of their Frontiers. Villerius careful of his charge, as the Mark, where at the Enemy aimed, provided with all possible diligence great store of Victual, Armor, Weapons, Shot, Powder, and whatsoever else necessary for the defence of the City.

The new Walls of the City, and Avergne Forts, by Basilus Engineer, as the Emperor Charles the Fifth (a work begun in the time of Fabritius Carattus the late Grand Master, but not yet finished) was now with all diligent labour set upon, every Man putting his helping hand unto so necessary a Work. Whilst these things were with so great endeavour and labour a doing, a Messenger came from Constantinople, (sent from the old Bassa Pyrrhus) a sharp Witted and cunning Fellow, who with much filled speech in most ample manner doth his Message, by the way, painted forth the great towardsness and courteous nature of the Turkish Emperor Solymán, with the great commendation of Pyrrhus Bassa his Master; delivering from both of them Letters unto the Great Master to this purpose.

Solymán by the Grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. To the reverend Father Philipppus Villerius Lilladammus, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legate of Asia, Greeting.

I am certainly informed that my Letters are delivered unto thee; which for that thou understandest them aright, I cannot express how much it pleased me. Truly, that I am not contented with the Victory I got at Belgrade; I hope for another, may I assure my self thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am always mindful of. Farewell from Constantinople.

Pyrrhus, great Counsellor to the mighty Emperor Solymán, to Philipppus Villerius Lilladammus, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legate of Asia, Greeting.

YOUR Letters, greater in meaning than Character, I have delivered unto our most mighty Emperor; but the Bearer thereof I would not suffer to come to his Presence, lest he should be too much offended with so base a Messenger. Unto whom from henceforth send Men of worth, commendable for their years and discretion, with whom his Majesty may (if he so please) confer and conclude of matters concerning the common Good; which thing if you shall do, is shall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my Counsel. The Messenger I send, bringeth Letters unto you also from our great Emperor's, to whose divine Excellency how you are to answer, you are already admonished. Farewell from Constantinople.

These Letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diversly. Such as altogether wished for peace, measuring others after their own plain meaning and integrity, commended the Counsel of Pyrrhus, saying, That he being an old Man of great experience, was not so desirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his Prince and Country; and therefore wished by wisdom to order that which the young Prince fought for by War, fearing the uncertainty of Mans fragility, the common chance of War, the violence of Fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handful of Men overthrown

D d d most

*Villerius*  
preparation  
in adversity  
stance a  
against the  
Turks

*Pyrrhus*  
his  
Bassa his  
Villerius

D d d most

most mighty Kings with their strong Armies. The perfidious of these men took such effect, that one of the Knights of the Order called *Raimund March*, a Spaniard, a Noble Gentleman of great Courage, and very eloquent, skilful also in the Turkish Tongue, and then Muster-master, was appointed to have been the Embassador unto the Turkish Emperor. Many there were of a contrary opinion, which suspecting fraud and deceit, said it were good to beware of the Enemies Counsel; asking, to what end this Embassage were? For should we proclaim War (say they) against the most mighty Tyrant, not yet our professed Enemy, who writeth all Peace? Or should we intreat for peace, no War as yet proclaimed; that he which is yet so afraid himself, may now understand that he is of us feared? Besides that, with what security, with what face can our Embassadors go, unrequited of the Turkish Emperor, without his safe conduct through those Countries which we daily burn and spoil? But they thall then *Pyrrhus* the great Baffles Letters forthwith, his protection, his Credit and Authority shall defend them from all injury and wrong; as though the servant should prescribe Laws to his Master, and such a servant as is most like unto his Master (that is) cruel, false of Faith, a hater of all Christians, but especially of us Rhodians; whom the merciless Tyrant having in his power, with his Navy and Army in readiness, shall with cruel torture enforce to discover unto him our provision, the secrets of our City and Orders. This opinion of the wiser folk, was greatly confirmed by the too much curiosity of the Messenger which was sent, who with all diligence enquired of the State and Situation of the City, of the number and strength of the Order. Wherefore in conclusion he was sent back again accompanied but with one private Souldier to carry the Great Masters Letters unto the Turkish Tyrant; the tenor whereof was thus:

*Philippus Villierius Liliadamas, Great Master of the Rhodes, unto the Turk, Greeting*

*That you are mindful of me grieveth me nothing, and I am also mindful of you. You repeat your Victory in Hungary, whereas not being contented you hope for another; nay you promise and assure your self thereof, before you have attempted the War. Beware you deceive not your self; men's expectations never deceive them more than in Wars. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

The other Letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect:

*Philippus Villierius Liliadamas, Great Master of the Rhodes, to Pyrrhus the Baffa.*

*I have advicably considered thy Letters, with the behaviour and disposition of thy Messenger. He dares not tell thee how much I am contented not to follow the flame, whilst my men of War do spoil the Countries and Ports of thy Lord and Master, which I bear withal, by reason of the injuries they have sustained of the Turkish Pirates. But I will call them home, and will send Embassadors unto thy great Lord; so that thou shalt find me safe conduct unto thy Masters; great Seal, for their safe coming and return. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

But these Letters were never delivered unto the great Turk, or the Baffa; for as soon as the Turkish Messenger was come over into the Main,

he presently took Horfe, which was there in readiness for him, and posted towards *Constantinople* with as much speed as he could, leaving the Christian Messenger his Companion behind him; who returning back again to the *Rhodes*, and telling what he had heard and seen, gave them all great occasion to despair of Peace; whereupon *Villierius* sent into *Orie* to hire certain Companies of *Cretendian* Archers. In the mean time advertisement was given unto the Great Master by Letters from the Island of *Naxos*, That the Turks were ready to put their Fleet to Sea with the first appearance of the new Moon; which thing they most superstitiously observe in the beginning of all their great actions. The same news was brought also by certain Merchants of the Island of *Pashum*, who come to the *Rhodes* with a great Ship laded with Corn from *Euboea*; under the color of the sale whereof, they (by the commandment of the Turks, to whom they were Tributaries) diligently noted all that was done in the City, shortly to be besieged. The great Master with no less diligence, sent divers of his small Gallies amongst the Islands and amongst the Main, to learn what might be of the Enemies doings. *Joannes Lupus* one of the Knights of the Order, and Captain of one of these Gallies, meeting with a great Ship of the Turks laded with Corn, took her and brought her home to *Rhodes*. But *Alphonsus* Captain of another of the Gallies, lying in harbour in one of the Islands, and suffering his men to truggle too far into the Land, was set upon by a Turkish Pyrat and taken.

About the same time the Turks by their Fires made upon the Main in the night season, gave sign unto the Rhodians, that they were desirous to have some party with them, as their manner was. Whereupon one *Moneton* a French man, one of the Knights, by commandment of the rest of the Order, was sent with a Gally well appointed to the Main to see what the matter might be; and with him was joynted *Jacobus Xeyus* a Paymaster for the Gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his Friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended War; for *Xeyus*, besides that he was a skilful Sea-man and one that knew the Coast well, had also good experience in Civil Affairs, and was wonderfully beloved and made of by the Turkish Merchants whose Language he had perfectly learned. Drawing near the Shore, he found the Turkish Merchants making merry upon the Main, with their Carous, Games, and such like Merchandise about them as they used to exchange with the Rhodian Merchants for woollen Cloaths; unto these Merchants he gave due salutations, gaging his Faith for their safety, and they likewise to him. But being requested to come ashore to make merry unto one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be sent for, who as they said was not far off; he answered, that he could not go to do, except they would first deliver a Pledge for him a Shipboard. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his needless fear, willingly lent their Merchandise and a Pledge aboard the Gallies. *Xeyus* then going ashore, and embracing the Turkish Merchants which met him; upon a sign given, was forthwith seized on every side and taken Prisoner, and by *Pyrrhus* Horles conveyed with all speed to *Constantinople*; where he was with most exquisite torments that could be devised for any man to endure, enforced to confess whatsoever his cruel Enemies could desire. After *Xeyus* was by cruelty thus lost, then began their provident judgment to be highly commended, which were the occasion, that the Decree made for sending Em-

*Villierius*  
advertising  
the doings  
of the Turks  
Faint.

The careful-  
fulness of  
the Grand  
Master.

bassadors unto the Turk, was again revoked. The hostage given for *Xeyus*, being brought to the *Rhodes* and examined, was found to be a simple Country fellow whom the Turks had of purpose well apparelled to deceive the Rhodians, who frankly and plainly according to his promise, answered to all things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great preparation for Sea, upon the Coasts of *Caria* and *Lycia*, and had taken up many Souldiers in the Countries thereabouts to send into the Frontiers of his Dominions towards *Syria*, for defence of the same against the Persians. All which was true; for *Solymán* to put the Rhodians out of all suspicion of him, (whom he knew carefully to observe his doings) sent the Souldiers whom he had levied in the Countries nearest to the *Rhodes*, far away against the Persians, as if he had meant nothing against the *Rhodes*, and so upon the sudden to set upon them with his Army brought out of *Europe*, before they were aware. But this his device proved to small purpose; for the Great Master perceiving by many circumstances, but especially by that late calamity of *Xeyus* that the *Rhodes* was the place the Turkish Tyrant longed after; and fearing that delay might bring farther danger, caused a cessation from all other business to be proclaimed, until all things necessary for defence of the City were accomplished; Watch and Ward was kept in every Street, the great Artillery planted upon the Walls and Bulwarks, Companies appointed for the defence of every place, the publick Armory of all warlike provision was open, all the Streets were full of Men carrying Weapons, some to one place, some to another. At which time a general Muster was taken by the chief Men of the Order, where were found about five thousand men able to bear Arms, among whom were six hundred Knights of the Order, and five hundred Souldiers of the rest of the City for moor part. Marinerie able Bodies, who in the time of the Siege did great service, encouraged by their Sea Captains; the Island People which repaired into the City, served to little other purpose but to dig and carry Earth unto the Rampiers; and the Citizens (except it were some few of the better sort) were for the most part weak and of small Courage, not able to endure any labour or pains, and yet hardly to be kept in order and government, great speakers, but small doers in these things in deed. The Great Master having carefully provided and ordered all things needful for the defence of the City, and fearing nothing more than the faint Hearts of the Citizens, caused them all to be called together; for encouragement of whom, he spake unto them as followeth:

*Villierius*  
his Oratio-  
on unto the  
Rhodians.

*Valiant Gentlemen and worthy Citizens, we hear that the Turk our mortal Enemy is coming against us, with a huge Army raised of divers Nations from whose natural cruelty and wonted perjury except we defend our selves by force, we and the self same danger is like to befall me, my Knights, and you all. For we have with common consent and hand grievously spoiled him both by Sea and Land, and you are by booties taken by strong hand out of his Dominions, enriched; and in this day we keep his People in perpetual servitude, and he ours; but he injuriously, and unjustly; For his Ancestors (weary of the dark Den and Caves of the Mountain Caucasus, their natural Dwelling) without Right, Title, or Cause, invaded only with Covetousness, Ambition, and the hatred of our most sacred Religion, have driven the Christians out of *Syria*; and afterwards oppressed the Greeks in *Grecia*; where we contented to have de-*

*stroyed the People, with one simple kind of death (as Barbarism is ever cruel and merciless) they have with most exquisite and horrible Torments butchered many thousands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whose mischief exceedeth his years) an evil Neighbour to all men, not contented with the Dominions of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, the greatest part of Asia, and of many other parts more, (seeketh Tyranny, Murder, Spoil, Perjury, and Hatred against Christ and Christians, far to excel, and foretells himself to the uttermost of his power, to take from us our Islands, and to subdue the Christian Countries; that so at length being Lord of all, and Commander of the World, he may at his pleasure overthrow the Christian Cities; kill the Christians, and utterly root out the Christian name, which is so much detested. For the repelling of which intollerable injury, we have especially chosen this Island of the Rhodes for our dwelling place, because the same seemed more commodious than any other for the amoying of this barbarous Nation. We have done what in us lay, helped by you's; we know by proof your great Valour and Fidelity, which we now have not in any distress. Wherefore I will not use many words to persuade you to continue in your Fidelity and Loyalty, neither lose circumstances to encourage you to play the men; since worthy minds are not with words either encouraged or dismayed. But concerning my self and my Knights of the Order, I will speak a few words. I wish them, with whom (as I hope) the Christian Princes and other my Knights of the West will in good time join their Forces, we may be ready at all times to defend your selves, your Children, your Wives, your Goods, the Adornments of your Ancestors and sacred Temples, dedicated to the service of our God. Which opinion, that it may remain firm and fast in your minds, if nothing else, my Faithfulness in your Wars, my Body not yet altogether spent but able enough to endure pains and travel; the Nobility of these worthy Knights of the Order, their Love towards you, and their Hatred towards your Enemies were sufficient to confirm; but beside this, the strength of this City, which this most Order hath with infinite charges (so notably fortified with Ditches, Walls, Towers and Bulwarks, against all the force and fury of Artillery, is such, as that no City may worthily be compared, much less preferred before the same. It is wonderfully stored with all kind of Weapons and Warlike Provision; we have laid up plenty of Wine, Fleish, and Corn, in vaults, so that neither wet Weather nor Worms can stain the same of Wood and woodwork, but small need to be taken from things necessary for men besieged we have plenty, and able men enough for the defence of the City. All which things promise unto us assured Victory, and such end of the War as we wish for. Besides this, Necessity, which giveth Courage even unto Cowards, will enforce us to fight. Tet standeth on our side true Religion, Faith, Conscience, Devotion, Constancy, the Love of our Country, the Love of our Liberty, the Love of our Parents, Wives, Children, and whatsoever else we hold dear; Whereat they bring with them the proud command of their Captains, Infidelity, Impiety, Unconscience, a wicked desire of your Bondage, of your Blood, and the Blood of your Parents, Wives, and Children. Out of doubt (beloved Citizens) our good God will not suffer so many good virtues to be overcome by their foul vices. Wherefore be you in mind quiet and secure, and trouble not your selves with forbidding fear of your Enemies; only continue in the Fidelity and Loyalty which you have always kept inviolate and unspotted toward this sacred and honorable Fellowship, in most dangerous Wars, and hardy chances of Fortune; and if need shall so require, with courageous hand show your Valour against your Enemies, and make it known unto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and English, that the Rhodians are of power to damn the Turkish Pride; and to*



avert their Fleets and Armies from Italy, which they have so many years threatened with Fire and Sword, and will no doubt, thither with all speed hasten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to speak) they should here prevail. Neither will his ambitious youth, in Courage, Fallshood, and cruelty exceeding Hannibal, imitate him in that, that having overthrown the Romans in the great Battel at Cannas, knew not to use his Victory; but he will presently with more than Caesar's civility, bring forth the Treasures his Father got in Egypt, and with great Fleets and huge Armies invade Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia: from whence he will forthwith break into France, and afterwards into Spain, and other Christian Countries, raging through them with all kind of cruelty. But I am carried away further than I purposed, and than need is: For your Fidelity and Valour (most worthy Citizens) to endure the Siege, and repulse the Enemy, is such, as needeth not my persuasion; and of greater refection, than that it can be shaken with the dangers incident to men besieged: yet the greater and more fearful miseries of all, which is Hunger and Thirst. I assure you, you shall never feel: which punishing calamities for all that, some People (in Faintness, Courage, and Valor noting comparable to you) have nevertheles: most constantly endured. For they of Petrelum, besieged by the Carthaginians, for want of Victual, thrust their Parents and Children out of the City, the longer to hold out the Siege, and lived themselves with Harder and Leaner food or bruised, and Leaves of Trees, and many other kindly things, by the space of eleven months; and could not be overcome until they wanted strength longer to stand upon the Walls, and to hold their Weapons in their hands. They of Cassilum, besieged by Hannibal, held out until a poor Moule was sold for much Money. You must of necessity keep Watch and Ward in your Stations: if your Houses chance to be beaten down with the Enemies Artillery, you must have patience: for why, they will be repaired again, and it is not a matter of such importance, that we should therefore yield unto our Enemies, in whose Courtesy and Fidelity no assurance is to be reposed. For besides that he is by Nature cruel and unfaithful, he can by no means be gentle and faithful towards us, which have done him so much harm, who only (as he himself saith) have offences to his grief interrupted the course of the Victories of him the Conqueror both of Sea and Land: whom he hath so many times assailed by open force with all his Strength, Wit, and Craft, Deceit and Policy; yet always hitherto in vain. Alas! God still protecting us, whom above all things (most dear Citizens) I wish you to serve and call upon, for except he keep and defend the City, the Watchmen do but watch in vain.

This cheerful Speech wonderfully encouraged the Hearers, especially the Vulgar sort, easily carried away with pleasing Words. But whilst they in their jolly dream of nothing but of Triumph and Victory, the Wiser sort possessed with care, ceased not to do what in them lay, to procure. That the good commonly forewarned, might in fine come to effect. Among other Clement Bishop of the Greeks, a man both for his place and devout manner of living had in great reputation amongst them, laboured earnestly by daily exhortations, to persuade the Greeks his Countrymen in that great and common danger with heart and hand to join with the Latines in defence of the City; for although the Government was altogether in the Great Master and his Knights, yet were Latines, yet the People both of the Island and City were for most part Greeks, who liked not altogether so well of the Latine Government, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that

time so ordered by the good perswasion of the Bishop, and good Government of the Great Master, that they all agreed as one man, to spend their lives in defence of the City: and were so far from fear of the coming of the barbarous Enemy, that many of the Vulgar People, in whom appeareth commonly more Fear than Wit, wished rather for his coming than otherwise. But look what they had fondly wished, proved afterward to their coils over true. For within a few nights after the Main, gave sign of partly unto the Rhodians. Whereupon a Gally well appointed, with a long Boat, was presently sent forth to see what the matter was; which drawing near unto the shore, was hailed by a Turk, accompanied with a Troop of Horsemen, desiring the Captain of the Gally to send some on shore, with whom they might more conveniently parley; which thing the Captain refusing; What, said the Turk, art thou afraid of Xayus Fortune? to whom the Captain in threatening manner answered again, Xayus whom you have contrary to your Faith and Oath taken, traveleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I trust not; but if you have any thing to say let me hear it, or else get you further off, otherwise I will speak to you by the mouth of the Canon. Then one of the Turks coming to the Water side; laid down Letters upon a Stone, saying, that in them was contained that they had in charge; which said, he presently set Spurs to his Horse, and departed with the rest of his Company. The Captain sending out his long Boat for these Letters, found them directed in this sort:

Solymán by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, most Mighty Emperor of Constantinople and Trebizand, &c. unto the reverend Father Philippos Villarius Lileadamas, Great Master of the Rhodes, to his Knights, and all his People in general.

The purport of which Letter was as followeth:

THE compassion I have of my distressed Subjects Solymán and the great injury you do me, hath moved me thence to write. Wherefore I command you without delay Letters to yield unto me the Island and City of the Rhodes; willingly and cheerfully granting you leave safely to depart with all your Riches, or to tarry if you please under my Obedience, your Liberty and Religion in no part infringed with any Tribute or imposition. If you be wise, prefer Friendship and Peace before bloody War; for unto them which are by Force subdued, are reserved all extremities which the miserable vanquished use to suffer of the angry Conqueror; for which neither your own Force, nor foreign Aid, nor huge Walls, which will utterly overthrow, shall be able to defend you, save you will. All which shall assuredly be performed, if you shall make choice rather of my Friendship, than of my Force; wherein you shall neither be deceived nor circumvented; I take to witness God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the four Writers of the Evangelical History, the four Jews thousand Prophets descended from Heaven, and amongst them our highest Prophet Mahomet, the renowned Glorify of my Father and Grandfather, and this my sacred and imperial Head. From our Palace at Constantinople.

When these Letters were openly read in the Council Chamber at the Rhodes, some were of opinion, That it was good to answer the Turkish Tyrant roundly, thereby to give him to understand

that they were not afraid of his Threats; otherwise thought it no Wisdom with hard words to provoke to great an Enemy to further displeasure. Thus whilst every man would have framed an answer according to his own disposition, in conclusion it was agreed upon, to give him no answer at all.

The same day these Letters came to the Rhodes, which was the fourteenth day of June, one of the Turks great Commanders at Sea with thirty Gallies, the Forerunners of the Turkish Fleet, arrived at the Island of Cbor, famous in ancient time for the Birth of Hippocrates the great Physician, and the wonderful Picture of Venus left there unruined by Apollo, which for the excellency thereof no man durst afterward take in hand to perfect; which fruitful and pleasant Island was then at the arrival of the Turks part of the Dominion of the Rhodes. The Admiral of this Fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the Corn which was then almost ripe, with the Country Villages round about. With which injury, Prejames the Governor of the Island (a man of great Courage and Valor) moved, with a chosen Company of Footmen, and certain Troops of Horsemen, suddenly set upon the Turks, in divers places dispersed abroad far into the Country, with such a terrible cry of the Country People, and Instruments of War, that the Turks being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had been mad, and were many of them slain without resistance; and had not the Gallies lain near the Shore, to receive them that were able to flee thither, there had not one of them which landed escaped the hands of the Island People. The Turks having received this loss, left the Island, and put to Sea again.

The Rhodes for fear of the Turks, deliver their Suburbs and places of pleasure without the City.

The Rhodians for the most part now affirmed and out of doubt of the coming of the Turks, by the perswasion of Gabriel Pomerolus Vicemaster, and other men of great experience, plucked down the Suburbs of the City, and laid them even with the ground, their pleasant Orchards also and Gardens near to the City, they utterly destroyed; the Great Master for example sake beginning first with his own, being a place of great delicacy, lying under the Walls near to the French Bulwark; and taking into the City all such things as they thought needful for the induring of the Siege, they utterly destroyed all the rest, were it never so pleasant or commodious, within a mile of the Town, leaving all that space as even to the City, the Enemy at his coming should find nothing near the City whereof to make use. But whilst the pleasures and delights of the Suburbs are thus in defacing, another more heavy and woeful gift presented unto the Eyes of the Citizens, filled the City with greater mourning and penitiveness than did the coming of the Enemy. The miserable multitude of the poor Country People, some bringing Wood, some Corn, some Cattel, some Fowls, and other such necessities as they had out of the Country into the City (for so the Great Master had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of Women and Children weeping, with dishevelled hair, scratching their faces and tearing themselves after the manner of the Country, wringing their Hands, and casting up their Eyes to Heaven, beseeching God with heavy countenance and floods of Tears to defend the noble City of the Rhodes, and themselves from the fury of their Enemies. Provision being packed up into narrow rooms in the Houses of the Citizens, and their Cattel starving for want of Fodder, afterwards corrupted

The fear of the Cause of the People.

the Air, whereof infused rotten Agues and the Flux, during the time of the Siege. But after the City was given up, such a Plague and Mortality followed, as destroyed great numbers of the Turks and poor Christians, which knowing not whether to go, chose rather there to die, than to forsake their native Country.

The General of the Turkish Fleet which landed in the Island of Cbor, and was of purpose sent by Solymán to provoke the Rhodians to Battel at Sea; before he with his whole power came to besiege the Island, came daily with twenty Gallies half thof narrow Seas over, betwixt Lycia and the Rhodes, leaving the rest of his Fleet riding at Anchor at the Promontory called Gnidium (not far from the City of Rhodes) ready to aid him as need should require; this manner of bravery he used many days together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their Haven to give him Battel; knowing, that if he should therein obtain the Victory, it were at that time little less than the taking of the City, or if he could by cruel fight but weaken the Forces of the Rhodians, he should therein do his Master good service, and greatly further his Victory by diminishing the number of the Defendants. When he had many days without intermission in this proud manner come half Seas over, and sometimes passing further came and lay at the mouth of the Haven, as it were daring them to fight; the Rhodians not without the intolerable infolency of this proud Turk, by their continual impotency caused the Great Master to call a Council, to consider whether they should fight with this Fleet of the Turks or not. The Counsellors by the appointment of the Great Master assembled; the Chancellor, a man of great Authority and Spirit, famous for his noble Acts both at home and abroad, and chief of them which were of opinion this Fleet of the Turks was to be fought withal, said:

So great disgrace was not longer to be suffered, but the chance presently revenged; For (said he) the huge Fleet of cellar his Turks, I do not say at whose force and fight, but at whose very name many men do tremble and quake, finding every year for all that it unto us no great novelty, for as oft as we hear of the like) is as a head to be with the joined unto these pyrrhical Gallies, as Members; and Turk Gallies then will it be most expedient, which will be a most easy thing for us to do, having the better both for strength of shipping and number and valor of men; to give that great head such a blow and wound, by cutting off these limbs, that it shall never after linger and faint for want of strength; or else there is no other Fleet at all prepared against us to follow this, and then this discomfited we shall be at quiet. Which thing in my judgment (though others which fear their own shadows) will be true. For the great Turk is not so fast to come hither, the first time of the year being so far hence, in the latter end of June, to besiege this City, and such a City as is known to be most strong, wanting nothing that is needful, and thoroughly manned with valiant Soldiers, from whence his Ancestors have been with loss and shame repulsed; when as the remainder of the Summer will be spent before he can encompass himself and place his batteries; and Winter time at you know is unfit for every Siege, especially in this Island, wherein they can find no Haven or Harbor to rest in. Wherefore on God his name let us set upon our proud Enemies; and let us not for a few threatening words sent unto us from a fearful youth, upon a sinners and policy left we should follow the tail of his Fleet bound for some other place, fit still like Cowards within our Walls with our bands;

in our bosoms, as men which fear and dread durst not show their heads. Which our Cowardice and want of Courage we forbear call Fabius his policy; But I would to God we were like Fabius, but I fear we shall prove more like Antiochus, the Etolians, the Vitellians, all whose courage consisted in words, vainly hoping to gain the Victory by sitting still and wishing well. But, the help of God is not to be gotten with Women's Prayers and Supplications or these fair-bearded Policies; which Cowards call advised counsel, but Victory is gained by adventuring and exposing our selves to danger and peril.

With these and such like Speeches he moved the multitude, which commonly conceiveth most Courage upon the greatest uncertainties; that they defined that they might fight; saying, that they would walk away with that foul disgrace with the Blood and Slaughter of their Enemies; For why, they wanted not Weapons, Courage, or Hands (as they said) to do it withal.

For all this, the graver sort of the Council (without whose consent the Master might in such cases do nothing) thought it not good in so dangerous a time to adventure any great part of their Forces, which they should afterwards want for the defence of their City. The Turkish General deceived of his expectation, and perceiving that the Rhodians would not be drawn forth to Battle at Sea, withdrew his Fleet twelve miles off, unto a place called *Ylancon*, where casting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the Corn all thereabouts which was now almost ripe, but forsook of the People as a thing desperate; as for the People themselves, they were all fled, and had retired themselves either into the City of the Rhodes, or else into strong Castles in other places of the Island.

At the same time certain Troops of Horsemen sent forth to have skirmished with the Turks that were burning of the Corn, were by a Messenger sent from the Great Master, commanded to retire; for the provident General fought by all means to relieve his Soldiers for greater dangers which he justly feared in the expected Siege, during which time he shewed himself a most politic Captain and brave Soldier; he would many times by day eat his Meat with his Soldiers, as ones of them, and most part of the night keep Watch himself, walking up and down, resting himself when he was weary upon some Stone or piece of Timber, or other homely feat, as it chanced. In time of Assault he was always more forward and adventurous than the grave Counsellors wished, fearing neither Shot nor Enemy; yet did he always more commend different Counsel grounded upon Reason, than prosperous Actions commended but by their events. And that which a man would wonder at, amongst so many cares in mind of such divers and dangerous chances, he carried always such a Grace and Majesty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the Beholders both revered and loved. All the time he could spare from the necessary Cares of his weighty charge, from Assaults, and the natural refreshing of his Body, he bestowed in Prayer and serving of God; he oftentimes spent the greatest part of the night in the Church alone praying, his Head with prayer, and Gargles by him; so that it was often said, That his devout Prayers and Carefulness would make the City invincible.

The fix and twentieth day of June early in the morning, news was brought into the City from the Watch Tower standing upon St. Stephens Hill about a mile from the City. That a huge Fleet was defcried at Sea, making thither-

wards all along the Western Coast of Lycia. This bad news much troubled the City, which it was not of most men unexpected; all places was filled with tumult and hurly burly, every man measured the greatness of the danger by the measure of his own fear, and such a pitiful cry was in every place as is usual in Cities presently to be besieged. Hereupon publick Prayers were made through all the City, and every man with great Devotion besought the God of Heaven, That as it was his pleasure that the Rhodians should at that time be the Champions of the Christian Religion, so he would give them Strength and Victory against their Enemies, and to turn the calamities of War upon the Enemies of his Name. Their Devotion ended, the Gates of the City were shut up, and People from all places ran unto the Walls, great Flocks of Women, Children, and aged men not able to stand without a Staff, going forth of their Houses to gaze upon the dreadful Fleet (wherein was above two hundred Sails as is reported) filled the Streets, the tops of the high Towers and Houses. The foremost of the Fleet was the Admiral of *Calipolis*, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his Navy, and to assault the City by Sea; and the Rear-Admiral was *Cara Mahometes* an arch Pyrat, who was afterwards slain with a great Shot out of the City. The Vice-Admiral in the middle of the Fleet with a great Squadron of Gallies, having a fair Westerly wind, struck full directly before the mouth of the Haven (which was on both sides defended with two strong Towers well furnished with great Artillery) and began to row toward the City, whereupon an Alarm was raised, the Trumpets sounded, and many hastened unto the Bulwark which defended the left side of the Haven, which the Enemy seemed to direct his course unto; and was indeed more subject to danger than the other. But the Turk seeing himself in danger to be sunk with shot from the Bulwark, was glad to get himself farther off unto the rest of the Fleet; the Rhodians from the Walls with loud cries scornfully deriding him for his foolish attempt. This great Fleet in exceeding bravery and triumph passing by the City in sight of the Rhodians (standing upon the Walls with Ensigns displayed) did not more terrify them, than they were themselves terrified to behold the strength of the City, and the cheerfulness of the Defendants. But passing on, they came to the Promontory which the Inhabitants call *As*, about three miles distant from the City, Eastward. Which small Harb' being not able to receive so great a Fleet, many of the Gallies were enforced to ride it out at Sea, where they were by Shot out of the City oftentimes endangered and enforced to get them further off. Whilst the Enemy was there landing his great Ordnance and other Instruments of War prepared for the Siege, chusing a place for his Camp, transporting his Land Soldiers from the Main into the Island, viewing the strength and situation of the City, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same; the Rhodians in the mean time were not idle, but sunk divers deep foundations in many places of the City near unto the Walls, to discover the Enemies Mines, and to sink their Bulwarks with great Rampiers, and in which work every man put too his helping hand without respect of Age or Calling. The Grand Master of about that time sent *Lodovicus Andrugus* one of his Knights of the Order, into Spain to Charles the Emperor; and *Gioudius Duvenvillius* another of the Order also, to Rome to the Cardinal and Italian Knights of the Order; and from thence into France unto the French King with Letters; craving

craving the aid of these Christian Princes, for relief of the City, by Sea and Land besieged. But in vain, for they carried away with the endless grudge one against another, respecting only their own States, returned the Embassadors with good words, but no relief.

At this time *Prigians* Governor of *Chios* (of whom we have before spoken) a man comparable with any of the Captains of that age, an excellent Soldier both by Sea and Land, valiant and thereto fortunate, of an invincible Courage, brought up in the Wars from his Childhood; when he had by the space of two or three days hid himself in the Rocks at Sea, for fear of the Turks great Fleet, came by night in a small Pin of Watch; at whose coming the Rhodians wondered with joy, for the Soldiers rejoiced greater rejoiced in no man, than in him; and if any great exploit were to be done, him the Master trusted above any other; he always in Arms during the Siege, encouraged the Soldiers, searched the Watch, surveyed the Bulwarks, repaired the Breaches, and such labors as others accounted weary, he cheerfully endured, as if they had been but his pleasure and recreations. At the same time also, *Gabriel Martinigues* of *Brinsia* a most skillful Engineer, came to the Rhodes out of *Creta*; by whose industry and cunning, fifty five Mines which the Turks with infinite labor and charge made by reason of the firing of the Water, and hardness of the Rocks) during the Siege, were all by countermines disappointed and defeated.

The City of the Rhodes is situate on a plain ground, on every side to be besieged, only Northward it is defended with a goodly Haven, from whence it lyeth open all westward; besides it and the Hills round about it lieth a stony plain ground not very broad, but of a greater length; these Hills are full of Springs, and Orchards planted with Olives, Fig-Trees, Vines, and such other Fruits as such dry and sandy ground will bear. But what by Nature wanted, was by the Hand and industry of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double Wall, and deep Trenches, threatening the Enemy with thirteen stately Towers; and fire against all Assaults, with five mighty Bulwarks, with divers goodly fair Gates; and that which was the greatest defence of all, within the City was always kept a most exact and frate form of Warlike Discipline. The defence of the whole City was thus proportioned; from the French Tower (which with the greatest and height thereof seemed to mate the sky) flood the Frenchmen with the French Lutes in their Ensigns, under their Commander *James Abbiner*, a Noble Knight of the Order; from thence to St. Georges Gate lay the stout Germans, with the Eagle in their Ensigns; in the third station were placed the French Arquebuziers, with the Spaniards, for that the Ditches in that place were more deep nor broad as elsewhere; in the fifth place lay the English Garrison, over whom the Grand Master himself commanded; after them succeeded they of *Narbonne*; and last of all the Italians, in Valour not inferior to any of the rest, under the leading of *Ferris Balinus* and *Gregorius Morgatun*. In every one of these stations were so brave and valiant Knights of the Order, whose names (worthy of eternal memory) for brevity we pass over, all men of themselves sufficient to have taken upon them the whole charge.

The Enemy was not bolder without the City in placing his battery, but traitorous minds were as bafe within to have betrayed the same. A

Turkish Woman, Slave to one of the rich Citizens, had conspired with certain of her Complices, at such time as the Turks should give Assault unto the Town, at one instant to set on fire the Houses wherein they dwelt in divers places of the City; that the Defendants drawn from the time might the more easily enter. But this Treason was in good time revealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The Turks had not as yet placed their battery, when as they took a certain Hill, whereupon stood the Church dedicated to *Cyprus* and *Damianus*, directly over against the English Station; from thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their Soldiers than for any great harm they could do for so far off) they began with small battering Pieces to shoot into the City; and afterwards they began to dig Mines, and to cast up Trenches; for the performance of town; and that which for the filling up of the Town Ditches, they had brought with them fifty thousand Pioneers, men better acquainted with Country labour and keeping of Carrel, than with Wars, which being enforced unto their labour day and night, sometime with Stripes and sometime with death, did with incredible celerity bring that to pass, which was before thought impossible. They cut ways through the most hard stony Rocks, raising the Plains as high as Mountains, with Earth brought two miles off, and laying the Mountains even with the Plains, so yet they never wrought in safety, but were miserably run in funder with the great Ordnance out of the Town; and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians falling out upon those over-laboured People, having neither courage nor skill to defend themselves, but trusting only to their heels, few great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their fear) fiercely pursued and slew down right. And when many others sitting out of the Camp in great companies, thought to have relieved their fellows, the great Ordnance being of no use placed to no advantage, so thrust from the Walls among the thickest of them, that the ground lay covered with the bodies and Weapons of the dead Turks, with which manner of Fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the City, the Turks for their safety wrought most upon their Mounds by night, keeping most strong watch for the defence of their Pioneers, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their Artillery against the places which the Rhodians used to fallily out at; which did not so much keep them in, as the fear of weakening themselves by often sallies, knowing that one man was unto them a greater loss, than unto the Enemy an hundred. Amongst others which in the beginning of this great Siege forced the utmost of their devices to the destruction of the Turks, were certain Mariners, who having the Turkish Language perfectly, by leave of the Grand Master (disguising themselves in the habit of Turks) departed by night out of the Haven in a small Boat, loaded with Apples, Plums, Pears, Melons, Grapes, and other such Fruits as the time of the year afforded; and in the darkness came along the Coast, unto that part of the Island wherunto the passage was out of the Main. There as if they had been Turks come from the Main, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish Soldiers bought greedily. When they had thus sold their Fruits, and in selling thereof diligently noted the speech and talk of the Soldiers concerning the Siege, and were now ready

The com-  
mandation  
of Preja-  
nes.

The de-  
scription  
of the  
Rhodes.

The worthy  
command-  
ation of  
the Great  
Master.

The Turks  
Fleet de-  
scribed  
as it  
was  
seen  
by the  
Rhodians.

A Turkish  
Woman  
Slave to one  
of the rich  
Citizens.

The Turks  
described  
by the  
Christians  
Mariners.

ready to depart, certain Turks which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this Siege, seeing themselves if they did but stir, in danger to be set off with shot out of the Town, earnestly requested the Mariners to take them with them into the Main; and to do so, at the first the Mariners dissembling, refused, as a thing dangerous; and besides that, their Boat was too little to receive so many as would willingly have gone with them. Yet with much ado, they suffered themselves to be intreated to take in seven or eight, such a number as they could well master; who in hope of passing over into the Main, were (contrary to their expectation) brought Prisoners to the Rhodes, where they were by *Preziosi* brought up to the top of the highest Tower of *St. John* Church, from whence they might see all about the Country, and well describe all the manner of the Turks Camp, which they simply discovered unto the Captain, and whatsoever else they were demanded, and amongst other things confessed, that the Souldiers were greatly discontented with the Siege, having in the beginning thereof lost so many men, and that they were ready to rise in mutiny against their Captains, and would hardly by them be commanded out of their Trenches and Cabbins, saying, that all they did was but lost labour, and that they should find it another piece of work to win the Rhodes, than they did at *Belgrade*; wherefore if they were wise, they should in time depart before they had received further harm both from the Enemy, and for want of necessities, wherewith the Souldiers began already to be pinched. All which was then supposed to have been spoken by the Captives to please him in whose power they now were; yet it appeared afterwards to be all true. For the *Bassa* considering the troubled state of the Camp, and the general discontentment of the Souldiers, whom he was at that time gladder to please than to punish, wrote unto *Solyman* at *Constantinople*. That if he would the Siege should go forward, he should no longer delay come in person himself to the Camp, so that the Souldiers without regard of shame were ready to rise in mutiny and to abandon the Siege, being to be commanded by their Captains.

Solyman comes into the Camp.

In the mean time when *Solyman* prepareth himself to set forward, the Turkish Captains understood by certain Fugitives (whereof in all Wars some are to be found) that the *Usc. Steppe* of *St. John* Church served them of the Town for a Watch Tower; for which cause, and for despite of the Cross standing upon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continual shot to beat down that Tower, which whilst they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himself came into the Camp the eight and twentieth day of *August* in the Afternoon; where finding in his Army all the signs of cowardice and fear that could be spoken of or devised, and nothing done according to the command of such as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order, he took more grief to see that great disorder, than he did pleasure and good hope of two hundred thousand Souldiers which were in his Army. Yet for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, against his own People as well as the Rhodians, but modest himself towards his own rage and the offence of his Souldiers, and calling them together, caused them to be dismissed, not leaving among them so much as a Sword; and compassing them in with fifteen thousand Harquebussiers whom he had brought with him well appointed, he step up into his Royal Seat, there set on high for that purpose; where sitting down,

he paused a good while without any word speaking, as if he had conferred with himself whether he should only punish the Authors of the Mutiny, or else with the punishment of many to revenge to foul a Sedition, little differing from open Rebellion. But following of himself the milder resolution, he thought it sufficient to correct the multitude and common sort of Souldiers with sharp and bitter words; and after general silence made, brake out into this choleric Speech.

*Slaves (quoth he) for I cannot find in my heart to call you Souldiers, What kind of men are you now become, are you Turks? Men and women overcome? Verily I see the Bodies, Countenances, Attires, and Habits of my Souldiers; but the Deeds, Speeches, Counsels, and Devices of cowardly and vile Traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceived me? that Turkish Force and Courage is gone, the Valour and Strength both of Bodies and Minds, wherewith the Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Syrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirots, Macedonians, and Thracians were subdued, is left, forgetting your Country, your Oath, the Command of your Captains, your Obedience, and all other Warlike Discipline; you have against the Majesty of my Empire refused to fight, like Cowards beaten your selves to flight, for vain fear of death and danger, now bemoaning men of War, if any man should at home have named the Rhodes in your Feasts, among your pots, in your assemblies and great meetings, you could then with your Tongues brag to pull it down, you had much ado to hold your Hands here, when I would make proof of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians so few in the few days before their Gates, would grant way yield themselves and their City into your Power? Let all men cease so to say or think, and believe me that know the truth, This base and infamous Den (which you see) is full of most cruel Beasts, whose madness you shall never tame, without much labour and bloodshed: Yet shall you tame them? for why, nothing is so wild but at length it may be tamed; which except I bring to pass, I am fully resolved and have vowed unto my self, Either here to die, or spend my days: And if ever I do or say otherwise, let this my Head, my Fleet, mine Army, and Empire, be for ever accursed and unfortunate.*

And so without further Speech, desiring rather to be accounted of his Souldiers gentler than before, he pardoned them all their former offences, and brought them all again to his obedience. This mutiny so appeased, all things were afterwards done with better success, and greater care both of the Souldiers and Commanders. First, they planted in divers places twelve great Bombards, wherewith they threw up Stones of huge weight into the Air, which falling down into the City, might break down the Houses, and whatsoever else they lighted upon; with the fall of one of these, the Great Master was like to have been slain. Howbeit this proved a device of more terror than danger, for with two hundred such Shot were but ten men slain; which thing amongst others, *Apella* a traitorous Fugitive declared unto the Enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himself confessed being taken upon suspicion and examined; for which his Treason he was justly executed.

The force of the Battery was more feared, the Turks wherein the Turks had planted forty great Pieces Battery of Battery, and amongst them twelve Basilisks (so aptly named of the Serpent *Basilisk*, who as *Pliny* writeth, killeth Man or Beast with his sight) with these Pieces the Turks battered the Walls

Walls continually; but lying somewhat far off, did no great harm.

At the same time also *Solyman* caused battery to be laid against the Tower of *St. Nicholas*, standing upon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the Sea, defending the Haven upon the right hand, where sometime stood the great *Callosa* of the Sun, accounted the greatest amongst the seven Wonders of the World. Which Castle was both strongly and sumptuously built at the charge of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, as appeared by their Arms there engraven in many places in Marble. This Tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge thereof, with two hundred Souldiers, amongst whom were thirty Knights of the order.

The Turks Artillery planted against the Tower, was by the skillfulness of the Christian Cannoniers in short time dismounted with Shot from the Tower, and many of the Gunners slain; so that they were glad to surcease any more to batter the Tower by day, but lying still all the day they began to batter the same by night, where in they prevailed no more than they had before in the day time; For the Defendants were daily observing such places as were likely for the Enemy to place his Battery in, did so aptly place their Ordnance against the same, and to so good purpose that the Turks swore, their doings were by some means discovered unto the Enemies. So when they had in vain bestowed five hundred great Shot, and made a small breach which they durst not once attempt to enter, they shamefully abandoned that place also.

All this while *Pyrrius* was busie in working of Mines to undermine the City, two and thirty of which Mines the Defendants frustrated with Countermine, in which kind of work many were lost on both sides; yet for all the carefulness of the Christians, the English Bulwark, was undermined by the Enemy, and upon the fourth of September part thereof blown up, with such violence, that unto them in the City it seemed at the first to be a general Earthquake; and therewith divers English were there overwhelmed. The Turks attempting presently to enter, were by the Grand Master and his Followers with great slaughter repulsed.

But *Musapha* the *Bassa* coming on with fresh Supplies, and crying out of the cowardice of them which retired, renewed the Assault; where for a while was fought a most sharp and cruel Fight, the Leaders cheerfully encouraging the Souldiers, and they likewise doing what was possible for men to do. All mens ears were filled with the chundering of the Shot, noise of Trumpets and Drums, and crying of Men. And unto the Turks it seemed that over their heads it rained deadly Shot, Stones, and Fire; for the Townsmen and Women mingled with the Souldiers, cast down upon the Turks, Fire, Stones, Timber, and whatsoever else came to hand; so that they were unable longer to endure the courage and force of the Christians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any sign of Retreat, every man seeking to save one; among whom as they fled, the great Ordnance shot off from the Walls made wonderful slaughter. At the Assault of the Turks were slain (as some write) almost two thousand, and among them the Master of the Turks Ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loved; which Victory the Christians gained not without some loss; for besides some few others that were slain, fifty Knights of the Order (men worthy of Eternal Memory) there ended their days also.

The fifth day after (which was the ninth day

of September) *Solyman* by the perfavours of *Adapha* the great *Bassa*, commanded a fresh Assault to be given to the English Bulwark, which was then the first. Seven English of the Turks were broken in by the ruins of the Bulwark, and had enforced the Defendants, oppressed with number to give ground, when the Grand Master coming in with the Ensign of the Order, guarded with a Company of most valiant Knights, drove them again by force, and made good the place. *Musapha* seeing his men retire, courageously restored the Battery by bringing in new supply, and other Captains with Threats, Scrookes, and terror of Death, enforced the Souldiers (who had before turned their Backs) now again to fight. So that there began a more cruel Fight than had before been from the beginning of the Siege; which was unto the Christians more dangerous, for that they were overwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkish Shot. But in that extremity no man regarded either danger or life, only this they remembered, That those were their barbarous Enemies, whom they must either victoriously overcome, or die therefore; with which fury the Assault was continued by the space of three hours, until at length *Adapha* with his Turks discouraged, with the loss of two thousand of their Fellows, and of three great Noblemen, whom *Solyman* especially favoured, and forebore by the Spaniards out of their Flankers, were enforced to retire. Few of the Christians in respect of so many Enemies were slain, yet had the Ensign of the Order been there lost, *Justinus* *mus* Cloys the Ensign Bearer having both his Eyes shot out, had not *Americus* *Rajulius* an Avenger, and one of the Knights of the Order, with incredible courage rescued the same.

After this second Assault, falling out so unluckily unto the Turks, *Musapha* the great *Bassa* began to grow in contentment, and *Pyrrius* to keep his credit by doing something, with continual battery of seventeen great Pieces, did batter the Mount near unto the Italian Bulwark. At which time also *Cassius* Governor of *Eubynia*, another of the Turks great Commanders, laboured by undermining to have overthrown the French Bulwark; so glad they were to attempt any thing to content their impatient great Lord and Master. But the endeavours of *Cassius* was by Countermine through the careful diligence of *Gabriel* *Chierus*, having charge of those works, frustrated; and *Pyrrius* in the other place after he had by hot Assault slain them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the Mount, and brought a great fear upon the City, was again with great loss shamefully repulsed, and by the commandment of *Solyman* caused to retire. At this Assault the Governor of *Eubynia*, *Solyman* his Lieutenant General, a man of great honour (if any of the Turks Slaves are to be accounted) was slain, for whose death *Solyman* was exceeding pensive and heavy.

*Musapha* the *Bassa* finding himself in disgrace with *Solyman* for the two unfortunate Assaults by him given at the English Station, determined if it were possible by a third to recover his lost credit; and for his better success therein, agreed with *Admetus* another great Commander, at which Assault he was to assault the Spanish Bulwark the same time to assault the Rhodians having with a Mine suddenly blown up a great part of the Wall of the Spanish Station, in the thick of the Dust and Smoke, presently ended his men, who by the ruins of the Wall recovered the top of the Rampiers. *Adapha* the *Bassa*, so that same instant hardly charged the English, so that

The Turkey assault the English Bulwark the fourth time, and are again repulsed.

Musapha Bassa laid into disgrace with Solyman.

The English Bulwark of the third time taken by Musapha.

in both places was made a hard and doubtful Fight. *Mulapha*, desiring nothing rather than with better success to reclaim his former dishonour, did what he might to encourage the Soldiers, calling upon them by name, and spurring them in remembrance of their former Victories. The Rhodians on the other side mindful of their former honour, with the greatness of the present danger valiantly repulsed the Enemy, and forced him with shame to retire. In this Assault many Englishmen were slain, and *Praxinos* also fore hurt, having before slain many of the Turks. *Mulapha* beside the loss of his men, had also two of his Ensigns taken by *Christopher Vanderick*, Commandador of the German Knights. *Achimeter* having won the top of the Walls, had there set up the Turkish Ensigns; but by the valiantness of the Defendants, and by means of certain fine Pieces of Ordnance, by *Martinus* upon placed in the Houses before the new made Breach, by force of Shot out of the Flankers on both sides of the Breach, whereof none fell in vain, he was again enforced to forsake the Walls and to retire.

The three and twentieth day of September, the Turkish Captains hoping by means of a Mine which they had made against the Avenge Bulwark, to enter and win the City, approaching the Walls with great Multitudes of Soldiers, ready to have entered upon the blowing up of the Mine, which being met with a counter mine out of the City, wrought not such effect as by them expected; so that having received some harm, standing in a place of great disadvantage, and done nothing they returned again into the Camp. Yet all the expert Captains probably conjecturing that the Wall might be inwardly shaken by the Mine, though it were not by them outwardly perceived, called that part of the Wall to be most violently battered all the rest of day and night following; and by the fury of their Artillery, made a fair and large Breach. All that night was heard in the Turks Camp an unweary clattering of Weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had been some great matter a doing; which the Rhodians conjectured (as the truth was) to be a sign of some great Assault to be shortly made.

*Solyman* resolving the next day with all his Force to assault the new made Breach, after he had by himself in a melancholy mood walked up and down in his Tent a great part of the night, sent for the chief Commanders of his Army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth:

Your Valour and Wisdom (worthy Capitans) needs not my exhortation, yet the desperate madness of our Enemies maketh me to speak unto you these few words. Who whilst they yet do, as from the beginning, as men without reason desperately defend their City rent with our Artillery, (shaken with our Mines, their Churches and Houses beaten down about their Ears, wearied and worn out with Slaughter, Labour, and Wounds, which must needs befall men so oftentimes assaulted, they worthily seem unto our Soldiers men of invincible Force and Courage; which opinion to have removed, much concerneth the happy and wished success of our Assault. Wherefore I would have you with effectual persuasion and beautiful promises to hearten on our Men to the winning of this City. Beside this, you shall open unto them my purpose and intent, and that they should not think that they are brought hither to besiege one City; but that in taking this City, they shall win the most noble make a way unto all the Dominions of the Christians. Here be the King's Men, Allies, and Friends of all the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Christendom: here

is all our Enemies Treasure; the Spoil wherewith promised unto our Soldiers may serve to great purpose to encourage them forward; here is the Store of Ordnance, Armour, and other Warlike Provision, which shall best furnish us, and in time to come miserably confound the rest of the Christians. We shall beside this, enjoy a most goodly and rich City, with a Haven of all others most commodious, from whence all things necessary for War may at all time at occasion be supplied; by Land, and Sea be supplied with such as they shall be in need of; of great importance shall we be to our Enemies, and of great advantage to ourself. This is their Castle, Storehouse, Treasury and Armoury; this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all such as trouble the Turks by Sea; from hence shall we have free scope and passage unto Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Christian Countries: But of for your selves valiant Capitans, when ye shall consider how that you have within these few months by your valour and Wisdom (inhabited unto my Empire the strong City of Belgrade, which my great Grandfather Mahomet that mighty Emperor could not with all his power get; I rest in great hope that these few and obdurate Christians shall not long be able to defend themselves in these their Dens and lurking places.

Having ended this Speech, the Captains every one unto his Company made known what the great Emperors Will and pleasure was; and open Proclamation made through all the Camp, where in the spoil of that rich City was all granted unto the Soldiers, as a Prey and Reward for the pains they were to take.

*Solyman* heavy with sleep and care, laid himself down upon his Pallat to take his rest. But the Great Master (to whom the unaccounted fair of the Emperors posterity, for great matter) all that night in Arms painfully viewed every part of the City, cheerfully encouraging his Soldiers to remember; That they did watch for the safety of their Country, their Lives and Liberty. It fortuned the same night, that a poor Christian serving a Turk in the Camp, calling secretly unto the Watchmen upon the Walls, gave them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to give a general Assault unto the City. Which thing when the Great Master understood, because he would have nothing done rashly or fearfully (as it commonly happeneth in things done upon the sudden) called together his Knights, and spake unto them, as followeth:

I am glad sacred Companions and Fellows in Arms, The Great Master that the time is come when in one Battle getting unto our selves great honour, and defending your Country, you may be justly accounted the worthy defenders and Revengers of the Christian Commonwealth and Name. The people against whom we are to fight to-morrow, assaileth us first presuming upon their multitude; But if we measure Valour, not by number, but by Courage and Prowess, undoubtedly a few resolute men will easily overcome a multitude of Cowards. You know your Enemy, and the manner of his fight; you are to fight (most worthy Knights) with them whom you have always vanquished at Sea, and in just Battle sometimes overcome by Land, at such time as with their whole power they assaulted your Walls, emitting in the mean time many hot skirmishes, wherein you ever put them to the worst; Wherefore you and they in the Assault to-morrow shall have swift Courage, as Conquerors and men conquered may have. Neither will they fight, because they are weak; neither will they fight, because they are strong; but because the great Tyrant and cruel command of their Captains enjoineth them thereto. Wherefore remembering what you are by birth; what opinion the Christian Commonwealth hath conceived of you, where you are, and what you have taken upon you; take up your

your Arms with just fury and indignation, and fight against them, following one frantic wish, as if you saw your Slaves bearing Arms against you; whereunto you are enforced, not only by the indignity of the wrong by them offered, but also by necessity, which of itself is of power to make Cowards valiant and ready. For here we are in an Island from whence we cannot escape, and in a weak and defenceless place, which do not so much protect and battered Walls quail them, or die therefore to-morrow shall give unto us either joyful Victory, or a most honourable death.

As he was yet thus speaking, news of approach of the Enemy caused him to make an end; and every man hath with speed unto the place of his charge. The Enemy coming fast on; with a most horrible cry (as their manner is) fiercely assailed the City in five places, where the English, Spanish, Italians, Narbonenses, and Avergnones had their Stations. To the assault of every of which places, *Solyman* had appointed ten thousand Turks. *Mulapha* the Bassa called upon the name of his great Prophet Mahomet; and promising unto the Soldiers the rich Spoil of the City, fiercely assailed the English Station, from whence he had been three times before shamefully repulsed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Bassa, with like fury assailed the Italian Station. In both places was maintained a cruel and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for their Lives and Liberty. Neither was there any, of what degree or order soever, which did not that day fight for the defence of the City. The Priests and religious were not then exempted, but fought among other Soldiers; Women, Children, and with them the aged Fathers, beyond the strength of their Bodies and courage of their Minds, some burning Pitch-balls, some Hoops with which being cast down upon the Enemies, troubled them so, as nothing was more feared; for upon whomsoever it fell, it stuck fast, and so scalded their Bodies, that they were glad to cast down their Weapons to rent off their Clothes, whereunto many of them rent off the Skin and Flesh also. All which things fell to thick upon the Turks, as if it had rained Fire and Stones, besides the deadly Shot, which amongst such a multitude of Enemies never fell in vain.

The Great Master having a careful Eye over every part of the City, after he had well relieved the Italian Station, which was at the first hardly distressed by the Knights, left there *Antonius Montellani*, one of the Knights of the Order, with such Company as he thought convenient for the safety of that place, and went himself with the rest unto the English Station, which was then hardly to be by the Bassa *Mulapha*. But whilst he was there besieged in repulsing the Enemy, and had now well relieved the place, a sudden cry ran along the Walls, that the Spanish Bulwark was already possessed by the Enemy; with which heavy news he was not a little troubled, but leaving there *Emmericus Gombauld*, one of the Knights of the Order, with a chosen Company of Soldiers for the defence of that place; he with his Guard hastened unto the Spanish Station, which he found to be a wonderful chance already taken by the Enemy. In the beginning of the Assault, certain Turks to flun the danger of the Shot, had for fear hidden themselves at the foot of this Bulwark, among the Stones, which had before been beaten down with

the battery; in the mean time, other Turks of the same Regiment, under the leading of the valiant Captain *Achimeter*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the Bulwark, not medling with the Bulwark itself, as a thing of greatest strength; the valiant Soldiers appointed for the defence of the Bulwark, seeing their Fellows and Countrymen distressed fast by them on the right hand, could not endure to stand firm on the lookers on, but left the Bulwark, and went to the place so hardly assaulted; where whilst they were valiantly encountering the Enemy, the cowardly Turks who had before hid themselves for fear, hearing all fill over their Heads, and thereupon by guessing (as the truth was) that the Defendants were drawn thence to another place more distressed; to colour their fear, and prove their good fortune, like tall fellows, crept out of the holes wherein they had before for fear hidden themselves, and secretly crawling up the battered Walls of the Bulwark, got into it before they were discovered, where finding none but a Piece unto a place more convenient for the annoying of the Enemy, had laid down their Weapons; they suddenly set upon them, slew them, overthrew the Christian Ensigns, and so became Masters of that strong Fort. The Turks without thinking that, wonderfully commended the Valour of those men, and flaming themselves of Cowardice, made great haste through the midst of the Town-Ditch to get up into the Bulwark to help their fellows. But in going through the Ditch, they were so cut off with Shot on both sides out of the Flankers, that few of them could get up into the desired Bulwark. And the Great Master with a crew of valiant Soldiers, nothing fearing the armed Enemy, now in possession of the Bulwark over their Heads, with great resolution scaled the same.

In this assault, in the mean time *Hugo Capomati*, a Spaniard, and *Ademius* a Frenchman, both Knights of the Order, with a Company of Cretan Soldiers brake into the Bulwark by Gate which the Turks had not as yet boulded, and being once got in, they made of the Turks a quick dispatch; for whom they flew not with the Sword, they enforced to mischief themselves for half back again over the Walls. The Bulwark thus again recovered, which had been two hours in possession of the Enemy, and the City delivered of a wonderful fear, the Great Master (well worthy of that name) leaving a sufficient number of Soldiers for the keeping of that Fort, went with the rest of his Company unto the place where the Spaniards with the rest of the Defendants were charged by *Achimeter*, and now wearied and almost spent, had much ado to hold out; who encouraged with the sight of the Great Master, as if Victory had attended upon him, with great cries and signs of joy valiantly and with great slaughter repulsed their Enemies, as if they had been fresh men. Long it was to recount the deadly fight and hard adventures which befell at the Assault of the other two Stations of the Avergnones and Narbonenses; but the Turks were in every place put to the worst, and lay by heaps slain in the Ditches and Breaches of the Town. *Solyman* from his standing (for the Turks that purpose made of high Mass) beholding the miserable slaughter of his men, and no hope of gaining the City, caused a Retreat to be founded, a thing welcome both to the Rhodians and the Turks. In this terrible Assault, which endured by the space of six hours, divers of the Knights of the Order were slain, especially of the French and Spanish Nation, with one hundred and fifty common Soldiers, all worthy of eternal fame.





the Rhodians laboured night and day to raise a new Wall, in stead of that which was beaten down.

At the same time, *Solyman* perfwaded by the general opinion of all his great Captains, that the City was that day or never to be taken, determining to give another general Assault, caused Proclamation to be made through his Camp; wherein he gave the spoil of the City unto his Souldiers, and the more to encourage them, spake unto them in few words, as followeth:

*Solyman encourages his Souldiers to a fresh Assault.*

*Fortune at length valiant Souldiers, having nobly proved your Courage and Patience, now offereth unto you the worthy Rewards of your Labour and Pains. The Victory and Wealth of your Enemies which you have so much desired, is now in your Hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mangled People, of whom more are slain than left alive; and they are not Men, but the Shadows and Ghosts of Men, feeble and spent with Hunger, Wounds, Want and Labour; who will I know resist you, not because they so dare, but because of necessity they so must, enforced therewith all extremities. Wherefore now revenge your selves of the Fallow, Cruelty, and Villanies of these Christians; and make them a useful example to all posterity, that never Man hereafter presume to offer injury to a Turk, in whatsoever State he be. The way is already open into the City, there is a fair Breach made already; Horsemen may at once enter, nothing wanting but Courage in you to assail the same.*

The Souldiers encouraged with this Speech of their Emperor, made great shew of cheerfulness, and promised to do their utmost devoir, threatening unto the Christians most horrible Death and miserable Captivity.

In the mean time, the great Shot flying continually through the Breach did beat down many Houses in the City; but the Countermure new built against the Breach standing upon a lower ground, it seldom toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The rattling of the falling Houses, the horrible noise of the Enemy, with the thundering of the great Artillery, wonderfully terrified the miserable Citizens; in every place was heard the Lamentation of Women and Children, every thing fleweth the heaviness of the time, and seemed as altogether lost and forlorn. The day thus troublefomely spent, the night followed much more troublefome; and after the night, the day of Assault of all other most dreadful; for with the dawning thereof, the glittering Ensigns of the Enemy were seen flying in the Wind, and the Turks cheerful with the hope of Spoil and Victory, hastened towards the Breach with great Outcries and Songs, after their Country manner; and there before one of the Gates of the City called *St. Ambrose Gate*, set down a great number of their Ensigns deckt with Garlands, in token of Victory. The Turks great Fear also at the same time failing too and fro before the Haven, made them as if it would have assailed the City on that side; who had seen the City so before have been besieged both by Sea and Land; and to most Mens judgments, it seemed that the Rhodian State should that day have taken end and been destroyed. Yet for all these extremities, the Rhodians were nothing discouraged, but looking upon their Weapons as the only remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, upon the Alarm given came running out of their Houses by heaps unto the Walls, like desperate Men oppoling their Bo-

*The distressed state of the Rhodians and their courageous resolution therein.*

dies in stead of their battered Walls against their enemies in defence of their Country. There needed neither Exhortation nor command of Captain, every Man was unto himself a persuader to fight valiantly in defence of the City; and one of them propounded unto another the cruel death, the miserable servitude, the mocks and taunts they should endure, if they should chance to come into the proud Enemies hand; all which was to be avoided either by honourable Victory or Death. The Turks conducted by *Achimet*, fiercely assailed the Breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing upon the ruins of their Walls) valiantly defended. In the mean time the difmailed Matrons and Maidens, some in their Houses, with heavy Hearts expected the woful Destruction of the City and themselves, overfome in the Churches with Floods of Tears and lamentable Cries, poured forth their Prayers to the Almighty, craving his help in that their hard distress, and to protect them against their barbarous Enemies. The deadly Fight at the Breach, was on both sides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the City, if they did but a little more strain themselves; and therefore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gave out most terrible outcries; and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquished, for they being so many in number, and in a place of such indifferency, had not yet prevailed; beside that, they were greatly encouraged with the greatness of the common danger, and the fight one of another's Valour, so that by their invincible Courage the Turks were enforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their Enemies turn their Backs, gave a great shout in derision of them; the Turks disliking that they in number many (and now Victory, if they should with a little resolution maintain the Assault they had begun) should be so derided of a handful of Men, as good as already vanquished, with great indignation returned again to the Breach, and more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the City had undoubtedly been taken, had not they which defended the ends of the Wall, yet standing on both sides of the Breach, out of their Barricades with their Shot overwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the Breach, and others with murdering Shot out of the Flankers of the new built Wall to cut them in sunder, that a greater laughter for the time was hardly in any place seen. *Achimet* beholding the wonderful laughter of his Souldiers, and that he fought with great disadvantage and loss, against desperate Men, who resolving to die, feared no danger, gave over the Assault, and again retired; leaving behind him in the Breach an *Archie Ditch*, the Carcasses of five thousand of his dead Turks besides many more which afterwards died upon the hurts they received.

This Assault was given unto the Town the last day of November, a day dedicated to *St. Andrew*; after which time the Captains of the Turkish Army, although they despaired not of the Victory, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their Men, resolved with any account no more to attempt the City with any notable Assault; but by sundry great Trenches to be made through the midst of the ruins of the Walls, to get into the City; and with Mattocks and Pickaxes to overthrow the new made Wall and another Barricado which the Defendants had made within the same; and in the mean time whilst this was doing, to keep the Rhodians full filled with continual Skirmishes and Alarms. This device put in

*The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continual alarms, and by calling in of Trenches get into the City.*

*Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.*

*Secret parity proposed.*

*The Great Master at the instance of his People sends Embassadors to Solyman.*

in execution by the wonderful labour of such a multitude of People, feared the Enemy to greater purpose than all that he had before done; who daily overthrowing or destroying the new Fortifications which the Rhodians made in stead of them which were before overthrowen, and by little and little creeping on further, drove the Defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pull down many of their Houses, therewith to make new Fortifications, and to make their City less, by casting up of new Trenches; so that in short time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortify first, the Enemy was now so far crept within them; for the ground which the Enemy had thus gained within the City, was almost 200 Paces in breadth, and 150 Paces in length.

*Solyman*, although he did now assure himself of the Victory, and was by nature cruel and desirous of revenge; yet perfwaded by *Achimet* and *Cassius* (two of his most valiant Captains) that for the enlarging of his Empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemency; commanded *Pyrrius* the old Baffa to prove if the Rhodians might by parley be drawn to yield their City upon reasonable conditions. Whereupon the Baffa sent one *Hierocimus Monelia*, a Genoway, unto the Walls, who craving of the Defendants safe Conduct, said he had something to say tending to the common good of the distressed City. All Mens minds were presently filled with expectation of some great matter, and he commanded to speak. Who answered, that he might not deliver his Message openly, but would either by Speech in secret, or by Letters deliver the same unto one *Matthias de Via* his Countryman, one of the Citizens of the Rhodes. When *Francis*

*Francis*, one of the Knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a choleric disposition, whose great courage was well seen in all that Siege (having as it is reported, with shot out of *Saint Georges Tower* himself slain five hundred Turks during the time of that Siege) being now present, and moved with indignation to here a motion made of private conference with the Enemy; bent his Piece upon the Messenger, and caused him forthwith to depart without doing his Message. Many who in time of the Assault feared not any danger, but were altogether become desperate and careless of themselves, after that they had understood that the Enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceive some hope of life, resorted unto the Great Master, requesting him, that he would provide for the safety of his loving People, whose warlike Forces were with many Assaults fore weakened, the City beaten down about their Ears, and most of them which were left, either wounded or sick: They had (as they said) now sufficiently proved both their force and fortune; and therefore he should do well, to beware, lest while he was too long in consulting, the Enemy should conceive a further indignation in seeing his offers refused. With these and such Speeches they enforced the Great Master to send Embassadors to *Solyman*. The Men that were sent, were *Antoniuss Grosulus* a Frenchman, Ensign-bearer for the Order, a Man of great reputation for his wisdom and experience; and with him *Robertus Braulius*, a Man of great gravity, and skilful in the Greek Tongue; for whom was received as Pledges, a Kinsman of the great Captain *Achimet*, and a certain *Epirot* which fled out of the City unto the Turks, because one of the Grecian Captains had struck him with his open Hand, a Man of a sharp Wit, and one that could perfectly

speak the Greek, Turkish, and Italian Tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongst the Enemies, being had of them in great regard, although he was not known whilst he dwelt in the City, that he was any such Man. After that *carnalis Solyman* Enterpreter, for he himself could speak no other Language more than his own, accounting it a great disgrace, and the cause of the *Orthoman* Empire to use any other Language. The Embassadors admitted unto *Solyman* presence, told him, That they were sent to know, for what cause he had sent to require parley? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had known nothing thereof, said there was no such matter; and commanding them presently to void his Camp, sent them away with Letters to the Great Master and the Citizens, to this effect.

*If I had not compassion of human infirmity, which oftentimes tumbls beheading Mens ambitious and hungry Minds, into most dangerous and unnecessary delusions, truly I would not have directed unto the Great Master these Letters at this time; but as you have well deserved, pursuant you with death and most miserable servitude, which how easy a thing were it for me to do, you your selves know. But having now sufficiently tried my force, if you be wise make proof of my Clemency. You have already satisfied your own fury, your own mad humor, and now advise your selves, lay your Hand upon your Heart, and without delay yield your selves as I command; your Lives I give you your Wealths, and more than that, your choice to tarry there still, or to depart; Refuse not the Grace frankly offered, which was of use to have been most heartily desired. It shall not always be lawful for you (as at this present) to make choice of both. From our Camp.*

Upon the return of the Embassadors, the poor of all sorts flock together to the Great Master his House, not far from the Breach; where after the multitude of the common People was dismissed, and the chief of the Burgers sent for, the imperious Letter of the Turkish Tyrant was openly read before the Knights of the Order, and the better sort of the Citizens. Whereunto the Great Master accounting it both honour enough, and sufficient term of life honourably to die, answered in this sort.

*You heard (Sacred Fellows in Arms, and valiant Men Citizens of the Rhodes) these impetuous and fervent Letters, whereunto how we are to answer, requiring no great deliberation; we must as resolute Men either yield or die; all hope of the Victory is gone, except foreign aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my Counsel, let us with Weapons in our Hands, until the last Gasps and the spending of the last drop of our Blood, like valiant Men defend our Faith and Nobility received from our Ancestors, and the Honour which we have so long time gotten both at Home and Abroad; and let it never be said, that our Honour died but with our Selves.*

This Speech of the Great Master seemed unto many, heavier than the imperious Commandment of the Turkish Tyrant; and a great while Men stood silent, heavily looking one upon another, many with sighing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words expressing what they thought in hearts. At length a certain Greek Priest, with great compassion of mind (as it seemed) and Tears trickling down his Cheeks, brake forth into these words:

*Solyman's Letter just before the Great Master's speech to the Rhodians.*

*After his opinion concerning what Solyman then said by his Letter.*



A notable  
Speech  
of a Great  
Priest  
for  
swearing  
the Great  
Majesty  
to yield.

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a private Man; and not first of all in so great and troubled assembly, broach mine own opinion. But forasmuch as the regard of our common preferment can bring a word out of my Mouth now; and all Men know that now is the time to speak and say what every Man thinketh best; which shall neither always nor long be granted unto us, I will not let it now overpass and slip away: Wherefore let us suppose, that no command of a most mighty Prince obliging us, were come unto us, but that I were reasoning as a private Man with his Neighbour, and in our cups without any, without any great affliction to either party; as Men indifferent not liking or hating (as Men sometimes do of Princes Affairs which concern them nothing) and then (as I hope) my Speech shall be unto you neither unpleasant nor unprofitable. We Greeks and Latins, with joined Arms, have now these fix Months without our deadly Enemies, not only abroad before our Walls, but all in the very bowels of our City, without any foreign help; as we have, of long time all vainly looked for, so are we now every one of us out of hope thereof. And yet our Enemy either moved with the secret goodness of God, or else ignorant of our strength and forces, spent with Wounds, Slaughter, Sticks, and perpetual Labour, doth voluntarily offer that unto us, which was of us to be most of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publick and private Treasures, the bodies of your selves, your Wives and Children be kept so violated, be taken from us only the City, which be hath for most part already beaten down and taken. Worthy Great Master, and you most valiant Knights, I have known prowess and valour in many Battels at Sea, but especially in this Siege; whereof seeing there is no more use in this our desperate estate, I do appeal unto your wisdom and discretion. Since all is now the Conquerors, in that be largest unto us, and Gods, that it is to be accounted gains, and the yielding up of the City and Island no loss, which the victorious Enemy already commandeth: which although it be a heavy matter and grievous unto the Nobility, yet your Fortune perfwaded you thereto. Wherefore if you be to be moved with any compassion, I account it better to yield, than to be slain our selves, or to see your Wives and Children by Law of Arms to be led away before your Eyes into miserable Captivity and servitude. If any Christian Religion remains in your warlike Minds, I beseech you seek not the utter destruction of this innocent People, who (I may with modesty say) hath not evil deserved of you, whom Christ Jesus, whom the Enemy himself, would have preferred. That I say this which I speak unto you for Christian Charity, and for no other cause, let this be a sufficient Testimony. That so long as you were able to resist by your own power, or heard for Aid from foreign Princes, I never spake words, or once thought of yielding; but now seeing the fatal ruins of all things about us, our common Estate brought unto the uttermost extremity, our deadly Enemy in the heart of our City, no hope, and that the War cannot longer be protracted; I wish you to yield, and for my part had rather make choice of Peace than War, and to prove the Enemies Favour than his Fury.

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the Priest. But as nothing can be so reasonably spoken as to content all Men, so this Speech was not of them all liked; some there were (though not many) which considering the harms they had done unto the Turks, and doubting with what safety they might yield themselves into the power of that faithless People, had rather to have fought it out to

the last Man, and so to have left unto them bloody Victory. Amongst these one bold spoken Fellow stepped forth, and in presence of them all diffwaded the yielding up of the City; in this sort:

I have not been with any thing more unacquainted, than to deliver my opinion before Printers, or in such great and publick Assemblies, being always more desirous modestly to hear other Men Opinions, than to publish mine. I have therefore for this time, seeing extreme necessity will not longer suffer me to keep my wonted course of silence, I will frankly speak my Mind, and tell you what in my Opinion is to be answered unto the heavy Meddlesome and imperious Command of the most perfidious Tyrant. This cruel Enemy hath overrun our Walls, and is entered three hundred Foot and more within our City, and as a most troublesome Guest hath taken and overtook with us as it were under the same Roof. Such as left no longer an end to such an unbecomely Guest and troublesome Neighbour, persuade you because he is troublesome, to give him all; but (worthy and sacred Knights) I am of far different Opinion; neither do I think a Possession of two hundred and fourteen Years is so lightly to be delivered up, and the Ground forsaken; but rather that this troublesome Intruder is in like manner to be himself troubled, and with deadly Skirmishes continually vexed; whom after we had by force of Arms and Undermining, at length be broke into our City, not by any Falour in himself, but helped by time, which tameth all things; and since his first entrance it is now almost forty days, in which time for all his haile, he hath scarcely got forward a hundred and thirty Paces, hindered by the Blocks, we have laid in his way, and will not cease continually to lay, if we will Men and mindfull of our former Victory. Did we not have bravely Fought, have I (as with these Eyes these sacred Knights to yield up this famous City of the Rhodes, the ancient Bulwark of Christian Religion, unto our merciless Enemies, polluted with the infamous Superstition of Mahomet: who besides the insupportable thirst they have of our Blood, how faithless and mischievous they are by Nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our selves, but we may take example by the calamity of Constantinople, the late misery of Euboea, and that which later was, of Methone; as also by the Mamelukes at Caïre, miserably slain contrary to the League, contrary to the Faith and Promise by the Turkish Emperor himself before given. What, do you me remember how the Death of the most noble Captains at Belgrade was of late procured by the falshood, craft, and deceit of the same faithless Mischants? Let us then, being Men of Wit and Understanding, shew these mad Knights, let us give our selves into their power, which have no regard of right or reason, of Religion, or any thing else, whose Cruelties and Cruelty it is hard to say which is greater, which for these many years have plotted and laboured nothing more, than how by policy or force they may utterly root our the Name of the Rhodians, which they so deadly hate. They keep us shut up and besieged now the fourth Month, fasting together with us, in extreme dangers and endless labour, slain by haile before our Walls and Fortresses, and cannot be removed hence with Thunder, Lightning, Storms, Tempests, and all the Calamities of Winter, a time which giveth intermission to all War, both by Sea and Land: so do fellows they are of Revenge, and greedy of our Blood; and that not altogether without cause, for we have also shed theirs, and gladly would still so do, if it lay in our power. But seeing it seemeth good unto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with inevitable necessity, yet let us whilst we are at liberty, and have

power

power our selves, by honourable, death amongst the Christian Ensigns, (as the Torments and Reproaches which our cruel Enemies hope to inflict upon us; so shall we enjoy eternal Fame and Glory, prepared both in Heaven and Earth for such as honourably die in defence of their Prince and Country; which Honour is accounted not them to envy unto thy most noble Name and Virtue, worthy Great Master, which having for many years enjoyed the commodity and profit of Peace, and greatly enriched by Bounty of this sacred Military Order, refuse now to bear this last burden of War.

At these words an ancient Greek, for his Wisdom and Discretion, of great Reputation both with the Greeks and Latins, perceiving his Countrymen wrongfully touched, and the desperate holding out of the City vainly perfwaded, took hold, and interrupting this young Gallant; in answer of that he had said, spake as followeth:

The former  
Speech  
not  
being  
an-  
swered  
by  
the  
young  
man  
of  
the  
city  
argued.

That grief of mind and desperation can make Men rather valiant than Wits, as you have many times heard before of this, you may see this day, perceiving all, most valiant Gentlemen; for advised modesty never falls into obloquy, neither confuseth falshood with truth; it disreputeth not the slaughter of the Citizens, it perfwadeth not fury, nor exhorteth Men to madness; but it is by nature so engrained in many, that when they cannot by their own Wisdom and Policy deliver themselves from their troubles, they yet seek to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger; so greedy were of malice and misery always, even of company. But if you (worthy Commander) will give me also leave to speak, a Man amongst his Countrymen not of meanest Place and Authority, which thing both the present Calamity and urgent Necessity might of you easily obtain, I would alledge such reasons, and lay down such matters, as should not only refresh the copious and glorious words of this brave and great Orator, coupled together of purpose to flourish out the matter, but also such as might stir your mind to that which is honest, profitable, and necessary: expelling hatred, fear, trouble or despair. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but sometime a Man most terrible, whereas for all his great words be is by nature mild, and so mild, that he never had the heart to kill, nor so much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calls his enemies, much, rather whose perfidious dealing to be despised, while cruelly he doth without, whose manner of living he exclaimeth against, as altogether without Law, without Reason, without Order, without Regard; and now in time of Truce, and whilst the Showers of Arrows, Iron Bullets, Fire and Stones doth cease, creeping out of his Cave, maketh much ado, and keepeth a great fire; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call upon death, whereas he hath hitherto yielded himself to much afraid, and all persons the besieged, who because he would spare us, will not suffer us to do that whereby we should undoubtedly perish. But whereof precedeth this new found Clemency? This unwonted favour toward the People of the Rhodes? I am not of the Tyrants Privy-Council, neither ever curiously sought after the reason of greater Mans Bounty, but am glad to receive it when

I need it. Yet for all that, I will not dissemble what I think in a matter so doubtful; he is willing (as I suppose) in this Siege and Conquest of the Rhodes, to shew unto other Nations whom he purposed to invade, both his Power and his Patience; left always (as his cruel Nature, be should make desolation in places he would reach over, and so for ever alienating the Minds of Men, be enforced to fight with all Men with Fire and Sword; by which Rigour he hath not so much hurt his Enemy as himself. For this cause (as I suppose, he leaveth unto us life and goods, left whilst he is in going about to take them from us by force, and we seeking to keep them by desperation, we should both fall into great desolation, nor left lamentable unto the Conqueror than to the conquered. Besides that, if he should kill us here, truly he might then enter the Breaches of the City on the Bodies of the dead, no Men now left alive to resist him. But Lerus is shut up, Arangia is strongly Fortified, Lyndus is by Situation impregnable; here be knowneth are Weapons, Armor, and Men; here must begin a new War, except he will have the remainder of your War, the fatal Plague of his Empire, to prey still upon his Subjects; all which strong places he shall have without slaughter, without bloodshed (as reason is) if he should let us and us poor wretches depart in safety with a little troth. Except these worldly considerations have moved him to mercy and compassion; then out of doubt it is wrought by divine power and the secret favour of God towards us, and of our Saviour Christ Jesus Crucified. Whereunto if you be Men well advised, if Religious, if mindful of the duty of Christians, it becomes us not to oppose any Obstacle, and with the ruin of your selves to destroy this miserable People, which for this half years Siege, hath scarcely had so much rest as might suffice the necessity of nature, standing for you in Battel, enduring both Wounds and Death for your Honour and Victory; by whose faithful labour and diligence you have been always helped both at home and abroad; whether you invaded the Turke by Land in Mytilene, Nicopolis, Methone, Patras, or other parts of Greece, or else by Sea thrust him out of the Passions of the Ionian or Aegean; whereby it may appear even unto a Blind Man, how injurious it is, and far from truth, to object unto this, That enjoying the Fruits of Peace, we refuse the Charges of Wars; nay we never refused Wars. But now is it come to that point, that if we would never so faint make Wars, we are not able to do, the flower of our youth being slain; and (small as it seems) not all left to us, but we lie in Beds with Wounds, Sicknes, Watching, and restless Labour; but also in Mind discouraged, whilst all things fall out prosperously to our Enemies, and to us adversity the greatest and best part of our great Artillery being broken with continual use, which if it were whole we could have thereof small use or profit, for want of Powder, which not only this City now wanteth, but also your strong Holds, Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnassus, Arangia, and all the Islands, so curious or loo to look into other Mens doings, much left into your manner of War; but yet (Great Master) you cannot deny, but it is so, who have caused Soldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and Gampdown secretly; by which Policy you have withstood your foreign Enemy these fix Months, and deceived the treachery of one or two domesticall Traitors. But I gladly admit we have all these things, I stand upon the truth. I say no more than Men say, but we lack to please a few; and suppose we wanted neither Armour nor Courage, I would then ask you this, whether they would advise you to use them to your defence, or to your destruction? For now to both it cannot be, no more than at once to be a Freeman and a Slave. To use them to your destruction, that were madnes and senseless pride, hateful to God and Man; you should therefore use them to defence;

FF ff

how shall we defend a City (I do not say, as the truth is) already lost and possessed by the Enemy, wherein be reigneth rage, and turneth all upside down? But having the Walls battered down, a great Breach in the Spanish Station, and another not like, but even more so as good as made in the Italian Station, how shall we be able to keep this unfortunate Town, battered and rent at the French, English, and Avenge Stations, and the Tower of St. Nicholas? Which if it were not so battered and bored of all Warlike Provision, but found and thoroughly furnished with Munition and Victual, yet necessity enforcing, and reason persuading, you ought to forsake it, forasmuch as all power of further resistance is taken from you. Do you yet see how easily and almost without any trouble, the Enemy (by means of) the Castle be hath new built upon the Mount Philerno, not past two Miles distant, can take from you all manner of Provision both by Sea and Land, and refrain you from going out or in? Truly notable Gentlemen, concur for your Martial Prowess, you see and have long ago foreseen these things better than I, altogether ignorant in Martial Affairs, altogether busied in the Trade of Merchandise, and caring for my Family, yet suffer me to say the truth. All the Powers, whereby this Kingdom flood, are departed and gone; against the force of our Enemies no policy of force remaineth; and to expect Armies of Angels, or Soldiers from Heaven, and other such like Miracles, is in my judgment more and more to provoke God to anger, although in his anger he be unto us merciful. Wherefore being destitute of all worldly help, let us as we may, provide for our safety. I beseech thee (worthy Great Master) by these my aged Tears, by the natural pity ingraved in thy breast, except not this miserable City to the Spoil of the Enemy, our old and middle aged Men to the Sword, our Wives and Daughters: to be Ravished, our Boys and Turtles to the unnatural filthiness of our barbarous Enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and greivous Opinion of the ungodly Mahometan Superstition: I would Noble Knights you had seen what wretched Men, with whom Mourning our heavy Families and Children crying about their Mothers, sent us bidders, and what Prayers they made for us at our departing; I would you knew with what mind and how great hope they expect their safety from your clemency and advised resolution.

The Great Master rejoiced that the City was not to be defended, a Common Council of the Burgesses of the City.

A Trust take with the Turks for fear days.

This Speech of the aged Greek might have moved a Heart of Flint; but the Great Master, who in his countenance shewed a greater courage than his present fate required, commanding every Man to his charge; after the matter had been thus most part of the night discoursed, gave then no other answer, but That he would be careful of all their well doing. The next morning he sent for Prejanes, Martininus, and a few other of the greatest judgment and experience; by whom he was fully resolved, that the City in so many places by the Enemy laid open and shaken, was not policy to be long defended; whereupon he caused a Common Council to be called of all the Knights of the Order together with the Burgesses of the City; where after long debating, whether they should fight it out to the last Man, or yield upon such Conditions as were to be obtained; It was by general consent concluded, that the City should be yielded, and thereupon a Decree made which was by the Great Master pronounced. Whilst these things were thus in doing, a Truce was taken with the Enemy for four days, but full of fear and danger. During which time, divers of the Turks presuming upon the Truce, came by great Companies to behold the Walls and Rampiers of the City; wherewith Fornovius the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being fore moved,

in his choler without further command discharged a Tire of great Ordnance among the thickest of them, contrary to the Truce taken. At which time also the Rhodians received into the City secretly by night a Ship loaded with Wines out of Crete, and in her descent a Spanish chief Pilot of the Rhodian Gallies, and with him 100 voluntary Soldiers all Lascins, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge of the Venetian Senate; for at that time the Venetians were in League with Solyman. The Turks justly offended with the breach of the Truce, and the taking in of new Supplies, which they supposed to have been far greater than in former times they were; without command of any Captain or Ensign displayed, in great numbers thrust in through the ruins of the Breaches into the City as far as the Rampiers and Barricades new made, and furiously assailed the Defendants; In which Conflict many were slain and wounded on both sides. But after the Turks had to their coil again made proof of the courage of their Enemies, as without commandment they began that skirmish, of themselves they brake it off and retired. After the Truce was thus broken, the Captain of the Turks Fencers, a bloody cruel Fellow, having taken three Christians Prisoners, cut off their Hands, Ears, and Noes, and sent them so dismembered into the City with Letters to the Great Master, charging him with the unjust breach of the Truce, barbarously threatening within three or four days to make like example of him to all posterity. Amongst others none more forward with this fuddain and unexpected breach of the Truce, than Robertus Persimius, Raymondus Marches, and Raymondus Lupus, three Knights of the Order. Men of singular Willdom and Gravity, Embassadors at that time in the Turks Camp; whom the barbarous People in their fury had undoubtedly slain or put to torture, if they had not saved the like measure to have been shewed to their Hostages in the City. But after that Nicholas Vergatus, and Georgius Sandrinus, two of the Burgesses of the City, were come into the Camp with Articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliver up the City, all their fury and rage was quickly appeased. Solyman for his greater Majesty and the more terror of these Messengers, heifer round about with his great Army, and guarded about with his Janizaries in their richest Attire and glittering Armour, gave them audiences; who admitted to his presence, with great humility offered unto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yield up unto him the City. The chief points whereof were, That the Churches should remain unto the Christians inviolated; That no Children should be taken from their Parents; That no Christian should be enforced to forsake his Religion and turn Turk; That such Christians as would tarry still in the City, might go do at liberty, without paying any Tribute for the space of five Years; That all they which would depart might go with Bag and Baggage, furnished with convenient Shipping and Provision as far as Crete, and to carry with them so much great Ordnance as they pleased; and that the Christians should appoint a reasonable day for the time of their departure. All which Articles Solyman consented unto, and told them to follow faithfully to perform the same. But how they were indeed performed the Writers of that age do much vary: It should seem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken; but so performed as pleased the Conqueror; certain it is that

A Turkish out Fall.

Solyman his Speech into the Great Master.

Although (said he) I might worthily and justly infringe the Articles I have prescribed concerning the yielding of the City, with thy most wicked crossed Compter, the People of the Rhodes, and thee especially such a capital Enemy, from whose defence punishment, neither Fate nor God ought to stay a just Conqueror's yet I have determined to be not only gracious and merciful unto thee, so great an Offender, deserving exemplary Punishment; but also liberal and bountiful; who if thou wilt by widdow amend the grievous Transgressions of thy former Life, I promise unto thee most honourable Entertainment, great Preferment, and the highest Places in my Empire, in my Army in time of War, and in Counsel in time of Peace. Not to refuse this mine offer, both thy present estate persuadeth thee, and the Christians (whose quarrel thou tookst upon thee to defend against me, with better beginning than (suffice) defence at thy hands; no better; for what should let thee forsaken of all thy Friends, a Man as it were betrayed and vanquished, to cast thy self into the perpetual faith and protection of a most mighty and merciful Conqueror, of himself offering thee this undeserved Grace and Favour.

Whereunto the Great Master presently answered;

The virtuous answer of the Great Master.

Most Mighty and Gracious Emperor, you offered me Favours before your other worthy Captains: I desire to serve not; neither is my present estate and desert towards you such, as that I dare or ought to refer the same; yet I will speak freely in the midst of your Victorious Army, a Man vanquished in presence of the Conqueror, whose great Mercy I never despised of, and whose Faith I never doubted; I had rather now I have lost my Sovereignty, forsworn to life my private and unfortunate Life; or else for ever hereafter to live in Obscurity, than of my People to be accounted a Fugitive rather than a vanquished Man: For, to be vanquished is but chance of War, and of so great a Conqueror no shame to him that is Conquered; but afterwards to forsake his own People and to turn to the Enemy, I account it shameful Cowardise and Treachery.

Solyman marvelling at the Courage and Majesty

of the Hoary old Prince, in his so great extremity, dismissed him, and sent him again into the City, guarded with his own Guard, until he was come into his Palace; and unto every one of the Knights attending upon the Great Master, was given a rich Garment, in token of Solyman Favour. Within a few days after Solyman coming into the City, went to visit the Great Master also; whom he found busy in packing up his things against his departure. Here Kneses would have worshipped him, he would in no case suffer him to do so; but with his hand putting aside the Vail of Majesty (which manner of Reverence the Turkish Emperors give only to God, and their great Prophet Mahomet) took him up and Saluted him by the Name of Father. To whom the Great Master for his Willdom and Discretion went to him no less admirable, than he was before in time of War for his Valour and Courage, spake in this sort:

Solyman cannot see the City unto the Great Master.

If my Fortune and Success had been unfavourable to my Heart and Courage, I should have been in this City, rather as a Victorious Conqueror than a Man Conquered. But since the fatal Destinies would needs overthrow the Rhodian Estate, I am glad that you are the Man before all others by Fortune assigned, of whom I shall receive both Force and Grace. And unto you, amongst many other your rare and worthy Praises, this shall not be the least, That you vanquished the Rhodes and shewed Mercy; by this means you have joined unto your dreadful Power, the Name of Clemency and Courtesy; an Honour not of the Highest to be despised, by which alone we come nearer unto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keep the conventions of the late Peace inviolated, which your own clemency persuaded you to grant, and necessity enforced us to take. I shall now be an eternal example to the Turkish Emperor, Clemency and Virtue, more than if I had by and by at the first yielded my self; Obstinately unwilling; hath made me very and Mercy now Famous through the whole World, and unto the Worlds End.

The Speech of the Great Master to Solyman.

Whereunto Solyman by his Interpreter, answered:

It is to me a great pleasure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choice of Peace before War, which I would thou hadst liked of from the beginning; then truly thou shouldst this time have received of my great and mighty Majesty, more good than thou hast endured hitherto. Which that I have done unto thee, not for any hatred, but only for desire of Sovereignty, thou mayest gather by this, That I suffer thee and thine to depart hence at liberty, with all your Wealth and Substance as I formerly made no War, thereby to heap up Wealth and Riches; but for Honour, Fame, Immortality, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the property of a King, royally defended, by strong Hand to take from others, and to invade others; not upon a greedy and covetous Mind, but for the honourable desire of Rule and Sovereignty; which whilst my Neighbour withstandeth, I count it enough by force of Arms to remove him.

The virtuous answer of Solyman to the Great Master.

But the Tyrant (as many supposed) spake all this by way of diffimulation, having it was commonly bruted, given order for the rigging up of a great Ship, and certain Gallies, for the fuddain transporting of the Great Master and the Knights of the Order to Constantinople, which report seemeth to have been but feigned either of malice, or else by such as least knew Solyman's Mind; for if he had so purposed, who should have let him, having them all in his Power.

Eff 2

Joanis

*Jeovius* in his little Treatise *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the Fifth, reporteth that he himself heard, *Liladulus* the Great Master say, That when *Solyman* entered into the *Rhodes* attended upon with thirty thousand Men, there was not any Man hard to speak a word, but that the Soldiers were as if they had been oblivious Friars; and that when he came to ask leave of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was so courteously used of him, that turning himself to *Adrian* the Basha, whom he above all Men loved, said, Truly I cannot but grieve to see this unfortunate old Man, driven out of his own dwelling, to depart hence so heavily.

The Great Master embarking himself with his Knights and such others as were willing to depart, in Vessels and Gallies prepared for that purpose, departed out of the Island on New-years day at night; and after long and dangerous Travel by Sea in that Winter weather, landed at last at *Messina* in *Sicilia*, from whence he afterwards sailed into *Italy*, and so travelled to *Rome*, where he was honourably received by *Adrian* the Sixth of that Name, then Bishop there, a Hollander born, sometime School-master to *Charles* the Fifth, and his Vicegerent in *Spain*; who if he had been as forward in the short time of his Papacy to have relieved the *Rhodes*, as he was to maintain *Charles* his Quarrel against the French King, it was not unlike but the famous City had been relieved, and the Island in possession of the Christians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilst the Christian Princes were at discord amongst themselves, to his great glory and no less grief of all good Christians, entered the *Rhodes* the 15 day of December, a day dedicated unto the Nativity of our Saviour Christ, in the year 1522, after it had been by the Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended against the Infidels by the space of 214 years, since the time they by force took it from the Infidels in the year 1308, and now being so long holden as was possible, when it had been six Months besieged. At this Siege *Solyman* lost a great part of his Army; for besides them that were slain at the Assaults, which were many, thirty thousand died of the Flux.

Whilst *Solyman* thus lay at the Siege of the *Rhodes*, *Ferdinand* Basha Governour of the Marches of the Turkish Empire, along the River of *Empratice*, by the commandment of *Solyman* went with a great Army against *Alin-Beg*, whom the Turks called *Schach*, *Sugar-Oglu*, that is to say, King *Sugar* his Son; which *P. Jeovius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Savonar-Oglu*. This *Alin* after he had betrayed his Uncle *Aladulus* the Mountain King, unto *Sinan* Basha, was by *Solyman* left chief Governour of that large and wild Country along the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, wanting nothing of the honour of a King but the Name only, as is before declared in the life of *Solyman*. *Solyman* jealous of his Honour, and fearing lest he should take upon him the absolute Government of that Country (which indeed of right belonged unto him, the Children of *Aladulus* the late King, being now all dead) and so to make himself King; especially if he should joy in friendship with the Persian King, after the manner of ambitious Men, purposed by any means to have him taken out of the way; and had therefore sent *Verbanes* to ease him of that care. The Basha without making any show of Hostility marching with his Army along the Confines of his Country, as if it had been but to look to his charge, when he was come as near as he could to

*Alis*, without mistrust, thought good to assay if he could by policy bring that to pass which he was otherwise with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore feigning himself to be extremely sick, he sent Embassadors to *Alis*, requesting him as a friend to vouchsafe to come unto him being at the point of death, unto whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperor to impart, and would if he should die, leave with him all his charge until *Solyman* should otherwise dispose thereof.

*Alis*, who from his youth had always honoured the Turkish Emperors and faithfully loved them, mistrusting no harm, came to the Basha, accompanied with his own Son, whom the faithless Basha without regard of infancy, caused presently to be put to death with their Father; and so reducing all that Country into the manner of a Province, under *Solyman*'s obedience, came to him with twenty thousand Men, about the time that the City of the *Rhodes* was yielded up. This is the faithless dealing of the Turks, not with the Christians only; but with them of their own superstition also; using it as no small policy, utterly to extinguish the Nobility of all Countries subject to their servile Tyranny.

*Solyman* after he had thus subdued the *Rhodes*, and disposed of the Island as he liked best, returning to *Constantinople*, brake up his Army, and for the space of three years after followed his pleasure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many years after, the rich and flourishing Country of *Italy*, sometime Mistress of the World, was miserably afflicted and rent in pieces by *Charles* the Fifth (then Emperor) and *Francis* the French King, the one envying unto the other the glory of the Empire; and he not content therewith, seeking with immoderate ambition to make himself Lord of *Italy*; most of the other Christian Princes and States being at the same time either by the one or by the other, drawn into the fellowship of that War, to the great trouble and fore weakening of the Christian Commonwealth. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occasions that might serve for the enlarging of his Empire, and annoying of the Christians, thought it not a fit time for him to let his foot into *Hungary*; whereunto he had already laid open a way by the taking of *Belgrade*. He knewed fast right well that *Lewis* then King of *Hungary* was but young, altogether unacquainted with the Wars, commanding over his headstrong Subjects (especially his rich Prelates and Nobles) no otherwise than pleased themselves, being himself rather by them altogether overruled; besides that, he was in good hope, that the other Christian Princes near unto him, either carried away with regard of their own Estate, would not, or else before unto himself by League fast bound, could not afford unto him any great aid or succour; the Germans he knew would make small haft unto such Wars as should yield them much danger, and but small pay. As for the Princes of the House of *Austria*, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his Brother, although they were joined unto the young King, and the nearest bonds of Alliance (*Lewis* having Married *Mary* their youngest Sister, and *Ferdinand*, Ann, King *Lewis* his Sister) yet was there as he thought small help to be expected from them; *Charles* having his hands full in *Italy*, and *Ferdinand* altogether careless of himself and that *Sigismund* King of *Polonia* would for the young Kings sake break the ancient League he had with the Turkish Emperors, he could hardly be persuaded: As

*Alis* and his four Son treat cruelly *Alis*.

*Solyman* returns with his Conscience.

*Solyman* upon the discord of the Christians and after that *Lewis* invaded that Kingdom.

1526.  
*Solyman* comes against *Lewis* King of Hungary.

As for other Christian Princes farther off the stood not in any great doubt. Thus having with himself singled out this young Prince the Hungarian King, whom he had in his greedy mind already devoured, he set forward from *Constantinople*, and was come on his way as far as *Sophia* in *Servia* with a mighty Army of two hundred thousand Men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his coming (so blind and senseless was that State, which now sleeping in security, had long before lost those Eyes which ever watch, and never spared cost or pains to keep the same in safety) in stead of whom were others come in place, sharp of sight, and too too provident for them, who concerned their own advancement; but blind as Beetles in forcing this great and common danger (wherewith they were shortly after all quite overwhelmed) until it was now brought home unto their own Doors. The young King of himself but weak, by reason of his youthful years, and nothing strengthened by them, for whom he had most done, and should have been his greatest stay, was wonderfully dismayed with the fame of the approach of so mighty an Enemy; yet the better to withstand him, he sent Embassadors with all speed unto the Christian Princes his Neighbours, requesting their Aid against the common Enemy, but all in vain. In the mean time, after the ancient manner of his Country he gave out general Summons for the Assembly of his Council for the Wars; whether his great tributary Prelates (of duty bound to appear) came with their Troops of evil appointed Horsemen, and not half full; who also delivered in less sums of Money by far, than of right they should have done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common War. And the temporal Nobility, forgetting the warlike Discipline of their famous Ancestors, as fresh-water Soldiers which had seen the Turkish Emperor in his strength, and but little acquainted with some light skirmishes or small invasions, in their vain bravery made light account of the Turks; proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would easily overthrow the great numbers of them, if ever they came to battle fought. But above all the rest, one *Pandus* the morous Archbishop of *Colofia*, sometimes a Minorite, who had before been in divers light skirmishes against the Turks, with great infidelity did so confidently brag and boast of the Victory he vainly dreamed of, that in his Sermons unto the Soldiers, and in open talk with the Nobility (if he could have done so much as he wanted of) it should seem that he himself had been enough to have overthrown the Turks whole Army.

But when all the Kings Army was assembled, and a general muster taken, there was hardly found five and twenty thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the foolish hardness of *Tomarus*, and others so much to give the Turkish battle, was of most wife men disliked. The old Soldiers and men of great experience said plainly, That it was more folly and madness, with such a handful of men to give battle unto the Enemy, who would bring eight times so many more into the Field as they were. Wherefore they wished, that the young King should be withdrawn from the imminent danger, among whom *Stephanus Verbanes*, a noble Captain, of all the rest best acquainted with the Turkish Wars, gave Council, that the person of the young King should for the safety of the Common State, whatsoever should happen, be kept out of the danger in the strong Castle of *Buda*. But the unruly Soldiers with open mouth impugned his wholesome Council, and said plainly, That except the King himself did lead

them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was also the rash Prelate *Tomarus*, persuading them with all speed to give the Enemy Battle, and that the noble young King under the protection of Almighty God should in person himself go and give the signal of battle against his Enemies. The King overruled by this unlucky Council, upon a heavy without reason for forward with his Army, and came to a place called *Mohatcho* or *Angace*, which is a little Country Village not far from *Danubius*, almost in the middle between *Buda* and *Belgrade*. And now *Balybes* with twenty thousand Horsemen (the fore-runners of the Turkish Army) were at hand, at which time the Commanders and Captains of the Turkish Army, entered into Council, Whether it were better to incamp their Army within their Wagons along the River of *Danubius*, and so to expect the coming of *Joannes Sepsius*, Count of *Gilia*, and *Vayvod* of *Transylvania* (who was then said to be coming towards the King with his Transylvanian Horsemen, of all other fittest to have encountered the Turks; or else to march forward, and presently to give them Battle? But *Tomarus*, who now commanded all, knowing that upon the coming of the *Vayvod*, he was to give place, and himself to be commanded (which unto so proud a man was no small grief) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carry away the glory of the Victory he so vainly hoped for, could not abide to hear of any delay; but halting heedlessly to his own destruction, did with such vehemency impugn the wholesome Council of others, who would have expected the coming of the *Vayvod*, that he by his frantic persuasions, drew on the unadvised young King into most apparent and manifest danger. For *Balybes* divided his Horsemen into four Battels, which by turns skirmished with the Kings Army without intermission, and gave the Hungarians no leisure to rest either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in so strait, that no man could without great danger go to water his Horse at the side of *Danubius*, which was fast by, or once to fit out of the Camp, but were enforced to dig Pits for water in places where they lay; with which necessity *Tomarus* was enforced to put the Army in order of Battle, and there was now no remedy, but he must of necessity fight for the honour of his Prince and Country. His Battle was ranged all in length, and his Horsemen not altogether (as it was thought) so uniformly placed, as were the Troops among his Footmen; left the Turks (being in number eight to one) should with their multitude compass them round, and so enforce them to fight as it were in a Ring; for now was *Solyman* come also with all his huge Army. The Hungarian Tents defended with a small Garrison, were left a little from the Army on the right hand, inclosed round about with Wagons, one chained to another; near unto the which, *Tomarus* General of this unlucky Battle, had not altogether undiscerningly placed a Troop of chosen Horsemen for the defence of the Kings Person against all uncertain Events of War. This day (unlucky to the Hungarian name, but unto the King himself most fatal and unfortunate) overthrew that his purpose, devised too late for the safety of the Kings Person; for at the first encounter the Hungarians, although they had received no harm by the Turkish Artillery (being mounted too high, of purpose as it was thought, the Gunners being for most part Christians) were easily beaten down, and overthrown, oppressed by the multitude of their Enemies, especially *Tomarus* with the rest of the Prelates and

The battle of Mohatch.

*Tomarus* is slain.

and Nobility being almost all slain together, and the Hungarian Horsemen also either slain or put to flight. All things going thus to wrack, a Company of Turks assailed the Camp, which was hardly defended by the weak Garrison. Which thing the Troop of the chosen Horsemen appointed for defence of the Kings Person, beholding, could not be afraid, but that they would needs help them which defended the Camp. The young King seeing all his Army discomfited, and himself forsaken of the Horsemen which he was in hope should have guarded him, betook himself to flight. But as he was making shift for himself, thinking to have passed over a fenny Ditch, his Horse in plunging out, fell backwards upon him into the Ditch; where being heavily laden with Armour not able to help himself, he was in the midst of the filthy Ditch in the Mud most miserably drowned. Some few Horsemen escaped out of the Battel, the rest were either slain or taken Prisoners. This woful Battel never sufficient to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy Kingdom, was fought the nine and twentieth day of October in the year 1526.

Solyman having obtained this Victory, marched on directly to *Buda*, the Regal Seat of the Hungarian Kings, which was delivered to him with the Castle; upon condition, that he should not violate any man either in Person or Goods, and at his departure to leave the same again unto the Hungarians; all which things he (according to their request) faithfully performed. Being entred into the Castle, he wonderfully commended the fame, but lodged not therein, because it is by their ancient Law forbidden the Turkish Emperor to lodge within any walled place which is not his own. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his Camp alongst the River of *Danubius*.

The Heads of the Christian Bishops and Captains presented to Solyman.

Whilst Solyman lay thus at *Buda*, seven bloody Heads of the Bishops and greatest of the Nobility (slain in the late battel at *Mohatche*) were presented to him, all set in order upon a wooden Stape; whereat he smiled, to see his Courtiers laying their right Hands upon their Breasts, and bending their Bodies as if they had done them great obedience, to salute them by name, and in dition to welcome them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly enquired what every one of them was, it is reported that he most of all detested *Ladislav Salcarnius* the great Bishop of *Strigoniom*, for his miserable Covetousness, that being a man of infinite Wealth, refused to spare part thereof unto his Sovereign, requesting the fame at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconsiderate rashness, for that he being a Clergy-man, would buse himself so far in matters not belonging to his vocation: On the contrary part, he commended *Franciscus Perennus* Bishop of *Veradium*, a man honourably defended, for his wife Counsell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true Prophet foretelling the common slaughter ensuing, had sharply said in the Council at such time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any means to be removed from that his fatal opinion. That he did force what that their Frier-like General would the next day do; and that he would wish so great an enterprise effect no more, but to make one Holiday the more in the Christians Calendar, in remembrance of thirty thousand Hungarian Martyrs, most miserably slain of the Turk in an unequal battel, for defence of the Christian Faith and Religion (for at that time, they which willingly offered themselves to death in defence of the Christian

The Bishop of Veradium resists a Prophet.

Faith, were all accounted for Martyrs;) *Georgius Sepsius* and the others, he called soft Fools, that would adventure with so small strength to encounter so strong an Enemy. At such time as the Countersails of King *Lewis* and *Mary* his Wife were shewed unto him, he honourably said, That he was sorry for the young King, that it was his evil hap to have so unadvised Counsellors in a matter of so great importance, as to persuade him against all reason to fight at so great disadvantage; and that he came not into *Hungary* to take his Kingdom from him, but only to revenge the wrongs done unto him by the Hungarians; and that if he had escaped the danger of the Battel, he would assuredly have again resorted unto him the Kingdom of *Hungary*, contenting himself with some small Tribute; and that it should have been unto him honour enough to have saved the Nephew of *Sigismund* King of *Havia* his Confederate, so strongly allied with the honourable House of *Austria*. All which he commanded to be told to *Mary* the Queen, who was far feared from *Buda* to *Polonium*. Which might perhaps all seem to have been either dissemblingly spoken, or falsely reported of the Equity and Courtship of the barbarous King, if he had not shortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his Bounty and liberality, without any desert, given the same Kingdom of *Hungary* to *Joannes Sepsius*, not born of any Royal Blood, and then retaining the mind of a very Enemy. After that, he took away three goodly Images of Bras of ancient workmanship, which were placed in the entrance into the Kings Palace, by that renowned King *Matthias Corvinus* the great favourite of rare Qualities and Vertues; these Images represented the forms of *Hercules* with his Club, of *Apollo* with his Harp, and *Diana* with her Bow and Quiver, all which he placed in the Tile-vault as *Confessionaries*, as a Trophy of the Hungarian Victory. Howbeit these Images were since taken down by the pervasion of the Musli, and molten (as contrary to their Superstition) and great Ordinance made of them. He carried aloft away with him three Pieces of Artillery of most excellent and curious workmanship; and certain brazen Pillars of chamed work, which supported the Chapters of the Gates. He tarried at *Buda* about twenty days; in which time to satisfy the cruel nature and greedy desires of his Souldiers, he sent out divers Troops of Horsemen into the Country thereabout, by whom all the Country betwixt *Rab* and the River of *Tibiscus* was by that sudden and unexpected incursion laid destroyed, that it is reported that above an hundred and fifty thousand People of all sorts were either slain or led away into most miserable Captivity. All which done, he returned again by the same way he came to *Constantinople*.

About the same time *Joannes Sepsius* Vayvod of *Transylvania*, with a great power came now too late into *Hungary* to have aided the King; but glad, as was thought, of his death, as tending to his own advancement; forasmuch as he was now (the King being dead without issue) a man of greatest account among the Nobility of *Hungary*. Wherefore as one of a deep and reaching Wit, and in great hope to obtain the Kingdom, he began cunningly to labour divers of the Noblemen one by one, and instantly to request them, that at the next Parliament they would not betray the Honour of their Country, in suffering the Royal Dignity of that ancient Kingdom to be transferred unto a stranger, of such a Nation as happily loved them not; for why the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they

The honourable Speech of Solyman concerning his taking his Kingdom into Hungary.

Joannes Sepsius Vayvod of Transylvania, afterwards, after the Kings death, the Kingdom of Hungary.

they had received in former times, in chusing foreign Kings and Strangers to rule over them, and in following their unfortunate Ensigns against the Turks; which thing the woful miseries of times past might notably prove; which either *Sigismundus* of *Bohemia*, or *Ladislav*; the first, of *Polonia*, by their unfortunate Battels, once at *Nicopolis*, again at *Columbarium*, and last of all at *Varna*, had brought unto the Hungarians. But to speak, may once to remember the harms received by the long Cowardize of *Ladislav*, or this late rashness of his Son King *Lewis*, would make any noble mind to blush and be ashamed; under whose Government all Military Discipline, and the Glory of *Hungary*, might well be thought to be utterly lost. And he said there remained of the Nobility of *Hungary*, men honourably defended of most ancient Houses, worthy of the Kingdom, which bare noble minds, and were of sufficient Courage, Discretion, and Power, in this time of common heaviness to restore the honour of the Estate, and worthily to defend the Kingdom; amongst whom (said he) I would not be accounted to base minded, or heavy headed (although there be many which for the honour of their Houses and Wealth may seem to go before me) that I will therefore confess, that any of them is for Valour, Prowess, or Fortune, better than my self, either for conducting of an Army, or government of a Kingdom; for I shall be a King of Courage and Valour sufficient, if by your favourable good Will I shall be thought worthy of your content and suffrage. The Vayvod taking this course, by his earnest suite and labour had won the good Wills of many, and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest Nobility among the Hungarians) was a little before gone into *Bohemia* unto King *Perdinand*, who was then greatly buified (by reason of a Parliament there summoned) in procuring the favour of the Nobility and Commons of that Realm, against the time of the Parliament, where in he was in good hope to be chosen King; as he was in short time after.

King Ferdinand.

At the same time the Hungarians were with great solemnity celebrating the Funeral of their late King; whose dead Body after the departure of Solyman from *Buda*, was found whole, by the demonstration of one *Coriscus*, one of the Squires of his body, who was present when he was drowned; and so was brought out of the Fens of *Mohatche*, to *Alla Regalis*, where it was with great Pomp buried amongst the Sepulchres of the other Kings of *Hungary* his Predecessors. Which solemn Funeral once ended, the general Military Parliament (by the Authority and Voice whereof the Kings of *Hungary* were by their ancient Laws and Customs to be chosen) was called; in the shutting up whereof, *John* the Vayvod having in that common heaving no Competitor, nor any of the greatest Nobility which durst stand against him, was with the great applause and consent of all these present chosen King. To whom, forthwith *Petrus Perennus* came and presented the ancient Crown of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashion of pure Gold; with which the lawful Kings of *Hungary* used always to be solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the Crown of *Stephanus* first King of *Hungary*, and was by an ancient Custom always kept in the Castle of *Viegrad*. And so *John* the Vayvod was orderly crowned, and consecrated by the hands of *Paulus* Bishop of *Strigoniom*, lately chosen instead of *Ladislav Salcarnius*, slain in the Battel at *Mohatche*, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodavius* Bishop of *Faciis*, whom he chose for his Sec-

John Sepsius the Vayvod chosen and crowned King of Hungary.

retary. And unto *Americus Cibachus* he gave the honour of the Vayvod of *Transylvania*, being but a little before chosen Bishop of *Veradium*. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen unto the Kingdom by the Nobility which followed him out of *Transylvania*, men of great account both in Peace and War; amongst whom descended of the Hungarian Blood, were chief, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antadus*, *Georgius Polchenius*, *Nicolaus Glesle*, and *Janus Dacia*. But whilst this new King is in this fort buied in rewarding his Friends, and strengthening himself in his Kingdom, he was advertised that *Ferdinand* his Competitor of the Hungarian Kingdom was chosen King of *Bohemia*; who out of the old controversy betwixt *Matthias Corvinus* and *Ferdinand* the Emperors great Grandfather, alleged great claim unto that Kingdom, derived from the time of *Ladislav*, who was reported to have been poisoned at the time of the solemnization of his Marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pograbracis*; who affecting the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, shortly after obtained the fame. And now it seemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and strengthened with the power of his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, nor forgetting his Right, might upon good ground lay claim unto the Kingdom of *Hungary*; unto him (as he pretended) of right belonging ever since the time of *Albertus* the Emperor. Neither did *Ferdinand*, beside the strength of *Austria* and *Bohemia*, want the furtherance of divers of the Princes of *Hungary*; having in his Court many of unquiet Spirit, half Fugitives, desirous of change, which envying, as the Vayvods Royal Prefecture (as if it had been taken from themselves, more worthy thereof than he) by the rash and tumultuous favour of the Vulgar People. For besides *Bator*, who in most Mens judgment might most worthily have required and obtained the Kingdom, there were others also almost of like Nobility and Valour, as *Valentinus Tauracius*, *Stephanus Maylatius*, *Janus Scala*, *Gasper Sacerdus*, *Nicolaus Pamphilus*, and *Ferdinandus Gnarius*; to whom also was joined *Paulus Bachinius* born in *Servia*, a valiant Gentleman, who being entred into the Mahometan Religion, to avoid the Turkish Slavery, got away unto the Christians, and hardly escaped from the Battel of *Mohatche*. By the pervasion of these Noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his own disposition ready enough to claim his Right, especially a Kingdom, and trusting unto his Strength in *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Rhinia*, *Siria*, and *Cappadocia*, marched directly towards *Buda*. With whole coming, *John* the new King being wonderfully troubled, as a man befet with want of all things, having neither sufficient Strength whereupon to rest in his new got Kingdom, neither any great assistance of the Fidelity of his Subjects, like enough either for fear, or of their natural inconstancy, to fall from him, determined not to abide the coming of his Enemy to *Buda*; but exhorting his Captains to follow him, although he were glad to depart and give place to his evil Fortune for a time, with such Power as he had brought with him out of *Transylvania*, and such other as he could otherwise levy, he passed over the River to *Pestum*; nor daring any where thereabouts to rest, by long marches passed over the River *Tibiscus*, and there encamped at *Acas*, which was a strong Castle upon the further side of the River. His departure being known, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained *Buda* without resistance; where he laid a while, and consulted with his Captains.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia layeth claim to the Kingdom of Hungary.

King Ferdinand layeth claim to the Kingdom of Hungary.

Whether

Whether he should pursue his flying Enemy, or not. But it was quickly resolved, That the discouraged Enemy was to be speedily pursued, before he should gather greater strength, or enter into greater Policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his Army unto the Nobility of *Hungary*, who his Friends, whom we have before named; who his Friends, with all speed possible, came to the River *Thissus*; where passing over upon a Bridge made of Boats which they brought with them in Waggon for that purpose, they came with Ensigns displayed unto the Castle of *Tocai*, where the King lay with his Army in order of Battle. But terrified with the sudden coming of his Enemies, and debating with his Captains of the greatness of the danger, took a course unto himself rather than on honourable, for his Captains desiring nothing more than to join Battle, and in that manner concerning their Enemies, perfwaded him to withdraw himself a little out of the Battle, and to keep him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwise than well, to reserve himself unto his better fortunes; as for themselves they would most resolutely fight against those traitorous Fugitives, inasmuch as it were a great dishonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike People by nature, to refuse Battle being offered by the Enemy. Amongst the Chiefs of the Kings Army, *Ferentus Bodo* an old Captain of great experience and courage was chief, to whom the King delivered his Ensign ordered his Battle, for the number of his Soldiers; he himself stood in the main Battle with the Hungarians, placing the Transylvanians in the Wings. In *Ferdinand's* Army, *Valentinus Turacius* led the main Battle with the Hungarians, under *Ferdinand's* Ensign; strengthened on the one side with Troops of Horsemen out of *Syria*, and on the other, with the Horsemen of *Austria*. But *Paulus Bachinus* (according to the manner of the Turkish Wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a Company of Light-Horsemen lay close in ambush in a convenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left Wing of the Enemies Army, ready as occasion should serve, to take his most advantage. It was not greatly needful for the Captains to use any persuasions to encourage their Soldiers, ready enough of themselves to fight. The great Ordinance once discharged, the Armies came fast on and joined Battle, where the Wings of both Battles fought with divers fortune. The Syrian Horsemen were not able to endure the force of the Transylvanians, but were put to the worse. And on the other side, the left Wing of *Bodo's* Army, consisting for most part of raw and new Soldiers, was by the Horsemen of *Austria* overthrown. At the same time both the main Battles (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equal courage, and that so eagerly, as seldom had been seen a more fierce or cruel Battle. But by a fresh charge given by *Ferdinand's* Horsemen, who had now put to flight the right Wing of *Bodo's* Battle, all *Bodo's* Army fighting most valiantly, was disordered and put to flight; *Bodo* the General labouring to restore the Battle, and to save the Ensign to him before by the King delivered, was by the coming in of *Paulus Bachinus* with his Light-Horsemen taken. The other Captains seeing all lost, and not hope of recovery, broke themselves to flight; all the Kings Artillery and Ensigns were taken by the Enemy. The King seeing the overthrow of his Army, for safeguard of his life fled into *Polestina*. *Ferdinand's* Captains following the course

of the Victory, entered into *Transylvania*; where the People yielding themselves at the first, all the whole Province, submitted it self unto the Authority of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the Noblemen that were taken Prisoners, with the Ensigns taken from the Enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* having his liberty promised, could not be perfwaded to renounce his Oath given to King *John*, and to bear Arms against him, he was by *Ferdinand's* commandment cast into a dark Dungeon, where shortly after confined with sorrow and grief, he miserably ended his life.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally submitting themselves unto him) was by their common consent fluted King, and crowned with the fame old Crown whereby King *John* had been crowned, which the fame *Peremus* (a man of little constancy) brought unto him; and with him was also crowned *Anis* his Wife, the only Sister of the late King *Lewis*. All which solemn ceremonies were celebrated at *Alba Regalis*, the usual place for the Coronation of the Hungarian Kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicity thus possessed of two Kingdoms, whereunto he was not born, returned into *Bohemia*, and left his Deputies for the Government of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; these were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed Viceroy, who afterwards he joynted *Paulus Bishop Strigoni*, who had also revolted from King *John*, and made *Berabastus* Secretary, and *Alexius Turonus* a Moravian, Treasurer.

King *John* thus miserably distressed, and thrust out of his Kingdom by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronymus Lascus*, a man for his honourable descent and learned virtue, of great fame and reputation amongst the Poles; who glad of so honourable a Guest, was more careful of nothing, than with all possible kindness and courtesy how to comfort him, wrapt up in so many calamities with the loss of his Kingdom; he frankly promised unto him all his own Wealth (which was not small) for the recovery of his former estate; and that which more was, for the reviving of his former felicity, the uttermost of all great matters was accounted wonderful. That bountiful entertainment of this poor King by *Lascus*, was not altogether unpleasant to *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*, although (because he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joyned in Friendship and Alliance) he seemed to most men plainly to forget himself, in shewing so small kindness unto King *John*, whose Sister *Barbara* he had sometime married; which was the cause that *Lascus* forgot no point of courtesy in entertaining his Guest, and yet the credit of *Sigismund* with King *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when they had spent almost a month in consultation, and debating of matters too and fro, *Lascus* accustomed with his deep Wit sharply to point, and advicfully to determine upon one weighty cause, at last rested upon this one point, That ready help in so hard and desperate cause was only to be hoped for of the Turkish Emperor *Solyman*; being of opinion, that he being a most mighty Prince and of an honourable disposition, answerable to his greatness, woy to respect the humble Prayers of an oppressed and exiled King; especially, if that being by his mercy and power restored, he could be content for to great a benefit to hold his Kingdom, as of the bounty of the Ottoman Kings. For *Lascus* saw that *Solyman* (so great and proud an Emperor) was not so desirous of Kingdoms (whereof he had so many as could not easily

*Ferdinand crowned King of Hungary at Alba Regalis.*

*Lascus gives Embassy for King John to Solyman.*

be reckoned, then commanding over a great part of the World) as of glory and renown, where-with he understood him to be wonderfully delighted above all other Kings of the East, particularly carried away with that windy vanity. This Counsel (as in effect it proved) was unto King *John* wholesome and reasonable, if a man do but respect the poor Estate of a King, so greatly wronged, living in exile, but respecting the Christian Commonwealth, was undoubtedly most dangerous and lamentable, for the East, particularly profit to bring the whole State into most dreadful and horrible danger; but the sick minds of worldly men, living in small hope of doing well, and at the point of desperation, refuse no worldly remedies, be they never so doubtful or dangerous. And not long after, upon this resolution with the King, *Lascus* desirous by noble actions to encrease the honour of his name, took the matter upon him, and went as Ambassador from the exiled King to *Solyman* to *Constantinople*. The report was, that *Sigismund* did not only not stay him, but secretly gave him his safe conduct with Letters of Credence, wherein he commended him unto the Baffaes and other great men in *Solyman's* Court, defended of the Polonian Blood, as his faithful and loving Subject sent thither upon an extraordinary and special Embassy. *Lascus* as soon as he was come to *Constantinople*, with wonderful exterior respect, shewed the favour, not of the Baffaes only, but of the other Courtiers also; presenting them with such Gifts as might for the fineness and rareness thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be most acceptable and pleasing to their Wives; for amongst that barbarous and corrupted People nothing is better welcome than Gifts, whether they proceed of fine good Will, or other respect, is no great difference. Amongst the great Baffaes at that time of greatest Power and Authority was *Luftebeius*, or rather *Lutis*, who had married *Solyman's* Sister; and *Abraham* born at *Praga*, a base Village in *Acarmania*, brought up in the Court from his Childhood with *Solyman*; he was then Visier or chief of the Baffaes, and Keeper of the Emperors Seal, and was by his office to subscribe all such Grants or Letters as passed from the Emperor; by which his great place and special favour he had with *Solyman*, he in Magnificence, Power and Authority far exceeded all the rest of the Baffaes, being never pleased himself, and that with such Sovereignty and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly said, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Lascus* thus insinuated into the Court, and oftentimes talking with the Baffaes without an Interpreter, for that he could well speak the Slavonian Tongue (the familiar speech of the Turkish Courtiers) eagerly solicited the Kings cause, wonderfully commending him; for at his first coming, after he had saluted *Solyman*, and was about to have declared the cause of his coming, he was after the manner of the Turkish Court referred to the Baffaes; for *Solyman* used not to admit any Christian to talk with him in his Court. *Lascus* requested of *Solyman*, by the Baffaes That King *John* wrongfully thrust out of his Kingdom by *Ferdinand* Duke of *Austria*, and Treason of certain of the Hungarians, might by the Turkish power be again restored unto the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which he would hold by advice of the Turkish Emperor, of right belonging unto him, since the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand revenging his wrongs, and subduing his Enemies, had by Law of Arms (Fortune to judging) gained the same. Promising that King *John*, who for his worthiness was by the

*Abraham Bafa.*

*Lascus embelleth King John to treat with Solyman.*

*Lascus his request of Solyman to treat with King John.*

general good liking of the Hungarians lawfully chosen to be their King, and so after the ancient manner of that Kingdom crowned; if he were now received into *Solyman's* Protection, and by him restored, should protest to forget to great a benefit, but always most faithfully to be ready to honour the Majesty of *Solyman*, paying him such yearly Tribute as it should please him to impose, and to make it known to all men, that he was his Vassal. Which thing if it would please him to grant, as it should be no less honour and glory to *Solyman* himself, than profitable and comfortable unto the distressed King. For beside, that heretofore Kings are compared unto Gods, rather for giving than receiving; it was easy to be seen, how greatly it did concern the profit of the Ottoman Kings to be neighboured with a weak and tributary King, rather than with *Ferdinand's* Prince of great Power, lately chosen King of *Bohemia*, supported by the strength of his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding over the warlike Nation of the Germans; which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continual heavy War upon his Borders, and the safe enjoying of a most assured Peace. Beside that, it concerned the Turks to beware, that such things as they had got by the Sword, they should also by the Sword defend; and not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in Riches and Power. For it might so fall out, that *Charles*, grown to be a Prince of mighty Power, might draw the rest of the Christian Princes to join with him in the common cause of the Christian Religion, and in that quarrel, as the Christian Kings of *Europe* had in former time done, with united Forces to seek to recover again what they had before lost; whose Force it would be hard to withstand. These things being sharply delivered, and by the Baffaes again reported unto *Solyman*, who sitting at a secret Window, had before heard them as they were by *Lascus* to the Baffaes declared; it was no great labour to persuade the Turkish Emperor, of himself desirous of Glory and Sovereignty, again to undertake the Hungarian War, and to grant King *John* his request, promising accordingly to the success of the Victory to give him that he desired, that he would faithfully perform what he had promised, and not leave himself therefore unthankful.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand* upon great reason thinking it necessary by all means possible to confirm himself in the possession of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to prove *Solyman's* disposition, and to seek for his Friendship; hoping by reasonable means to compass it, by shewing unto the barbarous Prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of Justice) his ancient Title and Claim, and that he was by the ancient Laws of the Country right thereof; thinking that *Solyman* having obtained so many Victories, and ruling over so many Kingdoms, would now at length give himself to Peace, as a man contented with his glory already gotten. His desire was, to be received into his Friendship, and to joyn with him in League upon the same conditions which *Ladislav* and his son *Levius* had for certain years before obtained of the Ottoman Kings, and *Sigismund* King of *Polonia* then also with like quietness enjoyed. Wherefore having found out a fit man, whom he might send upon this Embassy to *Constantinople*, one *Thomas Overlandus*, a Hungarian) he furnished him accordingly, and gave him Gifts, such as he thought good to bestow upon the great Baffaes. But when *Overlandus* was come unto *Constantinople*, he found *Solyman* harder to be intreated than he had before

G g g hoped,

The battle of Tocai, between the Armies of King John and Ferdinand.

King John fled into Polestina.

*Solyman grants Lascus his request.*

*Ferdinand sends as Ambassador to Solyman.*



hoped, and the Baffles altogether unwilling to hear of any League; for although he was courteously received of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilst he both eloquently and discreetly gave the great Baffles, delivered his Embassy; yet in the shutting up of all, he received no more but a proud and insolent answer; for *Solyman* said, it was far from the manner of his Ancestors, to receive them into grace and favour which had done injury to the *Othoman* name; wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to invade another mans Kingdom, and to think to hold it to himself; forasmuch as his old Title and Claim which he took so much upon, was altogether extinguished and lost by Law of Arms, by his late Victory against King *Lewis*; for which causes he adjudged him unworthy of his Friendship and Favour, purposing sharply to revenge the wrong he had received; and proclaiming War, to come again into *Hungary* with such a power as should be sufficient to invade *Ferdinand*, either in *Austria* or *Germany*. Wherefore instead of Friendship and League he denounced unto him all the calamities of War; and so commanded the Embassador with speed to depart from *Constantinople*. But *Oberdanus* when he was come back again as far as *Vienna*, and had there told the Kings Lieutenants of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his Army, he was not of any of them believed, but reputed for a vain man. Wherefore to shun the hatred of them which mislook truth for falshood, he made hast to come to *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Spiria*, labouring for voices to further his suit, for that at the next Assembly of the States of the Empire, which was then at hand for the Coronation of his Brother *Charles*, he himself as he well hoped, was to be chosen King of the Romans. The News brought by *Oberdanus*, did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen; for that the Turkish Tyrant used not lightly to break such promises, but to perform them to the uttermost; and that more increased his care, he knew he should come in evil time to crave help of the Germans, for the defence of his Kingdom in *Hungary* against so mighty an Enemy, especially his Brother *Charles* the Emperor being busied in his Wars in *Italy*, and he himself wanting Money, the only means to raise an Army to withstand the Turk. The Spring now come, and all things fresh and green, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former design, having levied an Army of an hundred and fifteen thousand men, set forward from *Hadriampole*, his European Horsemen going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great Baffa, and *Achemates Michael-Ogli*, General of the Acazzij or voluntary Horsemen; and his Asian Soldiers led by *Becramehin* Baffa following after him; he himself with his Janizaries and Soldiers of the Court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this sort, came in five daies to *Belgrade*, where King *John* accompanied with *Lajcus* and such of the Hungarian Nobility as took his part, came unto him, of purpose to make himself known unto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he politely could, to request him to proceed to revenge his quarrel. *Solyman* him self a very friendly countenance, raising himself a little from the Cushion whereon he sat, gave him his right hand, protesting, That nothing could happen unto him better, or that he more desired of God, than to be able to relieve distressed Princes, especially such as were wrongfully oppressed by his Enemies; wherefore he

willed him to be of good comfort, promising of his bounty frankly to bestow upon him whatsoever he should in that War win with the Sword from the Enemy. King *John* obtained this rare favour of *Solyman* by the earnest mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Baffa; whom he had before at *Constantinople* by his Embassador *Lajcus* to now with Gifts and Requests, that he throughly took upon him the defence of the Kings cause; wherein *Lajcus* was especially holpen by *Allofius Gritus* the Duke of *Venice* his Son, who then followed the Turks Camp, and was for his Fathers sake and the great sufficiency he held himself, had in great reputation amongst the Turks; and in such favour with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could persuade him to any thing he would. For this *Allofius Gritus*, born and brought up in *Constantinople*, and wonderful eloquent in the Turkish Tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himself, and the great Port he kept in his House, so thoroughly possessed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himself over the Haven to *Pera*, to solace himself in *Gritus* his pleasant Gardens and Banqueting Houses, which he had there most pompously made after the Italian manner; whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chief man in receiving of the Turks Customs.

The fame of *Solyman* came directly from *Belgrade* to *Buda*, so terrified the Citizens of *Buda*, that they almost all forsook the City and fled unto other places further off, some to *Strigonium*, some to *Alba Regalis*, some to *Pollonium*; so that at his first coming he entered the City (almost desolate) without any resistance; the Castle holden by a Garrison of Germans, he commanded to be besieged. The Captain of the Castle was one *Thomas Nadafus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honour of his House, and for his answerable to the fame, greatly with singular Learning; he perceiving his Soldiers dimmed with the sight of so great an Army, and willing to surrender up the Castle; as befel a valiant Captain forbad his Soldiers to have any talk with the Enemy, commanded the great Artillery to be bent and discharged upon the Turks; and seeing his Soldiers slack and timorous, reproved them of Cowardice and Treason, threatening them with shameful death, if they did not hold out the siege to the uttermost; and then themselves valiant men, both for the honour of their Country, and of King *Ferdinand* whose Pay they received, and of whose bounty they were to expect Rewards and Preferments answerable to their Deserts. But they misdoubting by the running too and fro of the Turks, that the Castle was undermined; and smelling, or at leastwise imagining themselves to smell the fume of the Gunpowder, which they supposed to be in the Mine, and doubting to be presently blown up; were struck with such a sudden fear, that neither the fear of future punishment, neither the shame of so foul a Fact, nor the reverence of so worthy a Captain could stay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliver up the Castle; which when they could by no means persuade the resolute Captain to consent to, but that he still with stern Countenance exclaimed against their Cowardice and Treason, they laid hands on him, and bound him Hand and Foot, and so presently concluded with the Enemy to yield to him the Castle, so that they might in safety depart thence with Bag and Baggage; which their Request *Solyman* granted. But when the Garrison Soldiers (in number about seven hundred) were to depart

depart with their baggage towards *Pollonium*, as was before agreed; and the Janizaries coming into the Castle, having looted the Captain; were about to let him go also; *Solyman* advertised of the treachery of the Garrison Soldiers, and of the Fidelity of the Captain, changing his mind, judged such villainous minded men unworthy of his mercy, and in detestation of their perfidious dealing with their Captain, gave them all to his Janizaries to be slain; but to the Captain himself he offered honourable entertainment, which when he refused, *Solyman* courteously sent him away; he helped therein by the commendation of King *John*, although his Sister was married to *Solyman*, his deadly Enemy. Which bloody execution done by the commandment of the bloody Tyrant, the Turks did was not only lawfully done, but also to the immortal glory of his name in the execution of Justice; which might peradventure seem reasonable, if the perpetual hatred of that most barbarous Nation against the Christians gave not just occasion of suspect, that it proceeded rather of their ancient malice, than of any regard of Justice. For why should the Germans who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his safe conduct, be thought worthy of so cruel death? when as *Solyman* himself in punishing the perjury of another, ran into wilful perjury himself; perverting the commendation of Justice which he so much desired, by his most bloody and unjust sentence.

*Buda* the chief City of *Hungary* thus taken by *Solyman*, he resolved forthwith to besiege *Vienna* the chief City of *Austria*; in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other Cities of less strength both of *Hungary* and *Austria* would without any resistance be yielded unto him. Wherefore he sent before him *Achemates* with the voluntary Horsemen, who according to the manner of the Turkish Wars, running through the heart of *Hungary*, and entering with Fire and Sword into *Austria*, passed by *Vienna*, miserably burning and destroying the Country before him as far as *Lynce*. The poor People not knowing where to hide themselves from the fury of their Enemies, nor of whom to crave help, fled as Men and Women distressed, carrying with them their beloved Children, the unfortunate pledges of their love, and what else they could, as things saved out of the midst of the Fire. For whatsoever fell into the Enemies hand, was lost without return; the old men were slain, the young men led away into Captivity, Women ravished before their Husbands faces, and afterwards slain with their Children, young Infants were ripe out of their Mothers Wombs, and others taken from their Breasts were cut in pieces, or else thrust upon sharp Stakes, yielding up again that breath which they had but a little before received; with many other incredible Cruelties, which were then by the merciless Enemy committed. *Solyman* himself shortly after followed these forerunners, and setting forward with all his Army from *Buda* towards *Vienna*, by the way took the Castle of *Altenbourg*, whether by force or composition, is diversly reported; and the Garrison Soldiers there placed by King *Ferdinand*, he reserved three hundred Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow his Camp.

He assaulted the little City of *Naupolis* seven times in one day, and was as often repulsed; but being loath to spend any longer time about a Town of so small importance he forsook that, and held on his way to *Vienna*, whither he came about the fix and twentieth day of September, and incamped in five places in the plain about the City, with such a World of People, that when they viewed his Camp from the highest

Tower in *Vienna*, it seemed that the ground was for the space of eight miles all covered with the multitude of his Tents and People. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his Embassador *Oberdanus* received the hard answer from *Solyman*, always stood in doubt of his coming; and beside his own Forces (which were not great to oppose against so mighty an Enemy) craved Aid of other Christian Princes his Neighbours, especially of the Princes of the Empire; Who granting him Aid against the common Enemy, appointed *Fredrick* Count Palatine of *Rhene* and Duke of *Bavaria*, General of their Forces. But whilst the Germans after their manner, slowly set forward, and made less halt than the greatness of the present danger required, *Solyman* coming in the mean time, had to besiege the City, that it was not possible for the Duke *Fredrick* by any means to get into it, but was glad to stay with his Army at *Clervise* about twelve miles from *Vienna*. A few daies before by good hap, upon the report of the loss of *Buda*, twenty thousand Soldiers Horsemen and Footmen out of divers Countries, were in good time come to *Vienna*: Amongst these, the chief Commanders was *Philip* the Palfgrave, Duke *Fredrick* Nephew (a young German of great Courage and Hope, sent thither but a little before with a few Companies of Horsemen and Footmen by *Fredrick* his Uncle, who was coming after with a greater power himself, but was now shut out of the City by *Solyman*); *Nicolaus* Count of *Salma*, the Lord *William Rüdiger*, Steward of the Kings Household, *Joannes Caszianer*, a noble man of *Croatia*, and afterwards Governor of *Vienna*; and next unto them, *Nicolaus Turrianus*, *Joannes Harvius*, *Leonardus Feljus*, *Helior Ramkack*, Men both for their Birth and Valour of great account amongst the Germans. 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Church of Saint *Ulderich*. In the third Camp, towards the rising of the Hills, lay *Michael-Ogli*, towards the Church of Saint *Vitus*. At the Scottish Gate toward *Damnius*, lay the *Afpi*, with divers Companies of the Janizaries; which with Shot out of their Trenches, suffered no much to appear upon the Walls in that quarter without most manifold danger, and poured such showers of Arrows over the Walls into City, as if they had fallen out of the Clouds; that hardly could any man stir in the City unarmed, but he was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himself lay near unto Saint *Marks* Church, compassed about with the Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court, defended also with the brick Walls of the Garrison thereabouts. Whilst the Turks were thus incamping themselves, the Christian Defendants oftentimes fortunately fellied out upon them, and flew many of them. In one of which fallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant Captain, with certain old Soldiers of the Spaniards, was slain fighting most valiantly at the Gates of the Castle; and in another skirmish *Christophorus Zellitz*, a man of great courage, falling out of the City with five hundred Horsemen, was intercepted and taken with six others of his Company; who were all compelled by the Turks to carry so many Heads of their slain Fellows upon Poles, and so presented unto *Solyman*; of whom he inquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himself, and where he was, as concerning the Princes which had the charge of the City, whether they were in hope to defend the same against his mighty power or not. Whereunto *Christophorus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly. That King *Ferdinand* lay not far off at the City of *Linze*, expecting the Assembly of a great Army; and that the Princes of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and of divers other places were coming unto him, with great Aid; so that if he would but stay a while until these Forces were come together, he should find great Power; forasmuch as it would not be long before the King would come and give him Battle: as for the Princes in the City, he said, he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the Soldiers from the highest to the lowest, had solemnly sworn to defend the City, and not to give it over, until the last man, reposing trust in hope not in the Walls and Fortresses thereof, but in their Weapons and Valour, being men of great resolution, and not easily to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answer although *Solyman* was a little moved, yet dissembling his present heart, said, he had hitherto made War against divers Nations, and always had the Victory, whereof he doubted not now also; but as for him and the others taken with him, they knew they yet to make them know that he could never mercy unto his vanquished Enemies, he frankly granted them their lives and liberty; charging them, that after they were again returned into the City, they should in his name with the Defendants of themselves to yield up the City, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mighty power, which neither the strong City of *Belgrade*, nor the famous City of the *Rhodes* were able conditions as he should grant unto them; promising that amongst other things proceeding of his infinite bounty, he would take order, that they should in safety depart thence with bag and baggage; in which doing, they should well provide for the safety of themselves and of

Solyman releases the Christian Prisoners without ransom.

their Goods, by flying into his mercy in time, before the fury of the War was grown to further extremity; all which it would be too late to expect after the Victory, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruel death, murder, and miserable destruction. Wherefore, it was good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankly offered them of mercy, which they should not afterwards obtain with any Prayers or Tears; for why, he was resolutely to do, (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the City. When he had thus schooled them, he gave unto every one of them three Hungarian Ducats, and so sent them away. They being received into the City with great joy, made relation unto the Princes and great Captains, of all the threatening and proud speeches of the Turkish Tyrant; which they took in such disdain, that they would not vouchsafe to return him any answer. *Solyman* not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word to the City, That if they wanted help, he would send them the three hundred Bohemians, whom he took in the Castle of *Altensberg*; to whom answer was returned by them of the City, That they needed no help from him, wherefore he might dispose of his Prisoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceived, that *Vienna* was not to be won with words, nor the Defendants to be discouraged with great looks; wherefore he began to use his Force, and with such Ordinance as he had brought with him to batter the Walls, which because it was not great, but fitter for service in Field than for battery, did not much more harm than to beat down the Battlements and such like findings, made of Timber and Boards in manner of Galleries, hanging here and there over the Wall, for the final Shot to play out of, a simple device instead of Flankers. His great Artillery provided for battery, which he dayly used upon the River of *Danubius*, which he dayly looked for; but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward Captain, hearing of the Turks coming up the River, went out of *Poffonium* with certain small Vessels well appointed, and meeting with the Turks, set upon them with such courage and resolution that he slew many of them, and sunk divers of their Boats and Pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing up *Solyman*'s great Pieces for battery to *Vienna*, which was there all sunk in the River, with the Boats that brought it. By this good service, *Solyman* was disappointed of his great Artillery, and the City delivered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* having made great Spoil among the Turks, and lost some few men, returned with Victory to *Poffonium*. Yet another part of the Turks Fleet coming up to *Vienna*, at the first coming broke down all the Bridges; for a little above the City, the River of *Danubius* dividing its Channel, maketh divers Islands, which by sundry Bridges are joynted together, over which lieth the way from *Austria* unto the City. This Fleet so kept the passage, that no man could without danger either by Water or by Land go in or out of the City. *Solyman* having lost all his Pieces for Battery, and seeing how little he prevailed with his Field Pieces, fell to undermining of the City, hoping by that means to overthrow the Walls, and to make a way for his men to enter. This work, as the Turks chief hope, was with wonderful labor and diligence attempted in fifteen sundry places; which was not so secretly done, but that it was by Drums laid upon the ground, by Bafons filled with Water, and Sounds made into the Earth, perceived by the Defendants; and

and so with Countermine met withal, that most part of those works were utterly frustrated, and in them eight thousand of his Turks either slain or buried quick.

Eight thousand Turks lost in the mines.

The walls of Vienna blown up.

The Turks repulsed from the breach.

A most terrible assault.

The Turks the third time repulsed.

*Solyman* to baffle the Defendants that they should not so perfectly discover his Mines, divided his Army into four parts, appointing them orderly to succeed one after another in giving Alarms to the Town, that filling their Ears with continual noise, he might keep them always occupied. In the midst of the hurly burly his Mine-work went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceived; for one of the Mines brought to perfection, unexpectedly by the Defendants, and suddenly blown up, shook and overthrew a great part of the Wall near unto the Gate which leadeth towards *Carminia*, whereas the Turks gave a great shout, as if the City had now been taken, and withal courageously stepping forward, pressed in on all sides, by the ruins of the Wall to have entered the breach, charging the Defendants with their small Shot and Turkish Arrows as thick as Hail. Who upon the contrary part like resolute Men stood in the face of the breach, with more assurance than the Wall it self, receiving them with deadly Shot and push of Pike, in such furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, unable longer to maintain the Assault, began to retire. Which thing *Solyman* perceiving, sent in new supplies, and so renewed the Assault before given over, but with no better success than before; for having received a great overthrow, as *Mars* forgetting both Duty and martial Discipline, they retired, not expecting any sign of Retreat. At this Assault so many of the Turks were slain, that the ground near unto the Town lay covered, and the Ditches filled with their dead Bodies. Not long after the Wall was blown up in two places more, over against *St. Clares* Church; by which breach, being not very great, the Turks looking to have made a bloody Fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they fought so desperately to have entered, that without regard they thrust one another upon the points of their Enemies Weapons; who glittering in good Armor, readily received them being for most part naked Men, and slew them without number, and so enforced them again disorderly to retire, having before filled both the breaches with their dead Carcases. Three days after ensued a most cruel Fight, when as another part of the Wall (near unto the Gate of *Carminia*, and not far from the first breach) was so suddenly overthrown, that the Turks through the new made breach seeing the Christians as they stood ready to come to the defence thereof, and likewise the Christians them, now approaching; for eagerness and haft on both sides threw away their Pieces and Bows, and came to handy blows in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their Scimiters, and the Germans with their long Swords. At which time, as the Christian Captains encouraged their Soldiers with cheerful persuasions; so the Turkish Commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The Assault began so terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly Fight was never seen from the beginning of the World; which was with great resolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their most valiant Horsemen forsaking their Horfes, thrust in with their Targets and Scimiters, or else with their Lances amongst the Janizaries and other Footmen, and there fought most desperately. At last, after this furious Fight had endured by the space of three hours and

many of the Turks best Captains and Soldiers lay dead upon the ground by heaps; the Turks seeing no hope to prevail, gave over the Assault, and retired to their Camp.

Long and tedious it were to recount every Assault given during the time of that dreadful Siege, with every particular accident not unworthily the remembrance, which for brevity briefly I pass over. Yet among the rest, the most valiant Leader (though afterwards unfortunate) the Lord *William Rosenhorff* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiving many of the Turks stragling disorderly abroad in the Country; one day upon the fuddain sallied out upon them with certain Troops of Horsemen, with them, and having them in chase, did such speedy execution, that of five thousand three hundred scarce one hundred and forty escaped his hands; after which time his Name became terrible unto the Turks. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieved with the often and bloody Assaults by him in vain given to the City; but purposing now to prove the last and utmost of all his Forces, he called to him the chief Commanders of his Army, whom at the first he sharply reproveth as Men of no Courage, which being many times as good as possessed of the Victory, had most cowardly contrary to the manner of that victorious Nation, turned their backs upon their Enemies, in the breaches already half won; wherefore he would them to pluck up their Hearts, and to make all things ready for a new Assault, wherein he expected that they should with courageous fortitude and resolution, recompence their late Cowardice; for why, he accounted it a great dishonour to forsake the Siege begun; wherefore they should resolve the next day as victorious Conquerors to take the City, or else that they should faint heartedly Cowards to end their days. The next day after this heavy charge given, which was the fifteenth of October, the great Commanders of the Turks Army with all their Forces assailed the City, thrusting their Men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if it had been possible, have discouraged or overborn the Christians; they were come to handy Blows, and the Fight was in every place most terrible, the Christian Defendants still repelling them with greater Courage than they were able to assault them. Besides that, to the great advantage of the Defendants, many Pieces of their great Ordnance skillfully mounted in places most convenient, and continually discharged among the thickest of their Enemies as they pressed on, made of them such slaughter, and so cut them off, that being thoroughly discouraged, they shrunk back, and could not by any threats or command of their Captains be thrust forward; refusing rather to be slain of their own Captains (as some of them were), than to be rent in sunder with the murdering shot of the Christians. So that the Captains seeing now no other remedy, gave over the Assault and retired, leaving behind many thousands of their dead Turks in the Town-ditches.

The next day after this Assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the City, and fearing the coming of King *Ferdinand* and the Count Palatine with a strong Army, as it had been to him reported, considering also that Winter was now coming fast on, determined to raise his Siege; and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certain of the chief Prisoners which he had taken, richly Apparelled, with their Purse full of Money, into the City, to tell the Captains, that he came not with purpose

The Lord William Rosenhorff.

Vienna assaulted.

The Turks repulsed.

posé either to besiege or take the City, but to revenge the wrongs done unto him by his Enemy King Ferdinand, and to have fought a Battle with him for the Kingdom of Hungary; whom forasmuch as he could not draw unto Vienna, he would remove thence to seek for him, as his Capital Enemy; wherefore they should do well to yield themselves; which if they would, he promised not to enter their City, but to receive both the Citizens and Soldiers into his protection, referring unto them their Lives and Goods, with perpetual freedom. Which his offer the Defendants scornfully refused, as proceeding of meer deparation. The next night following, Solyman with more than barbarous Cruelty, caused all the Prisoners in his Army to be slain; which pitiful Occurrences was of the Soldiers heard into the City, not knowing what the matter should be, until that the next day after the departure of the Enemy, they found the dead Bodies of Men, Women, and Children in all places of the Camp wallowed in their own Blood, a most lamentable Spectacle to behold. Solyman purposing to forsake the Siege, caused Abraham the great Basha to draw himself in order of Battle, as if he would have given a fresh Assault: In the mean time he himself rode upon the fuddain with the rest of his Army, and returned towards Buda in such half, that he neither put any Garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any Tribute. After whom the Basha followed, keeping himself a days journey behind him; and in five days he arrived with all his Army at Buda, thirty two German Miles from Vienna.

Fifty thousand  
Turks lay  
at the  
Siege of  
Vienna.

Solyman  
rejoins the  
Kingdom  
of Hungary  
to King  
John.

The barbarous  
King John  
moved, if Solyman  
man to King John

This Siege was given over by Solyman about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to have lost eighty thousand Men, amongst whom was his great Lieutenant of Asia, with many other of his forward Captains and best Soldiers. Of the Defendants few or none of name were left; but of the Country People it is supposed that there was about sixty thousand slain and carried away into Captivity; all the Country about Vienna was miserably spoiled, all their Trees and Vines being by the Turks cut down to the ground. Solyman according to his promise restored Buda unto King John's who by solemn writing acknowledged himself his Vassal, and to hold the Kingdom of Hungary of him as his Lord and Sovereign. Unto him Solyman joynted Aloisius Gritti as his Legate, to help him to provide such things as should be needful for the defence of that Kingdom.

It happened one day whilst Solyman lay at Buda, and had given King John with divers of the Nobility of Hungary access into his Pavillion, that he fell earnestly in hand with King John, to pardon Paulus Bishop of Strigoniun, and Petrus Paresius (who had taken part with King Ferdinand) and to receive them into his favour again; which Men King John in no case liked of, because that they as Traitors unto their Prince and Country, forgetting their Faith and Oath, had performed the like duty to Ferdinand, as they had but a little before done unto him at the time of his Coronation; wherein he shewing himself unwilling to be entreated, said, That their mutable Minds fraught with Infidelity, would never contain themselves within the bounds of Loyalty, but find occasion to commit some fouler Treason than they had before. Whereunto Solyman straining his Voice a little as one somewhat moved, most honourably replied, *Can any thing (said he) happen unto thee in thy life better or more honourable, than if by this kindnes thine Enemies shall be of all Men accounted Ingrateful, that*

*is to say, Men noted with eternal Infamy, when as in thy self the commendation of a good and courteous Prince shall for ever remain? And lo not long after, leaving the gold of Winter then approaching, dangerous for his Beasts for Carriage, especially his Camels, bred and brought up in the hot Countries of Asia; he set forward to Belgrade, and to travelling through Thracia, returned to Constantinople.*

All this while that Solyman thus raged in Hungary and Austria; Charles the Emperor lately reconciled to Clement the seventh of that Name, then Bishop of Rome, with a strong Army besieged Florence, by his Lieutenant Davallus, (who might have done much against the Turks, if he had been so well employed) labouring by all means to repress the liberty of the Citizens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them again under the subjection of the Family of Medicea, whereof Clement was the chief. Which thing with much ado he brought to pass, revelling Alexander the Bishops Nephew in the Dukedom of Florence, and afterward giving him his bafe Daughter in Marriage; forgetting his Brother Ferdinand in the mean time, thrust out of the Kingdom of Hungary by Solyman, and the Dukedom of Austria waited by the Turks, with the City of Vienna in danger to have been lost. Which common calamities might well have moved both the Emperor and the Bishop, to have had more regard of, than by oppressing the liberty of one free City, to seek how to serve their own private respects.

The year following, which was 1530, Solyman with great Solemnity and Triumph, after the Turkish manner, Circumcised three of his Sons, Mustafa, Muhamet, and Selymus, at Constantinople.

Solyman hardly digesting the dishonour he had before received at Vienna, and oftentimes solicited by King John, for aid against Ferdinand, who with greater stomach than power could, not continually to molest him; but most of all prick forward with the insatiable desire of enlarging his Empire, after the manner of the Ottoman Kings, accounting his Neighbour Princes always his Enemies, and their Dominions the objects of his Victories, and spoil for his Soldiers; raised such an Army, as for the greatness thereof might worthily have been a terror unto the World; not so much purposing the protection of King John, which he in this more pretended; neither the Siege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted; as the conquering of Austria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the rest of King Ferdinand's Dominions, and so afterwards of all Germany. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderate desire prefixed unto himself the space of three years, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not perform in more than so many Hundreds. It was commonly reported, that the proud Tyrant was many times fain, That whatsoever belonged unto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, forasmuch as he was rightfully possessed both of the Imperial Seat and Scepter of Constantinople the Great, Commander of the World, which his great Grandfather Mahomet had by law of Arms won from Constantinople the late Christian Emperor, whom he flew at Constantinople. And therefore both in his common talk and writings, as oft as he had occasion to make any mention of Charles the Emperor, he would proudly, and as it were in disdain term him by the name of the King of Spain, but never by the name of Emperor.

The

The discord of the Christian Princes, and the great troubles even then arising in Germany about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous Tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King Ferdinand certainly advertised, that Solyman was in person himself setting forward with his huge Army, sent unto him three Embassadors; whereof Leonardus Neghera, a noble Gentleman, well learned and skilful in divers Languages, was chief, with rich Presents, and reasonable offers to entreat with him for Peace. Who meeting him upon the borders of Servia, were by him courteously received, and patiently heard; yet obtained of him no other answer, but that they should follow his Camp, and attend his further pleasure. The report whereof brought a general fear upon all Germany, but especially them of Austria, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding Wounds of their Country, their Brethren and Friends slain, their Wives and Children led away into Captivity, their Goods and Castles lost, their Houses and Fields burnt, and thousands of other grievous calamities which they had endured in the late Invasion of the Turks. Charles the Emperor had in very good time a little before, for a while well appealed the disension then arising in Germany about matters of Religion; putting them in hope of a free and general Council to be holden for the deciding of all such matters; and in a great Assembly of the States of the Empire to be holden at Ratisbon, to pursue the greatness of the imminent danger, to put an Enemy threatening unto them all the calamities of War, with the manifold mischiefs like to ensue, if they should in so unfruitful fall at variance amongst themselves; offering with great resolution, to go in person himself with all his old expert Soldiers, in defence of the common Christian cause; so much prevailed with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embassadors of the free States, that they highly commended his forwardness, and all other matters for that time set apart, agreed all with one consent, at a prefixed day to send unto Vienna such warlike Forces as they had in any time before set forth for the defence of the Christian Religion, and the Majesty of the Empire. Whereupon he wrote unto Aloisius Vastius (his Lieutenant General in Italy, and one of the greatest Captains of that age) that he should without delay call together the old Captains, and to levy so many Companies of Harquebusers as they possibly could; and with them and the Spanish Soldiers to repair forthwith unto him into Austria. He also employed Andrew Auria his Admiral, that he should with like diligence rig up a strong Fleet of Gallies and Merchants Ships, and to go against the Turks Navy into Gracia. At the same time he sent for his noble Horsemen out of Burgundy and the Low-Countries, and many noble Gentlemen and old Soldiers out of Spain; for the guard of his own person he entertained twelve thousand Germans, such as had longest served in his Wars in Italy, over whom commanded Maximilian Herberstein and Tamsius, both famous Captains. At the same time Clement the seventh then Bishop of Rome, although his Coeffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine Wars, which had cost him ten hundred thousand Ducats; yet to make some show of his devotion to so dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare unto the Emperor; after he had with grievous exaction extorted from the Clergy a great mass of Money (whereunto his rich Cardinals contributed nothing, as if it had been a thing utterly unlawful for them, in so good a

The preparation  
of Charles  
the Emperor  
to go against  
Solyman.

cause to have abated any jot of their pontifical shew in the Court of Rome) sent the young Cardinal Hippolitus Medices his Nephew, being then about twenty years of age, a Man indeed fit for the Wars than for the Church, as his Legate unto the Emperor, accompanied with more good Captains than Clergy-men, and his Coeffers well stuffed with Treasure, whose coming to Ratisbon was unto the Emperor and the Germans very welcome; for besides that he was a young Gentleman of very comely Personage, and exceeding Bountiful, he entertained for those Wars (besides the Company he brought with him) eight thousand Hungarian Horsemen, of all others best acquainted with the Turkish Wars.

King John understanding, that the foremost Strigoniun of Solymani great Army were come as far as Segyer from King Ferdinand such Towns as he yet held in Hungary; wherefore he sent Aloisius Gritti (whom Solyman had left as a helper for his Estate) to besiege Strigoniun, which is a City of Hungarian situate upon the side of Danubius, about thirty Miles from Buda, the Castle thereof was at that time holden with a strong Garrison of King Ferdinand; whereunto for all that Gritti laid such hard Siege both by the River and by Land, that the Defendants doubting how they should be able to hold out, especially if Solyman should take that in his way, as it was most like he would; sent for relief to Caccianer a warlike Captain, then Governour of Vienna, and General of all King Ferdinand's Forces; by whose appointment certain small Frigats went down the River of Danubius, from Polissium, well manned; who suddenly falling upon the Turks Fleet (which he kept the River, that nothing could that way possibly be conveyed either in or out of the Castle) should by their unexpected coming open that way. But Gritti having intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians, which thought they served King Ferdinand, made no great account to give sometime to that one part, sometime to the other, as best fitted their purpose; presently resolved to send his Fleet up the River, and by his sudden coming to oppress his Enemies, in like sort as they had thought to have done him. And the more to encourage his Soldiers, he promised great rewards to all such as should perform any extraordinary piece of service in that Action; and so having thoroughly furnished all his Fleet with good soldiers, busked with Turkish Archers, sent them up the River to seek their Enemies; who fearing no such matter, as Men furnished with the same mischief they had prepared for others, were at the first exceedingly dismayed; yet considering that they were reasonably well provided for their coming (although they yet wanted such help as Caccianer had appointed to send them) they thought it a great shame to flee, and therefore putting themselves in order of Battle, came down the River; and with great courage encountered their Enemy. There began a sharp and cruel Fight, many being slain and wounded on both sides; but at last they of Polissium not able longer to endure the deadly thro of their Enemies, and especially of the Turkish Archers, (who with their Arrows sore galled both the Soldiers and the Mariners) they turned their backs and fled; in which Fight of sixty Frigats which came down from Polissium, only thirteen escaped, with Corporals and Gentlemen, all the rest being either sunk in the Fight, or else taken by the Enemy, being run ashore and forborne by the Polissians, trusting more unto their Legsy Land, than their Oars by Water.

B:ides

Besides this loss of the Frigates, there was slain of the Poffianians almost five hundred. After this Victory, *Gritius* hoping that they in the Castle of *Sirigium*, despairing now of relief, and fearing the coming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off their battering of the Castle, (wherewith he perceived he little prevailed) purposing by lying still, and keeping them in the Castle from all relief, to enforce them in time to forsake the place. Thus whilst the divided Hungarians by their own hands inconsiderately fought one another's destruction, with the ruin of their Country; *Solyman* the great Enemy of all Christians was ready 'at their backs to devour both the one and the other, as in few years after he did.

Much about this time the old Spanish Souldiers in *Italy*, drawn together by *Vasius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the *Alpes*. In this Camp, of one sort of Men and other, was above twenty thousand, whereof almost the third part was not serviceable; for the old Souldiers enriched with the long Wars in *Italy*, and the spoil of the rich Country of *Lombardy*, wherein they had of late been Bilitied, brought with them all their old gotten spoils and subsistence, not forgetting so much as their Women, and whatsoever else served their pleasure; for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of Carriages and unnecessary People, all which served for no other use but for the Souldiers pleasure, and to consume *Vasius*. Which their licentious wantonness *Vasius* desiring to reform, gave strict commandment through all the Camp, That they should leave behind them all such unnecessary Baggage, and appointed what Carriages should suffice for every Company. Whereat the Souldiers began at the first to murmur, and presently after to arise up in Mutiny; for many of the Captains being rich, and diliking of that long and dangerous expedition, covertly incited the common Souldiers to cry out upon *Vasius* the General, for making them already die. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter fell on foot, quickly grew to that height, that they all with one voice said flatly, That they would go no further before they had received their Pay. *Vasius* although he well perceived that tumult to be raised by some of his Enemies, which fought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the present to dissemble the matter, and yielding to the necessity of the time, to content the mutinous Souldiers with one months Pay, promising them their full contentment, at such time as they should come unto the Emperor; and so when he had with much ado appeased that Tumult, he set forward into *Germany*.

Immediately after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with few cheerfulness offered themselves to that service, that every Captain brought with him twice so many in his Company as was expected; so that *Vasius* (who before doubtful for their forwardness in so dangerous a War, especially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late Wars received great harms, had by great and earnest persuasions induced divers of the Nobility, and others of the better sort, to enter into that honourable Action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their Friends and Tenants, (as indeed they did) was now glad to send back again many of the common Souldiers, by reason of the multitude; and also to his great discredit, and the offence of many, full force against his will to displace most part of those forward Gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made Captains,

who to their no small charge had gallantly furnished themselves according to their degrees and places; for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he should bring; and also given commandment, That rejecting all self, he should commit the leading of them only to those old expert Captains, of whose valour and discretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columna*, *Petrus Maria Rabus*, *Philippus Torriellus*, *Johannes Baptista Capisalus*, *Fabritius Maromaldus*, *Yppolitus Scipianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all Men of great worth, and approved faith towards the Emperor.

In these Italian Companies were fourteen thousand select Footmen, beside many other brave Men who voluntarily resorted from divers places to *Vicenza*. After these Footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thousand Horsemen, and certain Troops of Grecians and Spaniards, and with them came many noble Gentlemen out of all parts of *Italy*, who had before been great Commanders, but now served as private Gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay; accounting it a great shame to tarry at home as Cowards, and not to be present in that religious War.

The Emperor also about the same time having taken view of his Horsemen come out of the Low-Countries most excellently appointed, and Shipping his great Ordnance, whereof he had bought great store at *Nuremberg*, departed down the River from *Ratisbon* to *Regen*, the River of *Danubius* nearest carried by many Vessels and Souldiers since the time of the great Roman Emperors, as it did at that present; and yet besides them which went down the River by Shipping, the pleasant Banks on both sides were filled with great Companies of Horsemen and Footmen passing all along the River under their Colours, with their Drums and Trumpets sounding, which altogether made the most glorious shew that a Man could well behold upon earth.

In the mean while, *Solyman* in six and fifty days march came to *Belgrade*, thrust over the great River *Savus* by Bridges made in divers places, an infinite number of his Horsemen into *Hungary*, and leaving *Danubius* on the right hand, turning a little upon the left, marched directly towards the rich Country of *Sirria*, called in ancient time *Valeria*, and now *Siermark*. By the way as he went he came to the little Town of *Ganza*, which one *Nicholas Jurischitz* (a Man of an invincible Courage) kept with a small Garrison of his own. This Town standeth in a Plain not far from the City of *Sabaria*, built square, and but of a small compass, not very strongly walled, a poor obscure town, never famous till now by the great dishonour that the Turkish Emperor *Solyman* there received. After the chief Baffa (who for absolutely commanded among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had received him into the fellowship of the Empire with himself) was very desirous to save this Captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a Man of great Courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at such time as he lay Embassador at *Constantinople*; wherefore he attempted first gentle persuasions and large offers, and afterwards by most terrible threats, to induce him to yield the Town to *Solyman*. But finding him so resolutely set down, that he was neither by fair nor foul means, but only by force to be removed out of his Town; he inclosed the same round about with the huge Army of the Turks, and by Mines overthrow the Walls in three places. Which sudden breach whilst the Garrison Souldiers most

valiantly

1552.  
Solyman  
cancels in  
to Hunga-  
ry.

Ganza be-  
sieged by  
the Turks.

valiantly defended against the furious Assault of the Janizaries on the South side of the Town, the Baffa planting his Field-pieces upon the Hills on the North side, did from thence grievously annoy the Defendants; who fiercely assailed by their Enemies before, and beaten with the great Ordnance behind, were grievously distressed. Wherewith the worthy Governour somewhat troubled, though not much discouraged, suddenly of Timber and Boords raised up a Curtain twelve foot high, at the backs of his Souldiers, wherewith they were covered from the sight of their Enemies, that they could not make any certain shot at them, but only at that Curtain at all adventures, not doing any thing to great harm as before; and with desperate and restless labour, in despite of all the Turks great power, repaired the Breaches, in as strong manner as at the first. In the mean time two hundred of the Turks Horsemen fraying from the Camp, and seeking after Booty into the Country as far as *Nesbitz*, were by the Hungarian Horsemen intercepted, and all slain or taken; whose heads the Hungarians brought to *Vicenza*, and the more to encourage the Souldiers which daily repaired thither, in token of good luck for them upon stakes upon the Walls of the City. Then was it certainly known of the Prisoners, that *Solyman* had in his Camp five hundred thousand Men, and three hundred Field-pieces, which were not of greater weight than a Camel might well carry one of them, being taken from the Carriage for why, *Solyman* purposing by destroying the Country before him, to draw the Emperor unto Battle; had (as they said) brought no greater pieces of Battery with him. Which report of the Prisoners was also confirmed by the Embassadors of King *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gave leave to depart at *Ganza*, giving to every one of them to spend his money and buy the power of Letters unto the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his Brother; wherein proudly usurping the Titles of many Kingdoms, he most insolently wrote himself Lord and Sovereign of almost all Countries and Nations. But the effect thereof was, That he was come into *Hungary*, to revenge the wrongs which they had done unto King *John* his Friend and Vassal, and would with Fire and Sword enter their Countries, and by the power of God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the favourers of just quarrels, give them Battle, if they durst meet him; wherefore if they would as valiant and courageous Princes meet him in the Field, he would in one Battle end that quarrel with them, and in reward of the Victory either win or lose the Empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while lain at the Siege of *Ganza*, and thereto given divers sharp Assaults, being still with great loss and dishonour repulsed, he in the space of four days cast up near unto the Town-Ditch two great Mounts of Faggots and Earth, as if they had been two great Mountains, of such height, that they overtopped not the Walls only, but even the highest Towers in the Town (by which wonderful work the greatness of the Turks Army might easily be conjectured.) one of these great Mounts he cast up directly against the face of the Town; and the other at a corner of the same, to flanker along the Wall from whence he did with his shot not only beat them which appeared upon the Walls for the defence thereof, but them also which upon occasion went too and fro in the Streets. These Mounts being with incredible celerity brought to perfection, the Town-Ditch filled up, and many of the Defendants either slain or wounded upon the Walls, the Turks gave

The huge  
Army of  
Solyman.

Solyman  
gives leave  
unto the Em-  
peror  
Charles  
and King  
Ferdinand.

a most furious Assault at the place which was before shaken of the Mine; against whom the valiant Captain, as need was in that extrem danger, opposed all the strength he had left. But the Turks fill pressing on with their infinite multitude, were got up to the top of the Walls with eight Engines, from whence they had repulsed the Defendants; which being all either wounded or wearied, throwed themselves under the defence of their Penthouses, being neither able nor of courage to make further resistance, so that the Walls were now abandoned, and the Town there left without Defendants; when suddenly such a great clamor was made by the loud cries and lamentation of the Women and Children and other fearful People, that the Turks which had recovered the top of the Walls, strucken with a sudden fear, thinking the Town to have been full of Souldiers, stood as Men astonished and dismayed, whereupon the Defendants began again to take courage, and to they themselves; at whose sight the Turks possessed with a needless fear, forsook the Wall, and could not by any persuasions or threats of their Captains be brought on again to the Assault. The Town was that day in all Mens judgments defended by the mighty power of God, and not by the strength of Man. It grieved the proud Tyrant above measure, that so safe a Town should so long hold out against his power, so that oftentimes in his rage he would threaten to rake it down to the ground, and not to leave any sign thereof remaining; which he would undoubtedly have in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great Baffa (by whose counsel he was altogether directed) otherwise perswaded him; who waiting a fit time, when his choler was past, told him, that it was not worth his name and greatness to spend his money and time to assault a Town of no importance, by raising whereof he should neither get honour nor profit; for why, no Man would marvel, if he with his puissant Army should take so small a thing, especially by long Siege, whereby the strongest places are enforced to yield; and when he had so taken it, it would be accounted a greater honour for so little a Town to have holden out so long, than for him to have with so great forces in long time constrained it; but if it should otherwise fall out, as the chances of War are uncertain, that he should by any occasion be constrained to leave it, he should thereby get no small dishonour; wherefore it were more wisdom to spare his Souldiers labour in so small a matter, whereof he was not to expect either honour or profit, and for to reserve them for his greater designs, and not vainly to spend his forces and time in besieging of so safe a Village, from whence he might now depart with less dishonour than he could afterwards, when he had proved the uttermost of his forces, and yet in the end glad peradventure to forsake it; wherefore it were more for his honour to raise his Siege, and calling the Governour of the Town unto him, to give him the Town as it were in bounty, than to spend so many good Men as he must needs cast away in the winning of it by force; with these and like reasons the Baffa prevailed so much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the worthy Governour of the Town was by a Herald at Arms sent for to come to the great Baffa, *Solyman* disdaining (as it should seem) to speak with him himself. The Governour being sent for, though he was grievously wounded, and in small hope of life, yet stoutly refused to come to any parley, except he were first well assured both of his conduct, and good hostages for the safety of his person, and that nothing should be exacted

Abraham  
Baffa per-  
suades  
Solyman  
to leave  
the Siege of  
Ganza.

of him, not besting his Religion and Honour; which stout answer caused *Solyman* and the *Baffa* to think, that his strength was not yet so weakened; but that he was still able to hold out the Siege; and thereupon, that he required for his safety was forthwith granted, and two Men of great account sent for hostages for him into the City with *Solyman*'s safe conduct. Which being received, the Governour went forth, and was by *Abraham* the great *Baffa* honourably received into the Camp, and commanded to sit down by him in his Tent; where he was by him first by the way of courtesy demanded, whether he had recovered his old infirmity; whereunto he was troubled at such time as he was sent Embassador unto *Solyman* at *Constantinople*. After that, whether the wounds he had received in the last Assault, were dangerous or not? But last of all, and that which most concerned the matter, upon what hope he alone had so long and so obstinately withstood the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, when as all his Neighbours round about him had so willingly submitted themselves? saying further, That he marvelled much why he repented any confidence in the lingering King *Ferdinand*. Whereunto the Governour modestly answered, That he was (thanks be to God) well delivered of his old Difcase, and that his wounds were without danger; but as concerning his holding out, he said, that he for his great Wisdom knew, that it was the duty of a good Soldier valiantly to withstand his Enemies, and not to be troubled with any evil hap, or discouraged with any chance of War; as for himself, he said, when Mans help failed, he had repented his full trust in God, by whose power he had been hitherto preserved, which as he well hoped should never fail him at his need; and that King *Ferdinand* was not so far off, but that he would before it were long be there present with a great Army; wherefore he did not greatly marvel, that he was not relieved before that time, forasmuch as many lets and occasions might chance which might hinder the Kings purpose, considering, that fortune always by nature uncertain, was in nothing more like unto herself in her unconquancy, than in martial Affairs. The *Baffa* wondering at the invincible courage of the Governour, said, That although the great Emperor *Solyman* might now at his pleasure utterly destroy the Town, with all that therein was, yet being by nature of a most honourable and mild disposition, and a great lover of valiant and courageous Men, had commanded him in his name to give him that Town, and the lives of all them that were in it, as a reward for his valour; whether in the defence thereof; yet so that he should swear Obedience unto him, and receive some few Turks into the Town, in token that he had yielded the same. The politic Governour knowing that of eight hundred valiant Soldiers, he had scarcely a third part left, and them also fore weakened with wounds and want of rest, thought it necessary to make his Peace in the best he could; for what could have happened unto him more withlily, than with his Honour to keep the Town till, and with the loss of a few pleasing words to deliver himself, with so many of his Friends, from extreme fear and peril? And so in all his talk shewing no sign of fear, and with great words setting forth the strength of his Garrison (which was indeed brought to an extreme weakness) said he was ready at the first to have yielded up the Town, for the old acquaintance he had with him, at *Constantinople*, but was always lured by the Germans and Spaniards which were there in Garrison, fierce and

cruel Soldiers, whose hard hearts were (as he said) hardly intreated to suffer him at that time to come out of the City into the Camp; wherefore he could promise to a be Friend to all such, Turks as should pass that way, and to relieve them with such things as his wasted Country could afford; and further in token of his submission, to let up one of *Solyman*'s Engines in the chief Tower of the City; but as for receiving any Turks into Garrison, in token that he had yielded up the Town, he was willing to do, but that he was greatly afraid they should be evil entreated by the Germans and Spaniards, who dearly hated the Turks; whereof it was to be thought, that new Wars would soon arise. In conclusion, he so cunningly used the matter, that the great *Baffa* was contented with this small token of submission, that he should receive in at one of the Gates of the City, one of *Solyman*'s Captains with ten Janizaries, which being done accordingly, and they courteously for a while entertained and again dismissed, the great *Baffa* held himself with that simple submission; well contented; when as the Governour had neither German nor Spaniard as then in Garrison. So when *Solyman* had with his great Army laid at the Siege of *Gumza* by the force of twenty eight days, and in that time to his great loss assaulted the same thirteen times, he rose with his Army, glad of a little fained submission for the safeguard of his honour; and leaving *Vienna* on the right hand, whither most part of the Christian Army was assembled, took the way on the left into *Carinthia*, and so came to the River *Danube*, and from thence to the City *Gratia*. This turning of *Solyman* out of the way from *Vienna*, where he knew his Enemies lay, put the hearts of the minds of the Christians, which they had before not without cause conceived, in some such, that he but a little before feared as a Prince of great pride and power, shamefully flunked at the little Town of *Gumza*, and now shunning his Enemies at *Vienna*, began to grow into contempt as if he had been running away for fear. Which disgrace the Turks fought by divers excuses to cover, as that the strong City of *Nesfat* lay betwixt him and *Vienna*, which could neither without much difficulty be taken, nor danger left Enemy behind him; besides that, Winter began to approach, which caused him (as the Turks gave it out) to content himself with the spoil of the rich Countries betwixt the Rivers of *Savus* and *Dravus*, and so in good time to return again to *Belgrade*. But they which were to see farther into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* understanding by his espials, and secret advertisement from his Friends, that the Princes of Germany had with one consent joined their Forces with the Emperors, brought out of *Italy*, Spain, and the Low-Countries, which at his setting forth he least feared, and that the Christian Army in number great, consisted not of raw Soldiers, but for the most part of such as had been trained up in Wars; Men both for courage and skill nothing inferior to his Janizaries and best Men of War; chose rather to take the spoil of the Country, at home, might with safety, than to adventure his Person and State to the hazard of a most doubtful and dangerous Battle.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Michael-Ogli* by the commandment of *Solyman*, sent *Cafon* with fifteen thousand of his voluntary Horsemen (who in *Solyman*'s expedition against *Vienna*, had run through the Country of *Austria* as far as *Lynx*) charging him without stay to spoil all the Country far and near which lieth between

*Solyman* departed from the Siege of *Gumza*.

*Danubius* and the *Alpes*, thereby to learn what he could of the state and strength of the Emperors Camp; and by doing all the harms he could possibly, to leave a most lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in *Austria*. *Cafon* was of himself forward enough, and desirous of the spoil; but so much the more, for that he was by the former Road into that Country become both famous and rich; wherefore dividing his Horsemen into three Companies not far distant one from another, he suddenly oppressed an infinite multitude of all sorts of People in the Fields and Country Villages as he went; all which he either slew without mercy, or carried away as miserable Prisoners. Thousands of Men and Women tied together in Chains and Ropes, were by the cruel Turks enforced to run as fast as their Horses; the Country Villages all burnt down to the ground, and in them the poor Children of the Christians, whose Parents were either slain or carried away Captives; so that all the Country every way almost for the space of a hundred and fifty Miles, was covered with Smoke and Fire, within three Miles of *Lynx*; where King *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himself farther off to *Strabingia*, where his Brother *Charles* the Emperor lay. This cruel Turk according to his charge, having with Fire and Sword without compassion wrought all the Wo he could possibly upon the poor Christians, and now loaded with the spoil of the Country and multitude of Prisoners, began to return the same way he came, thinking to find *Solyman* either at the Siege of *Gumza*, where he left him, or nearer hand at *Nesfat* coming towards *Vienna*. But he as is aforesaid, riling with small honour from *Gumza*, and fearing the power of the Christians, was quite gone another way as far as *Gratia*, the Metropolitical City of *Stiria*, standing upon the River of *Mura*; which turned to the utter destruction of *Cafon* and all his followers; for as soon as it was perceived by the burning of the Country all about, that the Turks were come near to *Lynx*, the Christian Captains with their Companies went out of the Camp, some one way, some another, as was thought most convenient for the meeting with these mischievous Turks, which never rested in one place; wherein they used such diligence in taking the passages, that it was not possible they should escape unfought withal. Four Companies of Spanish and Italian Horsemen under the leading of *Lewis* Cove a valiant Captain, first lighting upon them in a Valley near unto *Nesfat*, and desperately charging them, were by the Turks slain. But some persons were of opinion how he was on every side laid by the Christians in the Vallies betwixt *Nesfat*, *Sabaria*, and *Veprinum*, the night following with more than barbarous Cruelty slew four thousand of the Christians he had before taken Prisoners, because he should not be hindered by them in his flight; and dividing his Army into two parts, about midnight began to set forward, using the benefit of the night to have escaped from his Enemies out of these Vallies wherein he was enclosed. One part of this Army led by *Feriz* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut a way through the thick and overgrown Woods (a thing thought altogether impossible) and to with little or no loss came to *Solyman* into *Stiria*. *Cafon* with the other part of the Army breaking out of the Valley of *Strabingia*, chanced upon the Palatine (General of the Forces sent from the German Princes) who with ten thousand Footmen and two thousand Horsemen, and certain Field-pieces brake the

Four thousand Christian Captives made by *Cafon*.

Battel of the Turks, and slew them as great number; In which conflict *Cafon* his chief Ensign was taken. He fighting most valiantly in the reward to give others time to escape, was himself there slain; whose gallant Head-piece presented afterwards to the Emperor, confirmed the report of his death. They which escaped from the Palatine, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, by whom they were slain like Beasts. The Hungarian Horsemen led by *Valentinus Turczan*, lighting upon them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marquis, had the killing of them for the space of seven Miles; and of all others did upon them the cruellest execution, following them hard at the heels with their fresh Horses, and fiercely insulting upon them in their own Language. Those few dispersed Turks which escaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the Hands of the Country People about *Veprinum* and the Lake of *Bulaton*, which came out on every side in hope of spoil, who shewed them small favour; so that of eight thousand which were with *Cafon*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

The Emperor understanding that *Solyman* was gone as far as *Gratia* in *Stiria*, called his chief Captains together into the Castle of *Lynx*, to know their opinions, whether it were best to follow the Enemy into *Stiria* or not. The Cities of *Lynx*, *Gratia*, and *Vienna*, are situate almost in form of a Triangle; but from *Lynx* to *Gratia* is three good days journey of bad rough way by Horse. Some said it was best to fight with the Turks in that uneven Mountain Country, where the Turks chief strength consisting in the multitude of his Horsemen, should stand him in small stead, but should be enforced to try the Battle with his Footmen, wherein he was inferior to the Christians. This Counsel although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the most approved Captains, it moved the Emperor, that he presently sent *Antonius* a Spaniard (the most famous Captain *Antonius* *Leva* his Lieutenant) to take view of that passage; who shortly after returned again to *Lynx*, bringing word that all the Country as he went was desolate and for fear, forsaken of the Inhabitants; but concerning the place of the Enemies above, he could learn no certainty. Whereupon it was by general consent concluded, that they should all go to *Vienna*, whither all the strength of the Germans was already assembled, there to take a general view of the Army, and to give the Enemy Battle if he should again return. Some were of great Courage which openly disliked of that going to *Vienna*; saying, that the Emperor should rather in that distress of the Provinces of *Stiria* and *Carinthia* pursue his Enemy, than turn out of the way to *Vienna*. But others of greater judgment, whose opinion prevailed, said, It was one thing to invade, and another thing to defend; so that the Emperor might with honour enough encompass himself in the Fields of *Vienna*, and from thence to expect and deride the base expedition and vain boasts of his proud Enemy, who a far off challenged him into the Field, and then like a Coward durst not come near him.

The Emperor coming to *Vienna*, and taking a general view of the Army, found therein two hundred and sixty thousand Men, whereof ninety thousand Footmen, and thirty thousand Horsemen were accounted the expert Soldiers; and of them many whole Companies and Bands of such as had before been Generals, Captains, Lieu-

*Cafon* defeated by the Palatine, and slain.

The slaughter of the Turks.

the Emperor's power at *Vienna*.

nants, Antients, or other Officers and Men of Mark in other Armies, and now were content to serve as private Men. It was thought that for many worthy Captains and valiant Soldiers, were never before in the memory of Man assembled together into one Camp; for the Prince and free Cities had not sent thither common Soldiers, but their chosen and approved Men; so living as it were amongst themselves, who should have been as the *Scythians* and *Arabs*, who came from the River of *Vipula* to the *Alpi*, and from the Ocean to the *Alpei*, was by the Prince of the Empire and free Cities either sent thither, or of themselves voluntarily came thither. A thing never before heard of, that all *Germany* should as it were with one consent, be glad to take up Arms for their common safety, in defence of their honour and liberty; especially against a People brought out of the furthest parts of *Africa* and *Egypt*, who were the greatest number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians, the Bohemian Camp lay not far off, strengthened with them of *Silicia* and *Moravia*. There were also some Troops of Polonian Horsemen, not sent thither by public Authority, but serving as voluntary Men; King *Sigismund* winning thence, who as he was careful not rashly to break the League he had made with *Solymam*; so left them to the advantage of the Christian common cause, by the example of which he gave place for such of his Subjects as would (as if it had been without his knowledge) to shew their Valour in the most honourable War.

*The Order  
of the Chri-  
stian Army*

The Christian Army ready to receive the Enemy, lay in a great Field near unto *Vienne*, in this Order; Three great Squadrons of Pikemen, standing one Squadron a great way distant from another, were to place againſt the Enemy with like and equal Front, that all the Horſemen divided into two parts, might well be received into the great ſpaces betwixt the three Squadrons; ſo it was not thought convenient to oppoſe fo many Squadrons of Horſemen in open Field without ſome advantage. The third Squadron ſtood before the Footmen, the Turks Horſemen, the third thouſand of the Turks Horſemen. The ſwinging of the Horſemen was led by the Emperor himſelf, and the left by King *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on every ſide of the three Squadrons of Pikes, ſtanding in thoſe places which were left open for the Horſemen, about thirty paces off, were placed twenty thouſand nimble Harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but five in a file, ſo that they might be ſufficiently directed the ſecond, and after them the third, and to the right ready and orderly coming on fight, might deliver their Bullets upon their Enemies; neither was it thought any diſadvantage to place them to this, for that if they found themſelves by the Enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the Pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the Harquebuſiers was planted the great Ordnance, whereof, the Emperor had ſuch force. He was ſo ſatisfied, that he could therewith ſecurely ſtand, and ſo he was accompanied in his whole Army. Only the Hungarians were well acquainted with the manner of the Turks fight, choſe to lie in the open Field in two great wings, under the leading of their two valiant Captains *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble Gentlemen belonging this goodly Army, were for joy, conceiving a moſt durable hope of Victory, if the proud Enemy durſt with all his might ſtand againſt them. But *Solyman*, who by all means fought with his ſoldiers, and ſo he ſought to keep the wide and open Fields, continually adverſed both of the Emperors Strength and the manner of his living, got him over the River

Solyman  
return: b.

of *Mura*, and at *Marburg* by *Bridges* which he made on the fuddahn, passed over the great *River Dræw*. And so he which that Summer held almost all the World in suspense, with the doubtful expectation of the success of that War; having with all that his huge power wherein he threatened the World, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in every place overcome, or else shamefully repulsed; left *Solyman* the factious way he came, and directly bewixt the Rivers of *Scythia*, *Scythia*, to *Belgrade*, and so to *Constantinople*; leaving here and there some remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and fill looking behind him if the Emperor were not at his heels; at such time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian Horsemen did fill purble the tail of his Army. It is reported, that he carried away with him twenty thousand Christians into Captivity, besides many thousands of other Country people slain by the mercilese Turks; but especially *Scythia* and his Followers; and so to his eternal infamy was twice in the space of a few years driven out of *Germany*. The Emperor understanding of *Solyman's* departure, determined with all speed to return into *Italy*; although King *Ferdinand* his Brother most carnellly entreated him before his departure, in so fit a time to employ those great Forces against King *John*, who was the chief of *Solyman's* mischief, with power to pursue an Army into the Kingdom only out of *Buda*, but also quite out of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his Vassal placed. But the Emperor, for that Winter began now to approach, and the Plague was got into the Camp, yea even into his Court, continued in his former purpose of departing into *Italy*; yet yielding so far unto his Brothers request, as to leave behind him all the Italians, who were with King *Ferdinand*, and some Forces were thought sufficient for the accomplishment of the Hungarian War.

Over these Italians, one *Fabritius Maramulus* was by the means of *Alphonſus Viſtius* appointed General; but no order taken for the payment of their Wages, whereby the Soldiers might be the more encouraged to take in hand that War, and also kept in obedience. Which think at the first much offended the minds of the other Captains; thinking themselves disgraced by the preferment of *Maramulus*, a Man of no greater account than themselves; but as soon as it was known abroad, the under Captains and Officers of the Bands, led with the craze and favour of their old Captains; said plainly, they would not go into *Hungary*, unless their King *Ferdinand* would in person go himself, or else one of the great Counts of the *Vefine* or *Leva* were appointed for the General, and the Common Soldiers said flatly, that they would ask leave to depart, except they had three months Pay, which they knew well they should never get of that poor King, already brought unto great wants. *Vefine* to appease this Mutiny, travelled greatly with his Soldiers, persuading them to remember the faith of Soldiers, and by their constant perseverance to maintain their honour: they had got by their cheat; and telling them, that valiant Soldiers never wanted Pay, furnishing themselves by their Industry with all things necessary from the Enemy. And as for the *Leva*, their General, they had no just cause to mistake him, being an old Captain of great experience, for courage and policy no inferior to any of the great Commanders, and priced by the Emperors own appointment as a Man most sufficient, whose

judgment they ought not in any cafe to diflike. When *Vafius* had with rife and fuch like reafons well appealed the tumultuous Soldiers, there was gone out of the Camp into *Vienne*, to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties ; Night the Nurfe of fedition came on, whofe darknefs excluding all modetty and fear, gave further fcope and place unto the mutinous Soldiers infolency. By chance there was at that time brought out of the City into the Camp very counfe, hoary, moulty Bred ; which fome of the Soldiers having bread, and thufing it upon the points of their Spears, fhewed it unto their Fellows in great choler, railing againft King *Ferdinand*, which in his own Kingdom in the beginning of the War had made no better ufe, but with fuch corrupt and peftilent Bread to feed thefe being Strangers, which were only for his defence. They then to adventure upon their lives. And but a little before, a certain Spaniard, being but a common Soldier, coming into the Generals Tent, and calling the name Bred down at the feet of *Vafius*, bitterly cursing the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, had raifed a wonderful Tumult ; wherefore the Italian Soldiers flocking together out of their Tents, gave many hard Speeches concerning their Pay, their Vituals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian War. There one *Titus Marconius* of *Volaterra*, a Man of a troublefome Spirit, but reafonably well fpooken, was by the other Soldiers fer up upon a great heap of Saddles, that he might be the better heard, and by divers feditious Captains requir'd him to fpeak his mind, fo far as he thought might ferve to the fafety and welfare of them all. Wherein he reported that he fpake unto them in this feditious manner as followeth :

*The sedition of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians.*

And thus the Spaniards (said he) beloved Com-  
pansions and Fellowes in Arms, as you have heard,  
go into Italy? And a great hart again return  
into their native Country? And which I  
am ashamed to say, at notable Gages the wretched  
Wives? And we Italians at banished Men fight this  
Winter with Ice and Snow in Hungary? And thus  
forth for a most beggerly King, and him also to  
the Hungarians a Forreigner and meer Stranger,  
against a natural born Prince, of his Subjects well  
beloved and strongly backed with the power and wealth  
of the Turkish Emperour? And that which might  
fully give any covageous mind under the conduct  
of Maramaldus, who oftentimes blinded with anger  
and a hasty cruelty, bade so furiously thrise us through  
with his sword, that he seemed not more to desire  
the name of a Captain for his pay, then for the  
killing and murdering of us unwearied Slaves. Nei-  
ther can I believe that you, who have oftentimes  
been Captains and Antients your selves, will be so  
mad, as to serve under a common Captain, without  
hope of any Pay, of any Provision, of Victory, or re-  
turn. Truly it delights me not so much to have  
come hither for the honour of the Italian Name (even  
more reckoned of than a Rusli) although I have eleven  
times served; as it doth thinke day alyme me to see  
this shameful end of the War, ended before it was  
well begun. But in Regall Dignity is no shame, nor  
equity in rewarding the Soldier; for Kings now  
pay nothing, according to Soldiers only according to  
their necessities. I love it, this is in maintenance  
of this that getteth us here, this is in maintenance  
reparation; all which Peace once by Victory obtain-  
ed, leaveth their Grace. So smeth it with us at  
this present (Fellow Soldiers) the Emperour and his Bro-  
ther King Ferdinand, delivered from the fear of a  
most dangerous War, to cast themselves of this mas-  
tardie of us, seek to thrise us into Hungary at Beas-  
tialty.

to the slaughter, by the spending of our Blood, hoping to pursue unto themselves Victory, and by the loss of us to take from themselves, though the Turks and Hungarians should use the force of Cannibals, and the Snow of the Alpes. But peradventure you understand not these terrible, no more than you understand what this terrible and bloody Comet, shooting his Beams towards Italy, pretendeth. Verily it is not fatal either to Solymán or Cæsar, but rather threatened unto us death and destruction; for they with like comfort full of safety and discretion, would not consider any way unto their own deaths, but withal without any themselves one from the other, and flung all the death of the World. Wherefore if you are lawful for their, without the knowledge of their Adversities, so notably to provide to keep themselves out of danger, when as on each side half the World cry as a reward of the Victory, shall not we look to ourselves, that we be not thrust thither from whence appeareth no hope of return, but with utter destruction, when as we may do it without offence, and by good right, especially seeing no Pay is offered us. That you see what a goodly end is made of that notable War, wherein only we the Italians, in stead of commendation and reward, reap injury and disgrace; and are peradventure of purple exiled into Hungary, that this flour of Civility being now out of Italy, and sent far out of the West Colonies of Spaniards and Germans may be placed in our hands. Truly it seemeth hard dealing, to be sent out of the way into a barbarous Country, where we shall find all hostility, and no place of refuge to recover us, being distressed. Besides this, we shall also whether we will or no, feel how heavy and intolerable it will be both to our bodies and minds, to endure the miseries of this Winter and dangerous War; and in the mean time, with no small hearts grief imagine what things our Children, our Brethren, our Kinsmen, and our Wives, suffer at home of the Spaniards and Germans, who have contrary Companions, it concerneth us more at this time to have a good forgetful, than valiantly to Fight. The occasion presented unto us for our safety and welfare, standeth upon a fickle point, it must be done without delay, and we must be as swift before that the Spaniards traile up their Baggage; and so preventing the Emperors former Company, come first our selves into Italy; for we shall play but a little to consult upon the matter, Valiantly and our other proud Commanders will presently be here, and our bravest of the Italian Blood, who for their own gain will not stand so long as they are into the fight; and who I know will gain most easily entreat us, and with many subtilties seek to seduce us, by offering us great pay, and whatsoever else we shall require: which will all prove but words. But you, if you be Men, refuse to talk with them, as with your Common Enemies; or rather in revenge of their old injuries kill them. Here waiteth now in this Affliction valiant Men, for courage and integrity of life their letters for, whichben lead you forth, order your Battail, and be ready to follow your courage and forwardness. Wherefore you if you will go forward resolutely, and good fortune use no doubt with you in your help; for the full accomplishment of your desire consists in your help only.

*Marchion* thus no sooner made an end of this  
mournful Speech, but the tumultuous Souldiers  
in every Band began loudly to command and  
approve the fame, and by and by such a con-  
fused noise was heard through all the assembly,  
as if such a tumult were the discontented vulgar  
People, ready to rise in Arms; but the Drums  
preently striking up a March, they made no  
longer stay, but without delay pluckt up their  
Ensigns, and forward they go directly towards  
Naples. In this tumult, in stead of their old  
Captains.



Captains, which either were not then present, or refused to go with them, they chose others to be their Leaders; who once named by the feditious multitude, might in no case without danger refuse to take the charge upon them, were they never so unwilling. These were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sandius*, and the two *Twins of Milan*, called *Glaffius*, who drew after them eight thousand Souldiers; the rest partly for flame, and partly for fear, flayed fill with *Maramidius* their new appointed General. When they were thus gone, *Vafius* and divers other great Companies hearing thereof in the City, posted after them six miles, and at length overtaking them, requested them to stay, and not to dishonour themselves with so foul a Fact; telling them that their Pay was ready for them, and omitting nothing wherewith they might have been moved to stay, mingled their prayers with grievous threats; but they resolutely set down, would neither hear nor stay, but as men enraged with fury and their own guilty Conscience, with stern looks discharged some small Shot upon them. Whilft *Vafius* would there have stayed the Company, and did what he possibly could by threatening and otherwise, to have terrified their Leaders, and to have brought them back, he was oftentimes in danger to have been slain. In the end he was glad to forsake them, and to return as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this sudden departure of the *Italians*, for that time disappointed of all his hope of recovering the Kingdom of *Hungary* from King *John*, in great cholour wrote unto his Subjects of *Syria* and *Carinthia*, whereby the *Italians* were to pass, That they should shew them no manner of courtesie in their passage; whereupon ensued great harm on both sides. Yet for all that, these *Italians* in despite of what could be done, at length recovered *Tilaventum* in the borders of *Italy*, where they disbanded themselves, and returned every man to his own dwelling, leaving King *Ferdinand* unto his own Forces. The Emperor also breaking up his Army at *Vienna*, and purposing now as before, to return into *Italy*, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go forthwith with the light Horsemen, with whom also he went himself, after him followed *Vafius* with the *Spaniards*; two days after came the Cardinal, whose Train was of all the greatest; last of all followed the mercenary *Germans*; in which order he returned in safety into *Italy*.

This was the end of those wonderful Preparations made by the two great Monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the Fifth, in the year, 1532, which held the World in great suspense with the fearful expectation of some marvelous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great Blazing-Star by the space of fifteen days. All which for all that, God so appointing, forced to far less harm than was of molt men feared.

Now whilft *Charles* the Emperor was thus in Arms against *Solyman* in *Austria*, *Andrew Auria* by his appointment, with a Fleet of thirty five tall Ships and forty eight Gallies, wherein he had embarked twenty five thousand good Souldiers well appointed, did in the mean time wonderfully annoy the Turks in *Peloponnesus*. With this Fleet *Auria* departing from *Messina* in *Sicilia*, and passing along the Coast of *Italy*, into the *Ionium*, near unto the Isle of *Zacynthus* met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admiral, with a Fleet of sixty Gallies, he forth by the Venetians for defence of their Territory who offered unto *Auria* all possible kindness,

but excused himself, that he could not joyne with him in that War against the Common Enemy, by reason of an old League betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Solyman*, offering like kindness to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readiness to fall out with either, if they should by Sea or Land offer any injury to their State; wherein they bare themselves so indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the self same instant advertised *Auria*, That *Hymerales* the Turks Admiral lay with his Fleet of sixty Gallies well appointed, in the Bay of *Ambrosia*, where he might easily be surprized; and gave likewise warning to him of the coming of *Auria* with a stronger Fleet, wishing him in time to provide for his better safety, by retiring his Fleet into some other place of more assurance, which he presently did; for knowing himself too weak, he departed from *Ambrosia*, to the strong Haven of *Calcedo*. Which thing with other like, well considered, might give just cause to any Christian heart, to bewail the State of that time, wherein the Christian Princes being either in mortal Wars amongst themselves, or intangled by *Solyman* with Leagues of no assurance, omitted the fairest opportunity that could have been wished for the abating of the Turks greatness; for if the Venetians joining their Forces with *Auria*, had in time purified the Turkish Admiral, it was like, that not only all *Solyman's* Power at Sea had been utterly discomfited; but also molt part of *Grecia*, mindful of their ancient Empire and Liberty, and then ready to have rebelled, and joynd hands with the Christians, might have been recovered out of the Turkish Thraldom; yea and the Imperial City of *Constantinople* greatly endangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside young Janizaries and effeminate Eunuchs, the heartless Keepers of the Turks Concubines; *Solyman* himself being then far off in *Hungary*, and having drawn with him the greatest strength of his Empire.

*Auria* taking his leave of the Venetian Admiral, with much Honour done at Sea on both sides; was shortly after advertised, That the Turks Admiral was fled to *Calcedo*. Wherefore now out of hope to do any good against him, he directed his course to *Corone* (which is a strong City upon the Coast of *Peloponnesus*, about twelve miles distant from *Modon*) with purpose to besiege it; which when he had well viewed, and considered of the strength thereof, he laid Siege thereto both by Sea and Land, battering it most terribly at one time with fourteen great pieces of Artillery by Land, and a hundred and fifty by Sea, so that a more terrible Battery had not been lightly heard of; for all that, the Turks valiantly stood upon their defence, and manfully repulld the *Italians*, which under the Leading of the Count of *Sarav* assaulted the City by Land. The Turkish Garrisons lying about in the Country of *Peloponnesus*, did what they might to have relieved the City; who by the valour of the said Count were discomfited, and *Zadares* their chief Leader slain; whose Head, with others of the slain Turks, were fet upon Stakes, to the terror of the Defendants.

At length the Turks wearied with Assaults and terrified with the thundering Shot which never ceased, and driven also from their greatest strength towards Sea, by the desperate assault of certain

certain resolute Christians, whom they had now full force against their will received as it were into their bosoms; fearing also to want Victual and Powder, if they should longer hold out without any hope of Relief; yielded the City and Cattle to *Auria*, upon condition that they might in safety depart thence with bag and baggage. *Corone* thus taken, and a strong Garrison of *Spaniards*, there placed, and the Christian Greeks which dwelt in the City sworn unto them, *Auria* put to Sea with his Fleet, and sailing again by *Zacynthus*, came to *Patras* another ancient City of *Peloponnesus*, which he easily took and ransacked; for the Turks distrustful of the strength of the City, had strongly intrenched themselves near unto the Cattle; which place also, together with the Cattle, they in short time yielded to *Auria*; covenanting, that they, and especially their Wives, might with their Garments only depart in safety into *Ætolia*; which was by *Auria* so precisely performed, that when three thousand of them palled along through the Army of the Christians, ranged on both sides, and some of the Souldiers began rudely to handle some of the Women, and to take from them some of their Jewels, he caused them presently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Auria* leaving his Army at *Patras*, with commandment to follow him by Land, failed along the coast of *Peloponnesus*, until he came to the Strait of *Neapactum*, now called *Lepanto*, which is the entrance into the Gulf of *Corinth*, passing *Peloponnesus* from *Ætolia*, with a Strait somewhat narrower than the Strait of *Hellspont*. Upon this Strait stood two Castles, the one called *Rhium*, upon the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and the other *Molyreum* in *Ætolia*, which *Basileus* had wonderfully fortified, and stored with Ordnance for the keeping of that Strait. *Auria* threatening all extremity unto the Captain of the Cattle on *Peloponnesus* side, if he did enforce him to plant his Battery, so certified him, that he without delay yielded unto him the Cattle; covenanting only, That he and his Souldiers might in safety depart thence; which granted, and the Turks departed, *Auria* gave the spoil of the Cattle unto his Souldiers which came with him by Sea; whereby he so offended the minds of the other Souldiers which came by Land from *Patras*, that they were about to have forsaken him. The other Cattle upon *Ætolia* side was not so easily taken, being valiantly defended by a Garrison of old Janizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by fury of the Ordnance a breach was made, whereby the Christians forcibly entering, flew three hundred of the old Garrison-Souldiers, not taking any one to mercy; the rest fled into a strong Tower in the midst of the Cattle, where seeing no remedy but that they must needs fall into the hands of their Enemies, they desperately blew up themselves, and the Tower, with a great part of the Cattle, with Gunpowder, in such sort, that it seemed all the Sea coast to have been shaken with an Earthquake; and the Gallies which lay a Bow-shot off, were almost overwhelmed with stones blown out so far off. The great Ordnance taken in this Cattle was valued at 70000 Ducats; whereof certain pieces of a wonderful greatness, with *Arabian* letters written upon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to *Grenos*; and in remembrance of the Victory, mounted upon the Bulwark at the mouth of the Haven. All these things thus happily achieved, *Auria* strongly fortified the City of *Corone*, storing it both with Munition and plenty of Victual, committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a

valiant *Spaniard*, with a strong Garrison of *Spaniards*; promising of his own charge to relieve him whenever he should need, if the Emperor should defer to do it. The Strait of *Neapactum* laid open, *Salvatus* with the Gallies of *Malta* scoured all along the Gulf, and on both sides of the Gulf, spoiling and terrifying them even as far as *Corinth*. Not long after, Winter now approaching, *Auria* receiving Letters from the Emperor, of *Solyman's* departure out of *Hungary*, returned with his Fleet loaded with the spoil of the Turks, to *Naples*, and so from thence home to *Genna*.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the year, 1533,) it was newly reported that the Turks were coming with a great Fleet towards *Peloponnesus*; and not long after, *Adon* ducal Governor of *Corone*, by Letters advertised *Peter* of Toledo, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, That he was both by Sea and Land hardly besieged by the Turks; and that he would to the uttermost of his Power valiantly defend the City, so long as he had any provision of Victual: Wherefore he most earnestly requested, That if the Emperor would have the Town kept, he should in time find him Relief, whereupon the oppressed *Grecians* taking heart, were like enough to rebel, and to help to expulse the Turks quite out of *Peloponnesus*. But above, all things he forgot not to crave speedy Aid of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithful promise he had made to relieve him at his need. Upon this news, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admiral, to rig up a convenient Fleet for that Service, promising forthwith to send unto him twelve Gallies, which he had new built in *Spain*. He also requested the Knights of *Malta* to Aid him with their Gallies against that common Enemy. Wherefore *Auria* having with wonderful celerity rigged up thirty tall Ships, and as many Gallies, came to *Naples* to take in his Souldiers; there the old Garrisons of the *Spaniards*, which for want of pay were risen in mutiny against the great Commander and General *Vasius* and the Vice-Roy, and had rifled the City of *Acoris*, and done no little harm all about in the Country of *Campania*, were again pacified by a pay given unto them, and presently embarked for *Corone*, under the Command of *Rodericus Macianus* their General; at which time also *Federick* of Toledo the Vice-Roy's Son, with a Company of brave Gentlemen went aboard, vowing unto the Sacred War that their first Service. The Knights of *Malta* came thither also with their Gallies. But whilft these things were a doing, *Auria* to encourage them of *Corone*, for fear lest they despairing of help, should fall to some hard composition with the Turks, sent *Christopher Palovisime* a resolute young Gentleman of an invincible courage, with a most swift Gally to *Corone*; who by daylight passing through the midst of the Turks Fleet, safely recovered the Haven, to the great joy of the besieged Christians; and shortly after when he had well viewed all things he was sent for, with the strength and manner of the Enemies lying, and filling the minds of the Defendants with assured hope of speedy rescue, about noon time of the day he suddenly brake out again through the midst of his Enemies, and as it were miraculously escaped in safety, for all that they could do, although they ceased not to give him chase so long as they were in any hope to have overtaken him. *Auria* departing from *Naples*, came to *Messina*, where he certainly informed of the Enemies force both by Sea and Land with the number of their Gallies, and seeing that the chief hope of relieving of the City con-

*Auria* returns to Italy.

1533.  
The Turks besiege *Corone*.

*Auria* first by the Emperor to relieve *Corone*.

*Charles* the Emperor returns into Italy.

*Auria* goes against the Turks.



fleeted in celerity, stayed not for the Gallies he expected out of Spain; but held on his course towards Greece; for it was told him, that the Enemies Fleet daily increased, by the coming in of the Turkish Pirats, and that *Assum-beg* (otherwise called the Moor of Alexandria, an arch Pirate) wife called the Moor of Alexandria, whose good directions the Turkish Captains reposed the greatest hope of their Victory. When he was come as far as *Zazynthus*, he was informed by the Venetians, That *Lufius Bassa* (or rather *Lutius Bassa* the Turks great Admiral, and *Solyman* Brother in law) with *Solyman* of *Acanania*, and the Moor (men for their skill at Sea, of great Fame and Reputation) lay before *Corone*, with eighty Gallies manned by such divers Companies of the old Janizaries; so that it was thought a matter of exceeding peril for him to adventure to relieve the Town, except he took the advantage of some prosperous gale of Wind. Wherefore *Auria* to have yet more certain knowledge of the Enemies Fleet, sent before him *Christopher Palavincin* with one Gally, again to view the manner of the Enemies lying; who passing the Promontory of *Astiries*, saw all the Turks great Fleet lying in very good order before the City; and so returned to *Auria*, confirming that the Venetians had before reported, and that the Turks Fleet was greatly increased, and lay ready as it should seem to give him battle as soon as he should approach the City. For all that, *Auria* nothing dismayed with the greatness of the Turks Fleet, made no stay, but still kept on his course, and with a fair gale of Wind passing the Promontory of *Astiries*, came directly towards *Corone*. Two great Gallions, of all the Fleet the most War-like Ships, came foremost; whereof the one was *Auria's* own, which he had built with a wonderful Charge; and the other was of *Scitilia*. These two great Ships were appointed by *Auria* to turn a little upon the left hand; and at such time as the Enemy should first forward from the shore, to cast Anchor betwixt both the Fleets; that as occasion should serve, they might as out of two strong Castles, beat the Turks Gallies with their great Ordnance, whereunto they were for that purpose wonderfully stored. Next unto these great Gallions followed the other War-like Ships with full sails; after whom came the Gallies in three Squadrons, whereof *Salvoians* had the leading of the right Wing, which consisted of the Bishop of *Romes* Gallies and them of *Malta*; in the left Wing and near unto the Enemy commanded *Antonius Aurias* and in the middle was *Auria* himself. At the first sight of the Christian Fleet, the Turks moved not from the shore, but discharged their Ordnance at them afar off, and then began to fire forward and to draw nearer; especially the Moor, who with greater courage than the rest, assailed the side and the rearward of the Fleet; for the Christians keeping on their course right forth to *Corone*, and turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, seemed as if they had fled; and so much the more, for that the Gallies in the right Wing, for fear of the Turks great Ordnance, did fetch a great compass farther off into the Sea, and many of the middle Squadron and of the left Wing also, had disorderly thrust themselves in amongst the Ships, although they had received little or no harm of the Enemies great shot.

In this confusion of the Christian Navy, the Moor requested *Lutius* the Admiral, not to let slip so fair an occasion, wherein the Christian Fleet might easily have been overthrown; but whilst *Lutius* doth slowly and considerably retire forward, *Auria* in the mean time had put his

Fleet again in order, and with a fair Wind was come to *Corone*. Two of the Ships by the way falling foul one on another, laid behind, being not able to keep way with the rest; about which all the Turks Gallies presently flockt, and took the lesser of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloody fight had won the Forecastle and Waist of the Ship; when *Auria*, accounting it no small dishonour to have his Ships so furnished at his heels, caused all his Gallies to turn again upon the Enemy, to rescue those Ships. The Turks seeing that, and with the Western Wind by little and little fallen down to far with the Ships, that they were come within the danger of the shoot of the Town, began with great stir to forsake the Ships, and to betake themselves to their Oars, and so in manner of flight withdrew themselves. Whom *Auria* pursued a good way to *Modon*, thundering in their Poppes with his great shot, which he liberally belovewed amongst them; whilst in the mean time *Antonius Aurias* came to rescue the two distressed Ships. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their close fights, began now as men revived, to flee themselves, and courageously to make resistance; and they which came with *Antonius Aurias* to their rescue, entering with wonderful celerity on every side, flew and took 300 Janizaries, which with great courage had endured those Ships, and were there left by the sudden departure of their Fellows. Amongst whom was taken one *Poluphus* an old Captain of 1000 Janizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to *Corone*, gave a full Suit of Apparel and a chain of Gold, and so let him at liberty without any ransom, thereby to provoke the Turks to the like kind of courteous dealing with the Christians. *Assum-beg* the Pirate, and the other Captains of the Turks Fleet, wonderfully blamed *Lutius* the Admiral, for that he would not then fight with the Christians, when as he was thereto most earnestly requested both by the Captains and Soldiers in general, and had a fair opportunity of Victory offered at such time as the Christians Fleet was disordered; but he excused himself saying, That it was given him in special Charge from *Solyman* the Emperor, That he should in any case respect the safety of his Navy, and not to come to the hazard of a battle. The Turks which believed the City by Land, upon the approach of the Christian Fleet, forsook their Trenches and fled; at which time *Mendoza* the Governor fallying out, took great store of Victual and War-like provision which the Turks had for half left behind them. So *Auria* to his great honour having driven the Turks from *Corone* both by Sea and Land, furnished the City with store of Corn, Wine, Victual, Powder, and Shot; and committed the defence thereof to *Maticians* and the Companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from *Naples*; comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure those Calamities of War; telling them that the Emperor would the next Spring make War against the Turks both by Sea and Land in *Peloponnesus*, and free them from the Turkish bondage. And so imbarcking the old Garrison of *Sperdadia*, departed from *Corone*, and came before *Modon*, where he lay as it were braving the Turks Admiral, hoping thereby to draw him out of that strong Harbor to battle. But when he saw that the Enemy could by no means be allured out of his strength, or assailed as he lay, he departed thence to *Coregra*, and so back again to *Messina* in *Scitilia*.

Within

The Moor of Alexandria well knew, and took by the Coasts of the Venetians.

Within a few days after, *Assum-beg* the Moor of Alexandria and most famous Pirate, lying in wait for the Merchants Ships of Venice coming out of Syria with Merchandize, by chance met with *Hieronymus Canalis* upon the Coast of Crete; where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruel Battle; wherein of the Moors thirteen Gallies, four were sunk, three taken, and the rest having lost most part of their Rowers, fled to Alexandria. In this Fight were slain three hundred Janizaries which were going to *Cairo*, and a thousand other Turks; of all them that were taken, there was scarcely one saved, but the Moor himself, who grievously wounded in the Face, for safeguard of his life was glad to discover himself; for the Venetians maintaining their State by Trade and Traffique, do of all other things least favour unto Pyrats. When the Moor had made himself known to *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his Wounds, and either of them began with notable diffimulation to excuse the matter to other; saying, That they were both deceived by the likeness of the Gallies, and mistaking of their Friends for Enemies; when as for all that, they knew one another night well. For the Moor said, that he took those Venetian Gallies for to have been part of *Auria's* his Fleet, and *Canalis* excused himself, by saying, that he mistook him for *Barbarossa*, who a few years before had furnished three of the Venetian Gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their Embassador sought to excuse what was done, as a thing happening by error and mischance; of which excuse *Solyman* accepted, and said moreover, that *Canalis* had done well and Soldier-like, to repulse by sea the wrong that was offered him. Three of the Emperors Gallies staying behind the rest of the Fleet, were near unto the Promontory *Palimurus*, upon the Coast of *Apulia*, intercepted and carried away by *Sinam*, famed the Jew, a notable Pyrate of that time also.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in *Corone* began to want Victuals, especially Wine and Flesh; for the Turks had so blocked up the City, that nothing was to be had out of the Country; wherefore the Soldiers requested *Maticians* their Governor and General to lead them forth to some piece of service against the Enemy, forasmuch as they were not to hope for any relief elsewhere before April, withstanding rather valiantly to die like men in Fight against the Turks, than to languish within those dead Walls for want of Victual. But *Maticians* mindful of his charge, fought by many reasons to dissuade them from such purpose, shewing them what an offence it were rashly to depart out of the City committed to their custody, which might be unto them dangerous, although they should speed never so well; and that those wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be overcome by sparing and patience; and therefore told them plainly, that he was resolved for doing to leave the City for the Emperor, and to endure all hardships, rather than to incur the infamy, That he had forsaken the City, and betrayed his Garrison. Yet for all this the matter was so urged by *Didacus Tovarres* and *Hermifilla*, both great Captains; and by the general importunity of the Soldiers, that *Maticians* was enforced to yield to their desire, and to promise them to go; yet earnestly protesting, that he did it altogether against his Will, rather than to suffer himself to depart, that whereof he had no great hope of success. Amongst other that were so forward in this action, was one *Barbarius*, a most valiant Greek, who could perfectly speak

the Turks Language, and of all others best knew the By-ways and secret passages of the Country; he undertook to be their Guide, and by unknown Waies to bring them unto the Enemies undiscovered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no such matter. So *Maticians* commending the custody of the City to *Lifianius* and *Mendefius*, with charge that they should suffer no man to go out of the City after his departure, for fear of giving any knowledge unto the Enemy, set forward about ten o'clock, by the night towards *Andruffa*, *Barbarius* being his Guide, who flunning the common beaten Waies, brought them by secret and uncouth Paths that night half the way to *Andruffa*; but upon the rising of the Sun he brought them into a secret woody Valley, where they rested and refreshed themselves all that day, and setting forward at night, came to *Andruffa* before day. In this Town, which was of no great strength, lay one *Caranus*, a warlike Captain with three thousand Footmen, whereof the one half were Janizaries; and in the Suburbs lay *Acomatus* with a thousand chosen Horsemen, with which Garrison the Turks kept all that side of *Peloponnesus* in awe. *Maticians* brought by his Guide unto the place where his Enemies lay, went directly to the Town to have furnished it; *Hermifilla* in the mean time standing fill with certain Companies of Spaniards over against the place where the Horsemen lay. But this could not be done with so great silence, but that some of the Horseboys being awake discovered them by the fire in their Matches; who first awaked the negligent Watchmen, and afterwards raised an Alarm in the Suburbs; whereupon *Hermifilla* courageously fell upon the Horsemen, being altogether unready, and flew many of them before they could arm themselves, and set fire also upon the Stables wherein the Turks Horses stood, with the rage whereof many of the Turks perished, with their Horses and Armor. Great and terrible was the noise raised upon the fuddain in the Suburbs, but especially of the Horses, which burnt as they stood fast tied in the Stables, or by chance breaking loose, ran up and down with their Tails and Mains on a light fire; by occasion whereof, an Alarm was raised in the Town, and the Turks got to the Walls before the Spaniards could enter. *Maticians* himself labouring to break in at a Postern, was divers times in the Head with a small Shot, and slain; others near unto him were slain also. The Turks perceiving the small number of their Enemies, sallied out upon them, and enforced them to retire to *Hermifilla*, who had already made great slaughter amongst the Horsemen, by whose skillful direction, the Spaniards retired in to good order, making many flames, with their Harquebuses all drawn into the Rearward, that such of the Turks as were most forward to pursue them, did by their death cause the rest to make less haste. *Acomatus* with such of his Horsemen as had escaped the Fire, hastened thither also, bringing with him two hundred Harquebuses, which he had caused his Horsemen rather to take up behind them upon their Horses; but whilst he fought eagerly to be revenged upon his Enemies, and with too much heat pressed on with the foremost, he was shot in the Body with a Bullet and slain. So the Horsemen which had before received a great loss as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good hops that they were not there in the slain, and having now lost their Captain, ceased any further to pursue their Enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greeks, although they were wearied both with their long march and evil success, retired still

iii resolute

The order of *Auria's* his Fleet before *Corone*.

The Christian Fleet disordered.

The Turks Fleet fled to *Modon*.

The Garrison of *Corone* desire of their General to be brought to some service.

*Maticians* slain.

refolome men, ready to fight, and so returned to *Corone*. Prefently after, the Turkish Garrison removed from *Andrussa* to *Megalopolis*, now called *Londarium*; after whose departure the Christian Soldiers of *Corone* gathered together and buried the dead bodies of their slain Fellows (which till then lay unburied) and brought back with them the Head of *Maccian* their late General, which the Turks had there set up upon a long Pole, which they honourably buried at *Corone*. Not long after, the Plague began to grow hot in *Corone*, so much the more grievous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which causes, the Spaniards as men at once enforced with many extremities, imbarbed themselves with all the great Ordnance, and such Greeks as would go with them, in certain Ships which came with Corn out of *Sicilia*, and so departed, leaving the Town empty for the Turks to come unto.

Corone  
besieged by  
the Spaniards.

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left *Corone* not without the secret consent of the Emperor, which was the rather thought to be so, because that they which forsook the place, received thereby no disgrace, and the Emperor himself had offered to give the Town to *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, the Venetians and the Knights of *Malta*, who all refused to receive it, as loath to be at so great a charge in keeping a place serving for no greater purpose; the very cause why the Emperor was so willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Bishop had by means of *Alofius Gritius* made a motion of a Peace to have been concluded for ten years betwixt *Solyman* and the Christian Princes, and thereupon the Town to have been again delivered unto the Turks; which Peace *Solyman* was not altogether unwilling to grant, being then wholly bent to invade the Persian King. *Ferdinand* was also in good hope that his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, would for the yielding up of that Town have covenanted with the Turk for some great matter for his benefit in *Hungary*, which as was thought would also have been easily obtained. But whilst the Emperor drawn diversly with the consideration of his honour in keeping it, and of his profit in giving it up, stood too long in revolving, the Town in the mean time was by the Spaniards (their necessity daily increasing) abandoned, and so left to the Turks for nothing.

Alofius  
Gritius  
the Duke  
of Venice  
Solyman's  
Lieutenant  
in Hungary  
by his  
King John.

*Solyman* now purposing to turn his forces against the Persians, of whom he had in the Frontiers of his Dominions received great hurt, especially in *Comagene*; renewed the League he had with the Venetians, and some other Christian Princes; but of all other his Affairs with the Christians, he was most careful of the interest he had already gotten in *Hungary*. For it was reported, that King *John* his Vassal induced by the continual solicitations of his Subjects, was desirous of Peace with King *Ferdinand*, upon condition that he might quietly enjoy the Kingdom during his life; and after his decease it to remain to King *Ferdinand* and his Heirs. Wherefore *Solyman*, that nothing should be there done in his absence without his knowledge, sent *Alofius Gritius* the Duke of *Venice* his Son (of whom we have before spoken) a man both for the honour of his House, the good carriage of himself, and the special commendation of *Abraham* the chief Bailie, in great credit with him; with Commission as his Lieutenant to be assistant unto King *John*, in such magnificent force, as that without him the King might conclude nothing in matters of State, concerning either Peace or War, with any other the Christian Princes. With this proud Commission from the grand Seigneur, *Gritius* entered into *Transyl-*

*vania*, then a part of the Kingdom of *Hungary* (much about the same time that *Solyman* set forward from *Constantinople* against the Persian) attended upon with seven thousand persons of one sort and other, among whom were *Urbanus Batianus*, and *Jeanus Decia*, two famous Hungarian Captains with their Companies, and many of the Turks Janizaries also. At his first coming, to make his Authority the more known, he sent out his proud command unto the great Men and Governors of the Cities of that warlike Province, charging them forthwith to repair unto him to great *Solyman's* Deputy, authorized by him to hear and determine all the controversies and matters of State concerning the Kingdom of *Hungary*. At that time *Americus Cilius* Bishop of *Veradiah*, a man of great Nobility and Power, widely singularly well qualified, was Vayvod or Governor of *Transylvania*, an honour next unto the King; he understanding that *Gritius* was come into his Province, and making himself half to welcome him, as one not greatly moved with his coming, or much regarding the commandment of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Gritius*, who desired nothing more than at his first entrance to have confirmed the opinion of his Authority in the minds of the Vulgar People by the prett and ready attendance of the Vayvod. But it was commonly bruted, that the stout Bishop upon a Christian Zeal detested the Friendship of the Turks, and could not well brook that they should be too much acquainted in his Province, for fear lest that fruitful Country abounding with Men and Horfes, should by one or other fall into their hands. *Gritius* was come to *Bacovia* when he understood by many Messengers, that the Vayvod was coming with a great Train, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with divers gallant Troops of Horfemen, in warlike manner appointed; for the Bishops of *Hungary* being wonderful rich, were by old custom bound to keep great numbers of Horfemen, which as occasion served they used to bring into the Field against the Turk; accounting it great honour with their religious hands to defend the cause of Religion. But then especially the Nobility of the Country well appointed resorted on every side, on courtesie to honour and contenance their great Bishop and Governor, at whose commandment they were; inasmuch as the Bishops retinue made them of a good Army. Which thing moved *Gritius* exceedingly, so that he should be enforced contrary to his expectation to party with the Bishop in the open Fields, as with an Enemy in sight of all their Followers. Hereof great envy, a deadly mischief always repining at another mans honours; when as the one swelling with Turkish Pride could not then abide any equal, and the other jealous of his honour, could by no means endure any superior. In such place as he had the Sovereignty of. When these two great men had met together in the open Field, and there dined more like Enemies than Friends, without any shew of friendship or good will; *Gritius* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, covertly threatened to be revenged upon all such as should make to light account of his Authority; and immediately as he departed from the Banquet, taking his Cap from his Head (which was after the Turkish manner made of a high fashion, of rich Sables) and opening it with both his Hands, said, *This Cap will not hold two Heads, and therefore it must be fired to one, and so put it on again.* *Decia*, one of the Hungarian Captains, his Followers, who deadly hated the Vayvod (for that he had long time before, for his misdeeds Speech in a great Assembly, given him a blow with his

(Fitt)

Janus Decia  
the Duke  
of Gritius  
as against  
the Vayvod.

*Fitt*) took hold of that Speech of *Gritius*, as a fit occasion for him to work his revenge: and said, *Your honour maketh a fit comparison, neither can this Province contain two equal Governors or Commanders, nor you ever enjoy your Power and Authority, except you do this day with speed and manly resolution defend both Solyman's credit, and your own. You know not this proud Haughty American will's Pride and Insolency if you but say the word, I will quickly put down; for he hateth Solyman, he regardeth not the King, and of you he maketh no account at all, for why, he aspires unto the Majesty of a King, and faith that the Vayvodship of *Transylvania* will bestow him a King; for that in this Country Decedebals the Dacian sometimes reigned, whom the warlike Emperor Trajan with all the force of the Roman Empire had subdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly set himself forth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly disguise to serve his turn. Indeed he hath for fashion sake presented your honour with a few simple Presents, and given you his Hand also, better known for his Falshood than his Faith; to the intent that when you are once past his Country, he may scold and jeer at your Deceit; overly he deadly envious at your Power and Felicity, and grudges in his heart, that you should let down the Laws of Peace and War in Hungary; and whereas he doth manifestly aspire unto a Kingdom, he secretly you above all others, lest you should trouble his designs, about his credit, and chafeth at his insolency. Verily, he that thus maligneth your happiness, and contemneth your Authority, is not to be suffered, but by good reason to be taken away, thereby at this your first entrance to defend the credit of your Commission, and honour of your Name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithless Companion, and a secret Enemy, especially when you shall leave him at your back behind you; for when he shall, as occasion serves, shew forth his hidden malice, he shall so much the more slyly and desperately endanger your Person. *Gritius* enraged with his Speech more than before, thought it best to make halt, and to use his Authority to the full; he commanded *Decia*, and promised him in short time to requite his good will towards him, especially if he would by some notable attempt abate the Bishops Pride. It is reported, that *Gritius* gave him no other charge, but to take the Bishop that he so might after the Turkish manner have sent him in Chains to *Constantinople*, and bestowed the honour of the Vayvod upon *Hieronymus Lascus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honour, used him most proudly. King *John*, had done unto him great and faithful service, as his Ambassador both unto *Solyman*, and also unto the French King. But when King *John* perceived that he could not conveniently without manifest danger place him, being a Polonian (who could scarcely speak the Hungarian Language) Governor over such warlike People; he as it were enforced by necessity, preferred this *Americus* the Bishop of *Veradiah*, a man of them both, revered and feared. Which so grieved *Lascus*, a man of great Stomach and Experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that he would never admit of any excuse of the Kings, but always after complained, that he was by the King deluded. Yet for all that, he kept himself within the bounds of Loyalty, and enjoyed certain Lands and Towns which the King had given him in the Borders of *Polonia*; and estranged nevertheless from him in mind, was now become one of *Gritius* his Followers, hoping of his better Preferment by his means unto *Solyman*; and for that cause was not so forward to do the King such service as he had in times past. Now by the commandment of *Gritius*, a strong Company of Turkish Horfemen, and certain*

The traitor  
Lascus  
the Polonian  
sent from King  
John.

Troops of Hungarians, were delivered to *Decia*; who secretly departing that night from *Bacovia*, came suddenly to the Vayvods Camp, having a little before by his Hungarian Spies learned that he lay in the open Fields in his Tent, by reason of the great heat, without any watch or guard attended on only with his Pages and Household Servants, as a man without fear; and that all the rest of his retinue lay dispersed in the Country Villages round about. All which served so well for *Decia* his purpose, that the Vayvod ignorant of his death so nigh at hand (who rather contemned than feared his Enemies) was suddenly oppressed by *Decia* his Soldiers; so that whilst he was yet lying in his Bed, and scarcely waked by his Chamberlains and household of the Enemy, *Decia* broke into his Tent, cut off his Head as he lay. All they which lay near, amazed with the suddenness of the matter, fled away for fear, and left their Horfes and other things for a Prey to the Turks and other of *Decia* his Followers. *Decia* having done so great an outrage, returned to *Gritius*, presenting unto him the Vayvod's Head, which he brought in his Hand by the Ear. *Lascus* was then present, but altogether ignorant of the murder, who as a man moved with a natural compassion in so sudden and horrible a Fact, and forgetting all former grudges (as in like case it oftentimes chanceth) stood as one dismayed, silently rejoicing at the unworthy death of his Enemy. To whom *Gritius* turning himself, said, *Lascus*, Dost thou not know this shaven Pate, only it is a great Man's head, but of such an one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Lascus* replied, Truly though I loved him not, yet I thought it not to wish it stood upon his Shoulders; disallowing therein the Cruelty of the Fact. Which thing *Gritius* perceiving began to repent him of that was done, and said openly, that although he was worthily slain, yet he could have wished rather to have had him taken Prisoner. The report of this horrible murder soon bruted abroad, the Bishops Kinsmen and Friends, yea almost all the People of that Province rise up in Arms against *Gritius*, to revenge the death of the reverend Bishop, whom living they had both loved and feared. Never did any People in revenge of a common wrong so enter into Arms with great desire, more heat, or quicker speed; so that in few days there were assembled together unto King *John* and King *John*, under the leading of *Stephanus Moyses*, a Noble Gentleman, who of all other most honoured the Bishop, and in that common grief took upon him as chief, the persecuting of the Authors of such inhumane Cruelty. *Gritius* perceiving how grievously the matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himself what course were best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious People, the same was prefigured death; and to return and leave the honourable deputation he had with so great expectation of all men taken upon him, was unto his aspiring mind no less torment than death it self. Thus perplexed, he with all speed got himself with his Followers to the strong Town of *Mege*, in hope to throw himself until such time as the rage of the Country People were either of it self appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in such sudden Tumults) or else he should be relieved by King *John*, or the Turks Sanzaks which had the charge of the Frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The Townsmen of *Mege* seeing *Gritius* accompanied with so many Turks, that the Gates against him yet at length by the perfavation of the two Hungarian

The Vayvod  
murdered in his  
Bed by  
Decia,  
and his head  
presented to  
Gritius.

The Transylvanians  
rise up in Arms  
against  
Gritius,  
to revenge  
the death  
of the Vayvod.

Captains *Decia* and *Batianus*, they gave him leave to enter into the safe Town, having before retired themselves with all their Substance unto the higher Town, which in manner of a strong Castle commanded the lower. Here whilst *Gritus* with all carefulness fortified the place, and dispatched the Messengers unto his Friends and abroad for Aid; his Enemies with hideous noise and outcries approaching the Town, at their first coming attempted to have scaled the Walls and Rampiers thereof; which thing whilst they disorderly did, with greater fury than discretion, they were easily repulsed, and many of them slain by the Turks Janizaries and Harquebusers. After which loss, by the direction of *Maylat* their General, they withdrew themselves out of the danger of the Shot, and incamped on every side of the Town, hoping as the truth was, that their Enemies unprovided of Victuals, could not long hold the place, but of necessity either starve with Famine, or yield it up. In the mean time *Gritus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man besieged, fell sick, and so much the more for that he could hear nothing of any Aid which he expected from his Friends; for King *John* glad in his mind of the distress of the Overseer, or rather Competitor of his Kingdom; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his Subjects oppose himself against such a multitude risen upon to just a cause; yet for fashion sake sent certain Troops of Horsemen to his relief; who not altogether ignorant of the Kings mind, made such halt, as men that purposed not to come in time to do him good. As for the Turks Sanzaks of *Belgrade* and *Samanaria*, they envying at his honour, flatly refused to depart from their charge, so relieve him with out express command from *Solyman* himself; and *Lajous* (before one of *Gritus* his chief Followers, but now a beholder of his distress) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some relief, as he promised, did now in this extremity forsake him also. The Citizens in the upper Town (who a great while had stood looking on from above as men indifferent) perceiving the full rebellion of their Countrymen to be renegeed, and the difficulties wherewith the Turks were inclosed, afflicted them also from the high Town. *Gritus* thus beset on every side, offered unto the Transylvanians a great Mass of Money, to suffer him to pass forward into *Hungary*; but their furious minds more desirous of Revenge than Money, were not to be moved with any Gold. In fine, he sent rich Jewels to the Governor to seduce his Friend, to be ready at a certain hour when he would fall out of the Town, to receive him with certain Troops of Horsemen; so if it were possible to save himself and his Children. *Gritus* (whether it were upon a doubtful hope, or urged by inevitable destiny) falling out of the Town at the appointed time, with *Solyman* Commission in his hand, and missing of the Moldavian, fell upon *Francis Scheden* the late Bishop high Kinsman, and *Medius* his familiar Friend; who furiously running in upon him with tumultuous Speech, violently caught from his Head his rich Cap of Sables, and with his Horsemen took him, being weak with sickness, and making no resistance. His Followers, especially the Turks, inclosed on every side, were either slain or taken. But *Gritus* himself being brought to the Generals Tent, beset round with armed Enemies, and there examined, *Why he had commanded the Voyages to be taken*; earnestly retorted, *That he never commanded any such thing, and that it was done without his knowledge*. Which his answer served not his turn, all the People cry-

ing out against him with one voice that he should as a sacrifice be offered unto the Vayvods Ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* delivered again to *Gritus Francis Scheden* to be executed, who without delay caused his Head to be struck off. The Nobility and the Vayvods Kinsmen (after the manner of that People) dipped some part of their Garments in his Blood, the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the Revenge. This was the shameful end of *Aloysius Gritus* the Duke of *Venice* his Son, *Solyman* Deputy in *Hungary*, with whom he was in such credit as never was any Christian, abounding in Wealth and worldly Felicity; but climbing too fast up the civil scaled Ladder of Ambition, suddenly fell and never rose more. The Executioner dripping his dead Body, found about him to may precious Stones and Jewels as were valued at forty millions of Ducats. And not long after, *Lajous* fell for by the King to *Buda*, was traitorily examined upon torture concerning *Gritus* his Commission and purposes, and was in great danger of his life; but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*, he was set at liberty, and so fled out of *Hungary* unto *Sigismund* his Court in *Polonia*, after he had long time wearied himself, and adventured his life in the Hungarian State. *Decia* the Author of this Tragedy, was by the furious People afterwards rent in pieces, and so perished.

The same time that *Gritus* went from Constantinople into *Hungary*, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor dreading no danger out of Europe, took in hand two great Expeditions both at one time, the one by Land into *Asia* against the Persians, and the other by Sea into *Africa* against the Moors; promising unto himself in his inordinate desires, the Monarchy of the whole World in short time, if he might subdue these two great Nations whom he had already in hope devoured. But forasmuch as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in divers places so far distant done, omitting for a while the Expedition made in person himself against the Persians, we will first declare what he did by his Lieutenants against the Moors. *Haricadenus*, firmaned of the Christians *Barbarossa* (who succeeding his elder Brother *Horruccius* in the Kingdom of *Algiers* in *Africa*, had by many Victories so enlarged the Kingdom before gotten by his Brother, that his Name and Power was now become terrible both to the Christians and wild Moors, and his fame grown great in the Turkish Court) was the chief Author and perfwader of *Solyman* to invade *Africa*. But it shall not be (I think) very far from our purpose here briefly to rehearse by what means those two Mytlenic Brethren, basely born, crept out of a small Galliot unto the Majesty of great Kings; that herein they which come afterwards may also admire the wonderful changes and chances of these worldly things, now up, now down, as if the life of man were not of much more certainty than a Stage Play.

These two Brethren, *Horruccius* and *Haricadenus*, born at *Mytlenic* in the Island of *Lesbos*, weary of the poor and base estate they led at home with their Father, a Renegade Grecian; stealing a Riddle Galliot, committed themselves and all the hope of their good fortune to Sea, where by chance they comforted themselves with *Camaleis*, a most famous Pyrat of that time; under whom *Horruccius* the elder Brother, for his forwardness began to be Captain, and growing in by many Perseverances, also strong with Gallies and Slaves which he had at sundry times taken; and at last comforting himself with *Hasim Sinan* the Jew, *Salas*, and other less Pyrats (which afterwards became

*Gritus* intended.

The Rights found some of *Gritus*.

*Solyman* at one time purposed to invade Persia and Africa.

*Horruccius* was his father.

became men of great fame and account) over whom he commanded as an arch Pyrat, came seeking after purchase as far as *Mauritania*. At which time *Solyman* King of *Tunise-California*, which now we call *Algiers*, was in Arms against his Brother *Mechemeti*, Competitor of the Kingdom; who sided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, his Brother in great detour of his Estate. *Solyman* glad of the coming of *Horruccius* and the other Pyrats his Followers, with a great Mass of Money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the rest to take upon them the defence of him and his Kingdom against his Brother; (especially by the means of his Harquebusers, as then no small terror to the wild Moors and Numidians) that in short time he would reduce that savage People, and set *Solyman* at peace in his Kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a sharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his service the Kings mild and simple disposition, void of all difficult; and that the naked Moors were no Soldiers, but a light and unconfront People, always at variance among themselves; and that the wandering Numidians living barely divided into many factions, were easily by reward to be won, or by force constrained; suddenly falsified his faith, and villainously misled *Solyman* the King, as he was bathing himself, mistrusting nothing less than the falseness of the Pyrat; and in the same hour murdering such as he thought would withstand his desire, and with Bounty and Cruelty overcoming the rest, so wrought the matter, that he was by general consent chosen King of *Algiers*. Thus of a Pyrat became a King, he was thence by Policy surprised *Cirella* (a famous City about fifty miles distant from *Algiers*) by his Soldiers sent thither in the habit of Merchants. After that, he by his Brother *Haricadenus* (no less valiant than himself) troubled all the Mediterranean Sea from *Algiers* with his Gallies, and all his Neighbours; himself by land with daily incursions, leaving nothing untouched, which might by force or policy be had; so that his power daily increased, men of service continually resorting unto him, as the chief man in all those parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his Kingdom, drave the Spaniards out of *Bugia*, a City famous both for the great Trade thither, and for the Mahometan School sometime there kept; at the taking whereof he lost his right Hand with a Shot, and instead thereof after used a Hand of Iron, wherewith he obtained many worthy Victories against his Enemies; for near to *Algeria* he drew up an Army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vava* their General. And shortly after, at such time as *Hugo Mendez* returning out of *Italy* with the old Spanish Soldiers landed in his Country, he enforced him again to Sea; where he with all his expert Soldiers either perished by shipwreck, or driven on shore, were slain or taken Prisoners by *Horruccius*, and thrust into his Gallies. At last having in sundry Battels overcome the King of *Tremissia*, *Charles* the Emperor his Confederate, and thrust him out of his Kingdom, he stirred up both the Christians and Numidians against him; so that coming to take *Ors* and *Poppo* (two strong Holds kept by Garrisons of Spaniards sent thither to aid the King of *Tremissia*) he was by them and the Moors at the first repulsed, and afterwards quite overthrow; where most part of his Army being slain, his Captains and greatest Officers, of his Friends fought to save themselves by flight over the desert Sands; and being himself hard purloined by his Enemies, scattered many pieces of Gold upon the Sands as he fled, thereby to

have flattered their hasty pursuit; but they more desirous of him than of his Gold, followed to fast, that at last they overtook him, and without further delay struck off his Head, which was afterwards sent into *Spain*, and carried upon a Laurence through all the Towns and Cities along the Sea Coast; to the wonderful rejoicing of the People, unto whom he had in former time done great harm.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Haricadenus* inferior to his Brother neither in Courage nor Martial Prowess, by the general content of the Soldiers took upon him the Kingdom of *Algiers*. He, made Heir not only of his Brothers Kingdom, but of his Virtues and haughty Thoughts, and of the surname also of *Barbarossa*, began forthwith to aspire unto the Empire of all that part of *Africa*; accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too base to answer his desires. Wherefore he entered into Arms, and became a terror both to the Moors and Numidians; holding Peace with some, and Wars with others, as best served his purpose; and with his Gallies robbed and spoiled the Coasts of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and the Islands *Baleares*; Fortune so favouring him in all his enterprises, that he became both famous and fearful to his Enemies. He slew *Hamet*, a great Commander among the Numidians, and chafed *Banchada* and *Amida*, two of their greatest Princes, out of the Country; and with like fortune at Sea, overcame *Hugo Mendez*, a famous Spaniard, who fore wounded, had much ado to save himself by flight, when he had lost divers of his Gallies. He also in Battle at Sea overthrew *Rodericus Portuensis*, Admiral of *Spain*; in which fight the Admiral with seven of his Gallies taken, and the rest were both slain, and seven of his Gallies taken; in token of which Victory, he sent part of the rich spoil these taken, with the Admirals Ensign, as a Present unto *Solyman*; whereby he became famous in the Turks Court; but much more, after he had repulsed *Auria* from *Cercania*, and taken two great Genoway Ships which were coming to *Auria* loaded with Men and Munition; the loss whereof filled the City of *Genoa* with much sorrow. All things forcing thus according to his desire, and his name become no less terrible in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and the Islands of the Mediterranean, than it was in the greatest part of *Africa*; *Solyman* grieved with the loss of *Corone*, *Pattara*, and the Castles upon the Straits of *Lepanto*, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himeras* his Admiral being shamefully put to flight, by the Council of his Basseas, sent especially of *Abraham* the chief Basia, sent Embassadors unto him to *Algiers*; offering him the greatest honours of his Court, and to make him Admiral of all his Fleet, if he would forthwith repair unto *Constantinople*; for why, he was the only man in all mens judgments, who for his years and great experience at Sea, as well as for his invincible Courage and Glory of his late achieved Kingdom, was to be compared with *Auria*; and to be opposed against the Christian Fleet. Since a great man in *Solyman* Court, was with this Embassage sent, and speedily transported to *Algiers* by *Mamagala*, a famous Pyrat, then Governor of the *Rhodes*; who at his landing, was honourably received by *Barbarossa*, and audience given him. *Barbarossa* understanding the cause of his coming, was exceeding glad thereof, presently conceiving no small hope of obtaining the Monarchy of *Africa*, if he might once come to *Solyman* presence, and at large show unto him the state of *Africa*, and power flow unto him, and their continual discord of the Christians, with their continual discord among themselves. Wherefore without further delay

*Haricadenus* was great-grandfather of *Barbarossa*, his brother *Horruccius* in the Kingdom of *Algiers*.

His wonderful flight.

*Solyman* was his brother *Barbarossa*.

*Gritus* taken and brought to *Maylat*.

*Horruccius* was his father, and his hand cut off at *Algiers* in *Spain*.

delay committing the protection of his Son *Agi* (then about eighteen years old) and the Government of his new gotten Kingdom to *Ramada* and *Agi*, two of his high Kinmen and assured Friends, of whose Fidelity he doubted not; he with forty of his own Gallies in moist warlike manner appointed, set forward with *Solymann* Embassador towards *Constantinople*; where by the way he met with a Fleet of Genoway Ships bound for *Sicily* for Corn, which after a sharp and cruel fight he took and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Country of *Elba*, not far from *Naples*, he suddenly surprised *Rhum* a rich City; where loading his Gallies with the Wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the Inhabitants into Captivity, he arrived at *Constantinople* the year 1522, where he was by the great Courtiers brought to *Solymann*, of whom he was joyfully received, if it were but for the Presents which he gave him; which were fair Boys and young Maidens sumptuously apparelled, Eunuchs, and wild Beasts of *Lybia*, as Lyons, Leopards, and such like. But after he had certain days discoursed at large with the great Baffes, of the State of *Affrick*, the strength of the Christians, and how the Wars were to be managed, he was afterwards by them fildomer sent for, and offering himself into their Company, was hardly admitted; for Envy (the inseparable Companion of growing honour) had quickly overtaken him in the Court, so that many men letted not openly to say, It had not been the fashion of the *Ottoman* Kings, to prefer Pyrats (the worst kind of Thieves) to the honour of their great Admiral; and that there wanted nor, neither ever would want men both virtuous and valiant in the Turks Court, which could with great honour maintain and augment the glory of the Turkish Empire both by Sea and Land; whereas he had against all right and conscience, by shameful Treachery intruded himself into another mans Kingdom in *Affrick*, and there persecuted the Mahometan Princes and People, being of no Religion himself, as one that was born of a renegat Greek, and from his youth lived as a mercilefs Pyrat, and common Enemy of Mankind. By which Speeches *Barbaruffa* perceived in how evil time *Abraham* Baffa his best Friend, and by whose means he was sent for, was absent from Court; who at that time was gone to *Camogena*, and wintered at *Aleppo*, with purpose (as *Solymann* Forerunner) with the first of the next Spring, to pass over *Euphrate* against the Persian. After long suit, and much expectation, *Solymann* answered *Barbaruffa* by *Ajax* and *Cassim* two of the great Baffes, That all the matter concerning him should be referred to the discretion of *Abraham* the chief Baffa, for that he was by his Council especially sent for into *Affrick*; wherefore if he did expect any thing, he by his Council should be satisfied; that according to his grave judgment all things might be ordered. *Barbaruffa* thus rejected into *Syria*, although he well perceived that it tended to his no small disgrace; yet in hope by surffiance to obtain another Kingdom, seemed contented with the answer, and resolved forthwith to take upon him that long and painful journey; which the old King lustily performed, and so passing by Land through *Asia* the less, and travelling over the Mountain *Amann*, then covered with deep Snow came in the dead time of Winter to *Aleppo* in *Syria*, where he was honourably received by the great Baffa, and heard at large, to his fo good contentation and liking, that he deemed him of all others the fittest to command the Turks Power

Barbaruffa is sent to Constantinople.

Barbaruffa is received in the Turkish Court.

Barbaruffa is referred to Abraham the great Baffa.

He travels into Syria to the Baffa, and is by him recommended to Solymann.

at Sea; and to that purpose writ commendatory Letters in his behalf to *Solymann*; wishing him for his sufficiency to place him as the fourth with the other three Baffes of his Council. After *Barbaruffa* was again arrived at *Constantinople* with these Letters, and that it was known how effectually the chief Baffa had commended him to *Solymann*, it was a wonder to see how on a sudden the face of the Court was changed upon him, every man either for Friendship or Flattery began now to speak of his praises, and to extol his worthiness; who was now in all mens mouths but *Barbaruffa*? so great was the Power and Authority of the chief Baffa, that being accepted, yet was his approbation of all men accounted sufficient to prefer whom he pleased; and his Letters Laws to the rest of the Court. *Barbaruffa* had brought with him from *Algeria*, one *Rofcetes* the Elder Brother of *Mulleffes* King of *Tunes*, who wrongfully driven into exile by his younger Brother, had lived certain years at *Algeria*; but now by the perswasion of *Barbaruffa* was come with him to *Constantinople*, to crave aid of *Solymann*, against the oppression of his Brother. Him *Barbaruffa* oftentimes shewed unto the great Baffes, and in his discourses with them concerning the Conquest of *Affrick*, set him out as a most fit instrument for subduing of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, as a man whom the People more affected than they did *Mulleffes* the Usurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the Baffes concerning the invasion of *Affrick*, *Barbaruffa* now admitted the words of *Affrick* *Solymann*, in these or like words perswaded him to that War, for the entrance whereunto we have thus far digressed.

His return to Constantinople.

Rofcetes.

What thing the Priests with loud voice use to pray for, at such time as the Ottoman Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the same thing do I also pray unto thee most mighty Solymann, that thou shalt remember the Promises by Justice and Religion to have got for thee this Empire, wherein which, more magnificent and richer the Gods have not given to any; Fortune hath never deceived them that trod that way, and thou hitherto hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their Fame and Glory, administering Justice to thy Subjects; and inflamed with the hope of eternal praise, making continual War against the Enemies of thy Religion, the true office of a zealous Prince, by this means, as the Helgrade taken, Rhodes won, the King of Hungary slain in Battell, Germany twice harried and burnt, so that Charles, whom the Christians would make equal to thy self in power and valour, with the great aid almost of all the Christian Nations, terrified with the noise of thy Army, flunnetted battell. But forasmuch as Empires, be they never so large, or Victories be they never so glorious, can either justify the greatness of an heretical mind, or blot the same with glory; thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious Ensigns against the Persians and Partians, that these Nations who have wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy sacred Army, may be again reclaimed to the ancient Rites of our Religion. But be this unto thy greatness; most honourable to attempt, and glorious to perform; let it only be lawful for me now grown an old man in the midst of age and danger, to declare what in expedition, and briefly to open such things as I have by long experience learned to concern the augmenting of thy Fame and Empire elsewhere. Neither would I have you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me; for Fortune hath enough, yea more than enough favoured my designs, whom from a poor cottage and bare house, ye hath promoted to glorious Victories, great Riches, yea unto the Title and Majesty of a King. But unto these things the Gods could

Barbaruffa is sent to his friends to invade Tunes.

could give me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and sent for, in Council to discourse of matters of greatest importance; wherefore my advice shall be unto thee faithful, and with experience confirmed; which although it be all that it formerly did men can do, yet in my found Body remains such strength, that I dare both promise and perform unto thee the best good service at all affairs both by Sea and Land. For unto this only course have I bent my self day and night from my youth, following the purpose and counsel of my valiant Brother *Hortucius* (who to extend the bounds of our Religion, persecuted the Christians both by Sea and Land) desiring nothing more, than that thy Fleet and Power might be joined with my Forces and direction, and so under thy good hap, to be either a Commander, or else commanded; forasmuch as it grieveth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which my desires if the Gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driven quite out of *Affrick*, thou shalt hear that the Moors are gone over into Spain, to resolve the Kingdom of *Granado*; that *Tunes* and *Numidia* are at thy command; and not to speak of *Sardinia* and *Coccyria*, that Sicilia is ours; which once taken, we shall pass over into Italy, and on every side direct it with our Fleet being now weak and brought low by the discord of the Princes, and that part thereof both towards Sicilia and Macedonia ready to submit it self upon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Think not, that either thy strength or Unity is now in Italy, which was when thy great Grandfather *Mahomet* having taken *Hydruntum* brought a great fleet, not upon Italy only, but upon other the Christian Nations; also for by the good success of that War, which all the Christian Princes could hardly withstand, he had undoubtedly taken the City of Rome, and so according to right and reason, again united the Empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their ancient glory. But he suddenly left the World, rapt to Heaven, that he might beget thee (according to the appointment of the fatal Destinies, and revolutions of the Heavens) this work of absolute perfection; yet my purpose is not, by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a Triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East, against thy old and irreligious Enemies, deserving all extremities; for thy Navy shall be sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt have no need in thy Wars so far within Land; that whilst thou art conquering Asia, Africa the third part of the World may in the mean time be brought under thy subjection also. Where before all other things, *Mulleffes* is to be driven out of *Tunes*; a man of insatiable Covetousness, unfeared Lust, horrible Cruelty, hated both of God and Man; who having by Treachery slain eighteen of his Brethren, or that which worse is, cruelly burnt out their Eyes, doth so reign worse, as he hath left him neither Kinman nor Friend. For being so unthankful as perfidious, he hath murdered all his Fathers Friends, and with great travel had preferred him to the Kingdom, so to make short payment for so great deservings. With this Beast we must have to do, whom whilst no man loveth, all men wish to perish. The Numidians trouble him with daily invasions, whose injuries the infamous Council endureth with such shame and reproach, that it should seem he had rather to suffer them than revenge them. And yet the oftrenamed *Daffard* boldeth in Chaim many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your Imperial Name, whereunto all men on every side fly for grace; and which is not to be suffered, exceedingly favoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis to the intent that *Agis* and *Molles*, two valiant Turkish Captains, may be driven out of the City. This wild Beast disarmed of his Claws and Teeth, we shall easily destroy, if it be but for that we have with us *Rofcetes* his Brother, whom the Numidians wish and long for; him might we use, if it be but

for a shew, so shall the thing we desire, be without blood effused, as soon as we shall but prefer our selves before the Gates of *Tunes*. Then shall it be to our pleasure, to appoint whom you will have to govern the Numidian Kingdom; it shall be unto me glory enough, when the greater part of *Affrick* conquered, shall be peccably delivered into your hands; at your return with the Triumph of *Peritia*. But by the way as I return, I assure you upon mine own report, so to use the matter, that the Christians shall also have good cause to bewail their calamities; and if I hap to meet you at *Auria*, he shall have small cause to rejoice of his mischief be both done; for him alone I challenge to perfectness, as my proper and peculiar Enemy, both for his hands, upon the despatches I have at his fame, who once taken out of the way, the Seas shall be open only to you and your Fleet. And believe me, he that shall be able to command the Seas, shall easily also subdue the Kingdoms by Land.

But *Solymann*, who after the manner of wise Princes, used well to consider, and afterwards with ripe Judgment to resolve of such matters as he had with attentive ear hearkened unto; commending *Barbaruffa* for his forwardness in his resolve, for that time brake up the Council. Not long after, a Decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Baffes advice, That *Barbaruffa* should be joyned as fourth with the other three chief Baffes of *Solymann* Council, and be made great Admiral; so that all the Islands, Ports, *Solymann* Empire should be at his command, and that it should be lawful for him to take up such Mariners and Souldiers for service at Sea, as pleased him in what place soever. This being solemnly proclaimed, *Solymann* with his own hand delivered him a Scepter and a Sword, willing him, by worthy deeds to perform what he had promised. After which, *Ajax* and *Cassim* the two great Baffes, with the Captain of the Janizaries, brought him with exceeding Pomp, from the Court to the Navy; at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And towards the maintenance of that War at Sea, he had delivered unto him out of *Solymann* Treasures, eight hundred thousand Ducats, and eight hundred Janizaries.

*Barbaruffa* sped of that he desired, staid not long after at *Constantinople*, but departing out of *Helspontum* with fifty Gallies and certain Gallions, shaped his course towards Italy, leaving *Amurath* (a Sea Captain) with twelve Gallies to transport *Solymann* and his Army, ready to set forward against the Persian, over that narrow Sea into *Asia*. Who after he had so done, overtook *Barbaruffa* at *Ateneos*, who holding on his course to *Affrick*, and suddenly passing the Strait betwixt Italy and *Cicily*, brought a great fear upon both the Countries, but passing by the Bay of *Hippodamia* along the Coast of the lower Calabria; where he set upon the Town of *Saracene Lucidia* called in ancient time *Templa*; which although it stood upon a Rock and was reasonably well walled; yet such was the violence of the Turks Assault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with so much more hurt to the Inhabitants, for that the Maior of the Town, to keep the People from flying away had locked up the Gates on the other side with his City, from the Enemy. From thence he with rich Spoil and many Prisoners went to *Citarrion*, where he had learned of his Prisoners, a Fleet of Gallies was in building. This Town forsaken of the Inhabitants for fear, he took without resistance, ransacked it, and burnt it, where he also fired seven Gallies

Barbaruffa is made Solymann great Admiral.

He is sent to the Coast of Italy.

Gallies not yet altogether finished. But after he was come with his Fleet as far as the Island *Gapri*, within the fight of *Naples*, such a terror was struck into the minds of all that dwelt along that Coast, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly to *Naples*, the Neapolitans would for fear have abandoned the City. But holding on his course, he came to *Presbita*, which he took and rifled; by passing by the Port of *Cajeta* (which he might easily have taken) he came to *Splendia*, a Town in the hiſtermoſt part of the Kingdom of *Naples*. They of the Town diſmained with the ſudden arrival of ſo great a Fleet, yielded the ſame without reſiſtance. The Enemy entering the Town, took twelve hundred Priſoners. *Peligrinus* a chief man amongst them of *Splendia*, was fled into the Caſtle; him *Barbaruffa* commanded to yield, which if he would preſently do, he promiſed to let him go free; but if he ſhould ſtand upon his defence he ſeemed in ſhort time to make him repent his fooliſh hardineſs, with the utter deſtruction both of himſelf and the Town. The fearful Gentleman without delay came out of the Caſtle, and fell down at his feet; who according to his promiſe gave him his liberty, and with rare courteſie reſtored to him his Wife, his Son and Niſce, whom he had taken Priſoners; who received them with many tears falling from their Eyes for joy.

The ſame night alſo two thouſand Turks came from the Fleet, through the rough and buſhy Mountains, to the City *Fundi*, ten miles diſtant from *Splendia*, in the uttermoſt Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, conducted as was thought by certain Italians of that Country; who a few years before taken at Sea, and overwearied with the heavy burthen of the Turkiſh Slavery, had revolted to the Mahometan Religion. But ſuch was the ſuddenneſs of their coming, and their celebrity in entering the City, that *Julia Gonzaga* a daughter of the Emperor, and the chief prize which they fought after, had ſcarce time to get to Horſe half naked, and ſo with much difficulty to eſcape into the Mountains. It is reported, that *Barbaruffa* (which thing he himſelf afterwards ſeemed not to deny) moved with the ſame of her incomparable Beauty and wonderful perfection, deſired exceedingly to have taken her as a Preſent for *Solyman*. The Citizens were for moſt part either ſlaved or taken Priſoners by the Turks, who loaded with the Spoil of the City, returned again to the Fleet. Another part of *Barbaruffa's* Fleet came to *Tarracina*, which the Turks took forſaken of the Inhabitants, who for fear were all fled into the Mountains, except ſome which for age or ſickneſs could not ſhift for themſelves, whom the Turks ſlew, and ſpoiled the Churches. *Barbaruffa* thus ſcouring along the Coaſt of *Italy*, and news thereof daily brought to the City of *Rome*, ſtruck ſuch an exceeding terror into the minds of the Citizens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to *Offia*, they would generally have forſaken the City. But he having well performed his promiſe made to *Solyman* for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolved of a greater matter he had to do; when he had ſtarrated at *Pontia*, paſſed over into *Africk* with ſuch celerity, that he was arrived there before it was thought that he was departed from the Coaſt of *Italy*. For *Barbaruffa* to deceive *Mulleſſes* King of *Tunes*, and to take him unprovided, had given it out, that he would burn and ſpoil the Coaſts of the Chriſtian Countries, eſpecially of *Italy*, *Liguria*, and *Spain*, in revenge of the harm done by *Aurica* at *Corone* and *Pontia*. Which thing *Mulleſſes* the rather believed underſtanding his proceedings upon the Coaſt of

*Italy*. The Venetians having alſo at the ſame time at great charges prepared a great Fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Mulleſſes* fear, That *Barbaruffa* would employ his Forces for *Africk*; for then what ſhould the Venetians have needed to have made ſo great and chargeable a preparation? But that which above all other things brought him into ſecurity, was for that he had by ſecret Eſpials certainly learned, that his Brother *Rofeſes* was kept at *Conſtantinople*, as a Priſoner at large, under ſafe keeping; which made him to think, that *Barbaruffa's* Forces were not prepared againſt him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his State more endangered by any other means, than by producing the competitor of his Kingdom, to whom his guilty Conſcience doubted, that both the Citizens of *Tunes* and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

This *Mulleſſes* of whom we now ſpeak, and whom hereafter we ſhall by occaſion often remember, was lineally defended of the ancient King of *Tunes*; who without interruption of diſcent, or mixture of foreign Blood, had by the ſpace of nine hundred fifty four years mightily ruled the great Kingdom of *Tunes*, from *Tripolis* to *Bugia*, alſo eight hundred miles along the Mediterranean, and into the Main as far as the Mount *Atlas*; and for the long continuance were worthily accounted the moſt reverend and mighty amongst the Mahometan Kings of *Africk*. His Father *Mahometes*, when he had with much glory, and more pleaſure, reigned two and thirty years, perceiving the end of his life to approach, had purpoſed to have appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt Son (whom for his haſty aſpiring he then held in diſtance) to ſucceed him in his Kingdom; but overcome with the importunities of his eldeſt Son's Wife, a Woman of a haughty ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the Court for her Son *Mulleſſes*, he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his Succedor; by whom (as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his own old years was ſhortned; *Maimo* the right Heir of the Kingdom in Priſon, preſently murdered; ſeventeen of his other Brethren unmercifully executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Baleth*, and *Sandis*, with more than barbarous cruelty with a hot Iron of their right deprived; only *Rofeſes* the ſecond Brother, and *Abdumetich*, eſcaping the hands of their unnatural Brother, fled to *Morbarka*, a great Prince amongst the Numidians; whither alſo their Brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking by many practices to have taken them away, and at laſt for a great ſum of Money to have had them delivered into his hands. Which Money the Numidian received, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed Princes, as if they had eſcaped againſt his Will, to be further to another Numidian Prince a Friend of his, called *Beniſſes*; where *Mulleſſes* by like practices as before, fought to have deſtroyed them, or to have got them into his own power. Thus chaſed by their Brothers endleſs malice, from Prince to Prince, and place to place, they for their more ſafety fled at laſt to the City of *Bijerata*, far into the main Land; where *Abdumetich* as one weary of the World gave over, all, and betook himſelf to a ſolitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan Monk. But *Rofeſes* courteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that City, found ſuch favour in his fight, that he gave him his Daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintained him as his Son in Law, with ſuch careleſneſs, that for fear of *Mulleſſes* practices, he was ſometimes perſuaded to eat any other Meat but ſuch as the

Prince

Prince or his Wife had before taſted off. *Mulleſſes* at thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many of his Brethren, proceeded further, and murdered divers of their Children alſo. He cauſed alſo the Maniſet and *Meſſur*, men of greateſt Authority in all the Kingdom, his Fathers grave Counſellers, and his chief Friends, by whoſe means eſpecially he had aſpired unto the Kingdom, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their Greatneſs; or rather as ſome thought, grieving to ſee them live, to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharp payment. And by the ſtigfation of *Leuſſia* his Mother, cauſed divers of his Fathers other Wives and Concubines to be shamefully murdered, enſeigning offence againſt his Father, as with an effeminate Prince, had for his pleaſure maintained two hundred Wives and Concubines in his Houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many Sons Competitors of the Kingdom, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and endleſs piece of work, to deſtroy ſo great a brood.

*Rofeſes* aided by his Father in Law and the other Numidian Princes, to whom the name of *Mulleſſes*, both for his cruelty againſt his own Blood, and injurious dealing againſt his Neighbours, was become odious; paſſing over the River *Bragada* with a great Army, near unto *Tunes* met with *Mulleſſes* his Army, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant Captain, Brother to *Leuſſia*; where in a ſharp conflict he overthrew his Brothers Army, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the Battel, for ſafeguard of their lives to ſite into *Tunes*. *Rofeſes* purſuing the Victory, came and preſented himſelf before the Gates of the City, in hope that the Citizens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the uſurping Tyrant) would upon the fight of him, in right their King, with ſo great an Army, raiſe ſome tumult in the City, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twenty days, ſtill expecting ſome innovation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the People from *Mulleſſes*, and to ſhew how unable he was to protect them, he burnt and deſtroyed all the Olive and Fruit Trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all along the Country, from the ruins of old *Carthage*, to the Walls of *Tunes*; which was unto the Citizens, whoſe greateſt Poſſeſſions lay there, a moſt heavy and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Mulleſſes* had fo attempted their minds with fair ſpeeches and large promiſes of recompencing every man to the full, for all ſuch harm as they ſhould ſuſtain for his Brothers fury in the Country; and beſide that, had the City in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion by reaſon of his Soldiers, that the Citizens either would not or could not revolt to *Rofeſes*. The Numidian Princes weary of that long and vain expectation, according to the levy of that Nation, accounting it no ſhame after Victory once gotten to depart, began one after another to ſhrink away to their own dwellings, perſwading *Rofeſes* alſo to provide for himſelf while he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore, he ſeeming to be terrified by the Numidians, or circumvented by his cruel Brother, fled to *Barbaruffa*, then reigning at *Algiers* in great glory, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained until ſuch time as by his perſuaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to *Conſtantinople*, to crave help of *Solyman*, by whom he was deſtined in ſafe caſtody; although it was in policy given out by *Barbaruffa*, that he was in the Fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solyman's* power be reſtored to his Fathers Kingdom at

This was the ſtate of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, at ſuch time as *Barbaruffa* with *Solyman's* great Fleet, contrary to all mens expectation, ſuddenly departing from the Coaſt of *Italy*, landed in *Africk* at *Bijerata*, a famous Port of the Kingdom of *Tunes*. They of *Bijerata* weary of the government of *Mulleſſes*, and of themſelves deſirous of change, as ſoon as they heard the name of *Rofeſes*, forthwith drove out their Governor, and received the Turks into the Town. For *Barbaruffa* had before ſent certain of *Rofeſes's* familiar Friends afore, which bare the People in hand, that he was in the Fleet, but not able to come yet on ſhore, for that he was (as they ſaid) Sea-ſick, and troubled with an Ague. *Bijerata* thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruffa*, he preſently departed thence, and ſailing by *Utica*, thirty miles diſtant from *Bijerata*, and ſo keeping along the Coaſt, and paſſing the Promontory of *Carthage*, came before *Galeata*, a ſtrong Caſtle with in the Bay of *Tunes*, ſo placed upon a Strait, that it commanded all the paſſage by Sea unto the City of *Tunes*. Before this Caſtle, *Barbaruffa* in token of Friendſhip, diſcharged all his great Ordnance, which they of the Caſtle answered with like; but being required to deliver it up to *Rofeſes*, they ſaid it ſhould be always at his command that ruled in the City of *Tunes*. The News of *Rofeſes's* his ſuppoſed coming, flying ſwiftly by land from *Bijerata* to *Tunes*, and a great Fleet once diſcovered, ſet all the City on an uproar; for the Citizens were in great expectation of their new King, both for the love of *Rofeſes*, who had always ſhewed himſelf to be of a mild and bountiful nature; and alſo for the hatred of *Mulleſſes*, whoſe tyrannous and coercive Government they thought they had too long endured. Neither was he ignorant what report ran of himſelf, and how he had loſt the hearts of his Subjects, which was evidently to be ſeen in the eyes and countenances of the chief men of the City. And that which more increaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time of diſtreſs, made them any recompence for their goodly Houſes and Olive Gardens, deſtroyed in the Country by *Rofeſes* in the former Wars; wherefore at ſuch time as he came now out of the Caſtle, and in the greateſt Aſſembly of his People, began to perſwade them to play the Men, and to continue conſtant in their obedience, promiſing unto them ſuch reward as they knew he was never able to perform, they all departed, and left him alone; yea ſome of them under the colour of Friendſhip, and amongst them *Abdabar*, then Meſſar (which was chief Officer next unto the King) perſwaded him to give place to his hard fortune, and forthwith to ſite, for by chance at the ſame Inſtant it was in every mans mouth, that the Turks were even at hand; which thing cauſed *Mulleſſes*, forſaken of his Subjects, of himſelf fearful, and worthily doubting to be betrayed, to ſite in ſuch halt out of the City, that he left behind him both his Treſure and Jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his Enemies. The ſtill that revolted was *Abbeses*, a man of great Authority; and *Fineches*, Captain of the Caſtle; both renegade Spaniards. *Fineches* profeſſedly after the flight of *Mulleſſes*, brought out *Rofeſes's* Wife and Children, whom *Mulleſſes* had long time kept in priſon, and to welcome their Father; placed them in the Kings Royal Seat. *Abbeses* alſo forthwith advertiſed *Barbaruffa* of *Mulleſſes* departure, and with what longing the People expected their deſired King; wiſhing him without delay to repair unto the City; and for a Preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian Horſe,

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Julia Gonzaga a daughter of the Emperor, and the chief prize which they fought after, had ſcarce time to get to Horſe half naked, and ſo with much difficulty to eſcape into the Mountains.

The Romans are said of Barbaruffa.

Forſaken of the Numidian Princes, he fled to Barbaruffa.

Barbaruffa landed in Africk.

Bijerata.

Barbaruffa came to Galeata.

Mulleſſes ſite of Tunes.



Barbarossa  
is entered  
into the  
sea.

richly furnished, and divers others for his other chief Captains. Hereupon *Barbarossa* without longer stay set forward with five thousand Turks, which he had already landed, and coming to the City, was of the Citizens joyfully received. But after long looking, when they could no where defery *Rofetes* their fupposed King, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbarossa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turks in their military acclamations, as they marched through the City towards the Caffle; they began to diffult, as the truth was, that in stead of their new King whom they so much defired, they had received the Turkish Government, which they utterly detested. Which fufpicion once confirmed by certain of *Rofetes* his Friends (whom *Barbarossa* had brought with him of purpose to delude the People) who grieved to fee the ruin of their native Country, fpared not for fear of the prefent danger to tell their Friends and Acquaintance as they went, That they did in vain look for *Rofetes*, whom they had left in bonds at *Constantinople*; it was a wonder to fee, how fuddainly the minds of the People were changed, how fpeedily they ran to their Weapons, and how furiously they affailed the Turks, now fearing no fuch matter, and were not as yet all got into the Caffle. The chief Leader of the Citizens in this tumult, was *Abdalar* the Meftiar; who but a little before upon the coming of the Turks, by augmenting the danger, and the unfaithfulness of his Subjects, had perfwaded *Muleffes* to flie; but now perceiving himfelf deceived of his expectation for the coming of *Rofetes*, and repenting of that he had done, fought by all means to drive out the Turks, and to recal *Muleffes*. And the more to animate the People, as he flood on high, from whence he might beft be heard, he cried unto them with a loud voice:

*We are moft villainoufly betrayed (worthy Citizens) for Rofetes, whom we expected for our lawful King, lamenteth his misery in Chains, in Prison at Constantinople; and we, except we prefently play the men, and valiantly fight for our Liberty, shall for ever serve as Slaves to these foreign and mercilefs Pyrats. The present danger of our Estate telleth us, that we must prefently and without delay take the occasion offered. Wherefore let all men that mean not to serve as Slaves, and to be bought and sold as Beasts, take up Arms against the faithless Turks. I my self will be your Leader: let us therefore all with one consent, with heart and hand, recover the honest Treachery, defend our Country and Liberty with the ancient honor and liberty of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to flay, every man had broken himfelf to his Weapons; *Muleffes* was again fent for, who yet flaid in the Suburbs, expecting what fhould happen; many of the Turks were flain before they were aware, or feared any thing; as at this time as was poffible one of the Bulwarks of the Caffle, which they knew was eafieft to be gained, where the Turks had fet up one of their Ensigns; and with the multitude of their Darts and Arrows to overwhelm the Turks, that they were glad to forfake the place, and to retire farther into the Caffle to a place of more ftrength; from whence and all

alongft the curtain of the Wall, they without intermiffion difcharged their great Artillery and flail Shot amongst the thicket of the naked Moors, making of them a wonderful Slaughter. *Barbarossa* although he was a man of an invincible courage and great experience, all his life time well acquainted with desperate dangers (the dreadful fpects of afpiring minds) yet furprized with the fuddainness of the Affault, shut up in a place whereof he yet knew not the ftrength, and not provided of Victual for three days, was with the due confideration of thefe difficulties, not a little troubled; which his care was by the difordered fury of his Enemies, and known valour of his own Souldiers greatly diminished; efpecially when he faw his own men fill fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moors as men half difmailed with the wounds and laughter of their Friends, ready to retire. Howbeit, by the coming in of *Muleffes* and *Dorax*, the Affault twice before given over, was again at both times renewed, with no lefs desperate Fury than at the firft, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous Affault *Halis* of *Maliga*, a Renegade Spaniard, but a moft expert Souldier, turning himfelf to *Barbarossa*, faid,

*If thou wilt serve thine honour, and hold this Fort, we must fall out upon this Enemy, which having never seen a Jet battle, but only acquainted with light skirmishes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand, but shall in a moment know the price of their foolish hardiness; who as Brain-fick men could neither endure the government of their cruel King, nor yet thankfully receive the authors of their deliverance and liberty.*

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the general approbation of the chiefest Captains, *Barbarossa* commanded *Halis* the Author of that Counsel, with certain other Captains and their Companions, at one instant to fall out at two Ports of the Caffle; which they fo refolutely performed, that in fhort time a wonderful number of the naked Moors lay dead upon the ground.

*Abdalar* the Meftiar himfelf, was there forth through with a Bullet and flain; whereupon the Affault was quite given over, the Moors retiring by Companies back into the City, and the Turks fill perfuing them; where in the Streets for certain hours, was fought a moft cruel and bloody Battel. At laft the Citizens overcome, forfook the open Streets, and betook them to the refuge of their Houfes; not fo careful of their King, as of themfelves, their Wives and Children. And *Halis* with the reft, wearied with the slaughter of his Enemies, and overcome with labour, heat, and thirft, returned with Victory unto the Caffle. It is reported that there was above 3000 of the Citizens flain that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleffes* thus discouraged, and utterly defpairing to recover the City, hardly escaped his Enemies hands by the good help of his Uncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled over the River *Bugrada*, and came in fafety to *Constantina* (called of old time *Cyrras*) the ancient Seat of the Numidian Kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his Dominion; where he was honourably maintained and protected until the coming of *Charles* the Emperor, into *Africa*. The night enfuing this Battel, and the flight of the King, was reftlefs both to the Citizens and the Turks, each of them for fear of other ftanding upon their ftrongest Guard.

The next day the Citizens discouraged with the los of fo many of their Kinfmen and Friends, and having no King now for whom they fhould fight, craved pardon of *Barbarossa* for their rash attempt, excufing it by the name of Loyalty

Muleffes  
returned  
into the  
City.

The citizens  
of  
Constantinople  
were  
filled  
with  
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Muleffes  
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The citizens  
of  
Constantinople  
were  
filled  
with  
joy.

to their ancient Kings; offering to fubmit themfelves unto him with all faithfulnefs. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keep that place with his Souldiers three days, for lack of Victual; fo that all his hope and Victory gotten, might eafily be overthrowen and brought to nought, if the Citizens moved either with deperation or desire of Revenge, fhould join with the other Numidian Princes, and befiege him in the Caffle. Whereupon a general Peace was granted, and by folemn Oath on both fides confirmed, whereby the Citizens exprefly bound themfelves to the Obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbarossa* as his Lieutenant. All things thus fet in order in the City of *Tunes*, and new Magiftrates and Officers by him made, he laboured by all means to win unto him the Numidian Princes; which when he had eafily brought to pafs by Gifts and Rewards with thofe needy Princes, of themfelves prone enough upon light occasions to make or break the Bonds of Friendfhip, he fent *Afenaga* an Eunuch, and *Halis* the Spaniard, with the Janizaries, and certain pieces of great Ordnance, to take in the other Cities of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; which they in fhort time performed, being in all places peaceably received, only the City of *Carocenna* held out a while, yet afterwards for fear of further harm received the Turks Garriſon. But to leave *Barbarossa* King of *Algiers* and *Solyman* great Admiral, thus poffeffed of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; and *Muleffes* in exile at *Constantina*, until he be again reftored unto his Kingdom by *Charles* the Emperor, as fhall be hereafter declared, let us again return to the Wars at the felf fame time undertaken by *Solyman* in Perfion himfelf in *Perſia*, perfwaded thereunto (as we have before faid) by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of whom a few words, that they which fhall hereafter live, may in him as in others, fee in what flippery place they ftand, and what flail affurance they have, which forfaking God, run headlong after thefe worldly vanities, and fwelling with the Favours of great Princes, are in a moment when they leaft fear any fuch fall, fuddenly overthrowen, and become the miferable Spectacles of mans fragility in the height of their fupposed blifs.

This great Baſſa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of us *Abraham*, was born in a poor Country Village near unto *Perga*, a Town in that part of *Europe* where *Barbarossa* lived, who in his Childhood was taken from his Chriftian Parents, by fuch as by Authority did take up the Tribute-Children of the Chriftians for the Turkish Emperor. A Tribute of all Tributes moft grievous. He was of Countenance amiable, of Feature comely, active of Body, well fspoken, pleafantly conceited, and sharp of Wit; fo that he in fhorter time than was thought poffible, to the admiration of many, learned both to fpeak and write the *Arabian*-Tongue, and other Languages ufed in the Turks Court, and could skillfully play upon fundry kinds of Inſtruments. And being yet a Boy, ferved *Scanderbafſa*, a man of great Authority and Power, in the time of *Selymus* the Emperor, in whole Service he was inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion; but giving himfelf to all manner of curioſity and nature, he was wonderfully favoured by the great Lady his Miſtreſs, and by her commended to her Husband *Scanderbafſa*, as a fit Page to temper his melancholy and wayward difpofition, with his pleafant conceits and devices; wherein the Terrific Baſſa finding him to excel, gave him as a rare Gift to *Solyman* the Son of *Selymus*, his

Grandfather *Bazajet* yet living; who took in him fuch pleasure, that the old Emperor caufed him to be brought up in the Court, in all Princely Qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like years unto him) as his Companion and Playfellow. Where he fo framed himfelf unto the young Princes difpofition in all points, that he was of him always exceedingly beloved, and afterwards promoted to all the Honours of the Court, and made one of the Baſſes; giving unto him in Marriage the only Daughter and Heir of *Scanderbafſa* his Maſter, then dead, with an exceeding great Dowry. And after that made him Governor of *Caire*; where he had not long remained, but he was again fent for to the Court, as the man which gave thereunto life, without whom Company *Solyman* was as one half dead. At length he made him *Vijir*, which is the chief of all the Baſſes, and Prefident of his Council, the greateſt Honour in the Turkish Empire next unto the Emperor himfelf. And to honour him yet more, he delivered him his private Signet, wherewith the Turkish Emperors never ufed to truſt any but themfelves; he might at his pleasure grace and difgrace whom he would, in Court or elfewhere. What he commanded was done, and whatsoever he did was taken for well done. He might without the Emperors knowledge give any Office, yea the Government of whole Countries and Provinces unto his Favours; his credit with the Emperor was fo great, that he did what he list, and no man durſt preſume to ask any reaſon why. And to fay all at once, he wanted nothing of the Majesty of an Emperor, but the name only; in thefe virtues, he was commonly called the great Commander of all the Emperors Forces. His houſe in *Constantinople* was of all other moſt ſtately, wherein was daily to be feen fuch a multitude of his gallant Followers, and fuch a world of Wealth and Royal Furniture, as that might be worthily compared with the Palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solyman* Counſels in his weighty matters of State only, but of his fofter Delights and pleasures, alſo; if he were prefent, all was well; if he were away, nothing pleaſed; to be ſhort, he fo poffeſſed this great Emperor, that men commonly faid, The Soul of *Solyman* lived in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great Men of the Court ſecretly repined; but efpecially *Solyman* Mother, and *Roxelana* his fair Concubine, whom of all Women he held deareſt.

This great Commander, which might at all times be bold to ſpeak what he thought unto *Solyman*, fought many times in his private Difcourſes betwixt them two, to perfwade him to forbeare to uſe his Forces any farther againſt the Chriftians, over whom he had fufficiently already triumphed, and to turn them unto the *Perſians*, by whom he was daily injured. Alluding to him, that the *Germans* were a ftrong and Warlike people; who as they both in Language and Manners differed from the *Hungarians*, fo were they always at variance with them, and therefore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued; but if he ſhould begin to invade any part of their Country, he ſhould then ſoon fee that invincible Nation with their United Forces Engaged in Arms, ready to meet him through Reſtance. And to provoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all the Chriftian Princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelf was able to bring into the field moſt powerful Armies of valiant Souldiers out of his own Dominions; beſides the wonderful Concourſe of moſt reſolute Men out of all parts of Chriſtendom, which would not fpare to lay

His bringing  
up in  
the Court.

His great  
credit  
with Sol-  
ymana.

Abraham  
efforts per-  
fwades the  
Emperor  
to make  
war upon  
the Perſians.



down their lives at his Feet in that War; which was of them accounted most Religious. *Yea what strength both of Horse and Foot might be raised and brought to the battle by the two Brethren Charles and Ferdinand, only might (as he said) even then be plainly perceived, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, besieged by us with great Power. Neither did Charles afterward, as it seemed, and as the Christians commonly vaunt, fear to have adventured the fortune of a main battle with you; who although I doubt not but he should have been overcome by you so great a Monarch with so puissant an Army, a thing peculiar to your own good Fortune; yet I cannot deny, but that the Victory against such experts and resolute Soldiers, so bravely armed, as their manner is, must have been bought with a great deal of our blood.*

*Theft; things in my opinion may reasonably persuade you to let the Christians alone, by Civil Wars to weaken one another, that so afterwards they may become a prey unto us without any danger of ours. So that in my judgment the Persian War is to be taken in hand, rather than the Wars in Germany, and especially for that you have sufficiently enlarged the bounds of your Empire Westward, which you have extended even unto Nations very far distant. So that it is now a great matter to defend so much as you have already gotten; and therefore partly for the difficulty for the defending thereof, and partly upon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bounty of your heretical Inclination, have thought good to bestow whole Kingdoms upon strangers, yea half your Enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious shall it be now upon just occasion to seek for that which together with your own Conquests, you may therefore easily be united unto your own Empire: if you according to the example of your Grandfather and Father shall force your self to drive that accursed and abominable Race of Imael out of Asia. For it shall be a great glory unto the name of the Ottoman Kings for ever, if you shall after your wonted manner zealously respect the cause of Religion; a Work of incomparable Fame, if the Authors of a most detestable Superstition shall by you be chased quite out of Asia. For what more just or honourable cause can there be to make War, than to profess your self the Defender of the Divine Precepts of our great Prophet Mahomet, against the wicked and irreligious Impugners thereof? And by the way to revenge and utterly to destroy the Capital Enemies of your Ancestors; which was the last prayer of your Father Solyman. Can you endure them which Rule so insolently, that they account every one that is near them their Enemies and Prey, and dare also with their piling levies provoke your Self, being contented within the bounds of your own Empire, to peace both in Europe and Asia? and they (forsooth) speak as have by most horrible wrongs crept into the Royal-Seat of the most lawful and noble Kings descended of the blood of Ullin-Cassanes? who after their wonted manner still live by Rapine and Robbery? Believe me, Noble Emperor, if you shall upon a zeal to your Religion with your Victorious hand take away this stain and plague of Asia, there shall undoubtedly be erected unto you so glorious and magnificent a Trophy in the midst of Persia, as may be compared, yea preferred before the Triumphs of your Victorious Father Solyman. For it is not so much to have destroyed the Mamelukes (by condition Slaves) and the proud Sultans of Egypt and Syria, as to have subdued the Persians, famous in ancient time for their Martial Prowess; who so oftentimes vanquished by Alexander of Macedon, gave unto him the name of Great. Solyman, pricketh forward with many such Discourages, daily found in his ears by the Basia, began to yield to his perswasion. Whereof Abraham himself greatly rejoiced; for it was thought of many, that he did never in heart renounce the Christian Religion, but was only*

in outward shew a Turk, and in heart a Christian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he marvellously favoured and protected the Christian Merchants, furthered by all means the Leagues of the Christian Princes with Solyman, and laboured always to turn his Forces from them upon the Persians. And the more to whet him forward, the Basia had cunningly insinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulacbe of Damasco*, a man in that time famous in Constantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceived of his Holiness and the Art of Magic; using him as a Prophet to fill the ambitious mind of Solyman, with assured hope of prosperous Success, which thing the hypocritical Wizard, after the manner of such Deceivers, slyly performed, prophesying unto him all happiness in so Religious a War, and so much (as he said) pleasing God. This the Basiaes purpose was much furthered also by *Ulemas* a noble and valiant Persian, who having married the great to King *Tamas* his Sister, was revolted from him to Solyman, fearing to be called to account for the Extortion wherewith he had grievously oppressed the Countries whereof he had the Government; and being wonderfully countenanced in Solyman's Court by the great Basia, did after the manner of disloyal Fugitives perswade Solyman by all means he could to take that War in hand, discovering unto him the Power, State, and Strength of the Persian Kingdom, and how the Strength of the Persian Kingdom (which he said could well do) and plotting unto him the easiest way for the conquering thereof, offering also unto him the uttermost of his device. So Solyman filled with the vain hope of the Conquest of Persia, yielded fully unto the perswasions of the great Basia, and gave out his Commissions unto all parts of his Empire, for the raising of a mighty Army for the performance of so great an Enterprize; commanding all his Captains and Men of War to be ready at the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia* at a certain day appointed. Which his purpose, although it was mightily impugned by his Mother, and fair *Roxelana* his best beloved, as that which altogether proceeded from the Basia; the one alleging, with what evil success his Grandfather and Father had before him attempted that fame War; the other assailing him with her passionate affections; but both of them indeed repining at the credit of the Basia, and in their hearts maintaining, that so great a Monarch should at the pleasure of his Servant be led up and down the World to far from their Company; for which cause they did what in them lay to have overthrown the purpose of Abraham, and to have altered Solyman's former determination. But so strong was the Basiaes credit with his great Lord and Master, that all these great Ladies Devices and Prayers were as Womens affectionate passions rejected, and the Basiaes counsel (to which no small grief) in all things regarded.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, Solyman sent Abraham the Basia, and Ulemas the Persian, before him into Syria with a strong Army, to be ready with the first of the Spring to invade the Persian King. Which thing the Basia gladly took upon him, and coming into Syria, wintered with his Army at *Leppo*; whither *Barbarossa* came unto him for his Letters of Credence to Solyman, as is before declared. The Spring now being come, Abraham sent Ulemas the Fugitive Persian before him with the light Horsemen, the fore-runners of his Army, into *Mesopotamia* as his Guid, because the Country was unto him best known,

Solyman  
rejoiceth  
to go  
against  
the  
Persians.

Abraham  
credits  
ma-  
gi-  
cally  
and  
Roxelana.

The  
City  
of  
Tauris  
yielded  
up  
to  
the  
Turks.

Solyman  
cometh  
to  
Tauris.

Solyman  
followeth  
Tamas the  
Persian  
King into  
Sulania.

following not far after himself with all his Army. And marching still forward in that manner, came at length without resistance unto the famous City of *Tauris* in *Armenia* the greater, called in ancient time *Ecbatana*, as is probably by some conjectured, a great and rich City, but unvalled and of no strength; where the Persian Kings, for the pleasantness of the place, and freeness of the Air, used commonly to be resident in the heat of the year. From whence *Tamas* the Persian King was as then absent, bused in Wars with *Kezim-basla*, a Prince of the *Corsine Hircanians*; so that the Citizens of *Tauris* destitute of all help, yielded themselves and the City unto the Basia at his first coming. *Tamas*, who understanding what was happened at *Tauris*, drew near with his Power, warily expecting to have taken the Turks at some advantage, and so by policy to have defeated his Enemies, whom he was too weak to meet with in plain battle. Which thing the wary Basia well perceiving, for more assurance by speedy Couriers advertised Solyman of the taking of *Tauris*, and of the Enemies purpose, requesting him with all speed to repair with his Army unto *Tauris*. Solyman was then come far on his way with a great Army, not by the way of *Anagya*, *Sebastia*, *Amasia*, the borders of *Trapezonda*, and so over *Euphrates* at *Arsenga*, into *Armenia*, as his Father Solyman had done before him, because that way was thought longer and more troublesome; but quite another way, on the right hand from *Nice* in *Bithynia*, so *Icomium* and by *Calcaria* *Matalahia*, where is the notable passage over the River *Euphrates*, hurrying along the Valleys of the Mountain *Assaurus*, from whence the Plains of *Mesopotamia* (then part of the Persian Kingdom) begin to open themselves; through which Country Solyman marched peacefully with his Army, paying the poor Country people for whatsoever he took; and so in four and fifty days march, came from *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to the City of *Coin* in *Armenia* the greater, which is supposed to be built in the ruins of the famous and ancient City of *Araxana*. But hearing such News as is aforesaid from the Basia, he doubled his march, and so in short time after came and joined his Forces with the Basia at *Tauris*. *Tamas* (who yet daily expected the coming of the Georgian light Horsemen) understanding that Solyman was coming against him with a World of men, thought it not good to abide the coming of so puissant an Enemy, but with delay to weary him out, that drew such flocks of multitudes of people, to cut off his people, and spent with long travel, wanting Victual, and falling into divers Difficulties; as it commonly chanceth to populous Armies in strange Countries, where the change of the Air, with the inevitable necessity always attending upon a great Army, most times causeth grievous and contagious Difficulties. Wherefore *Tamas* to shun the coming of Solyman, retired further off into *Sulania*, about six days journey from *Tauris*. Whereof Solyman being knowledge, departed from that rich City without doing any harm therein; following after *Tamas* into *Sulania*, to joyne battle with him if he could possible; leaving behind him for halt, a great part of his Carriages and Baggage, with five hundred Janizaries, and three of his Sanazaks with their Companies. The City of *Sulania* was in ancient time one of the Royal Seats of the Persian Kings, but ruined by the *Seythians* *Tamurlane*, retained no show of the ancient Majesty, but only in the Churches by him spared. Near unto this City

Solyman lay incamped many days, expecting that the Persian King (in revenge of the injuries to him done, and for the safeguard of his Honour) should at length come out of the Mountains, and shew himself in plain Field, and give him battle. Which was a thing far from *Tamas* his resolution, upon the due comparing of his own strength with his Enemies, that he retired in such sort, that Solyman could by no means learn what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

The Country near unto the City of *Sulania*, wherein Solyman lay incamped at large, is on every side environed with huge Mountains, whose tops are to be seen afar off, always covered with deep Snow; these Mountains were in ancient time called *Nyphates*, *Caspus*, *Contrabaz*, and *Zagrus*, taking their beginning no doubt from *Caucasus* the Father of Mountains; and joyning one to another, some one way, some another, do divide most large and wide Countries. Whilst Solyman in those vast and plain Fields mott to fight a battle in, expected the coming of *Tamas*, such a horrible and cruel Tempest (as the like whereof the Persians had never before seen at that time of the year) fell down from the Mountains (which was so much the more strange, for that it fell in the beginning of September) with such abundance of rain, which froze so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter had even then of a sudden been come in; for such was the rage of the blustering Winds, striving with themselves as if it had been for Victory, that they swept the Snow from off the tops of those high Mountains, and cast it into the Plains in such abundance, that the Turks lay as men buried alive in the deep Snow; most part of their Tents being overthrown and beaten down to the ground with the violence of the Tempest, and weight of the Snow; wherein a wonderful number of sick Soldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the Camp, perished; and many others were so benumbed, some their Hands, some their Feet, that they lost the use of them for ever; most part of their Beasts which they used for carriage, but especially their Camels, were frozen to death. Yet Solyman himself was in great danger to have been overwhelmed in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being overthrown with the violence of the Tempest. Neither was there any remedy to be found nor so great mischiefs, by reason of the hellish darkness of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out by the extremity of the Storm; which did not a little terrify the superstitious Turks; as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no less than the miseries of the Tempest, was the fear of the Enemy, whose sudden coming they deadly feared; until that after so tedious a night, the Sun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerful beams revived many, before ready to give up the ghost for cold, and gave comfort unto them all in general, by discovering the open Fields clear of their feared Enemies. It was a dreadful thing to have seen what misery that one night had brought into the Turks Camp; the ground lay almost covered with Bodies of the dead, and many lived but so, as that they accounted the dead more happy than themselves. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible Tempest was brought upon them by the Charms and Incantations of the Persian Magicians; whereas it was undoubtedly by the Hand of him who bringeth the proud devices of Princes to naught.

Solyman

Solyman troubled as well with the strangeness of the accident, as the loss he had received; after he had a little refreshed his discouraged Soldiers, rose with his Army, and took his way on the left hand into *Affria*; *Ulemas* the *Perfian* perswading him thereunto for many causes, but especially by putting him in hope of the taking of *Babylon*; for that *Mabometes*, a Friend of his, was Governor thereof. But he when the matter came to proof, was not to be won either by Promise or Reward, to betray the City. Wherefore *Solyman* resolved to take it by force; neither did his Fortune fail him therein; for as soon as *Mabometes* understood that *Ulemas* was at hand with the Fore-runners of the Turks Army, and that *Solyman* with all his Power was coming after, (who as he thought would never have come so far;) he not provided to withstand so mighty an Enemy, and not beloved of the Citizens, fled out of the City. *Solyman* coming, in short time after was of the *Babylonians* received without resistance. The City of *Babylon*, commonly called *Bagdat*, rose out of the ruins of the old City of *Babylon*, so much spoken of in holy Writ; from whence it is not far distant, standing upon the River *Tygris*, which not far beneath falleth into the River *Euphrates*. In this famous City is the Seat of the great Caliph, the chief Arabian Prince, whom the Mahometan Princes have in great Reverence, and hath an old Prerogative in the choice and confirmation of the Kings of *Affria* and the Sultans of *Egypt*; of which Caliph, *Solyman* according to the old superstitious manner, received at his hands the Ensigns and Ornaments of the *Affrian* Kings, and with great bounty won the hearts of the people; and thereupon resolved to spend that Winter, by billowing his Army in divers places of that fertile Country. The other Cities of *Affria* and *Meopotamia* also, namely *Caramidia*, *Meredimm*, *Orfa*, and *Asencsa*, hearing that *Solyman* had without resistance taken *Babylon*, yielded themselves and received his Garrisons. Yet the same thereof was so great, that Embassadors came unto him as far as *Ormus*, a City by the mouth of *Euphrates* where it falleth into the *Perfian* Gulf, famous for the great Traffique out of *India* thither; suing unto him for Peace. Thus the ancient City of *Babylon*, with the great Countries of *Affria* and *Meopotamia*, sometimes famous Kingdoms of themselves, and lately part of the *Perfian* Kingdom, fell into the hands of the Turks, and became Provinces of the Turkish Empire, in the year 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had spent that Winter in great Joy and Triumph, according to the manner of the Turkish Government, placed a great Commander, which they by a proud Name call the *Baglerbeg*, (which is as much as to say, the Lord of Lords) and under him divers others for the Government of these Countries, by parts, which they call *Sannacks*, who are ever at the Command of the *Baglerbeg*. Whilst he thus wintered at *Babylon*, he caused *Alexander Zelika* (which is to say, *Alexander the Noble*) his great Treasurer for the Wars, to be hanged, for that he had unsuccessfully dealt in his Office, and confiscated all his Goods.

*Tamas* hearing that *Solyman* was gone to *Babylon*, returned to *Tauris*; of whose speedy coming the Janizaries and other Camps there left by *Solyman* understanding, fled in half out of the City, leaving all such things as were committed to their custody, for a prey unto the *Perfian* Soldiers.

1535. *Solyman's* Army being mightily increased by

the coming unto him of the great *Baffa* of *Caira*, with the *Sannacks* of *Arabia*, *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Comagena*; by the perswasion of *Abraham* and *Ulemas*, the Spring now well come on, departed from *Babylon* again towards *Tauris*, with purpose either to draw *Tamas* to battle, or else to his eternal infamy, before his face to sack that his regal City. But *Tamas* advertised of his coming, and knowing himself too weak to give battle, forsook the City, and fled into the Mountains of *Hircania*; destroying all the Country before him as he went, and carrying away the Inhabitants, leaving nothing to relieve the Turks Soldiers, if they should pursue him. *Solyman* understanding that *Tamas* was again fled, sent *Ulemas* with all the choice Horsemen of his Army to overtake him if it were possible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three days Journey, and still found the Country desolate, and the soldiers finding neither Forrage for his Horses, nor Relief for his Men, and saw no hope to overtake the King; he began as a provident General, to fore-cast the extremities like to befall in his return through those desolate Countries with the Enemy at his heels; and thereupon in time retired back again to *Solyman*, declaring unto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the *Perfian* King was not to be drawn to battle, marched forthwith to *Tauris*, and without resistance, the Citizens submitting themselves unto him; whose lives spared, he gave that rich City for a prey to his Soldiers, who left neither House nor corner thereof unransacked, abusing the poor Citizens with all manner of Infolency; every common Soldier without constraint sacking himself with whatsoever best pleased his greedy desire. So that *Tamas* had in this City a most lately and Royal Palace; so had also most part of the Nobility their sumptuous and rich Houses, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all razed down to the ground, and the greatest part of the best Citizens and beautiful Personages of all sorts and condition, at his departure thence carried away Captives. *Solyman* contenting himself to have done the *Perfian* King this disgrace, in spoiling his rich and Royal City, returned again towards *Meopotamia*, destroying the Countries all the way as he went, killing the very Beasts and Cattel, thereby the more to impoverish the *Perfians*, wishing to leave nothing unto them but penury and misery. He was scarcely past *Coin* and the *Caldean* Rivers (famous for his Fathers Victory against *Hymal*) but that certain Troops of *Perfian* Horsemen were in the tail of his Army, and had taken away some of his Baggage, and slain divers of the sick and straggling Soldiers, and with their often Skirmishes did not a little trouble his whole Army. Besides that, it was noised through all his Camp, That *Tamas* himself was coming after him with a greater Power of Horsemen, taken up in *Hircania*, *Albana*, *Parthia*, *Media*, and *Armenia*, and would be at their backs before they could get out of *Armenia*; for which cause he appointed the two great *Baffas* of *Caira* and *Syria* (for so they were called) and *Ulemas* the *Perfian*, with 18000 good Soldiers to follow him in the Rearward of his Army, to receive and repress the sudden Assaults of the *Perfians*, if need should require; and so still kept on his March, until he was come to *Amida*, now called *Caramidia*, an ancient City of *Meopotamia*. In the mean time *Tamas* the *Perfian* King was returned to *Tauris* with a mighty Army, in hope there to have suddenly surprised his Enemy, furnished with

*Tamas* hearing of the coming of *Solyman* to *Tauris*, fled into *Hircania*.

*Delimenes* with good Persian part of the Turks.

*Solyman* razed the Palace.

*Delimenes* falls the Turks; and night is night; and night is night; and night is night.

with the pleasures of so rich a City; but finding him gone, and beholding the miserable spoil and destruction he had made the City moved with indignation, he resolved to pursue him whither he would be gone, and was now on his way as far as *Coin*. Where understanding that *Solyman* was gone so far before, that he was hardly to be overtaken; and finding the noble Gentlemen in his Army unwilling in their heavy Armour to undertake such a pursuit, as could not be performed without the wonderful toil of themselves, and most assured loss of their goodly Horses; alleging that they were provided to fight a battle, and not to travel so long a Journey (all which, *Tamas* now that his choler was over, knew to stand with good reason) he changed his former determination, thinking it best there to stay and not to follow the pursuit of his Enemies any further; until that *Delimenes* one of his Noblemen (always more forward than the rest) offered with five thousand chosen Horsemen to overtake some part of the Turks Army, and to do on them some good service. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commanding him greatly for the fame, promising him most honourable Reward; and so in half sent him away.

He forthwith taking the well known and nearest way, used such Expedition, that he was in hope to overtake the Rearward of the Turks Army (marching as he now before him) about the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, as he did in fell out at a place called *Bethlis*. This *Bethlis* is a famous Town in the Confines of the *Perfian* Kingdom, where it bordereth upon *Meopotamia*, standing in a pleasant Valley, by which runneth a little River falling out of the Mountain *Antitaurus*; and had a Cattle kept with a Garrison of *Perfians*. In this Valley the two *Baffas* of *Caira* and *Syria* (conducted by *Ulemas*) thinking they had now been past all danger of the Enemies pursuit, staid with the Rearward of their Army to refresh their wearied Soldiers, upon certain knowledge, that *Solyman* with the rest of his Army was already come in safety to *Amida* in *Meopotamia*. And therefore lay as men secure, without any suspicion of the coming of the *Perfians*, whom they had not so much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenes* using most faithful and diligent Espials of that Country people, by that time he was come within one days journey of *Bethlis*, understood certainly where the Turks lay, weary of their long travel, as men without fear, keeping little or no Watch in their Camp: Whereupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to assail them in their Camp; and by secret Messengers gave knowledge thereof to his coming, and of this his purpose, to the Captain of the Cattle of *Bethlis*; requesting him at an appointed hour upon sign given, to be ready to fall out with his Garrison upon that side of the Turks Camp which was towards the Cattle. Which his venturesome designment was so furthered both by the darkness of the night, and the abundance of rain which fell at the same time, as if it had been wished for; that he was got with all his resolute Followers within the Turks Camp, before they were aware of his coming; where the *Perfian* Soldiers as Wolves amongst Sheep, did such speedy execution amongst the sleepy Turks, that the two great *Baffas* and *Ulemas* had much ado to get to horse and save themselves by flight. And such was the fury of the *Perfians*, and the greatness of the sudden fear increased by the darkness of the night, that the Turks not knowing which way to turn themselves, or what to do, were slain by thou-

sands, some sleeping, some half waking, some making themselves ready to fight, and some to fly, few of all that great Army escaped the Sword of the *Perfians*. Of the five great *Sannacks* which were in the Army, three were slain, and one taken. Eight hundred Janizaries, laid down their Harquebuses and other Weapons, and yielded themselves upon *Delimenes* his word. The fierce Mountain people also, who in former time had suffered great injuries of the Turks, after the death of *Aladules* their King, had now joyined themselves to the *Perfians*, and to whose share all the Baggage of the Turks Camp fell for a prey. Which sight then well have been of aid to the Turks, which the Poet speaketh of the night wherein *Troy* was sacked:

*Qui cladem illius noctis, qui funera fando Explicet?*

The slaughter of that night was so great, that it is of the Turks until this day accounted amongst their greatest losses; and the Victory so welcome to the *Perfians*; that in Memorial thereof they kept that day (which was the thirteenth of *October*) as one of their Solemn Holidays for many years after. *Delimenes* returning all bloody with the slaughter of the Turks, and loaded with their Spoils, was of *Tamas* joyfully received, and honourably rewarded.

This Overthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great *Baffas* and *Ulemas*, as men that had hardly escaped ship-wreck, so daunted his proud conceits, that he resolved in himself to return home, and no further to prosecute that unfortunate War; the event whereof, his Mother (as he said) had more truly foretold, than had the cold Prophet *Mulearabe*; but secretly in mind displeased with *Abraham* the great *Baffa*, by whose perswasion he had taken in hand that dangerous Expedition. By the way as he went he was met at *Iscania* by *Barbarossa* and *Sinan Baffa* firmated the Jew, a man for his skill at Sea in reputation next to *Barbarossa*. These two great Personages lately come from *Algiers* to *Constantinople* with the remainder of his Fleet, met him so far by Land, to shew their joyfulness for the Conquest he had made of *Meopotamia* and *Affria*, and to excuse themselves for the loss of the Kingdom of *Tauris*; which won by *Barbarossa* in the beginning of the *Perfian* War, was before the ending thereof again wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the Emperor, and restored to *Mulestafa*, as shall be hereafter declared. They with great humility declared unto him the whole process of that War, and with what Success they had endured the force of *Charles* the Emperor himself in Person; shewing plainly unto him, that there wanted neither valour in the Soldiers, nor direction in them the Commanders, but only Fortune, which as it mightily reigneth in all mens actions, so especially in matters of War. *Solyman* graciously accepted of their excuse, and courteously took them up, prostrate at his Feet, commending them for their valour in their evil hour, in a Plot so well by them laid, more than he did the Victory of others, got by good Fortune, not grounded upon any good reason; willing them to be of good cheer, saying, That that he would in short time find occasion for them to recompence that disgrace, and again to shew their approved valour. After long travel he came to the Strait of *Bosphorus*, where *Abraham* the *Baffa* going before him, had in token of Triumph caused the Shore all along

*Solyman* almost desolate.

The Countries of *Affria* and *Meopotamia* possessed by the Turks.

*Tamas* returned to *Tauris*.

the place where he should go aboard the Gally provided for his Transportation, to be covered with *Perfian* silk for him to tread upon; from whence he sailed with much Triumph over to his Palace to *Constantinople*.

Envoy, the fatal and cruel Companion of Princes immoderate favours, had with her prying Eyes quickly discovered, in Court *Solyman* changed countenance upon the great *Baffa*, and began now to frown her gally Face. They which before were most ready to do him all Honour possible, were to have laid their hands under his Feet, fought now by all secret means to work his *Disgrace* and Confusion. But of all others, the two great Ladies, *Solyman's* Mother and the fair *Roxelana*, ceased not by daily Complaints to incense *Solyman* against him; the Mother, for that he had by his perfavation, contrary to her mind and her superstitious Observations, drawn her Son into the dangers of the *Perfian* War; and *Roxelana*, for that he most honoured and fought the Preferment of *Mulapha*, *Solyman's* eldest Son by another Woman; where as the above all things laboured by all subtil means to prefer *Bajazet* her own Son to the Empire, after the death of *Solyman's* Father; which her designment was perceived to be much croffed by the Credit which the *Baffa* had with her *Solyman*, and therefore did what she might, both to bring him out of Favour, and to work his Destruction. But that which most impaired his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raised of him by his Enemies, That he being in heart a Christian, did in all things favour the Christians, (a thing most odious among the Turks,) and had in that cause craftily served *Solyman* to take in hand the unfortunate *Perfian* War. And that which more increased the suspicion, was, That he about that time had caused one *Mark Nicholas* a *Venetian* Merchant (who had not without suspicion of some, oftentimes came unto him with Letters and secret Messages whilst he lay at *Babylon*) to be taken in the night, and murdered at *Constantinople*, and cast into the Sea, because he should not discover any thing that might be hurtful unto him. *Abraham* thus brought in disgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkish Tyranny) bid to a Solemn Supper, in the Court about the fourteenth of *March*, after which time he was never more seen. It is reported, That after Supper *Solyman* fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had misgoverned the State, inverted his Treasures to his own private use, and as a Christian, had secretly favoured the Christian Princes his Enemies; for proof whereof, *Solyman* with stern Countenance shewed him, his own Letters, which had by chance been intercepted: oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that Hand, if he knew not that Seal. All which the *Baffa* lying prostrate at his Feet humbly confessed, and with many Tears craved of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be moved; for the same night as he was sleeping upon a Palace in the Court, overcome with heaviness, an Enchanted his Throat with a crooked Knave, which *Solyman* for that purpose had deliv'ed unto him with his own hand. He was murdered sleeping, because *Solyman* had in former times of his favour solemnly sworn unto him, That he would never kill him whilst he lived. By which Oath, the great Mahometan Priest held. He was not so bound, but that he might kill him sleeping, for as much as men sleep deprived of sense, so for that time not to be accounted as living, but as dead, mans life con-

sisting altogether (as he said) in lively actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked upon the dead body, and bitterly cursed the fame, he caused a great weight to be tied unto it, and so cast it into the Sea. His Treasure and Goods, which were almost infinite, were the next day all seized upon for the Emperor, and a small portion thereof appointed for his poor Wife to live upon. His death was no sooner known, but that the vulgar people devised of him infamous Songs; and slanderous Reports, as of a Traytor most justly condemned; and in further despatch, with mire and stones defaced the Trophies of the *Hungarian* Victory, which he had in a stately manner erected before his sumptuous House in *Constantinople*. This was the woful end of *Abraham* the great *Baffa*, who whilst he stood in favour with his Prince, was of all others accounted most fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan; but after falling into disgrace, became the scorn of Fortune, and the lamentable Spectacle of mans fragility. He was murdered the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1566.

How the Kingdom of *Tunes* was by *Barbarossa* (the Turks great Admiral) taken from *Muladies*, we have already told; but how the fame was again taken from him by *Charles* the Emperor a little before the return of *Solyman* out of *Persia*, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without just cause feared, that *Barbarossa*, possessed of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, and supported by the Power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not content himself with the Spoil of the Coasts of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and *Italy*, as he had in former time, but with all his Forces invade *Sicilia*, the Granary and Storehouse of *Italy*, and from thence attempt to Conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, which it was thought he in his immoderate desires had longed much after. To repress this his barbarous Infamy, and to work the safety of the Christian Kingdoms (much subject to the Rapines of the Turkish Pirates) *Charles* the Emperor resolved in Person himself with a puissant Army to pass over into *Africa*, whilst *Solyman* was yet buried in the *Perfian* Wars, and by force of Arms to dispossess the Tyrant of his new gotten Kingdom of *Tunes*. For the accomplishment whereof, he caused Soldiers to be levied in all parts of *Spain*, and came down to *Barcelona*, with sight thousand Footmen, seven hundred Horsemen, far looner than was by any man expected; amongst whom were many of the Nobility of *Spain*, with their Followers most gallantly appointed; but especially *Ferdinand of Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*; whose forwardness in that honourable Action, with the desire he had to revenge the death of his Father *Garcias*, slain before by the *Moor*s at *Granapols*, gave great hope even then unto his Countrymen, That he would in time prove a worthy Chieftain, as indeed he afterward did.

In the mean time *Andrew Auria*, the great Admiral, unto whom only for his approved fidelity and long experience the Emperor had fully communicated what he had with himself before purposed, had with wonderful diligence and celerity rigged up a great Fleet of Ships and Gallies to furnished with all manner of Warlike Provision, as might well have sufficed a great Army; whereunto he joynted also his own Fleet of seventeen Gallies and three Gallies, wherein he had embarked the Flower of *Genoa* and *Liguria*, who with exceeding cheerfulness had voluntarily offered themselves to follow him their old General in that Sacred Expedition. With

The castle, that stood Charles the Emperor to invade *Tunes*.

Alphonso d'Austria Vassal of the Emperor of the East.

The Emperor great preparations for the invasion of *Tunes*.

Andrew Auria the Emperor's Admiral.

With this great Preparation *Auria* came to the Emperor at *Barcelona*. Thither came also *Lewis* the King of *Portugal's* Brother (whose Sister *Isabel*, *Charles* the Emperor had married) with 25 Caravels, Ships with the *Portugals* used in their Indian Voyages, amongst whom was also one huge Galeon; all Ships well appointed and fit for Service, wherein were embarked 2000 *Portugals*, beside Mariners; there also arrived sixty Sail of tall Ships sent out of *Flanders* and the *Low-Countries*; wherein were a great number of condemned persons, whose lives were spared that they might serve in the Gallies. Unto this War *Peter* the Third of that Name, then Bishop of *Rome*, sent ten Gallies under the Command of *Virginus Ursinus*, the great Master of Malta sent thither his Fleet also. At the same time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that worthy Chieftain *Alphonso D'Austria* *Vassius*, whom the Emperor had appointed General of all his Forces at Land, had by the Emperors Commandment taken up five thousand new Soldiers in *Italy*, which were led by *Hieronimus Tutavilla*, Count of *Sarno*, *Frederick Caracci*, and *Augustine Spinola*, all famous Captains. The old Spanish Garrisons which lay in *Lombardy*, the Emperor commanded to be straitly looked unto, that none of them should leave their places to go into this new Expedition, but to remain there till under their General *Antonius Leva*; which worthy Captain although he would fain have had him with him, as of all his great Commanders the best; yet he thought it good to spare him, both for that he was much troubled with the Gout, and also for that it was necessary (as he thought) to leave such a valiant Captain with his Garrisons in the Country, for near unto the *French* and *Swissers*, whom he durst not so well trust as to disunfranchise that Country either of so great a Commander, or of the wonted Garrisons. At the same time *Maximilian* *Eleutherius*, an old Commander, came to *Vassius* with eight thousand *German*, over the *Tridentine* Alps to *Milain*, and so to *Genoa*; amongst whom were divers noble Gentlemen, who then as voluntary men served of their own charges. With these *German*s and the five thousand *Italians*, *Vassius* embarked himself at the Port called *Portus Veneris*, in *Liguria*; having before perwaded them, with patience to endure the tediousness of the Sea, and to comfort themselves with the hope of the Victory in *Africa*; where they should fight in the Quarrel of God, and for the Emperor, who did never forget his religious and valiant Soldiers. So sailing along the Coast of *Italy*, he came to *Naples*, where the Vice-Roy and divers other of the Nobility had of their own charges, every man according to his devotion or ability, built or furnished some Gally, some more, for that Service. It was wonderful to see with what cheerfulness the Gallants and lusty Youths of *Naples*, and all that part of *Italy*, came and offered themselves unto *Vassius*; so that it seemed there was none left behind in *Naples*; for he had with singular courtesie won the hearts of the old Souldiers and lusty Youths of that Kingdom, that both the one and the other thought it a most honourable thing to adorn, the one the before deserved Pensions, and other their first entrance into *Maria* *Auria's*, with the participation of so noble a Victory. But whilst every man was thus busied in ferring forward, certain mutinous Souldiers (weary of the Sea, and fearing the dangers of so long a Voyage) began to cast many Perils, to find fault with their final Wages, and to discourage the multitude; perwading them with seditious

Speeches to forsake their Colours, and to run away; for redress whereof, *Vassius* caused the Authors of that Mutiny to be taken and thrust into Sacks, and in the sight of the whole Fleet to be cast into the Sea. So *Vassius* departing with his Fleet from *Naples*, came in few days to *Palermo* in *Sicily*. The Emperor also looting from *Barcelona*, came to the Port of *Majala* in the Island of *Minorca*, and from thence to *Corsica* in *Sardinia*, whether *Alphonso Vassius* was a little before come with all his Fleet out of *Sicily*. Not long after, the Emperor, now that all his Forces were come together, passed over from *Sardinia* into *Africa*, and with a fair Westerly Wind put the Port of *Utica*, which is of the Seafaring men called *Tunus*. In the entering whereof, the Admiral Gally, wherein the Emperor himself was, by great mischance struck upon a Sand, and there stuck fast; which so much troubled the Emperor, for that his Father *Philip* had by like mishap been like to have been cast away upon the Coast of *England*, as he was failing out of the *Low-Countries* into *Spain*; however, by the good direction of *Auria* he was quickly got off the Sand again, and entered with the rest, to the great rejoicing of the whole Fleet. So profreely departing again from *Utica*, and sailing along the Coast, he doubled the Promontory of *Carthage*, yet famous for the ruins of that proud City, and came to Anchor before a Castle, which of a Well beneath it, is called by the name of *Aquaria*; or the *Water-Castle*. The *Moor*s, who from the Hills of *Utica*, or their Watch-Towers, had taken view of the Christian Fleet, and of the Courle it held, advertised *Barbarossa*, that the Christians were coming against him with an innumerable Fleet; for there was of one sort and other almost 700 Sail, whereof 82 were great Streamers, which gallantly garnished with Flags and Gallies, made a shew of more than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the Enemy. But that troubled *Barbarossa* most, that he was by Messenger upon Messing certainly informed, that the most mighty Christian Emperor *Charles* was in Person himself in the Fleet, with such a world of people, that it should seem he had left none in *Spain* and *Italy* that were able to bear Arms. Which News was brought by certain Mahometan Slaves, who getting loose in the Gallies, had in the night swome alledge, and reported the certainty of the Emperors coming; for the proud Turk, a great Contemner of the Christian Forces, never thought that the Emperor would have adventured his Person unto the dangers of the Sea, and chances of War, especially in an unknown, barren and forishing Country, but would rather have attempted to do something by his Lieutenants; or else by *Auria* his Admiral seek to surprize some bafe places along the Sea-coast, but not to come directly for the regal City of *Tunes*; in which opinion he was chiefly confirmed by *Alphonso*, a Gentleman of *Genoa*, who taken at *Tunes*, was kept as Prisoner at large in *Tunes*; of whom *Barbarossa* had learned many things concerning the State of *Italy*, the manner of the Christians, and strength of the Emperor; craftily feeding him with the hope of liberty, if he would truly declare unto him such things as he desired to know. Wherefore now in his rage he caused him to be brought before him, and charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiously told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperor, and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When he had thus with the unworthy death of a guiltless Christian, somewhat mitigated the grief of his light belief,

The Emperor's Fleet over into *Africa*.

*Barbarossa* hearing of the coming of the Emperor, was much distressed.

In his rage he executed him, who had craftily and perfidiously told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperor.

he forthwith began to cast with himself how he might best withstand his puissant Enemy. And first of all calling to counsel his Sea-Captains, in whom for their approved valour he reposed, that most confidence, he shewed unto them, that they as valiant men acquainted with the dangers attending upon honourable Actions, were not to doubt of the Victory, forasmuch as he saw it as good as already gained; for the same reasons for which he had before perswaded himself, that the Emperor (if he had not been half mad) would not have undertaken so desperate and doubtful a War.

Barbarul-  
la reco-  
gnizeth his  
Soldiers.

For who is there (said he) that knoweth this Country (not to speak of our own Forces) which would not reasonably think our Enemies should in short time know the price of their ambitious desire and rash attempt? which in a most unseasonable time of the year, the days being now at the longest, and the Sun in his greatest strength, are come to fight in a Country scorched with heat, and altogether without water; where the very sand which riseth with every blast of Wind, flying into their Eyes and Faces, shall no less trouble them than their Enemies? Shall we think that they, which as I hear for most part are fresh-water Soldiers, and furnished with heavy Armor, can easily march forward, or retire, or yet keep their ground, as the divers occasions of battle shall require; when as the deep and hollow burning sand up to the mid leg, will not suffer them to keep any order of Array? How shall they be able by any means to abide the force of our Turkish footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian Horsemen? And if they be so many of them as they say there is, where can they get Victual to feed such a multitude, if we do but protrait the War? Assuredly (most valiant and courageous Chieftains) we shall erect a most rare and incomparable Trophy in this Country of Africa; when as Charles the rich and great Emperor of the Christians shall either here be slain in battle, or else fall into our hands as a most rich prey. For mine own part, I will notably provide, that you shall want neither Weapons, Victual, or Aid, during the time of this War: I will open the old Armories, breach my Store, and bring forth my Treasures. The Numidian Princes now our Friends, I will without delay certain with great pay, and such Presents as shall be to them most welcome. As for the Citizens of Tunes, you know how easily they are to be kept in Obedience, and brought on against the Enemy for a small pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I most earnestly require of your approved valour, That you most valiantly defend the strong Castle of Guletta, as the most assured defence not of this City only, but of the whole Kingdom; and especially of our Navy which there lieth in safe Harbor; for that place will our Enemies with all their Forces first assault. Wherefore, as worthy Men never to be vanquished, keep that for Solyman and me, so that it being valiantly attempted by our Enemies, and resolutely defended by you, the Christian Emperor there failing of his purpose, and shamefully foiled; shall now begin to despair, not of the taking of the City of Tunes, but of his own return and safety.

When he had thus said, the Sea-Captains answered with one consents. That they would most willingly and cheerfully perform whatsoever it should please him to command; and in confirmation thereof, promised him not to do any thing which belongeth not most valiant and resolute Men. Amongst these Sea-Captains, Simeon of Men, a Jew, who had lost his right Eye, was both for his age and long experience in Military Affairs, of greatest account; next unto him

was *Haidimus of Cilicia*, for his fierceness in fight framed of the *Italians*; *Cacadiabelo*, and *Sale* of *Ionis*, which two had before, in a great Battle at Sea, slain *Rodericus Portenque* great Admiral of *Spain*, and taken his Son *Yago* Prisoner, and seven great Gallies; after these, was *Tachetochi of Lusitania*, and *Giaffer*, a valiant Captain of the Janizaries; all which were notable Pyrats, and then Men of great fame. The strong Castle of *Guletta* standeth in the bottom of the Bay of *Carthage*, upon a point of the Land, where the Sea by a narrow Strait runneth on the East side of the Castle into the Lake of *Tunes*, which being in a manner round, is about twelve Italian miles over. But now that Castle is parted from the Main on the West side also, by the Sea that way let in; which chargeable Work was by *Barbarulfa* begun, but given over again by him; perswaded by some, That the Sea coming in that way, would in short time fill up the Lake with sand; but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it standeth the manner of an Island, in the mouth of the Lake, divided from the firm Land by two narrow Strait passages; the one on the East, and the other on the West; yet so, that it commandeth both. This Castle *Barbarulfa* had before strongly fortified both with Men and Munition, as the Key of that Kingdom; but now upon the coming of the Emperor, he put into it his most expert and resolute Captains before named; well knowing that in the defence thereof rested the safety of his Navy which then lay within the Lake, as in a most sure Harbour; and also the greatest hope he had for the holding of the City of *Tunes*, whereon depended the whole State of that Kingdom. The Emperor lying at Anchor with all his Fleet near unto the shore, gave general Commandment, That his Soldiers should with as much speed as was possible, be landed with the long Boats; which was to orderly done, that the *Moors* terrified with the hideous cry of the Soldiers, making toward Land, and not able to abide the showers of small Shot, were easily beaten from the shore, whither they were come down in great multitudes, and so suffered the Christian Soldiers to land quietly. The first that landed were the Spanish Companies, after them the *Italians*, and last of all the Germans, whom *Vasilius* General of the Army caused presently to encamp themselves; bravely commanding, that no man should straggle from the Camp farther into the Land, until the Horsemen and great Artillery were all landed. The Emperor himself bearing Victory in the cheerfulness of his Countenance, landed also. In the mean time certain Companies were sent out by the General, to view the places nigh hand, and to fetch out the Cisterns and Fountains of fresh Waters thereabout, which sometime served the famous City of *Carthage*; with whom the *Moors*, but especially the *Numidian* Horsemen, a swift, subtle, and painful kind of Soldiers, oftentimes and in many places suddenly skirmished; and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the advantages they could of the places to them well known, with their Arrows and Darts furiously assailed them unawares, and overloaded with Armor, sparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Among whom was *Hieronymus Spinula* a *Ligurian* Captain, who overthrowing by a *Numidian* Horseman, had his Head cut off, and carried away by the same nimble Horseman, before he could be rescued. The like misfall befell *Fredericus Carelius* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vasilius* to view the places thereabouts, was slain by his side suddenly slain with a small

The Christian Army landed at Guletta.

The Christian Army landed at Guletta.

Salce felteth out upon the Count and the Italian.

small flock. All which nimbleness and fierceness of the Enemy, could not for all that stay the Emperor, but that he would needs with a small Troop of Horsemen, in Person himself take view of the places thereabouts, even in the fight of the *Numidian* Horsemen, which were in every place to be seen pricking up and down the Country in Troops; although he was many times requested by his grave Counsellors, to leave that Service for his inferior Captains, and not to expose himself to so great danger both of his Person and of the common Folly. *Vasilius* had now brought on the Army near unto the Castle of *Guletta*, still calling up a rolling Trench as he came nearer thereunto, thereby to keep his men out of the danger of the Enemies shot; which work was not done only by the Pioneers and Gally-Slaves, but by Soldiers of all sorts; yea many of the Captains themselves laid their hands to the Spade and Mattock; for why, the Emperor was there a continual Beholder, and cheerful Commander of every mans labour and forwardness, and the busy Enemy was ever ready to take the advantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes falling out even unto the very Trenches of the Christians, there giving unto them proud words of defiance. When the Army was to be martialled, and every Commander to be appointed to the place of his Charge in this Siege of *Guletta*; the Count of *Sarve* (a man famous both for the honour of his house, and for the good Service he had lately done against the *Turks*) being requested of *Vasilius* the General, to have the charge of the Mount nearest unto the Castle, which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of greatest honour. Whereat the old *Spaniards* (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. Upon the top of this Mount, the Count set up his rich Tent in the eye of the Enemy, and there lay with the *Italian* Companies over whom he commanded. He had not there long, when *Sale*, one of the *Turks* famous Pyrats, with certain Companies of the Garrison-Soldiers, fellied out of the Castle directly upon the Mount whereon the Count lay; and by making shew as if he would desperately have assailed the fame, raising a great Alarm against the *Italians*; yet so as after certain Volleys of Shot discharged on both sides, he began to retire as if he had been thereto constrained. Which thing the Count perceived, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproved certain of the Captains, whom he perceived not so forward in pursuit of the Enemy as he would have had them; and in his fury ran down from the Mount, the rest for shame following him, and overtaking the Enemies few divers of them. The crafty Pirat now seeing the Count drawn out of his strength into the plain ground, and perceiving himself strong enough to encounter him, suddenly turning himself about, laid unto his Soldiers; The advantage you wished to have of your Enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger; wherefore now show your selves valiant men, and suffer not one of these proud fresh-water Soldiers to escape alive or unwounded. Which he had no sooner said, but they presently made a stand, and so hardly charged them from whom they but even now seemed to fly, that the *Italians* were able longer to endure the fight, betook themselves to flight. The Count himself with *Belingerus* his Kinsman, fighting valiantly in the foremost of his Companies, was slain; many others indured the same fortune; others flying back again to the Mount, were slain there by the *Turks*; who resolutely

entered into the Trenches with them so far, that they carried away with them the Place and Riches of the Counts Tent. Neither was there any of the *Spaniards* which lay nearest unto them, and might easily have rescued them, that would once stir out of their places to help them; for it is reported, that they were nothing sorry for the overthrow of the *Italians*, forasmuch as the Count had so arrogantly craved of the General the most honourable place, which he so evil held. His head and right hand were cut off, and sent by *Sale* to *Barbarulfa*. This Overthrow much grieved the *Italians*, whom *Vasilius* comforted with cheerful Speeches, imputing all that loss, neither to the valour of the Enemy, or cowardice of the *Italians*; but only to the rashness of the Count, whom he said worthily to have paid the price of his inconsiderate forwardness. But the *Spaniards* he sharply reproved as merciless men, which upon so light an occasion had given cause for the *Italians* to have them in distrust. The *Turks* in the mean time by the often shooting off their great Ordnance, shewed the joy they conceived of this Victory.

It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilst men laugh at their Neighbours harms, their own is not far off; and so it fell out with the *Spaniards*; for *Tachabes* another of the piratical Captains, shortly after falling suddenly out of the Castle in the dawning of the day, was got up to the top of the Trenches wherein the *Spaniards* lay, before they were aware of his coming, and there lay down as they lay asleep, some idly thinking of no harm, others as they were arming themselves; and with their sudden Cry, caused the rest which lay near unto that place, shamefully for fear to fly out of their Trenches; where the *Turks* taking such trash as they there found, and having slain and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Mendofa* a Captain, and carrying away with them the Ensign of *Sarmatus* which stood upon the top of the Trench, returned with Victory. The alarm raised in the Army was such, as that the Emperor himself came running to the place in his Armor, severely reproving them of cowardice, which had forsaken the place and grievously offended with them which had kept such negligent watch against such an Enemy, as was not for wiliness, agility, and courage, to be lightly regarded of the best and most expert Soldiers. This disgrace of the *Spaniards* did not comforted the *Italians*, to see the old Soldiers no less overcome in their negligence, than they had been in their unadvised forwardness.

This Tumult appeared, *Vasilius* called into his Tent the Colonels and chief Captains of the *Spaniards*, and spake unto them in this manner:

Friends (said he) elsewhere always valiant, who together with me, have by your invincible prowess gained unto our Emperor many most glorious Victories; why can you now at this time to have need to be taken called upon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approved valour; for as far as I can see, the remembrance of your ancient Fame, is in you grown altogether cold, your hands are become faint for fear; and that which I am sorry and ashamed to say, you are grown I know not how, altogether out of order, and heartless, showing no courage for the subduing of these naked Pyrats. Yesterday (as many joy you smiled at this unadvised and unbecomingly forwardness of your friends, which they bought dear; but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerate carelessness; negligence; so that it concerneth you in Honour, to blot out this so foul and publick a disgrace, by some notable and worthy Exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and

The Count slain, and his head and right hand sent to Barbarulfa.

The Spaniards rejoicing at the overthrow of the Italians, are themselves slain by Tachabes.

Vasilius his speech to the Spaniards.

Ethereof, Simeon a Jew chief captain.

and I straightly charge and command you, that with all speed you prepare your mind, and weapons, for the achievement of some new honour: so that if the proud Enemy shall again presume to come forth and assault your Trenches, you shall forthwith break out upon him, and beat him back again even to the Gates of Guletta. Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pursuit, that you may together with your disordered men, enter some of their Rampiers, wherein we see their whole hope consists; which if shall otherwise fall out, then is hoped, yet shall you by this your notable devotion wonderfully content the Emperor your Sovereign, and me your General, and withal, cover your late dishonour.

Whereunto they all answered, That they would so bear themselves against the Enemy, as that he should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger in men desirous of honour and commendation.

The Turks  
sally again  
out of Gu-  
letta.

It was not long, but that the Turks encouraged with their former success, after their wonted manner failed out again, conducted by Giasfer Captain of the Janizaries, a man of exceeding Courage and Strength of Body; who with the Janizaries and certain Companies of Moorish Archers, about the noon time of the day issuing out of the Castle, assailed the uttermost Trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their Stations negligent and unprepared; wherein he was nothing deceived; for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day, kept such negligent Watch, that Giasfer with his Janizaries and Archers, was got up to the top of the Rampiers, and there discharged their Shot and Arrows upon the Christians in their Trenches, before they were well aware of his coming. But upon the striking up of the Drum, certain Companies of Light horsemen brake out from two places in the army, one infant, as *Yafiu* had before commanded; whom he seconded with a Company of Halbadiers, keeping in readiness his Squadrons to rescue his Harquebussiers, if they should be enforced by the Enemy to retire; and in that order expected the event of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintained on both sides. For the Janizaries, although they were enforced to give ground, yet (as men not used to flee, and for the honour of their order) withstood the Christians with no less resolution than they were by them charged; until that Giasfer their Leader, desperately fighting among the foremost of the Janizaries, was at once shot in with two Bullets, and slain; whose dead Body the Janizaries labouring to carry away, induced a most cruel Fight, many being on both sides slain upon his dead Carcass; yet at length they were enforced to flee, and so fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of Guletta, when they had received in the foremost, that out almost a fourth part of their own men, for fear the Christians should together with them have entered the Castle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spanish Ensign-bearers, advanced his Ensign upon the top of one of the Enemies Rampiers, and was there slain, but his Ensign fared by one hope to the Christians; that the Castle would without any great loss be gained; for being near unto it, they perceived it not to be so strong as they had supposed.

The Emperor having spent a few days in consultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the Siege, resolved without further delay with all his Forces to assault the Castle, perwaded thereto by many reasons; first, by the cheerfulness of his own Soldiers, and the Courage of his Enemies fore daunted in the last skirmish, which he was loath they should again recover by the coming of new Supplies; besides that, he was informed, that divers Companies of the Numidians were coming to *Tunes*, entrained by *Barbarossa*; whose strength was like daily to encrease; but that which moved him most to hasten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow fickly in his Camp, being all the day time scorched as it were with the fervent heat of the Sun, and well near starved in the night with cold and exceeding Dews wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good Water, or fresh Victual by any means to be had in that place, and barren Soil, for the relief of the food, other than that was brought out of the Fleet; for all the Water thereabout was most unpleasing and exceeding brackish, so that both sick and whole were glad when they could get a Crab to quench their extreme Thirst; although the Emperor did what he might to remedy these extremities, and much relief was in good time sent both from *Sicilia* and *Naples*; the Bisk also in the Ships especially in the Spanish Gallies, was grown hoary and unwholesome. Wherefore he began to place his Battery about the fifteenth of July, which was defended all along with Gabions, and Casks filled with Sand, for that the Country Soil in that place yielded neither Earth nor Turf to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the Castle by sea, divided his Gallies into three Squadrons, which, orderly succeeding one another, should by turns beat the Turkish great Ships in at Anchor, and out of their Forcibles thundered with their great Ordnance. And *Yafiu* at Land had divided the Army into three Battels; Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, every station by themselves, in such sort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the Assault, and of the glory of the Victory. There was never from place in the memory of man (since Guns, that fatal Engin were first invented for the destruction of mankind) afflicted with greater force, greater preparation, or industry. The great Ordnance in manner of a great Earthquake, so terribly roared and thundred, that the Earth seemed not only to tremble and quake under mens Feet, but even by and by to rent in funder and swallow them up; and the Sea which was even now quiet and calm, began to rise aloft, and to rage and foam as if it had been in a great Storm; at which time the Air became thick, and the Skie darkened with the smoke of the great Artillery: from the break of the day until noon, the roaring Cannon and Culverin never ceased; so that the Vamures were beaten down, the Castle made assailable, and the Walls so shaken, that in many places the Turks Cannoniers, together with their Cannon lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceived, the Christians were before appointed to give the first Assault, upon signal given by the Emperor, presently upon the ceasing of the great Artillery assailed the Breach, and others with their scaling Ladders scaled the Walls; which was done with such Courage and resolution, that the Turks when they had done what they possibly could for the defence of the place, by casting down Darts, Wild-Fire, and such like things upon the Christians as they were climbing up; at length as men despairing longer to hold

Guletta  
forcibly  
battered.

the place, and overcome with a greater Fortune, turned their Backs and fled. *Sinan* and the rest of the Captains by a wooden Bridge, fled out at the further side of the Castle, into the Main, and along the left side of the Lake by Land to *Tunes*, not looking behind them for haile; which was most part of his men followed him also. The rest were either slain or driven into the Lake, where seeking to save their lives by swimming, they were either slain in coming to Land, by the Spanish Horsemen, or else in their swimming shot at pleasure by the Harquebussiers, so that all the Lake was as it were covered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moors. The Emperor with finite Shot thus gained the Castle of Guletta, with all the warlike Provision therein, and with it all *Barbarossa* his great Fleet and strength at Sea, which for the more safety had before put into the Lake; which as it was unto the Emperor a thing most pleasant, so was it unto *Barbarossa* and his Pyrats the greatest grief and loss possible, having at once lost all their power at Sea, which but a little before was no small terror to all the Frontiers of the Christian Countries and Islands in the Mediterranean.

*Barbarossa* troubled and terrified with so great loss, with a stern and scornful Countenance received the Jew, and the rest of the Captains fled from Guletta, reviling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint-hearted Cowards, which had in so short a time given over so strong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* answered for them all, in this sort:

The Jews  
answer of  
*Sinan* the  
first unto  
*Barbarossa*.

*Hairadin* (said he) so long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou wilt knowest, and our Enemies cannot deny, what well befamed us and thy magnificent Fortune. But when we are to withstand the Devil and his infernal Furies, which came against us with Flames of Fire, and Earthquakes, things far exceeding error and danger; it ought not to seem strange unto thee, if we sought to escape the uncatchy Fury of the immortal Enemies of mankind, to do thee service in thy better Fortune, in defence of this City and Kingdom. Neither do we account it any disgrace to have escaped that danger, as men that mind again to fight; out of which thou, a most ancient and expert Commander (if I may frankly speak unto thee the truth) if thou hadst been there present, wouldst have accounted it no dishonour, but very good discretion to have escaped in safety.

*Barbarossa* repressing his fury, began in a more temperate manner to request them every one particularly, as valiant and courageous men to stand fast unto him in that War against their Enemies the Christians; telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great supply of the Moorish Footmen and Numidians, which the Enemy should (which were now at hand) the Enemy should not long rejoice of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith converted all his study and endeavour, to prepare such things as were needful for the War, bringing forth his Treasures, and bountifully bestowing the same amongst the Moors and Numidians, thereby to confirm the Friendship of such as well affected him, and with his new bounty to win the hearts of such as yet stood doubtful.

In the mean time *Muleaffes* the exiled King, with a final retinue of his Friends and Followers, came from the farthest part of *Numidia*, into the Emperors Camp; the Emperor sitting in a Royal Seat in the midst of his Pavilion, whereunto *Muleaffes* was admitted, with a Mitre upon his head, in a Garment of green and blew changeable Silk; he was of a tall and manly Stature, of

Colour tawny, but so Squire-eyed, that he seemed spitefully to look upon them whom he beheld; whom after he had killed the Emperors right hand, and had set himself down with his Legs gathered close under him, upon a Carpet spread upon the bare ground, after the manner of his Country, he by an Interpreter spake unto the Emperor as followeth:

*Thou art come in Arms into this Country, and art now almost Conqueror of the same (thrice mighty as a Numidian Emperor) provided thereunto not by any desert of thine own, for that our different Religion (so required); yet most high God, whom both thou and I do with like Devotion worship, take revenge of the most perfidious and cruel Tyrant and Pyrat, the mortal Enemy of mankind, whom I forsook as good as already conquered, now that Guletta is taken, and his Navy spoiled. So that I hope he shall in short time by thy revenging hand, at once receive the just Gouern of all his former Villanies; which shall be so much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the Fruit of thy rare Felicity and glorious Victory will redound in great part to me, being referred by thee into my Fathers Kingdom, which I as a poor child Prince most humbly request of thy Justice and Bounty. For it shall be unto thee a thing most honourable and profitable, if thou shalt receive into thy protection me, a King Royally descended of a most ancient Progeny, strengthened with the great Alliance of the Numidians and Moors. Neither do I refuse either to pay thee Tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my self Vassal unto thee the Christian Emperor. Of which my Fidelity there can be no greater assurance, than the thankful remembrance of so great a benefit received; which shall never remain ungrateful of me and my Posterity, even for that especially, that I do self and abhor the name of an unthankful man; and do well by experience find, how much my fate may be confirmed, and the minds of my People to me assured, by thy Garrison so near at hand in Sicilia and Sardinia.*

Whereunto the Emperor answered, That he was come over into *Africa* to be revenged of the injuries which *Barbarossa* had many times done upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, and to root out the Pyrats, of all others most mischievous; which his good purpose had by the goodnoes of Christ his Saviour taken so good effect, that he doubted not in short time by the taking of *Tunes* to obtain a perfect Victory; which once gained, he would then kindly grant him all things which should stand with the convenience of his Affairs, and the use of his Victory; so that he would not falsifie his Faith, which he might justly suspect, if he reposed not a special trust, that the remembrance of such a benefit would for ever remain in his heroic mind; and was further assured, that the same power which should restore him his Kingdom of course, could also take it from him again, if his unthankfulness should so deprive.

*Muleaffes* in the presence of the Emperor used such a gravity and grace in his speech and gesture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former estate; but towards the General and the other great Captains he used all manner of Courtesie, so that he rid up and down with them gallantly mounted, managing his Horse, and charging and discharging his Lance with such agility and skill, as showed him to be a very good Horseman, and of great activity. At other vacant times he would subtly reason with learned men, after the manner of *Averois*, of the nature of things, of the Motion of Heaven, and Power of the Stars. By the Emperors commandment

The be-  
stow-  
er of  
Muleaffes.

Muleaffes  
comes to  
the Empe-  
ror.



he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his Diet. *Vafius* and the rest of the chief Commanders of the Army used him with all honour, and at such time as he was desirous to see the Camp, courteously brought him into all places of it, that he might himself see what Mounts they had in short time cast, what abundance there was of great Artillery, what strong Watch and Ward was kept, what a number there was of brave and warlike Souldiers of divers Nations, differing much one from another in Language, Countenance and manner of Furniture; and further demanded, Whether that puissant Army which the Emperor had brought over to his great good, were in his Judgment sufficient to subdue the Enemy? Where above all things *Mulefais* wondered at the number and order of the great Ordinance; and next unto that, at the wonderful plenty of things to be bought and sold in the Market place, and at the modest quietness of the Souldiers in buying the same. Not long after, the expert Captains by diligent enquiry learned of him many things well serving for their better proceeding in that War, especially of the disposition and strength of them of *Tunes*, of the situation of the City, of the nature of the Walls, and fortification of the Castle, of the Wells and Cisterns in the Suburbs, and what Strength the Moors and Numidians were of, which *Barbarossa* had entertained. In conclusion, he assured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbarossa* would never trust to the strength of the Walls, which would easily be overthrown with the great Artillery; but would in a great bravery with Ensigns displayed bring all his Forces into the Field, of purpose to terrify the Christians with the sight of the multitude of his rascall Souldiers, and to break their array with his Numidian Horsemen, who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that Nation, would fall to assault the City, and that all this would never bring into the Barril his Turkish Footmen (in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom he desired most to spare) but would as a craty and subtil Turk, by oppoing of the Moors, whom he held in small regard, try by their blood what might be done without the danger of his own men. But as he told them, nothing could be more strange unto the Moors his Countrymen, or that they were more afraid of, than in a bat fought to fight with that Enemy, whose squadrons coming orderly on in glittering Armor with long Pikes, might scorn and easily overthrow the naked Archers of the Moors, and the unarmed Numidian Horsemen; and that our men should find nothing more grievous or troublesome, than the scorching heat of the Sun, and the Thirst rising thereof, which might easily be remedied by plenty of Water, which by Slaves and small Boats might easily be brought in Casks and Bottles from the Fleet along the Lake, and so distributed amongst the Army; although not far from the Walls of the City were certain old conduit Heads which would yield them great Plenty of Water, if the malicious Enemy did not to his own hurt and others, poison the same. These things orderly reported to the Emperor, confirmed the hope he had before conceived of the desired Victory; so that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully foreseeing all things, he relieved forthwith to depart from *Guletta*, and with all his power to besiege *Tunes*.

But whilst he was preparing things necessary, ordering his Souldiers, and discovering the Enemies purposes, his Souldiers had dayly divers skirmishes with the Numidians; so that once the skirmish was like to have come to a just Battel;

which began in this sort: The Moors had planted certain Field-Pieces amongst the Olive-Gardens, wherewith they shot continually into the Camp for removing whereof, the Emperor leaving the Italians, with certain Companies of the old German and Spanish Souldiers, for the keeping of his Camp and Trenches, went forth with his Horsemen and the rest of his Army; finding before him *Montegius*, General of the Spanish Horsemen, who for most part were but raw Souldiers, such as were of the Noblemen ordinary Servants and Footmen, not before acquainted with the Wars. These light Horsemen with divers Fortune skirmished a while with the Enemy; but when they saw themselves to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their General grievously wounded, they turned their Backs, and in the fight of the Emperor shamefully fled to the Men at Arms, which were coming after them. The manner of the Enemies Fight was, to give at the first a fierce and desperate Charge, and upon the counter given, of purpose to retire, avoiding thereby the first daunt force of their Enemies, and by and by to turn again upon them with a fresh charge. The Emperor seeing the Flight of his light Horsemen, came on courageously with his Men at Arms; by whose coming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moors were put to flight, and the Field-Pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the Camp, taken. In this Skirmish the Emperor in person, as he took forward in his armed Troops, gave the sign of Battel himself, by crying with a loud voice, *Saint James, Saint James*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and so charging the Enemy, performed the part not only of a courageous Chieftain, but of a resolute and valiant Souldier also; refusing with his own hand *Andrew Pontius* a noble Gentleman of *Granada*, whom unhorsed and forewounded, the Emperor was ready presently to smother, had not the Emperor by his coming in saved him, and deserving thereby the Oken Garland, which the Romans by the name of *Civica Corona*, gave as an honour to such as had in Battel saved a Citizen.

About the same time it fortuned, that thirty thousand Moors came upon the suddain to have surpris'd a little Tower standing upon a Hill near unto the ruins of old *Carthage*; wherein the Emperor had placed certain Souldiers for the keeping thereof, because it was near unto his Camp. Before these Moors went a Numidian Priest, who bellowing out certain superstitious Charms, cast divers Scrolls of Paper on each side the way, wherein he cursed and banned the Christians; and now they had with Fire and Smoke brought the Christians in that Tower to great extremity, when the Emperor himself coming to their rescue with certain Companies of Horsemen and Footmen, flew the conjuring Priests with others, and put the rest to flight. The discomfiture of the Spanish Horsemen caused many men to think, that if the Emperor should come to a just Battel with the Enemy, he should find his Horsemen too weak, both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cause, and divers others, the Emperor certain of the Emperors grave Counsellors, but none of the best Souldiers, wished him not to proceed further in that dangerous War, but with speed to return out of *Africa*, for as much as he had won honour enough by the taking of *Guletta*, and the surprizing of the Enemies Fleet; whereby he had to his immortal praise, and the common good of Christendom, delivered all the Frontiers of the Christian Countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and fear of those most cruel Pyrats; besides that the Flux began

The Spanish light Horsemen put to flight.

The Emperor refused the retreat, and with his own hand refused *Andrew Pontius* of *Granada*.

The Emperor marcheth toward *Tunes*.

The Emperor advised by his Counsellors to return home.

to rage in his Camp, whereof in many of his Souldiers fell sick and died dayly. Whereas on the contrary part, the mighty Numidian Princes, such as were *Mulefais* old Enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbarossa*. These unfeared Speeches the Emperor thought good to repress betime, reasoning against the authors thereof with great gravity, as against men who with more fear doubted of the success of things, and the event of the Victory, than befet them, whom for their constant resolution, and good opinion conceived of their direction, he had chosen to be of his most secret Council.

Saying, That he desired not of them that they needed, and dishonourable labour, wherein they should show themselves more careful of his person than of his honor; forasmuch as those things which they now alleged should have been said before the War was taken in hand, now by good hap half ended, before he ever passed over into *Africa*. For he might (as he said) have rested quietly in Spain, and have easily neglected and rejected the injuries done upon the Sea Coast, and the complaints of his Subjects; but he was (as they well knew) for most urgent causes come thither; where as he was resolved to satisfy the expectation of the world with a notable Victory; or if God should otherwise appoint, there to end his days with honour. Wherefore he would them to cease further to flatter him that was now dismayed, or to possess the minds of his valiant Souldiers with a vain forbidding fear, and with respect to his mind; together with him their Chieftain, against the next day to expect what the fortune of the War should appoint for the full accomplishment of that War. For he was (as he said) (let down to give the Enemy Battel; or if he refused the same, to batter the Walls of *Tunes*, not doubting but that God would stand on his side in so good and so goodly a quarrel.

The Emperor leaving a sufficient Garrison in the Castle of *Guletta*, commanded the Breaches to be repaired, and the great Ordinance there taken to be laid upon Carriages, which before after the old rude Sea fashion lay bound in great unwieldy pieces of Timber, with Iron Rings fastened thereunto, and could not handily be handled or removed to or fro. After that, when he had caused the Country to be viewed all about, which betwixt the Olive Groves and the right side of the Lake giveth a direct passage unto the City of *Tunes*; he set forward with his Army in so good order, that he did march as ready to fight, for fear of the Policies and sudden Assaults of the Enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next unto the Lake; on the right hand the Spaniards near unto the Olive-Groves, which in the manner of a great Wood ran along the Country, from the ruins of *Carthage*, almost to the Walls of *Tunes*; in the midst betwixt both marched the Germans; next unto them followed the great Ordinance; and after it, the Carriages of all the Army. In the Vanguard was *Vafius*, whom the Emperor had made General of the Army, and especially for that day; in the Rearward was the Duke of *Alva* with certain Troops of chosen Horsemen; in the middle of the main Battel was the Emperor, and by his side *Lewis* his Brother in Law the King of Portugal's Brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of *Salerno*, the Spaniards by *Alonso* an ancient Captain, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberstein*. But the Emperor in his Armor could not to ride from Squadron to Squadron, with cheerful countenance and full of hope, recounting unto them the former Victories which they had gotten for him; and telling them, that

he did that day expect of them a most honourable day service, forasmuch as they were to fight against the naked Enemies of the Christian Religion; wherefore they should with resolute minds set down themselves to endure the Weight of the Armor, the painfulness of the March, the heat of the Sun and thereof; and the tediousness of the Thirst arising thereat; until they might joyntly Battel with their Enemies, where they should undoubtedly by the goodness of God (in whom they fought) obtain the Victory; in the mean time they should with patience overcome all difficulties, comforting themselves with the undoubted hope of a most rich Prey, which they were to expect of the Spoil of a rich City. Whereunto every Squadron answered with a great shout, that he should not trouble himself with those matters which he had before rehearsed, but to assure himself, that they his Souldiers would most patiently endure all extremities, and not deceive the expectation he had conceived of their wonted valour, but by valiant Fight to make him Emperor, not of *Africa* but of *Asia* also.

Now *Vafius* had withdrawn two Companies of Harquebusers out of the Spanish Squadron, to skirmish with the Moors, who continually followed in the tail of the Army; whom, by these Harquebusers and certain Troops of Horsemen deputed to that purpose, the Duke of *Alva* notably repulsed in the Rearward.

The Army was now come unto the Cisterns of fresh Water, which *Mulefais* and others which well knew the Country, had before told them of, as soon as the Souldiers almost fainting under the weight of their Armor, with the scorching heat of the Sun, and extremity of Thirst, despaired afar off, for they desired they had quench their Thirst, forthwith forsook their Colours, and disorderly ran as fast as they could to those Cisterns; *Vafius* the General, to the utmost of his power labouring in vain both by fair means and foul to have thaid them; who saw by that disorderedness of the Souldiers, a great advantage offered unto the Enemy, which then was not far off. But when the General could neither with words or blows prevail any thing with them, the Emperor himself was glad to halt thither, with his Prefence and Authority to have kept them in order; yet such was the force of their intolerable Thirst, that neither the sight of the Emperor, nor all that he could do, could remedy the disorder; some fainting in the Sand for lack of Drink, and some other for greediness ready to burst their Bellies at the Fountains; so that the Emperor was fain with his Truncheon to beat them away. Amongst the rest, one *Sallustius Cicero* of *Arpinum*, a famous Captain, died at the Cistern side with drinking too much. This extremity for want of Water seemed justly to have hapned unto them, forasmuch as *Vafius* the day before had by general Proclamation through the Camp, commanded that every Souldier should carry with him a Bottle of Wine or Water at his Girdle; although he caused so much Water as he conveniently could, to be carried in great Casks for the common relief of the Army, whereof the Germans had the greatest part; some almost ready to give over for Thirst, were glad to get a draught of cold Water of their Fellows which had it, for two Ducats.

This disorder being as with much speed as was possible reformed, and the Army again brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the Enemy; for *Barbarossa* with a wonderful multitude of Horsemen and Footmen, and a number of Ensigns (the instruments of vain fear

The Souldiers for lack of water despaired of their march.

A draught of water sold for two Ducats.

*Barbarossa* is in Field against the Emperor.



fiar and foolish bravery) gallantly displayed after the manner of the Moors, was come about three miles from the City, and with certain Field-Pieces (as *Muleffes* had been told) went about to have broken the Battel of the Christians; which Pieces after they were oftentimes discharged, yet did they but little or no harm by reason of the unskillfulness of the Cannoniers. *Vafius* in like manner, and for like purpose had commanded the great Ordnance to be brought into the Front of the Battel; but perceiving what time and toil it required to have it done (for that it was drawn but by strength of men, and the Wheels of the Carriages sunk deep in the devouring Sand, and the Shot and Powder which the Mariners and Gally-Slaves carried altogether upon their Shoulders, came but slowly on) he suddenly changed his purpose, and told the Emperor, That he thought it not best to stay for the great Artillery in that cheerfulness of his Army when every man desired Battel, but to commit all to the Valour of his resolute Men, and his own good Fortune, which ever favoured his noble attempts; left whilst he lay (said he) too long upon our great Ordnance (which do not always serve to great purpose in sudden Battels) our Enemies gather Courage in the time of this our unnecessary delay; and this exceeding cheerfulness of our Soldiers (the most sure token of undoubted Victory) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereupon the Emperor, who was Battel, and filled with good hope, joyfully answered; *Vafius*, if thou to think it good (which I also like well of) in Gods name give the signal. That shall I by and by do (said he) but first it is reason that you which sway and command a great part of the World, learn at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and shame, you, laying aside the Imperial Majesty of your self, have for this day made General and Commander of his mighty Army; wherefore (said *Vafius*) I will now use my Authority, and command you, first I may not to request you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midst of the Battel near unto the Ensigns; left by some unlucky Shot, the whole estate of the Army be brought into extreme peril by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor smiling, willed him to fear no such thing; saying moreover, That never Emperor was yet slain with a Gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the Battel. Whereupon the signal of Battel was by the sound of the Trumpet, and striking up of the Drum, presently given, and the Enemy (with more haste than the extrem heat of the day required) furiously charged by the Emperors Horsemen, who to avoid the danger of the great Artillery, made all the haste they could to come to hand blows. In the foremost of these Horsemen was *Ferdinand Gonsaga*, a most valiant Nobleman, who then served the Emperor without charge; he being somewhat before the rest, at the first onset slew with his Lance a great Captain of the Moors, and presently with his Sword to troubled them that were next; that he opened a way for them that followed him, to rush into the Enemies Battel. The Harquebussiers also discharged to fast upon the Enemy, that three hundred of them lay dead upon the ground before the joining of the Battel; which the rest of the Footmen seeing, forsook their great Ordnance and fled back to *Barbaruffa*. Who long endured not the force or sight of the Christians; but grinding his Teeth for sorrow and grief of mind, turned his Horse, and with his Turks retired into *Tunes*. For now that his designs had in the beginning taken so evil

success, he thought it not best to adventure all in one Battel; knowing right well, that the Emperors Army could not long endure the inconveniences of the intolerable heat and want of many things, especially of fresh Water; which fed him with hope, that he should out of these his Enemies distresses pick some fit occasion of advantage, if he could but a while defend the City of *Tunes*. The Numidians and Moors, who in great Troops and Companies had always hovered about the Emperors Army, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themselves into the Suburbs, Gardens, and other places near unto the City.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his Enemies, which were thought to have been in number an hundred thousand, encamped with his Army that night in the same place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the Walls of *Tunes*. In the mean time *Barbaruffa*, surprised with an exceeding fear, and distressed with many cares, and now become more cruel than himself, had in his mind purposed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman Cruelty; which was at once to have killed all the Christian Captives in the Castle of *Tunes*; fully resolved to put the same in execution, had not *Sinan* the Jew dissuaded him from that most execrable fact; protesting him a practise to be unbecomingly for a man of his Valour, famous for his many Victories, and carrying with him the Majesty of a King; wherefore he would shortly after wonderfully repent him for doing so shameful a fact; the doing whereof, What was it else (as the Jew said) but a manifest demonstration of his extreme fear and desperation? which two things were most dangerous to him, that was to maintain so doubtful a War, and would much deface the glory of his former life; wherefore he should be content to bear, that by the fame of such a most horrible fact, he did not provoke *Solymán* heavy displeasure against him, who devoid of all human Cruelty, had used both to detest and revenge such outrages. Wherefore he should suffer the Christian Captives to live bound in their fatal Chains, so long as it were their Fortunes; who being well kept, and unarmed, might shortly after serve him to good purpose, and could no way without most certain danger move themselves, if they should unadvisedly lift after their unlucky Liberty; for by them, the expected Victory could neither be given to the Enemy, nor taken from him, or yet so much as hindered. At which speech the Tyrant was affamed, and so sparing the lives of the poor Wretches, went out of the Castle, into the greatest Church of *Tunes*, whither he had caused to assemble all the chief men of the City, to tell them what he would have done for the defence of the City, and now by perdition to encourage them to fight; from whom, as men by him holden in distrust, he had but a little before the coming of the Christians, taken all manner of Armor and Weapons.

Whilst *Barbaruffa* was thus busied, the most joyful and happy day appeared to those miserable captives, by fortunes change no less black and dismal to the Turks and Moors. For a glorious purpose of the cruel Tyrant could not long be covered or kept secret; for that a constant report of a danger so imminent, was run through the whole Castle, even into deep Dungeons; by the compassion of certain manumitted Slaves, who detesting the savage Cruelty of *Barbaruffa* their Master, and touched with Devotion had in Heart returned to their old and true Christian Religion; incouraging by secret Speeches the chief of the Captives with whom they were acquainted,

*Barbaruffa* in mind to kill all the Christian Captives, is dissuaded by *Sinan* the Jew.

to lay hand now upon their liberty. Amongst these well minded Men was one *Franca* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruffa* had from his youth brought up as his Minion, having him always in great Esteem by the name of *Memo*; and another called *Vincencius Catevus* of *Dalmatia* an Eunuch. These two adventuring a most memorable and godly attempt, for open the Prison doors, and gave Instruments unto the poor Prisoners, ready to take the occasion offered; who boldly starting up, broke off their Chains and Gyres, and so by the great goodness and mercy of God, about six thousand poor naked Christians, armed with dust came first in hand, but especially with stones, brake forth suddenly upon the Turks that were in the Castle. *Ramadas* a renegade Spaniard Captain of the Castle, stirred up with unexpected and terrible noise of so many Prisoners breaking their Irons, with a few Soldiers whom he had suddenly called unto him, ran to the Castle Gate, where one of the Prisoners (a lusty young Man of *Sicilia*) had with one of the Bars of the Gate struck down one or two of the Wardens, and having broken the Gate, was become Master thereof; him *Ramadas* slew, and opening the Gate, made way for himself and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruffa*, to carry him the news of that his hard mischance. But the Christians now loosed from their Bands, and having suddenly slain divers of the Turks, possessed themselves of all the Castle, brake open the Armory, and so seizing upon the Kings Treasure, Armor, and Provision, from a high Turret gave signs of Victory to the Christian Army by smoke and false fires made with Gunpowder; and lastly by displaying of *Sarmatus* his Ensign, which (as we have before declared) was by *Tahamusa* taken from the top of the Trenches at the Siege of *Gadara*. These signs although the Christians in the Army could not well perceive, as being too far off; yet by the Fugitives which came oftentimes out of *Tunes* to the Emperor and *Muleffes*, they were both persuaded, that some great Tumult was risen amongst the Enemies. Wherefore the Emperor first two of his Captains with their Companies, who going as near as they could to the City and the Castle, should discover what the matter was. In the mean time, *Barbaruffa* almost mad for anger, in his fury blaspheming his vain Gods, and bitterly cursing and banning the Jew, for dissuading him from killing the Captives, came to the Castle Gate, with tears standing in his Eyes pitifully requesting the late Christian Captives (which then stood upon the top of the Walls and the Gate, with Weapons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promising them their liberty, with a general and free Pardon for all that they had done. But they mindful both of their former and present Fortune, and moved with just hatred, cast stones at him, and with many opprobrious words rejected his request; so that he enraged with sorrow and madness, shot at them with his own hand, and seeing all past remedy, and the City not possible now to be kept, shamefully betook himself to flight. After him followed the Turks in number seven thousand, with purpose to flie to the City *Hippona*, now called *Bona*, famous for the Bishoprick of that reverend Father and great Divine *Augustine*. For there (as in a most free Harbour) had *Barbaruffa* left fourteen Gallies in the Lake near unto the City, to serve his turn whatsoever mischance should happen; but the Tackling, Sails, Masts, and Ordnance, he had laid up in the City, the first by which were kept with a Garrison of his own.

The Emperor understanding that *Barbaruffa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his Armies of the City were ready to submit themselves unto him, and to deliver him the Keys of the City; only requesting of him, that he would keep his Soldiers incamped without the City, and not to seek the utter spoil and ruin thereof; promising, that the Soldiers should want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleffes* also careful of the safety thereof, earnestly intreated the Emperor in the Citizens behalf. But he, although he was of his own honourable disposition ready enough to have granted what they requested; yet for that he did, not without cause, doubt of the Moors Fidelity, and that the payment of the Money which they of *Tunes* had by *Muleffes* promised for the payment of the Soldiers wages, was by them craftily delayed, expecting still the uttermost devour of *Barbaruffa*, he could not by any means be persuaded to promise them any certainty of their safety; moved also for to do by the discontented Speeches of his Soldiers, who spared not to say, That they should be hardly and unkindly dealt withal, if after so long travel and so much pains taken both by Sea and Land, they should be defrauded of the reward of the Victory, fish nothing but only the hope of the present spoil did relieve and feed them, being poor and miserable, having scarce Clothes to cover their nakedness, and their Bodies spent with long labour and thirst; so that the Moors of *Tunes*, Enemies of the Christian Religion, and the perpetual receivers of most horrible Pyrats, might worthily rejoice of the Christian Victory; and the Conquerors themselves for ever bewail their own calamities and miseries. Whilst the Emperor stood thus in doubt what to resolve upon, *Vafius* with a small Company to the Castle Gate, and was with wonderful joy received by the Christian Captives. But as he was viewing the Wealth and Provision laid up in the Castle, a Ligurian Captain discovered unto him where certain Treasure lay hid; for *Barbaruffa* had there cast into a Well thirty thousand Ducats sowed up in Bags, which *Vafius* getting easily out, obtained them of the Emperor of Gift, as he whose good service had well deserved them. The Castle thus won by a most rare chance, and the Captives taking the spoil thereof, the Soldiers could no longer be stayed, but that they entered into the City by heaps, running after the spoil into every part thereof; the Citizens fearing no such matter, and calling in vain upon the faith of *Muleffes* the old Soldiers at the first entrance flew away the spoil; but the Germans desiring more to glut themselves with the Mahometan Blood, filled all places with dead Bodies, without regard of Sex or Age, so that the prophane Temples of their vain Prophet, swam with the Blood of them that were flod into them. What furious execution continued until such time as the Emperor moved with the pitiful request of *Muleffes*, caused proclamation to be made, That no Man should upon pain of Death hurt any Citizen, or take any Prisoners; yet for all that, it could not otherwise be, but that many young Men and Women were by the Mariners (which were come to the spoil of the City) carried away to the Fleet.

*Muleffes* for a little Money redeemed divers which he knew, out of the hands of such as had taken Prisoners; amongst others, one of his Wives, whom he sometime held dearest, was ransomed for two Ducats. The Emperor entering

*Tunes* spoiled by the Christians.

*Vafius* commends the Emperor.

*Barbaruffa* with his Turks to *Tunes*.

*Tunes* yielded to *Barbaruffa*.

into the Castle, commended the Captives, who were the occasion of that speedy Victory; and giving to every one of them Money, for their liberty, promising unto them Shipping and Provision to bring them home every Man into his own Country. Unto the two manumitted Servants of *Barbarossa*, which were the Authors of breaking the Prison, he gave Money and Apparel, and afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbarossa* his purposes, and secret disposition. In the spoil of the Castle, *Mulicelli* lamented the loss of three things especially; first, the ancient Arabian Books containing the interpretation of the Mahometan Law, and the Acts of the Kings his Predecessors; the loss whereof, *Mulicelli* at the hearing of *P. Jovius*, out of whom this History is taken) said (as he reported) that he would most gladly, if it had been possible, have redeemed with the price of a City: Then the precious Ointments and Perfumes, with the wonderful force of Ambergrize, Musk, and Civer, worth much Gold; all which, *Barbarossa* as a rude and rough Man had made no reckoning of. And last of all, the rare and rich Colours for Painting, which lying by heaps, were by the ignorant Souldiers, seeking for that might yield them present Money, foolishly neglected and trodden underfoot, serving no Man to good. In this Castle were found divers Head-pieces and other Armour of the Christians, namely of the French, who with *Lewis* their King, had about three Hundred years before besieged that Castle; which Armour had been until that time kept by the Moors in remembrance of that Victory against the Christians.

*Barbarossa* in the mean time came to the River of *Bagrada*, which the Moors call *Maidred*, which he easily passed over, though he was pursued by certain Numidian Horsemen, whom *Mulicelli* had raised of his old Friends, and of the Followers of his Uncle *Dorax*, and sent them to pursue the Turks; but *Barbarossa* so marched with his Harquebussiers and Archers placed in the rearward, that the Numidian Horsemen durst not come near him, and so in safety came to *Hippa*, as he had before purposed. Yet in passing the River *Bagrada*, he lost *Haydim* of *Smirna*, that famous Pyrat; who being a fat Man, and wearied with the heat of the Sun and painfulness of the Journey, drank too much, that he died presently upon the bank of the River. When *Barbarossa* was come to *Hippa*, he rested his Men two days; then calling them together again he comforted them with good words; perceiving them, that whatsoever mischief had happened, they should impute it not to the valour of the Enemy, but to the treachery of the Slaves; exhorting them, as valiant Men patiently to endure that storm of Fortune, and by some notable exploit to win again his Favour; for he was again determined to put to Sea with the Fleet he had, and to go presently from thence to *Algiers*, where after he had with new Supplies increased his Power, and augmented his Fleet, and better advised himself, he would take an attempt in hand answerable to their desires, and not unbefitting his own credit and estimation.

It is reported, that never vanquished and beaten Captains was with a more cheerful acclamation answered by his Souldiers, than he was at that present; they all with one consent, most willingly requesting him to command whatsoever pleased him, which they would never refuse to undertake, were it never so heavy or dangerous, so that they might be brought to some notable exploit. *Barbarossa* using this exceeding cheerfulness and forwardness of his Souldiers, did with

wonderful celerity weigh up the fourteen Gallies which he had sunk in the Lake, and forthwith rigged them up, and furnished them for all affairs; and upon the very brink of the Lake cast up a Mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of Artillery for defence of the Harbour, not vainly conjecturing, that the Christian Fleet would in short time come thither to impeach his going out; pointing therein as it were at the purpose of the Emperor and *Asia* his Admiral, who were of opinion, that by sailing part of the Fleet thither, those Gallies might be drowned in the Harbour with the great Ordinance, before they could be rigged and made ready. Unto this piece of service *Asuria* appointed one *Adam*, a Captain of *Genoa*, a Man of no great skill in matters at Sea, but yet of great wealth and credit, and the Admirals kin Kinsman; he with certain Gallies and fourteen Gallies, set forward towards *Hippa*, promising unto himself a most certain and easy Victory, hoping to purchase unto himself great Honour of the unprovided Enemy; for that he thought to have taken *Barbarossa* busie in setting forth of his Fleet. But after he was past *Biserta*, and came near to *Hippa*, he was certainly advertised, that *Barbarossa* had with incredible celerity rigged up his Gallies, and fortified the Harbour, by planting great Ordnance upon the Mount he had there raised. With which news he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpose, perceiving by the other Captains of the Gallies, in no case to adventure to fight with him, because the Spanish, Sicilian, and Neapolitan Gallies were but weakly manned, many of the Souldiers being for greediness of the Spoil gone ashore without leave at *Tunes*; so that he should at great disadvantage fight with the Turks, being more in number and desperately bent. Wherefore he upon good advice presently changed his former purpose, and returned to the Fleet for more Aid. (as it was afterwards known) flood a good while in doubt, whether he should in hope of Victory pursue those Gallies, forasmuch as they were in number no more than his own, or else to persist in his former purpose of going to *Algiers*. Unto which opinion all the under Captains inclined, being altogether ignorant of the weakness of the Christians; and to letting slip a fair occasion, leaving a small Garrison of Turks in the Castle, he departed from *Hippa* and sailed along the Coast to *Algiers*. When *Adam* was returned again to the Fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Christian Princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of some who were hardly to be commanded, and by the unskillfulness of others who without leave were gone ashore, so fair an occasion of the desired Victory, was neglected. For this thing only wanted unto the Emperor rare felicity in that War; for if those few Gallies had been taken from the cruel Enemy, or sunk in the Sea, there had been no means for him to have escaped; being verily thought, that the Numidians in number infinite, and deadly Enemies unto the Turks, would with often Skirmishes out of their known places of advantage, have so cut him off in his long and painful travel by Land, that they would altogether have made an end both of him and his followers before he could have come to *Algiers*. *Asuria* angry both with himself and those whom he had put in trust, and yet not out of hope to overtake his Enemy, with his own Gallies and some other of the best Ships went to *Hippa*; but finding *Barbarossa* gone, he took the City, and overthrew the Walls thereof; but in the Castle which he by force took: from the Turks, he placed

placed *Alvorus Gometius* with a sufficient Garrison, and so returned unto the Emperor. *Thur Gometius*, although he was a most valiant Captain, yet became so infamous for his avaritious dealing both with the Enemy and his Friends, that for fear how to answer such things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous Executioner of himself. The Castle was afterwards by the commandment of the Emperor, raised down to the ground, for that it was not without a marvelous charge to be kept. After that, a Council was holden concerning *Adula*, whom the Emperor placed again in the Kingdom of *Tunes*, there to Reign as his Ancestors had done before him; paying him yearly by the name of Tribute, two Falcons, and two Numidian Couriers; with condition, that he should for ever honour the Emperor, and be a Friend unto all Christians, and an utter Enemy unto the Turks. Besides that, that he should from time to time defray the charges of a thousand Spaniards and more, to be left in Garrison in the Castle of *Guletta*; by holding whereof, the Emperor kept as it were the Keys of that Kingdom at his Girdle. The Emperor having thus honourably driven *Barbarossa* and the Turks Pyrats out of *Tunes*, taken from them their Gallies, delivered the Christian Countries (all along the Sea Coast into the Mediterranean) of a great fear, and restored *Adula* again to his Kingdom, failed into *Sicilia*, where he was in great Triumph received at *Panormia* and *Adelfa*, from whence he passed over to *Rhigium* in *Italy*, and from thence by Land to *Naples*. Thus was the Kingdom of *Tunes* taken by *Barbarossa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperor recovered again out of their hands the self-same time that *Solyman* was in Person himself in Wars against the Persians; whom *Barbarossa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Jew after this overthrow met at *Iscium* in his return out of *Perfia*, well accepting of their excuse, as is before declared.

1537.

*Solyman* as well of his own ambitious disposition, as following the manner of the Ottoman Kings, desirous by all means to encrease the glory of his Name, and to enlarge his Empire, determined with himself to take away from the Portugals all their Traffick into the *East Indies*. It grieved him to hear, that the Christian Religion should begin to take root amongst the Pagan Kings, which had not long before received the Mahometan Religion; Besides that, he was credibly informed, that the Portugals in these late Wars he had against the Persians, had aided them with certain Harquebussiers, and also had sent them Work-men to shew them both the making and use of great Artillery. But that which moved him most of all, was for that the Portugals by their Traffick into the *Indies*, had cut off all the Trade of Merchandise into the Gulf of *Arabia*, whereby the Riches of the East were wont to be transported unto *Caire*, and so to *Alexandria*, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian Merchants and others dispersed into all parts of *Europe*; but now were carried by the great Ocean into *Portugal*, and from thence conveyed into all parts of Christendom, to the great hindrance of his Tribute and the influence of *Egypt*. For these causes, and at the instance of *Solyman* Bassa an Eunuch, born in *Epirus*, and then Governor of *Egypt*; *Solyman* caused wonderful preparation to be made, for the building of a great Fleet in the Red Sea, to go against the Portugals. All the Timber whereof was cut down in the Mountains of *Cilicia*, and Shipped in the Bay of *Attalia* in the bottom of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by Sea trans-

ported to *Pelusium*, and so up the River of *Nile* to *Caire*; where after it was framed and ready to be set afloat; together, it was with infinite labour, and no less charge, carried by Land with Camels through that hot and sandy Country, from *Caire* to *Suetia*, a Port of the Red Sea, called in ancient time *Arifome*. From which place, eight miles distant from *Caire*, the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, seeking by vain and wonderful works to eternise the memory of themselves, had with incredible charge cut through all that main Land; so that Vessels of good burthen might come up the fame from *Arifome* to *Caire*; which great Cut or Ditch, *Seftria* the rich King of *Egypt*, and long after him *Amos* *Pharaoh*, purposed to have made a great deal wider and deeper, and thereby to have led the Red Sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation of the Indian Merchandise to *Caire* and *Alexandria*. Which mad work, *Seftria* prevented by death could not perform; and *Pholomus* otherwise perished by skillful Men, in time gave over for fear least by letting in the great South Sea into the Mediterranean, he should thereby as it were with another general Deluge have drowned the greatest part of *Grecia*, and many other goodly Countries in *Asia*, and with exceeding charge, in stead of Honour, have purchased himself eternal Infamy. Yet by the singular industry of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with severe commandment enforced all the people of the Countries thereabouts to the furtherance of the building of that Fleet; he had with wonderful celerity in short time new built eighty ships and Gallies at *Arifome*, and furnished them with Men, and all things else needful for so long a Voyage. At which time, he upon a quarrel pick without cause, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, most injuriously confiscated the Goods of the Venetian Merchants at *Alexandria* and *Caire*, which he thrust the Mariners into his Gallies as Slaves. With which Fleet in most Warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa, accompanied with *Aljam-Beg*, commonly called the *Admiral of Alexandria*, a most famous Pyrat and an excellent Seaman; far forward against the Portugals, and sailing through the Red Sea, and so Eastward by the Gulf of *Perfia*, came at length as far as the great River *Indus*; where with all his power he Assaulted *Dum* a Castle of the Portugals situate upon the mouth of that great River; but in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the Castle both by Sea and Land, and tried the utmost term of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forsake the Siege, and leaving his great Ordnance behind him for lost, returned back again to *Aden*, a City of great Trade in *Arabia Felix*; where discouraged with the little success he had against the Portugals, because he would be thought to have done something, he altered the King of that rich City to come unto him, upon his faith Faith before given for his safe return; but as soon as he had him aboard, he like a perjured wretch hanged him up at the Yards-arm of his Admirals Gallies, and so surprising the City, enriched himself with the spoil thereof. The like barbarous cruelty he used at *Zelph*, another famous Port of *Arabia*, where the Pilgrims of the East do commonly Land when they after the manner of their false Prophet at *Mecca* do visit the Temple of place together with his nobility he cruelly murdered, contrary to his Faith given; and so travelling himself by Land to *Mecca*, as if he had been some devout Pilgrim, sent back his Fleet by the Moor to *Suetia*, having performed against the Portugals nothing at all.

At the same time *Solyman* by the perswasion of *Lutius* and *Alix* (the Baffes of greatest authority about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his Forces from the Persians, as *Men* agreed with him in the chief points of his Mahometan Superstition, with purpose to convert the fame upon *Italy*; whereunto he was earnestly solicited by *John Forrest* the French Kings Embassador, then lying at *Constantinople* of purpose to incite *Solyman* against *Charles* the Emperor, assuring him that he was not of such power, as at one time to defend *Apulia* against him, and the Dukedom of *Melfa* against the French King, who (as he said) was determined that Summer to invade that part of *Italy*. And to further the matter, about the same time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble Gentleman, sometime Commander in *Charles* the Emperors Army, but then exiled out of *Naples*, fled unto *Solyman*; and forsomuch as he was a Man of name, and like to do him great service in the invasion of *Apulia*, and which knew the Country well and promised unto him good success in that War, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongst his Murfaracs; which is a certain Company of Horsemen for their approved Valour, chosen out of all Nations; having the free exercise of their Religion whatever without controulment, and are only bound to attend upon the Person of the great Turk when he goeth to War. The cause of his revolt was, that the Viceroy of *Naples* had executed *Andrew* his Brother, one of the Knights of the *Rhodes*. But being now grown into great favour with *Solyman* and the Baffes, and oftentimes called to counsel in the preparation of that War, cutting off all natural love of his Country, ceased not by all means to persuade *Solyman* to invade the same; assuring him, that the People of *Apulia* and *Salerno*, oppressed with grievous Tributes exacted by the Emperor's Officers, would at the first revolt, especially if they saw any of the French Nation to cleave unto. And that which moved him more than all the rest, the ancient Turks told him into what a fear all *Italy* was trucken, at such time as *Achmetes* the Baffa having taken *Hydruntum*, had undoubtedly conquered not only the Kingdom of *Naples*, but the City of *Rome* also, and all the rest of *Italy*, had now the untimely death of *Abraham* his great Grandfather interrupted the course of that Victory. Which perswasions wrought such effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully resolved for the Invasion of *Italy*, made such expedition both by Sea and Land, that he himself in Person was come with two hundred thousand Men unto *Aulona*, the most convenient Port for *Macedon* for the transporting of his Army, before it was thought in *Italy* that he was set forward from *Constantinople*, where he had not long staid, but *Lutius* Baffa his Admiral, accompanied with *Barbarulla*, sailing along the Coast of *Peloponnesus* and *Epirus*, and so passing by *Coreya*, where *Hieronimus* *Pisaurius*, Admiral of the Venetian Fleet lay with his Gallies (after mutual salutation done after the manner at Sea, by shooting off their great Pieces in token of friendship) put into the Haven of *Aulona* also. *Solyman* not purposing to close any time, and having *John* now in his sight, commanded *Lutius* and *Barbarulla* to pass over with the Fleet unto *Oranto*, and to prove the minds of the people; that if the first enterprise tell out well, he might presently follow after with all his Army. With them went also *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the destruction of his Country, as any of the rest. He knowing that the great Cities of *Hydruntum* and *Brendusium* were kept with strong Garrisons of

*Charles* the Emperor; leaving *Hydruntum* on the right hand, directed the Turks to a Town upon the Sea Coast, eight miles off, called *Caprunum* near unto which standeth a Castle upon a Hill then belonging to *Mercutinus Catinaris*; who being a Man unacquainted with Wars, and terrified with the suddain coming of the Turks, and periwaded by *Troilus*, yielded up his Castle, upon condition, that the Turks should offer no violence or injury unto him or his, either in body or goods. Upon which condition the Town of *Caprunum* was also delivered unto him. But the Turks, especially the greedy Mariners, being got into the Castle and the Town, moved neither with the intreaty of *Troilus*, nor the commandment of *Lutius* and *Barbarulla*, rifled the Town and Castle, and carried away with them *Mercutinus* himself, with all the flour of the people, to their Gallies as Prisoners. But *Lutius* ashamed of such faithless dealing, presently set *Mercutinus* at liberty again. At the same time also, *Solyman* had by night sent over certain Troops of light Horsemen, in great Palanders; which running all along the Sea Coast from *Tarentum* to *Brendusium*, carried away with them both the People and Cattel, and whatsoever else came in their way by the space of forty miles. So that all the Country of *Salentinum*, now called *Otranto*, was filled with fear and danger; and had not there stayed, but was like enough to be overwhelmed all *Italy*, by the coming over of *Solyman* with his whole Army, had not the rashness of one Venetian Captain by unexpected chance turned that Tempest from the Italians upon the Venetians themselves.

*Alexander Contarinius*, a valiant Captain of the Venetians, meeting with certain of the Turks Gallies, which would neither vail their top Sails, nor in token of reverence to the Emperor, charge any of their great Ordnance, as so duty they ought to have done in those Seas where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud insolency, fiercely assailed them, and in light funke two of them; wherein *Ufameus* Governor of *Calipolis*, a Man of no small reputation among the Turks, was reported to have perished. Which outrage done by *Contarinius* in a most unfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian Estate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his own private grudge which he bare against the Turks, for that they intercepted a Ship of his as the was coming out of the East Countries laden with rich Merchandise; so that it was thought, that he to please himself in revenging of his own private injury, regarded not what in that dangerous time might ensue therefore to the common State.

A little before the coming over of the Turks into *Italy*, *Andreas* *Auria* the Emperors Admiral lying at *Melfa* in *Sicilia*, understanding that *Solyman* was come with his Army to *Aulona*, and that his Fleet was arrived there also, put to Sea, directing his course towards the Islands of *Cephalenia* and *Zacynthus*, hoping (indeed as it fell out) to meet with the tail of the Turks Fleet; for there according to his expectation he chanced upon divers of the Turks Viduallers, whom he easily took. The Mariner he charged with his own Gallies for Slaves, and furnishing his Fleet with the Vidual which was not for him provided, fired the Ships. Whilst *Auria* was thus beating to and fro in the Ionian Sea, it fortuned that *Solyman* sent *Junius* his chief Interpreter, a Man whom he made no small account of, with two Gallies on a Message to *Lutius* his Admiral. This proud Turk coming near unto *Coreya*, where the Venetian Admiral lay

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with his Fleet, offered scornfully to pass without valuing, whilst his pride tending to the disgrace of the Venetians, certain of the Venetian Captains not enduring, fell upon him with such fury, that the Turks were enforced to run both their Gallies on shore upon the Coast of *Epirus*, near unto the Mountains called *Acerocraunus*, where having escaped the danger at Sea, they fell almost all into the hands of the cruel Mountain people, living for the most part by Theft, and waiting for Wrecks, as Hawks for their prey; by these means the Turks were first of all they had, and *Junius* himself with much ado redeeming himself out of their hands, returned to *Solyman*. *Auria* falling along the Sea Coast, chanced upon these Gallies, and finding them fore bruised, fell fire on them.

For these unkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and grievously complained of them by *Solyman*; although the Venetian Admiral laboured by all means he could to appease *Junius*, and to excuse the matter, as a thing done by great oversight on both sides. Upon these small occasions, the Turks fought to break off the League with the Venetians; which fell out so much the sooner, for that about the same time *Auria* failing up and down the Ionian Sea, and diligently looking into every Harbour to intercept such as fringed from the Turk Fleet, happened by night to light upon twelve of *Solyman*'s great Gallies near unto *Aulona*, all filled with his Janizaries and choice Horsemen of the Court, the best Soldiers of the Turks, who had by Land sent their Horses to the Camp by their Lacks, and were coming themselves with the Janizaries by Sea. *Auria* falling upon these Gallies, had with them a cruel and deadly Fight for they as resolute Men, without regard to die, or yield to their Enemies, with invincible courage maintained a most bloody Fight against *Auria* with his thirty Gallies excellently appointed, until such time as most part of them were slain, and the rest were wounded; who seeing no remedy, but that they must needs come into the hands of their Enemies, threw their Scimiters overboard, because those choice Weapons should not come into the hands of the Christians. In this conflict, *Auria* lost also many of his best Soldiers; yet having got the Victory, and possessed of the Gallies, he anchored near unto *Coreya*, there to take view of his own harms and the Enemies; but whilst he rid there at Anchor, he was advertised, that *Barbarulla* was coming against him with eighty Gallies. Wherefore knowing himself too weak to encounter so strong an Enemy, he departed thence, and returned again to *Melfa* to repair the Fleet. *Solyman* thoroughly chafed with the loss of his Gallies and best Soldiers, and with the double injury done unto him by the Venetians, fell into such a rage, that he cursed *Barbarulla*, as one who in these Wars had done him no good service; and thundred out grievous threats against the Venetians, saying, He was under the colour of an ancient League, by them deceived and greatly abused, and that they were secretly considered with *Charles* his Enemy, and had for that cause (as they had always) helped *Auria* with intelligence, and all things necessary, receiving him into their Harbours, and by their Espies giving him knowledge of the order of his Fleet, that so he might at his own advantage surpris the Gallies, as he had already done. Unto which fire, *Junius* his Interpreter, *Barbarulla*, and *Alix*, laid new Coals, more and more incensing the Tyrant, who was of himself sufficiently inflamed; perwading him by all means

they could, to break the League with the Venetians. Wherein *Junius* sought to revenge his own private injuries; and the other two also their great profit and credit, gaped after the Spoil of the Islands near hand, especially of *Coreya* (now called *Corfu*) *Zacynthus*, and *Cephalenia*, all subject to the Venetian Seignior; finding the Wars in *Italy* more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into *Italy*, as was by them expected; and it was commonly reported, that *Henry* *Talentum* Viceroy of *Naples*, having put strong Garrisons into the Towns along the Sea Coast, was coming himself with a great Army; beside that, the Horsemen sent over from *Aulona*, ranging about in the Country of *Salentinum* for Spoil, were many times cut off by *Scipio* *Sammetus* a noble Gentleman, there Governor for the Emperor. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpose for the invasion of *Italy*, in his mad mood proclaimed War against the Venetians; and rifting with his Army from *Aulona*, and marching along the Sea Coast until he came over against *Coreya*, he encamped near unto the Mountains called *Acerocraunus*, where the fierce and wild People inhabiting the high and rough Mountain of *Chimera*, a part of the *Acerocraunus* Mountains; by the instigation of one *Damianus* a notable Thief, and very perfect in the hand and difficult passages amongst the Rocks, and Woods in those desolate Mountains, conspired to attempt a most strange and desperate Exploit, which was, by night to spoil *Solyman* in his own Pavilion. These beggarly wild Rogues living for most part by Murder and Robbery, altogether without Law or any manner of Religion, in hope of so great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greatest Monarchs of the World in the midst of his strength, gathered with for many days his Soldiers; were not afraid of any danger, how great soever, hoping in the dead time of the night to fall into the Camp undiscovered, and there to oppress *Solyman* sleeping in his Tent. Which (as was by many afterwards supposed) they were like enough to have performed, to the astonishment of the World, had it not been by chance discovered; for when they had put all things in readiness for that purpose, *Damianus* ringleader of these desperate brave People, by secret ways stealing down the broken Rocks of those huge Mountains, and coming very near unto the Camp to view the standing of *Solyman*'s Pavilion, with the order of the Turks Watch, was by the cracking of a Bough espied by the Janizaries, where he stood in a Tree prying all over the Camp; and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confessing what he had intended, was by the commandment of *Solyman* torn in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith sent a great part of his Army up into the Mountains, which hunting after these wild People, as if they had been wild Beasts, slew many of them, and by *Solyman*'s appointment did what they possibly could to have quite destroyed them, as an infamous People, Enemy to all Men.

When *Solyman* had thus fully revenged himself upon the barbarous Nation, he purposed to invade the Island of *Coreya*, now called *Corfu*, a part of the Venetian Seignior; sending before *Barbarulla* with his great Artillery, whom he had but a little before called out of *Italy* with his Forces. *Pisaurius* the Venetian Admiral in good time perceiving the Tyrants purpose, strengthened the Garrisons in both the Castles of *Corfu*, with new supplies of good Soldiers sent out of the Gallies; and knowing himself unable to encounter

Solyman  
conquereth  
his Forces  
from the  
Italians  
against the  
Venetians.

Solyman  
in danger  
to have  
been slain  
in his tent  
in the  
middle of  
his Army.

Solyman  
invadeth  
the Island  
of Coreya

with the Turks great Fleet at Sea, withdrew himself farther off from the Island, into the Gulf of the Adriatic, to the intent to join his power with *Joannes Veturius*, who kept that Sea with another Fleet of the Venetian Gallies, and so with joined Forces to defend the Venetian Coasts against the Turks; whom he thought himself strong enough with the great Armies of *Agem* and of *Arria*, whose coming was daily expected. *Solyman* lending a great part of his Army out of the Main, into the Island, burnt and destroyed the Country Villages, leading away a wonderful number of poor Country People into most miserable Captivity. *Aiaz* the Bassa, and *Barbarossa*, in two small Pinnaces came as near unto the City of *Corfu* as they possibly could, to see which way they might most conveniently lay Siege unto it; but perceiving the great strength thereof, being wonderfully Fortified and thoroughly Manned, they advertised *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Alysius Ripa*, and *Symon Lemius*, two Senators of *Venice*, were then Governors of *Corfu*; who not without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turks both by Sea and Land, caused the City Suburbs (which were very great and sumptuously built) to be plucked down, for fear that the Turks surrounding themselves in them, should more easily besiege the Town. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a Man might have seen the Magnificent houses of the Venetian Merchants, built in time of long Peace, both for profit and for pleasure in every place of the Island, set on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publick State in so great a danger, made all those goodly things which went to wack, to be lightly accounted of in comparison of the life and liberty; for as much as those lost things might with new charge be again in short time recovered.

The two Venetian Governors aforesaid, fearing a long Siege, and not provided of Victual to suffice such a multitude as were got into the City, for any long time; used a heavy and sharp remedy, by turning a great number of weak People and Children unable for service out of the City; of whom many, especially Children, died in the Town-ditches in their Mothers arms, under the Walls of the City, not daring to go any further for fear of the Enemy, who had fast by, in places convenient cast up great Mounds, and planted his Ordnance against the City. Only the Castle called *St. Angelo*, standing in the middle of the Island, about fifteen miles from the City of *Corfu*, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants against the Assaults of the Turks, happily saved above three thousand poor People, which fled thither from the fury of the Turks, who in all other places of the Island had made all desolate. The Turks the more to terrify them of *Corfu*, taking a Hill not far from the City, covered the same with their Tents, and from the Rock called *Manipurus*, shot with their great Ordnance into the Town; some of them in the mean time standing close in the ruins of the Suburbs, did with their Harquebuses kill or wound them which appeared upon the Walls. The Gallies also did oftentimes out of their Prows discharge their great Pieces against the City, to the greater terror than hurt of the Defendants. *Solyman* perceiving that he did but lose his labour in besieging the City (as he was told at the first by his great Captains, *Lusca*, *Aiaz*, and *Barbarossa*) determined now to raise his Siege, and to return to *Constantinople*, greatly affraid that he should no longer find, as he had in *Italy*, nor at the Siege of *Corfu*. But when he was about to have departed, it was told him

how unfaithfully some of his Souldiers had dealt with them of *Calrum* in *Italy*, who yielding themselves upon the Turks faith to them given for the safeguard of their liberty and goods, were nevertheless most injuriously spoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage. Which fact, as tending to the dishonour of his name, and the deterring of others from yielding, *Solyman* took in great part, that for amending thereof, he caused the Authors of that fact to be put to death, and the Captives of *Calrum* to be diligently sought out and sent home again into their Country; well deserving therein the commendation of a most just Prince. The Turks left the Siege of *Corfu* and departed out of the Island about the twelfth of September, in the year 1537, carrying away about sixteen thousand of the Island people into perpetual Captivity. So *Solyman* rising with his Army, marching through *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, returned through *Macedonia* to *Constantinople*; having in this his expedition done great harm both in *Italy* and *Cyrcra*, but yet nothing encreased his Empire or honour.

Before his departure, calling unto him *Lusca* his Admiral, he commanded him also to return with his Fleet to *Hellepontus*; who passing by *Zaenphur*, and landing some of his Men in the night, took divers of the Country people Prisoners. But understanding that the City it self was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to *Cythera*, where unfortunately attempting to have taken the Castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoil he could upon that Island, and with eight hundred Prisoners returned unto *Ægium* to *Ægina*, a rich and famous Island, and well peopled both with Mariners and other Inhabitants. Approaching the life of the Messenger sent before unto the Governor of the City, attempted first by fair means, and afterwards by threats, to have had the City yielded unto him; and not so prevailing, but perceiving them to stand upon their defence, he landed his Men, and gave the signal of battle. Which they of the Island refused not, but manfully met him, and at the first encounter slew many of his Men. Where with the Admiral grievously offended, and still landing fresh Men, even with his multitude oppressed them of the Island, being but in number few and weary of long fight; and so enforced them to retire into the City.

To be revenged of this injury, the Bassa caused certain pieces of great Ordnance to be landed, and a Battery planted against the City; by force whereof he had in short time in divers places assaulted the Walls, and then with all his power assaulting the Breaches, forthwith took the City, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, raised the Walls, and put the Men every Mothers Son to the Sword. As for the Women, he gave them without respect unto the lust of his Souldiers and Mariners, whom afterwards together with the Boys and young Children he shipped into the Country near unto *Athen*, to be from thence conveyed unto *Constantinople*, into most miserable servitude.

*Ægina* thus utterly rased, he with much like force and cruelty rased upon them of *Peru* and the other Islands thereabouts, killing the old Men and such as made resistance, and thrusting the rest into his Gallies. Shortly after he came to the Isle of *Naxos*, where all the Island people were for fear of his coming fled out of the Country into the City; where landing his Men, he made havock of whatsoever came to his hand. And in the mean time sent a Messenger unto the Duke, to will him to yield himself and his City unto the obedience of the Turkish Emperor *Solyman*. Which

Good Justice done by Solyman.

The Turks depart from Corfu, and carry away with them above 16000 Christians into captivity.

Ægina with her husband's fleet.

The Bassa of the Turk sent by Lusca into the Duke of Naxos.

Naxos is a small tributary unto the Turk.

Lusca's Bassa disgraced by Solyman and retired.

Which Messenger admitted into the City, and brought before the Duke, in blunt and plain terms, without further circumstance, delivered his Message thus:

If thou wilt without more ado, yield thy self, thy City, and Territory, to the Constantinopolitan Emperor, thou shalt deserve his favour, and I save thy self with that thou hast. But if thou, otherwise advised, shalt now refuse this Grace, thou shalt never hereafter have the like offer, but for ever unto thy self, thy Wife, and Children, thy Citizens, and Subjects in general. Here is presented a most mighty Fleet, with most valiant and victorious Souldiers, furnished with all the habiliments of War requisite for Battle or Siege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, and other thy neighbour Princes of the Islands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not misadvised, and (warned by other Mens harms) willingly refuse to remedy thine own; and when thou mightest be safe, wiltfully cast away thy self.

Thus said, he was commanded by the Duke to stand aside, and a while to expect his answer; who with the chief of his Subjects there present, but much troubled, and all full of heaviness and sorrow, consulted what answer to make. But after they had according to the weightiness of the cause, and necessity of time fully debated the matter, it was with general consent agreed, That forasmuch as they were not themselves of power to withstand so furious an Enemy, neither to expect help from others, they should therefore yield unto the present necessity, with, otherwise threatened unto them utter destruction, and reserve themselves unto better times. Whereupon answer was given unto the Messenger by the Duke, That he was ready to yield himself unto *Solyman* as his Vassal, and of him as of his Sovereign to hold his Seignior for the yearly Tribute of five thousand Ducats. Of which offer the Bassa accepted, receiving in hand one years Tribute. So perceptible it was that notable Island yielded unto the Turkish obedience the 11 of November, in the year 1537, from whence *Lusca* the proud Bassa, loaded with the rich Spoil of the Country and Islands he had passed by, returned to *Constantinople* with his Fleet. Not long after, this great Bassa (then in credit and authority next unto *Solyman* himself) fell at odds with his Wife, *Solyman* his Sister; for that he, after the unnatural manner of those barbarous People, kept in his house a most delicate Youth, in whom he took more pleasure than in his Wife. Which he, being a Woman of great Spirit, not able to endure, and knowing her Husband by marrying of her, to have been from base degree advanced unto the highest Honours the Emperor her Brother could heap upon him; in great rage reproved him with most bitter words, saying, That he had married him to be of him beloved, and used as his Wife, and not contemptuously abused by his Mistresses. Wherewith the Bassa moved, gave her a Blow on the Ear, and caused her and a bold and unquiet Woman to be shut up in her Chamber. But she not brooking such abuse, came weeping to *Solyman* her Brother, and complaining of her Husband, requested to be Divorced from him who made no better reckoning of her. And with her complaint so incensed *Solyman*, that he took from him his Seal, and thrust him out of all his honourable Promotions; and had undoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old love and friendship staid his fury; yet having utterly disgraced him he banished him the Court, unto *Alcedonia*, where he spent the remainder of his life: like a poor peasant Man; of whom *Boissardus* thus writeth:

*Que tibi cum molli res esset pollute Cyredo: Cum caket in Thraciis regia nympha tuas? Ex huius fortuna loco te cecidit in altum Ex alto major scepitmina venit.*

On dainty Boys, though filthy Man, why doft thou fix thine eye; Whilst Princely Dame of Royal Blood doth in thy Chamber lie? From base estate, to honours height blind Fortune did thee call, And for thee up with Princes great, to work thy greater fall.

*Solyman* thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforesaid, to intangle them at once with Wars in divers places, commanded his Lieutenants in every place bordering upon any part of the Venetian Seignior, to vex and molest them with all hostility, which they did accordingly. In *Peloponessus*, *Cassine* besieged *Mamflum* and *Epilauris*, two strong Cities of the Venetians; *Barbarossa* landing his Men in *Dalmatia*, surprised the ancient City of *Borau* belonging to the Venetians, carried away the Citizens, and rased the City; *Obrovium* another City of the Venetians in *Dalmatia*, called in ancient time *Argentum*, with the Castle of *Nadin*, were taken by *Uffers*, *Solyman* Lieutenant in *Illyria*. The Venetians thus invaded on every side, required them again with the like; *Pisaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their Men, besieged *Scardona* a City of the Turks in the borders of *Dalmatia*, which they took by force, put the Turks to the Sword, and overthrew the Walls of the City, because it should be no more a refuge unto the Turks; they also sent one of their Captains called *Gabriel Ribes* to besiege *Obrovium*; who upon the coming of *Amurath* one of *Uffers* his Captains, cowardly fled, and in flight lost most of his Men; for which his Cowardice, *Pisaurius* caused his head to be struck off aboard the Admiral Gallies; And *Camillus Ursinus*, appointed by the Venetian State Governor of *Falava* a strong Town upon the Frontiers of their Territory in *Dalmatia*, took from the Turks the Town of *Ofrovizava*, which he burnt down to the ground; he recovered also *Obrovium*, which was a little before lost; which by the commandment of the Senate he utterly rased, as a place not well to be kept against the Enemy.

The same Autumn that *Solyman* having wasted *Cyrcra*, he returned to *Constantinople* and the Venetians held Wars with the Turks for the Towns and Castles in *Dalmatia*; *King Ferdinand* received such an overthrow at *Esek* by the Turks, as a greater or more shameful unto the Name of the Christians was hardly in that Age seen; if the loss of the choice Souldiers and Captains of four great Nations, with the shameful flight of the General be well considered. After the Battel of *Mohatz*, wherein King *Leopold* was lost, the Turks having gotten the Victory, kept unto themselves that part of *Hungary* which is called *Poffga*, because thereby they had a safe passage from *Belgrade* further into *Hungary*. The two great Rivers of *Savus* and *Dravus* running almost with equal distance from the West, taking with them divers other smaller Rivers, before they fall into the great River of *Danubius* Eastward, do on both sides inclose this Country of *Poffga*, being a rich and plentiful Country, and a wonderful well peopled; it bordereth upon the Provinces of *Croatia* and *Serbania*, which in times past were at continual Wars with the Turks Garrisoned there by in *Illyria* and also in *Bosnia*.

Mahometes  
Gentur-  
of Belgrade.

As 'twill  
afford  
Peace.

King Fer-  
dinand  
was  
with  
the  
Turks.

At that time one *Mahometes*, a most valiant Captain of the Turks was Governour of *Belgrade*; to whom for his approved valour and wisdom *Solyman* had committed the keeping of those Frontiers, and the protection of the Kingdom of *Hungary* in the behalf of King *John*. He the year before had so used the matter, that what by force, what by policy, he had taken from the Christians above thirty small Castles in the Country, (which was sometime part of the Patrimony of the Despot of *Rosetta*) and had joined them to the Regiment of *Bosnia*. One of these Castles amongst the rest called *Exek*, for the commodious situation thereof he strongly fortified, as that which might give him passage over the River *Dravus* into *Hungary*; from whence he sent infinite preys out of King *Ferdinand's* Country near unto him. Yet was there at that time a certain League betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithstanding after the old custom of those Countries for the exercise of the Garrison Soldiers, did bear with the taking of Booty, and light Skirmishes, without any Breach thereof; so that it was done without any great Power or Field-Pieces; which wrong named *Peace*, *Matthias* and other Kings of *Hungary* had of long time used with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light Horfemen, no less harm than they received. But the Germans now using no such light Horfemen, but serving upon great Horfes, and charged with heavy Armor, received great hurt by those light Skirmishes; the Turks with their light Horfes easily flourishing their charge, and again at their pleasure charging them afresh, when they saw the heavy German Horfes almost weary and spent; by which means the German Horfemen were oftentimes by the Turks light Horfemen overthrowen, and to either slain or taken. King *Ferdinand* did not well brooking these continual injuries, and grieved in mind at the League which *Solyman* had to his profit made with him at his going into *Perfia*; finding the same both unprofitable and hurtful to himself, determined to take up Arms, with purpose that if he could drive the Turks out of the Country of *Poffaga*, then forthwith to pass over *Dravus*, and to go directly to *Vienna* against King *John*. It fell thus in his mind, how that Kingdom was taken from him by *Solyman*; and that more was, as it were in disgrace of him and the House of *Austria*, bestowed upon a stranger, which had neither right thereto, nor was any way lawfully defended. Yet were there some which would him, not rashly to enter into Arms against so mighty an Enemy, as was not to be imagined by the united Forces of all the Christian Princes of *Europe*. For they feared, that *Solyman* so provoked, would not put it up, but for the hatred he bare against the Christians, and for his honour, seek more cruel revenge; as he had of late done against the Venetians, with whom upon a light occasion he had broken an ancient League, for sinking one or two of his Gallies; for which he would admit no excuse or satisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to be true, yet all the People of his Dominions lay to earnestly upon him to take that War in hand, that they said plainly, they would never bear Arms more against the Turks, if he omitted that occasion. For they of *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, *Croatia*, and *Noricum*, subject to the invasion of the Turks, and daily receiving great harm, thought the Turks might easily be driven out of *Poffaga*, as much as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to have any greater, Autumn now almost spent.

So King *Ferdinand*, with the wonderful rejoicing of his Subjects, caused Soldiers to be taken up in

all parts of his Kingdom, sending for most of his Nobility and best Captains, as to a religious War, and in a very short space had raised a good Army; yet supposed of greater strength than numbers, as confiding most of select Men. The Footmen were for most part Germans, to whom were joined as Wings certain Companies of Italians, Harquebussiers, whom *Lewis Lodovius*, a valiant Captain, and General of the Footmen, had raised in *Italia*, and those parts of *Italy* which lie near unto the Alps. The Horfemen were of *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and some also out of *Hungary*, all concluded by their several Captains, all these Horfemen were in number eight thousand, but the Footmen were sixteen thousand strong, with great force of Artillery of all sorts. This Army for the expertness and valour of the Soldiers, was thought sufficient to have met the greatest Army of the Turks in Field, if it had been conducted by a politic General, and (as he had at other times been) forthwith to have won one *John Cazianer*, a Nobleman of *Croatia*, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* had made General of his Army. For *Ferdinand* by the advice of his best Friends never used to adventure his Person unto the danger of any Battle, especially against the Turks, by whom many Christian Kings had in former time been vanquished and slain; but performed all his Wars by his Lieutenants; which he was thought to do not so much for want of courage, as moved with the fatal misapprehension of many Christian Kings. *Mahometes* Governour of *Belgrade* understanding of this preparation made against him, sent for divers Companies of the Garrison Soldiers which lay upon the Frontiers of the Turks Province; therabouts; and was especially holden by *Ulf*, Governour of *Bosnia*, who of all *Solyman's* Lieutenants in *Europe*, was able to bring into the Field most good Horfemen; he sent him *Amurathes* a famous Captain with a great Company of gallant Horfemen, unto whom were joined certain Companies of Footmen of the wild and mountain People of *Dalmatia*, untrained for pay; which rough and rude kind of People were governed and kept in order by certain Companies of Janizaries drawn out of the Garrison Towns as far as *Belgrade* and *Samandria*; after whom followed many out of *Servia* and *Rosetta*, some for pay, some for prey. The Turks Receiver liberally paying to such as were willing to serve, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he the aid of the Hungarians from *Buda*; so that the Turkish Governours on every side putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes* had in short time gathered such an Army, as for number and strength was not much inferior to King *Ferdinand's*, and resolved to expect the coming of his Enemies at *Exek*. *Cazianer* was now come as far on his way as *Caprunza*, a Town upon the River *Dravus*; having before well and conveniently provided for the victualling of his Army, if they whom he put in trust, and had taken the matter upon him, had with the speed and diligence performed their charge; for they were the chief Men of all the Country, who all followed the direction of *Simon* Bishop of *Zagabria*, who inflamed with zeal above measure, or else for want of judgment deceived, had promised to serve the whole Camp with plenty of Victuals, at a very low rate. Which thing the Country by Waggon, some by Boats along the Rivers, many difficulties now arising, was not able to perform; which was not to be remedied by reason

Cazianer  
general  
of King  
Ferdinand's  
Army.

Mahometes  
Governor  
of Belgrade,  
aided by the  
other  
Turkish  
Captains.

A flow  
march.

Cazianer  
now cometh  
to Walpo.

reason of the nearness of the Enemy; and also for that *Mahometes* with small Gallies in both Rivers, and his Troops of Horfemen pricking up and down the Country, did either flay the Country people from bringing of Victuals, or else allured them for a greater price to bring it to his own Camp, where they received ready Money. *Cazianer* setting forward from *Caprunza*, hardly came in ten days to the Castle of *Veruccia*, which is about forty miles distant from *Caprunza*; being enforced to make short marches, by reason of the troublesome carriage of some great Pieces of Artillery for battery. The winter fort began even then to mislead the want of Victuals, both for the reasons before alleged, and for that such Victuals as was looked for, came not, although they marched very softly; so that they were then enforced to spend such Victuals as they had provided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted War. Wherefore *Cazianer* wrote sharply to the Bishops of the other which had taken upon them the charge of providing Victuals for the Army; commanding them to use all possible diligence and speed, and not to let the hope of a notable Victory to be lost through their negligence, for want of Victuals, rather than the valour of the Enemy. In the mean time *Cazianer* thought good there to stay, and to expect the coming of the Victuals, sending before him *Paulus Bachius* with a thousand Hungarian light Horfemen and certain Companies of Italian Harquebussiers, as far as the Castle of *Zopia*, to the intent that he might of such Prisoners as he could take, learn something of the Enemies purpose. The Turks in the Castle of *Zopia* desiring the coming of *Bachius*, and thinking the whole Army of the Christians had been at hand, set fire on the Castle, which they thought might on the Camp, and by Boats fire down the River *Dravus*. Yet after all their haile, *Bachius* took some of them in their flight; of whom *Cazianer* learned that which he before knew by his own Espies, how that *Mahometes* and the Turks lay encamped at *Exek*, with a full resolution to give him Battle. *Cazianer* setting forward again, till keeping along the River *Dravus*, came in eight days to the Castle of *Walpo*; where by the way he was glad to stay seven days at the River *Cassus*, which falleth into *Dravus*, until such time as a Bridge was made for the transporting of his Army, for that the River was not to be waded over; in which time *Cazianer* entred oftentimes into counsel with the other Captains, what course to hold for the better proceeding in that War. Where divers Men were of divers opinions; some said, It was better to leave *Exek*, and to besiege a little of the Enemies there by, called *Villesh*; others more wary than the rest, were of opinion, That it were better there to stay until the rest of the Aid and Victuals, which they daily expected, were come. But the greater number, which also prevailed, urged the first determination, of going directly to the Enemy at *Exek*, for that longer delay would but breed further danger; and there was in the Camp (as they said) both strength and Victuals sufficient for obtaining of the Victory, if they would make an end of their needless Consultations, and not protract the War until Winter were come on; where they did nothing else, but cause the Soldiers to think that they were afraid to meet the Enemy, and secretly to steal away back again into their Countries; whereas if they would like resolute Men march on forward against the Enemy, who at other time trusting most unto his multitudes, and now having no

great power, would never abide the fight of the Christian Army, bringing with it so much Artillery, but would forthwith forsake the place, and never show his face; for such as the Christian Men at Arms would (as they said) easily break through and overthrow the naked Turkish Horfemen, if they durst abide the Field. The young Soldiers, who as yet had never made proof of the Turks manner of fight with such cheerfulness like of this resolution, that they thought two days staying, a long delay of so ready and easy a Victory. Wherefore it was resolved upon, presently to far forward, and thereupon the Army was Mustered; where, upon view taken, there was found to be ten thousand Horfemen (for divers Troops of Germans were come to the Camp, after the time of the first setting forward of the Army); a more gallant Company of Horfemen, both for the strength of their Horfes, and goodly furniture of the Men, had seldom been seen in an Army so suddenly raised. But the Footmen, selected out of all the Provinces, were greatly diminished, being now in number scarce eight thousand strong; for many were sick in the Camp, others weary of the long Journey, lingering behind, were slain away; and generally all they which were left, mowed with dirt and mire, by reason of the deepness of the rotten way, wet through with Rain, and almost starved with Cold, and thereto pinched with the cold weather, were thought unable to endure the hardness of the present War. After that commandment was given, That every Soldier should carry with him three days Victuals; and proclamation made, That no Man should upon pain of death take any Turk Prisoner, although he yielded himself, or charge himself with any spoil before the Battle were fully ended; forthwith the Captains would afterwards divide the Spoil of the Enemy among the Soldiers. This proclamation thus made through the Camp, they set forward towards *Exek*; and the third day they came to a certain Valley, about three miles from *Exek*, where they encamped. The next day a Company of Turks stewed themselves, which was by the great Ordinance repelled. The day following, the Enemy sallied out of the Town and skirmished oftentimes with the Christians; in which Skirmishes many were slain on both sides, but more wounded of the Christians, for that the Turks had poltically mingled certain Janizaries, Harquebussiers, and Archers, with their Horfemen; who, used to that manner of fight, were galled the Christian Horfemen. For which cause the General forbade all such light Skirmishes, as purposing to keep his strength whole against the general day of Battle; commanding his Captains to place the great Ordinance as might most annoy the Enemy, if he should show himself by Troops within the danger of the Shot; which was so well performed, that the Turks falling first, received thereby great hurt, the deadly shot flying through the midst of their Companies. The same day *Symon* Bishop of *Zagabria* came into the Camp with his Horfemen, and a certain provision of Victuals, weary by the fear of the want before conceived, was well eased. *Mahometes* perceiving that the Christians were no longer to be drawn to those harmful Skirmishes, but that he must bring his Men in danger of the great Shot; to annoy them by another means, sent many small Boats, manned with Harquebussiers and small Pieces of Ordinance, unto the Lake near unto the Camp, so to keep the Christians from watering their Horses, and with those small Pieces that sometimes into the Camp. Near unto the Valley where the Christians lay, was a Hill, whereupon stood a Village, wherein

The Turks  
skirmish  
with the  
Christians.

N n n were



The Christians  
fight within  
the City.

were placed certain Companies of Turks, to Skirmish as occasion should serve with the Christians; for placing of whom the whole Army was put in order of Battel, and the great Artillery bent upon them, that they should not with their light Skirmishes, after the manner of the Turkish fight, trouble the order of the Army. Which thing the Turks perceiving, and that they were not able to hold the place, let fire on the Town, and retired to *Ezek*. The Christians keeping on their march, came to the top of the Hill, from whence they might see *Ezek* stand about two miles off in a fair Plain, near unto the Bank of *Drauen* all which low ground betwixt the Hill and *Ezek*, was so full of danger, that it was thought a matter too full of danger, to attempt that way to batter the Castle, and expose the Army to the inevitable fury of the Enemies shot. Wherefore they decaying a rising ground on the further side of the City equal with the top of the Walls, they thought it best to remove their Camp thither, and on that side to plant their Battery against the City. But to come to that place was thought a matter of no small trouble; for they must first compass three miles on the right hand through a Forest by a foul and troublesome way, before they could come to the place they desired; for the Army was not so great, as to besiege the City round; wherein were not (as is reported) above sixteen thousand Men; neither was there such store of Victuals in the Camp, but that the Army was like soon to feel the want thereof, without a continual supply, which would hardly be had, the Enemy till bestering every passage, and with their light Horsemen scouring about all the Country, of purpose to keep them from Victual. For, which cause, some were of opinion, That it were best for them there to stay where they were, until such time as both more Aid and better store of Victuals were come unto them; but others of contrary mind, said the Enemy was but barely stored with Victual himself, and therefore could not long hold out; which they said they understood by certain Christian Fugitives; and that *Mahometes* had put his chief substance into certain Boats, to be conveyed down the River, as purposing to flee, and would not hold out the Siege above three days; as for the Forrest, they thought it would well enough be passed through, if they would courageously set forward; beside that, the time of the year suffered no delay, Winter coming to fall on, that except some notable thing were done quickly, they should be entorced by the very time of the year to return with them, without doing any thing. This opinion was best liked of, as more honourable and better becoming Men of Valour, than to lie still in one place whereupon the next day the Army removed, and in good order marched through the Forrest. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiving, presently sent forth a thousand light Horsemen, and certain Companies of the Janizaries and Harquebussiers, to trouble the Christians in their passage; who by a nearer and well known way overtaking the Army, suddenly charged the Rearward, wherein the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians with much ado endured the charge; but being relieved by the Carinthian Men at Arms, they notably repulsed the Turks and put them to flight. So the Army with small loss pursued the Forrest, and came to the place they desired; where, after they had encamped themselves, and in good order placed all things needful to the Siege, they in feemly order offered unto the Enemy Battel; but he seeing himself within the Town, that at the Christians with

his great Ordnance; and they to requite him, with two great Pieces which they had placed upon the riling of a Hill, thro' through both the Walls of the Town and the Butwerk also, to the great terror of the Defendants. The Christians in the mean time having flood almost all the day in order of Battel in sight of the Enemy, vainly expecting when he should come forth to give them Battel, returned at night into their Camp; for *Mahometes* upon great consideration kept in his Soldiers, although they were most desirous to fight; understanding right well of the want of Victual in the Christian Camp; and beside that (as the Fugitives reported) being frantically commanded by Letters from *Solyman*, that he should not upon pain of a most shameful death forsake the place, but to defend it to the last. Now the Christians desirous of Battel, being thus delayed and deceived of their expectation, had in a few days spent the small store of Victual they had, and began to feel a general want; and there was there any apparent means how they should be relieved, so that every Man began to fear some general mischief to ensue. When *Balthazar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, and a Captain of great experience, sitting in Council with the rest, entered into this Speech.

*Captains (said he) we do all that we do, unadvisedly; for whilst we consult as large how we may overcome our Enemies, the strength of our Army is in the mean time so weakened for want of Victual, that the Soldiers are neither well able to stand on their Legs, nor to hold their Weapons in their feeble Hands; and generally, even they which are of greatest courage begin now to quail, and despairing of Battel, feel that they must miserably and shamefully perish for want of Victual. In my opinion, we ought first and above all things most speedily to provide for this want, which so grievously pinches us, and presently to remove hence unto the Castle of *Hermantide*, that with the provision thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refresh our whole Army; and so relieved, to proceed further as occasion shall require.*

This Castle was about ten miles distant from *Ezek*; whereinto many of the Turks had conveyed their Wives and Child, and chiefest substance, being kept with a small Garrison of twenty Turks. Fast by the Castle was a pretty little walled Town, without Plankers, after the manner of the old fortifications, which Town and Castle *Balthazar* said would easily be taken. This his Council was well liked of all Men, and he himself sent with certain Companies of Soldiers to take the Town. Wherein fortune so favoured him, that it was at his first coming surrendered unto him; but when he had it found not therein any such store of Corn or Victual as he had hoped for; yet he took there certain Vessels of Wine, to the great relief of the weak Soldiers. Upon the next day the taking of this Town, the Camp removed from *Ezek* about ten a Clock in the night, but so disorderly, that the Soldiers scarce knowing their own Ensigns, seemed rather to have fled for fear, than marched for spoil; yet the Turks for all that moved not out of *Ezek*, misdoubting some deceit, and loth to attempt any thing rashly in the night. When the Army was come to the Town, the Captains took order, that the Victual there found, was equally divided amongst the Soldiers, and the next morning Battery laid against the Castle; which those few Turks valiantly defended half a day, and then by composition yielded it. But when the Castle was taken, there was found in it but two Barrels of Meal, and other two of Millet. Then might a Man have seen the

*Mahometes wisely refused to fight with the Christians, offering him Battel.*

*Balthazar Pamphilus has his Council for relief of the Army.*

*Cazimem to retire with more haste, would have broken his great Ordnance.*

*Balthazar took the Town of Hermantide.*

*The Castle of Hermantide yielded as the Christians.*

Captains themselves hanging their Heads, as men stricken with a sudden fear, who instead of a great Prey and Victual to have feared many days, found nothing but a few Women and Children, and scarce so much Victual both in the Town and Castle, as would serve the Army two days. Yet they dissembled the matter, and fed the Soldiers with hope of better store, after the Bridge were once repaired, that they might pass the River of *Bodry*, which ran by the Town; which Bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themselves broken, by plucking up of certain Piles and taking away of the Planks; wherefore the Carpenters being set on work, and every man putting to his helping hand, the Bridge was with continual labour in three days repaired. The fourth day, the Waggon and smaller Pieces of Ordnance passed over the Bridge, and after them six of the great Pieces for Battery; but the Bridge overcharged with the seventh, which was of wonderful weight, and much greater than the rest, began to break; so that the Captains were enforced to break that fair Piece of Ordnance, and by pieces to carry it away, that the Enemy should not get so great a Spoil. All things being thus well passed over, the Piles were again cut down, and the Planks struck off, to the intent the Enemy should not that way pursue them; and other way there was none, but to fetch a compass about the great Lake which was many miles about. Here the Captains began to consult, whether it were best to break that great Piece of Ordnance, that so they might more speedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was *Cazimem* himself, promising of his own charge to new cast them. As for the scaling Ladders, and other such like things provided for the Siege, they burnt, because they should not come into the Enemies hand, or trouble themselves in their march. But most of the Captains were of opinion, that it was not best so dishonourably to break those heavy Pieces, the greatest ornaments and defence of their Country; but to hold on their march through *Pollage*, until they came to *Javanche*, where they should find great force both of Corn and Wine; which Town with the Castle of *Gara* lay by it, stored with all kind of Provision, they said would easily be taken before the Turks could possibly come so far about the Lake from *Ezek*; and that it were a great frame, to return without doing any thing. *Cazimem* was persuaded, set forward, and with great toil (by reason of the deepness of the way and heaviness of the great Ordnance) came by night to *Javanche*, which was but three miles off; where the Turks having with incredible celerity passed a long journey, arrived at the same time out. Near unto this Castle was a little Town, out of which all the Turks were fled; the Townsmen being Christians, opened the Gates and received in the Soldiers; who there filled themselves abundantly with Wine, and could hardly bedriven out thence by their Captains to the Camp. The same night the Turks burnt the same Town, and whatsoever the Christians had therein left; and every man brook him to his Armor in the Camp, for the Enemy was now at hand; and in the dawning of the day began hoely to skirmish in divers places with the Christians, but especially in that quarter of the Camp where the Bohemians lay. Where being grievously hurt upon them with a Troop of his best Horsemen, and enforced them to flee; but the Turks after the manner of their Fight, quickly returning again, and relieved by the coming in of their Fellows, beset the Bohemians on every side, and flow many of them. *Rafsch*

the General fighting most valiantly, was there slain with his Followers. The Christian Captains purposing to retire home, placed on each side of the Army four Ranks of Waggon for defence on both sides; in the Vauward were placed the weak and sick men, yet so, that in the Front of the Army were certain Companies of lusty tall Soldiers; but in the Rearward was placed the greatest strength both of Horse and Foot. The Army thus marching as it were on both sides in trench, as it oftentimes met with woody Hills hindering their way, so did the fame fly leave the Christians, that the Turks could not well afford them in their march, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiving, sent before certain Companies of Janizaries and nimble Footmen, which knew the Country and the passages well, with certain Faucons and other small Pieces to take the Straits whereby the Army was to pass, and so to gaul them in their passage, and when they could keep the place no longer, to flee back to another, and so from place to place; and in the open places he had his Troops of light Horsemen, which were ever busy in one place or another of the Army: By which means the Christians in their March received much harm, which grieved them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be seen together, but stragling Companies; which as they were commanded, sometime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retire again, and with their Arrows and Falcon Shot, from places of advantage afflict them. At one of these stragles somewhat bigger than the rest, *Podun Bachan* one of the Hungarian Captains, in whom the Soldiers generally repoted their greatest trust, was slain with a Faucon Shot, with divers other of the valiant Hungarians; who seeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had seen in other places, thought to have done some good service upon them; his death brought a general fear upon the Bohemians, which was much then and at other times, without him they never had any good success against the Turks. Yet in that skirmish, the Hungarians, to revenge the death of their Captain, did with such force repulse the Enemy, that they caused him after he had lost many of his men, to run away and leave his small Field-Pieces behind him. But such was the weakness or cowardice of the Christian Footmen, and the agility of the Turks, especially the Janizaries, that with their fire out of the Woods, slaid the Hungarian Horsemen from the pursuit of their Fellows, and recovered their small Field-Pieces before they could be carried away by the Christian Footmen; wherewith they did again forerun the Army, and still trouble it as before. The Christians beset with these dangers, and almost spent for want of Victual, seeing no means to relieve their weak Bodies, nor any hope to combat their fainting Spirits, did generally fear some extreme calamity to ensue; and so much the more, for that it was reported, that *Mahometes* still expected fresh supplies from *Belgrade*, *Samandria*, and *Nicopolis*; and many of the Hungarian light Horsemen stole away from them, as careful of their own safety; neither did they see any comfort in the dismaid Captains, who at other times were wont with cheerful and courageous words to relieve the Soldiers, if they saw them any thing discouraged. But when they were come into a fair open Field near unto a Town called *Gara*, they were advertised, that the Enemy had in the Woods before them, whereby they were to pass, cut down great Trees crofs the waies, so that neither their great Ordnance nor Waggon, nor yet their Horsemen could

*The Turks sent troops to the Christians in their villages.*

*A general fear is the Christians camp.*



possibly pass that way but that they must needs break their order.

This once bruted through the Army, filled them with all heaviness and desperation, and so much the more, for that *Ladislau Morus*, and others which knew the Country well, said there was but two ways to escape; the one through the Woods about ten miles place to *Walpo*, which by reason of the Trees cut down cross the ways by the Turks was not to be passed, but they must needs leave behind them their great Ordnance and Carriages; the other towards the Castle of *Zenthuerebeth*, which was in *Ladislau Morus* his Country, certain miles distant from *Gara*; by taking of which way, the Enemy by reason of the heaviness of the passage, must of necessity be enforced to give over his pursuit. Yet for all that, it was in Council resolved upon, to take the way through the Woods of *Walpo*, for that there was Victual enough, and in the Castle of *Walpo* was kept Money sent from King *Ferdinand*, sufficient to pay the Soldiers for all that Winter. And to leaving the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the Powder and whatsoever else could not well be carried on Horseback, to fit forward with all speed: As for the Trees they said, they would be well enough removed, and the way opened by the Pioneers and Waggoners; wherefore every Captain was commanded to have his Soldiers in readiness to fit forward upon the sign given, which was by the sound of a Shalm or Hoboy; which when it should be given, was referred to the discretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully disliked of this resolution, and said openly, that the Enemy was fewer in number than their Horsemen, and pinched almost with like want of Victuals besides; that the Turks durst never in just Fight encounter with the Christian men at Arms, but like Theeves alight them upon a fuddain at some advantage, and by and by were gone again; and that they should fear forward in the night, many would be lost in the Woods; and Valor in the dark could not be known from Cowardice; besides that, the Turks (as they said) lay to night, that it was not possible to depart without their knowledge, especially if they should burn the Powder, or break their great Ordnance. For which causes, they thought it better to fight a Battle with them, and not to believe the false reports of new Supplies come unto them, and that God would undoubtedly give them aid, which were ready to lay down their Lives for their Religion and Glory of the Christian Name. After all this, they began to consult what was now to be done with the sick and wounded Soldiers, which were before carried in Waggoners or among other Baggage of the Army; it was like that so great a multitude of sick and wounded men, understanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the Army, would as miserable forsaken men, fill the Camp with lamentation and mourning; which it was thought would be also increased by the weeping and wailing of them which should never afterwards see their Brethren, Kinsmen, Fellows, or Friends, so miserably and shamefully left behind and forsaken; the noise

whereof, must needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a small Gun-shot. Wherefore it was determined, that these sick and wounded Soldiers should be carried upon the Waggon and Cart-Horses; and that such as were not able to stay themselves, should be hidden up by other of more strength riding behind them upon the Buttocks of the Horse. In fine, to colour the matter, they which were so desirous to go, said that this their manner of departure grounded upon good reason, was not to be accounted a shameful Flight (as some would term it) but a right honest and necessary manner of retiring; forasmuch as they were stronger than their Enemies in Horsemen, and equal also (if not stronger) in Footmen, although they were fore weakened with Sickness. Whilst these things were in Council diversely discoursed, and the resolution set down as is before said, the matter was brought to this pass, that every Captain with troubled judgment conceived in himself secret cogitations, far from the common good; and without regard of Shame and Dishonour, be thought himself how he might bethake himself to flight; the uncertain hope of desired life. On the contrary part, *Mahometes* using most certain Spies, and advertised every hour of all the distresses of the Christians, and thereby prefiging his future Victory; did by most diligent Watch and Troops of Horsemen, besetting the passages far and near, most vigilantly attend every motion in the Christian Camp; of purpose, that when the Army should rise and set forwards he after his wonted manner might in the Straits (fit for his purpose) set upon them being divided and dispersed one from another, as they must needs in those troublesome passages; for he had placed his Horsemen and Footmen in the known Tracts of those Woods, that he had shut up the Christians as it were in a Tole. It was now almost midnight, and the Army taking no rest, so carefully expected the sign of setting forwards, that every little delay gave them much men both tedious and dangerous; so that many great Captains upon a cowardly conceit would lay no longer, but hasted to depart, and to go before the rest, without any leave of the General. The beginning of this mischievous departure, is reported to have been begun by the common Hungarian Horsemen, which knowing the passages and ways through the Woods, made most haste to *Walpo*. *Ladislau Morus*, following their example, went the other way to his Castle *Zenthuerebeth*. After them followed in great haste the Syrian Horsemen, without regard of shame, led by *John Hungenot* their General, who was appointed to have guarded the Rearward. *Symon* Bishop of *Zagabria* fled in like manner, known by his great Lantern wandering in the Wood; yet with less shame than the rest, because he being a Clergy man, might be thought to belong to his vocation, not put on Arms, or to go into Battle. In the mean time it was fearfully told to *Cassianer*, that the Hungarian Horsemen were fled, and that *Ladislau* and *Hungenot*, with the Syrian Troops were gone also; and that all the rest of the Army not expecting the appointed signal, were in like manner upon flying; with which report, the cowardly and diffident General was so terrified, that he presently got to Horse, quite forgetting the signal he should have given (for that he thought all the rest, as he afterwards said, to have been gone before) and as he was unarmed, be took himself to flight, leaving behind him for haste his Tent furnished with Plate and other rich Furniture. In this Tumult of them which so disorderly fled, *Lodromius*, that famous Captain was called up, and told by his

his Servants, that the General was fled and gone; to whom he answered again, Without doubt it cannot be so, that I should be so shamefully and perditionally betrayed of him; and so as a man meagred with long Watching and painful Labour, laid himself down again to sleep. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the stir that was in the Camp, rofe with his Turks to assail his Enemies; yet to be better assured what the Enemy did, he thought it good to stay for day light, causing his men to stand fit in order of Battle, and with wonderful silence to expect the sign of setting forward, which was given by the fife found of a Horseman Drum passing through every Company. For the old Captain acquainted with many Battles against the Christians, doubting of their feigned Flight, would not unadvisedly be drawn into Battle, but in a place commodious for his Soldiers; as one before fully set down (after his wonted manner) to perform that service, not by the hazard of one fife Barrel, but by dallying off the time with often skirmishes, when he could take the Enemy at advantage. The day appearing, *Lodromius* again awaking, heard a certain confused noise of the Turks, and withal saw himself forsaken of the greatest part of the Horsemen; whereupon he complained in vain, that he was betrayed; yet for all that, he was nothing discouraged, but cheered up his Footmen, exhorting them to remember their former Valor, and to resolve with themselves only with Courage to overcome the danger, which hard Fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to think of an honourable Death, than shameful Flight, whereby whether they should escape with Life or not, was uncertain. As for himself, who he said he was resolutely set down by selling the Enemy to bring them into a place of safety, or else valiantly fighting together with them to end his days. As *Lodromius* was yet thus encouraging the Footmen, the Horsemen of *Carinthia*, *Saxony*, *Austria* and *Bohemia*, who mindful of their duty, had in vain expected the appointed signal from their General, came unto *Lodromius*, as unto the most valiant Captain, beseeching him instead of their treacherous General, to take upon him the place; promising to do whatever he commanded, and to fight as men against those Infidels for their Religion and King, so long as they were able to hold up their Weapons. *Lodromius* would in no case accept of that honour so frankly offered, modestly professing himself unworthy thereof; yet as a man of Courage, and moved with the hard estate of such an Army, he with a solemn protestation promised to execute the place in the best manner he could, and so did as long as his Fortune gave him leave.

It is reported, that as *Lodromius* was encouraging the Footmen, and earnestly inveighing against their shameful flight, an old German Soldier was so bold, as bluntly, yet sharply to say unto him, *Worthy Lodromius, with a Host of such a prize under thee, Lodromius* perceiving the old Soldiers meaning, alighted, and with his Sword boxed his Horse; saying aloud, *This day, valiant Soldiers, shall you have me both your General and Fellow Soldier, fighting on foot as one of you selves; see now that you deserve not my expectation, but let us enter with glorious Victory, or honourable Death end this War together; yet if, as I have, die not unrewarded.* All his other Horses he gave away unto such sick and wounded Soldiers as he best knew; amongst whom was one *Piccard* of *Cremna*, a Captain

who was then in an extreme Fit of an Ague, and had hardly escaped the hands of the Enemy. They first Troops of Horsemen and Bands of Footmen; were farcely out of the Camp with their Ensigns; but the Turks coming with a hideous cry, assailed them on every side, and many sharp skirmishes were given unto the Christians sometime vainly receiving the Enemies charge, and sometime charging them again, repelled the proud Enemy fife buff with them. In these continual skirmishes, *Antius Maser Tuschfat*, General of the *Grinthian* Horsemen, fighting valiantly was slain; being for his brave Armor supposed by the Turks to have been the General of the Field. And of like mishap four and twenty Horsemen of great fame were also slain, and their Guidon taken amongst these were three Noblemen, *Andreas Rofchius*, *Christophern Hernus*, and *Georgius Humbergus*. In another place was made a most cruel skirmish with the Saxon Horsemen, and them of *Saxony*, *Thuringia* and *Francia*, who followed the Saxons Ensign; of these, fighting most valiantly, Lieutenants, or Ancients; and *Chonourus* a principal Captain of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in Bonds among the Turks. Amongst them which were slain, *Sebastians Mafelous*, and *Jacobus Scullemburgh* were of greatest Nobility. In like manner the Horsemen of *Austria* courageously resisting the Enemy for a space, were in the end overthrown; where amongst them were slain two valiant Noblemen, *Fritius* and *Hofchardus*, with divers other men of great place and reputation both in their own Country and abroad. But the greatest slaughter was made amongst the Bohemian Horsemen, upon whom (being disordered by the Janizaries Harquebusers) the Turkish Troops of the old German Soldiers breaking in with their Simeters and heavy Iron Maces, made a most bloody execution. The Battle of Footmen being fore gained and almost disorderly in their march by certain Companies of Janizaries and Archers of the Alps (who from a woody Bank of a Marsh discharged their shot and arrows continually upon them, yet never coming to handy Blows) was on the other side so hardly charged by *Ammurates* with his Troops of Horsemen of *Bosnia*, that being not able longer to keep order, it was at last by him broken and cut in pieces; where the Turks with their Swords and Hatchets flew the poor Christians without mercy. *Lodromius* himself carried away with the breaking in and force of the Horsemen, was driven into a Marsh; where after that he being fore wounded, and almost fast in the deep Mud, had done the utmost of that his last endeavour; he by the fair entreaties of the Turks, perswading him rather to yield, than there to be slain, so yielded himself, that he with three Companies which were with him, after they had laid down their Weapons, were all faved as valiant Soldiers; for now the merciless Turks, imbrued with the Christian Blood, were weary of slaughter, and began greedily to seek after the Spoils, hunting after them who flying disorderly, thought themselves to have escaped the Enemies hands) with such success, that a great number of them was taken and led away for Slaves; few of the Footmen escaped, and almost all the rest which were fled before the Battle, were to be seen dead upon the ground.

This shameful Overthrow at *Essek* was reported to have exceeded the most grievous Overthrows that the Christians had received in any former time; for the Flower both of Horse and Foot.

The first flight of the Christians from the Turks.

The flight of Mahometes.

Lodromius encourages the Footmen.

The Christian Captains flee shamefully through the Woods.

An old German Soldier speaks to Lodromius.

The flight of Cassianer.

The first flight of the Christians from the Turks.

The Christian Footmen are overthrown.





notable Pynns, with thirty Gallies, who landing their Men near unto *Calvroomum* (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmenius* with his Spaniards, and forced again to their Gallies, many of the Turks being slain and taken Prisoners. After that came *Barbarossa* with ninety Gallies, and three tall Ships which carried the Artillery for Battery and other necessary provision for the Camp; where he spent three days in landing his great Ordnance and casting up Trenches, which could not be done but by night by reason of the continual fog out of the Town; wherewith the Spaniards had in that three days space slain above a thousand Turks; amongst whom was *Agus Hariademus*, who had made himself as it were a King at *Taiores*, a City near *Tripolis* in *Africa* whose death much grieved *Barbarossa*, as one of his most ancient and best Friends. At length *Barbarossa* having cast up his Trenches, landed four and fifty great Pieces of Artillery for Battery; whereof he gave a fourth part to *Ulamis* to batter the Town on the North side, whilst he in the mean time, in three divers places battered the East side, and *Salee* from Sea with ten Gallies, did morning and evening batter another part of the Wall. Whilst *Sarmenius* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to have repaired the Breaches; the Turks by force took one of the Towers, where after they had displaced their Engines, they from thence with their shot fore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Ulamis* had made a Breach, and was ready on the other side of the City to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmenius* seeing no means longer to defend the City, commanded the hurt Soldiers to take the place below, and the rest with him to take the Market place, where they did together like Men; where the Turks straight way breaking in on every side upon them, made a most cruel and bloody Fight, wherein the Spaniards overwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their Enemies, were slain almost every Man. *Sarmenius* wounded in the Face with three Arrows, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a Captain ready to flee, sharply reproved him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, until they were both together slain. Many valiant Captains were there left, whose names for brevity I omit. *Alysius Arius*, and certain other Captains, who together with the wounded Soldiers were got into the Castle, seeing no means to defend the place, yielded themselves; whom *Barbarossa* according to his promise, took to mercy in sparing their lives, yet carried them away into captivity to *Constantinople*. The dead Body of *Sarmenius* could not be known amongst many heaps of the dead, although *Barbarossa* had caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of Money and liberty also, to whosoever could recover it; being desirous to have sent his Head for a Present to *Solyman*. *Barbarossa* proud of this Victory, began forthwith to gape after *Cassius* a City of the Venetians in the bottom of the famous Bay; and thereupon wrote threatening Letters to *Francesco Bembo* one of the Venetian Senators then Governour of the City, presently to deliver the City; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bembo* answered again by Letters, that in so doing he should violate the League lately made with *Solyman*; and that he should find him ready by force to repel his Forces. Wherewith *Barbarossa* displeased for certain Gallies in the bottom of the Bay; who discharging certain great Pieces at the City, made such as if they had come to be-

Calvroomum  
is besieged  
by Barba-  
rossa.

Calvroomum taken

Sarmenius slain

siege it. At whom *Bembo* a Man of good courage caused as many more like Pieces to be discharged, and threw his Men upon the Walls; which thing *Barbarossa* perceiving flaid his conflict, and calling back his Gallies, returned to *Calvroomum*, from whence (better appeased with Presents afterwards sent from *Bembo*) he departed out of that Bay.

The long Wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified, and such friendship (at leastwise in their) now grown betwixt these two great Princes, that most Men thought that all other quarrels laid aside, they would now at length with united Forces go against the great and dangerous Enemy of Christendom; which opinion not altogether of the wiser sort believed, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare conflicts then passing betwixt them, which concern not this History; as also, in that two of their most famous Captains, *Alphonfus Vastius*, and *Hannibal*, were as it were with one consent by them both sent Embassadors to *Venice*, to have drawn the Venetians into the Confederation of that War against the Turk. Which two renowned Captains coming to *Venice*, most gallantly accompanied, were by *Lamius* the Duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence received, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in every place, to behold them to noble Captains sent from such mighty Princes; but especially *Vastius*, whose Fame having many times before filled their Ears, made them now the more desirous to satisfy their Eyes also with the beholding of his tall and comely Person. Which two famous Captains admitted into the Senate, for that purpose fully assembled, and Audience given, *Vastius* arising from the Dukes side, in these or like words delivered their Embassage.

Alphonfus Vastius and Hannibal sent Embassadors from the Emperor and the French King to the State of Venice.

It is come to pass; (as I suppose) by the great providence of Almighty God, and of all the Divine Powers; on to the death of the most noble Duke and honourable Senators; that two of the most mighty Kings of Europe, who of late had Senate of long time made mortal Wars one upon another, Friends; undoubtedly to that purpose only, that having made a firm Peace, they may bring such a general quietness to the long troubled and afflicted State of Christendom, as best becometh their greatness; and taking in hand a sacred War, to revenge so many calamities received from the Infidel. That this might be made known unto you (most noble Venetians) these mighty Monarchs have sent us hither in good time to shew in you the like Zeal, wherewith it is well known you have always for the honour of your State been enamoured; for you of all others, which are of such power and valour at Sea, they will be a stable lover and Confederates in this sacred War and hoped Victory; and think you worthy, which should enjoy the special fruit of all that labour. Forasmuch as the Christian Forces once renewed, and so great and strong a Fleet once assembled, every Man feels that the Turks must needs be too weak; although they brag, that they can never win the Victory of late at *Actium*, when as they then escaped out of the victorious hands of our Men, kill by their own Valour, but by the unexpected help of a Judahish Storm. For all the power of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea also, will be propitious unto us, uniting in great Forces, in regard of our sacred Religion; and will so take away the Hearts of the Infidels, that they shall learn to be overcome. As for our land Forces, we are to hope nothing but will, forasmuch as we intend to have the Emperor of late brought into the Field at *Venizia*, and caused the Turkish Emperor to sit, shall be joined not only all the Horsemen and Infantry of

France

France (a wonderful strength), but Sigismund also King of Polonia will without delay bring forth his Armies, wherewith he hath been used in the quarrel of the Christian Religion, bravely to fight against the Infidels; so that it is not to be doubted of a most certain and assured Victory. Wherefore the victorious Emperor and most Christian King Francis most instantly request you to enter into the like godly Cogitations, conceived for the general good of the Christian Name, and religiously to embrace the hope of a most true and glorious Victory; and further exhort you, by a wholesome Decree to avert your religious and courageous Hearts from the friendship of the Infidels; for it may worthily seem unto your most honourable minds, a most foul and shameful thing, to have renewed your League, and to have preferred an infamous and uncertain Peace, before a most religious and just War. Neither doth it becom this most wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any Charges of War, be they never so great; for if we shall once overcome, which is evident to this present and long wished occasion, we shall by the profit of one Victory, either by Sea or Land, to your incomparable praise recompense all the Losses by us in former times received.

The answer of the Duke to Vastius.

Whereunto the Duke in the name of the whole State answered, That there never happened any thing at any time unto the Venetian Senate more honourable, for the manner of the Embassage, or for the publick security of their State, more to be desired than the hope of such a Peace; after that two most mighty Kings by two such famous Captains their Embassadors, did certify them of their atonement and assured Peace, most glorious to themselves, to their eternal praise, wholesome also to the Venetian State, beset with so many dangers, and wonderfully to be wished for of all the other Princes of Christendom; that they would faithfully and religiously with their Forces by common consent united, resolve upon that sacred War; for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themselves or the Christian Common-wealth, but end the League they had with the Turk, not with a dishonourable Peace, but with Arms and Victory. Wherefore it was to be requested of Almighty God by Prayer, That those puissant Kings which were with religious and happy event fidelity and fortitude fulfil all that hope of Peace, which they had by their mutual discourses and embracings in shew promised unto the World.

In few days after, certain of the select Senators sitting in Council, after the manner of that State, called the Embassadors unto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the Articles and Capitulations wherewith that League and Confederation was to be concluded. And by the way, Whether they thought the Emperor in regard of that Peace would give unto the French Kings Son the Dukedom of *Milain*, as was reported? Whereunto *Hannibal* the French Embassador answering nothing, *Vastius* said, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great Princes had agreed betwixt themselves, and that the Emperor had desired the Peace, as one willing to be the afflicted and declining State of the Christian Common-wealth; which thing any Man might see could not be effected or brought to pass, but that the Emperor must in many things yield to the requests of the French King, and redeem his good will; for his noble mind (said he) worthy Senators, can easily make light of the greatest loss of his own things, when he foreseeth a large way opened thereby to eternal Fame and Glory. These words were very glorious and gracious to the Hearers; but

they, as Men of great experience, could not let it sink in their minds, that the Emperor whom they had often deeply favoured, would ever part with the Dukedom of *Milain*, which only thing the French King required, and had for the recovering thereof unfortunately thriven almost twenty years, to the trouble and disquiet of a great part of the World. The Nobility and Authority of this Embassage more moved the Senate than did the other former Embassadors, *Dulacio Mendez*, a Spaniard, and *Guthobus Pellicanius*, a Frenchman, whose both presents yet was it much suspected by the Venetians, because it contained no certain resolution, but only the bare hope of a future Peace; so that it was by many Men supposed to be but a matter devised to deceive others, and to serve the Emperors turn to his great profit. Yet all the cunning seemed to rest in this Point, That the Venetians did not on with the hope of this League, thought not the renewing of the League they had the year before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almost expired. Upon which uncertainty of other Mens resolutions, the grave Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Upon this question of this new League and Confederation to be made with these Christian Princes against the Turk, the Senate was wonderfully divided; some favouring the Emperor, respect, enjoining against the renewing of that dishonourable League with the Infidels, which they said was nothing else, but as much as in them lay to betray unto the other parts of Christendom, and especially *Italy*, detriment of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reasons urged the honourable Confederation with these Christian Princes; others of a contrary mind, saying what infinite harms they had from time to time received by falling out with the Turks, and suffering also the Emperors drift; and joining thereto the consideration of the great dearth then reigning in the City, which was not to be relieved but out of *Macedonia* and *Gracia*, the Turks Countries; the Emperor having at that time as it were of purpose imposed for great a Custom upon all Corn to be transported out of *Sicily*, that the very Custom came to as much as both the price of the Corn and the Freight together; all which mischief they said were to be prevented by renewing the League with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senate too and fro, either part having great Favour; so that the Senators spent almost whole Winter nights in the Court-dilcussion and confounding withal were left to be won; but whether there was laid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the Factions or other made known, not only to the Embassadors present in the City, but by Letters also discovered into Provinces far off; a thing never before in that State known, which had ever used as it were with a religious silence to keep secret whatsoever was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Fulcrus*, an old Senator and a Man of great wisdom perceiving, said openly, That the State was betrayed by the multitude and corruption of voices, and must needs shortly perish, if it were not speedily committed to the grave and faithful judgment of some few; for there was almost two hundred of them which gave voices, reducing the Multitude to the number of fifty, who for their experience and love towards their Country, were holden of Men of greatest gravity and secrecy; when he foreseeth a large way opened thereby to eternal Fame and Glory. These words were very glorious and gracious to the Hearers; but

The Venetian Senate secretly agreed towards the Emperor to renew the League with the Turk.

Fulcrus discovered the minds of the Senate.

be as light headed Men without discretion, so excluded out of the Council; that he was by the voices of the Multitude first thrust out of the Council himself; and by them kept a great while after from all the Presents and Honours of the City; being indeed one of the gravest Senators, and a Man of deepest judgment. Which disgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreseen much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traitorously revealed the Secrets of the State.

The Venetians  
Ambassadors  
to Solymán  
in consequence  
of Peace.

But this long consultation concerning the Consideration, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the Union of those two great Princes, and yet willing to expect the event, decreed forthwith to send three Embassadors; whereof two should be sent to the Emperor and the French King to discover their designs; and the third, which was *Aloysius Baderius*, a wife and well spoken Man, was with all speed dispatched away to *Solymán*, to prevent the fame of the distrust to be conceived of the agreement of these great Christian Princes; and if he could by any means, to spare for no Cost, to have un- to the Venetians their Cities of *Naplium* and *Epidaurus*, which *Solymán* required of them before he would grant them Peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and crafty Tyrant, then to yield unto necessity, and to conclude a Peace with him upon any conditions, which could the *Decem-Viri* thought to be most expedient for the State; yet concerning the yielding up of the Cities, they gave him fewer instructions and warrant, fearing forthwith the force and tumult of the headstrong Multitude, who if they had known any such thing, would undoubtedly thereupon have taken occasion to have croffed and overthrowen that most wholesome Decree; for there was no doubt, that if they had delayed the matter, and fought for Peace too long, but that *Solymán* would upon another Mans weakness and necessity have increased his insatiable desire, and not granted them Peace, being brought low and forsaken, except they would deliver unto him the Islands of *Cephalonia*, *Zacynthus*, and *Coryra*, a matter no less grievous than the destruction of the very City of *Genova* it self. So that the great Embassadors *Folius* and *Hambald*, who came of purpose to have hindered the League with the Turk, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreseeing the danger of their State, should as they did, make haste to conclude the same; for it lalleth out in Mens purposes and Actions, That a good and happy success otherwise well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hambald* was sent by the French King for no other purpose, but to be understood by *Pelicerius* the old Embassador, perswaded the Venetians to hasten the conclusion of Peace with *Solymán*. Which as *Baderius* their Embassador was carefully soliciting the matter at *Constantinople*, and being loath to yield the strong Cities which *Solymán* required, offering unto him in stead of them a great sum of Money, *Solymán* took him up with these things as a flame-trick Dissembler, earnestly pressing. That he would never grant him Peace, without the yielding of those Cities, rehearsing unto him the most secret points of his Embassage, and how that he was authorized from the *Decem-Viri* to yield them unto him; which thing the Embassador little thought *Solymán* had known. Wherefore *Baderius* so thankfully reprieved, and standing

in doubt of his life, seeing the greatest secrets of his Embassage revealed to *Solymán* and his Baffles, was glad to accept of Peace, by yielding unto him *Naplium* and *Epidaurus*, two Cities in *Peloponnesus*, and with them *Nadium* and *Labrania*, two Castles of *Dalmatia*, to the great grief of the whole Senate; for granting whereof the Common people ignorant of the secret Decree of the *Decem-Viri*, and supposing that *Baderius* had given away that which he had no authority to give, were so enraged against him at his return, that there was much ado to save the guiltless Man from exile, and his Goods from confiscation; although the Traitors were then known which had discovered the Secrets of the State unto the Turks. These were *Maphus Lanius* a Senator, and *Constantinus Cobatinus*, Secretary to the Colledge of the *Decem-Viri*, and the Traitorous disperser of the Turks Money for the deception of others; who with other his Complices were for the same Fact hanged in the Market-place, when as *Leoniis* and *Cobatinus* were a little before fled into *France*.

About the same time, which was in the Year of our Lord 1540, did *Joannes Sepulch King of Hungary*, *Solymán* Tributary; after whose death ensued great Wars in *Hungary*, and the lamentable subversion of that flourishing Kingdom; for the better conceiving whereof, it shall not be amiss with as much brevity as the plainness of the History will permit, to open the causes and grounds of the endless calamities which afterwards ensued, and never took end, until that warlike Kingdom was to the great weakening of *Christendome* utterly subverted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributary King *John*, had with like desire of Peace and quietness, made between them a League; profitable to them both as their Estates then stood, rather than honourable; yet most welcome to the Hungarians, who were divided into Faction, and having followed before the one King and some the other, enjoyed nevertheless their Lands and Goods by the benefit of this Peace; the Towns and Castles being still kept by them in whose possession they then were at the making of the Peace. In the capitulations of which Peace, it was comprised, That *Ferdinand* should from thenceforth call *John* by the Name of a King; whereas before he had both in his common Talk and Letters called him by the Name of the *Vayvod* only: It was also expressly set down in the same Articles of Peace, and subscribed by the Hands of divers of the Nobility of *Hungary*, That if King *John* should die, King *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*; which condition was suppressed and kept very secret for fear of *Solymán*, who accounted that Kingdom as of his own, gotten by Law of Arms and bestowed upon King *John* as upon his Vassal; neither was it to have been thought, that if he should have known thereof (being of a haughty mind by nature, and not able to endure an injury) he would have suffered that Kingdom, good and defended with so great danger and cost, to be by the Will of an unthankful Man, transferred unto his Enemy.

This matter of so great importance, was (as the secret confederations betwixt them is reported) by *Eleronimus Lalicus* Embassador for King *Ferdinand* to *Constantinople*, revealed unto *Solymán* and the Baffles, to bring King *John* into hatred. So much did this noble Gentleman, for his rare Vertues otherwise greedily to have been commended, yield unto his grief, and desire of revenge; when after the death of *Aloisius Grittius*, he fell from the friendship of King

A Peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solymán.

The Traitors which revealed the secrets of the Venetians to Solymán executed.

The Queen with Child.

King *John*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to Prison, and hardly afterwards enlarged, at the request of King *Sigismund*. Whereupon *Solymán* being exceedingly angry with King *John*, called him unthankful Churl, and turning himself about to *Luxius Balis* his Brother in Law, said, How unworthily do these two Christian Kings wear their Crowns upon their faithless Heads, who as shameful deceivers are not afraid, either for worldly shame or fear of God, for their profit to falsify their Faith? But King *John* understanding thereof, and wonderfully fearing his own Estate, did by good Friends and rich Presents, pacify *Solymán* again, laying all the blame upon King *Ferdinand*, as better able to bear it. Not long after, King *John* having for his Kingdom in good order, and strongly fortified the City of *Buda*; being now far stricken in years, at the earnest request of most of the Nobility of *Hungary*, and other his best Friends, married *Isabella* the Daughter of *Sigismund King of Polonia*, a gracious Lady and of great Spirit; which King *Sigismund*, had long before married *Barbara King John's* Sister, after whose death he married the Lady *Bona Sfortia*, the Daughter of *Joannes Galacius Duke of Milan*, by whom he had this Lady *Isabella* whom King *John* now married. Which Marriage *Solymán* liked well of, having many times by way of talk before condemned the single life of the King; but King *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all plainly foreseeing, that the Hungarians (if the King should chance to have a Son) would forthwith look upon him as their natural King, and reject himself as but a Stranger.

This young Queen in short time (as he had feared) conceived with Child, and was now very big; when King *John* was employed to make an expedition in person himself against *Maylat*, (famous for the death of *Aloisius Grittius*) and *Bela*, both Governors of *Transylvania*; whereof *Maylat* not contented with the Name of *Vayvod* or Governour, fought to make himself King. But *Solymán* detesting the impudent Arrogancy of the faithless Man, and hating him for the death of *Grittius*, and the Turks slain with him, advertised King *John* of all the matter, willing him to be more circumspect, whom he trusted with the Government of so great and rich a Country. So *Maylat* shamefully rejected of *Solymán*, and out of hope of a Kingdom, fearing also to be thrust quite out of his Government by King *John*, thought it best for his own safety to raise up all the Province unto Rebellion, and to take part with King *Ferdinand*; which thing *Ferdinand* by his divers Agents secretly furthered to the uttermost. For these two Kings, although they were at Peace the one with the other, and in words and shew made semblance of friendship, yet in heart they envied and hated each other as if they should presently have waged War. At that same time King *John* exacted of his Subjects, and especially of them of *Transylvania*, a great sum of Money, to pay the Turks his Tribute, then two years behind: Which thing served *Maylat* and his Complices as a fit occasion to raise the People unto Rebellion, perswading them that there was no reason to pay unto the Turkish a Tribute, as would serve well to wage ten years honourable War against him; so that by that, and such like perswasion, all the Province was in an uproar, little differing from manifest Rebellion.

To appease these dangerous troubles thus rising, King *John* sent certain of his chief Nobility and best Captains with a great power into *Transylvania*, following after himself in his Chariot, not yet well recovered of his late

Sickness. These Noblemen entering in two places into *Transylvania*, and scouting up and down the Country, had in short time to feed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, the Tumult was well pacified, and divers of the chief Offenders worthily executed. *Maylat* the ambitious Author of this sedition, not able to hold the Field against the King, and seeing himself beset on every side with his Enemies, retired himself with all his Wealth into a Town called *Eggaras*, a horridly after hardly besieged; which the Kings power then lying at *Silyburnus*, the chief City of *Transylvania*, and about a mile distant from *Eggaras*, sick of an Ague, whereunto he was again fallen through too much care and pains taken in traveling in that hot time of the Year, the days being then at the longest. Whilst he thus lay sick at *Silyburnus*, and his Army laid by at the Siege of *Eggaras*, News was brought unto him from the Court, That the Queen his Wife was delivered of a fair young Son; which was no sooner brought abroad, but the Hungarians as Men overjoyed, came flocking to the Court where the King lay, discharging their Pieces in triumph with all other signs of joy and mirth they could possibly devise; the Noblemen came from the Camp to rejoice with the King, and all the Army was led with gladness. And for the greater glory of this so common a Joy, a royal Feast was prepared, whereunto the Noblemen would needs have the King, who with his presence, though he were then sick, willing being as yet but a little recovered; hoping by yielding to their importunity, he suffered himself to be overruled and brought to the Feast by them, which was unto him the merriest and the last that ever he made; for willing to shew his inward joy, and to content his Nobility there present, he forgot himself, and eat and drank more liberally than was for the health of his weak Body; whereby the Fever which had but a little before left him, was again renewed, in such sort, as that he well perceived he could not longer endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw nigh on, he made his Will, appointing his young Son to be his Heir, whom he committed to the Tutelage of *George Bishop of Veradium*, and *Peter Vecshe* a noble Gentleman and his near Kinsman, until he came to Age; requiting the rest of the Noblemen to prefer his Son in the succession of the Kingdom, before a Stranger; telling them, That *Solymán* would undoubtedly take upon him the protection both of the Kingdom and of his Son, if they would in time send Embassadors unto him with Presents, and promise for his Son, that he should reign as his Tributary as he had done before; and so presently after died.

This King was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountiful, and in all his doings just, of no fierce and rough disposition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a most civil behavior, garnished with good letters, and thoroughly schooled in the divers chances of both Fortunes; measuring his actions by the strength of his power, but by the exact rule of deference; for in time of business no Man was more circumspect, or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any Man more courteous or pleasant. He used oftentimes to say, That the favour and love of valiant Men, gotten by bounty and courtesy, was the best Treasure of a Prince; for that courteous and thankful Men, did oftentimes in some one worthy piece of service, plentifully repay whatsoever had been bestowed upon them; as for such as were unthankful, they did to their shame bear the testimony of another Mans virtue.

Thus

Queen Isabella delivered of a Son.

The death of King John.

The honourable fighting of King John.







posed in so weighty a Cause to use the advice of Sigismund her Father, whose Integrity and Justice was such, as King Ferdinand need no other Judge or Arbitrator to end that Controversie. Wherefore the requested a convenient time and space wherein the might ask Counsel of her Father, to whose just judgment the said the would stand, as he thought the Nobility of Hungary would also. Which small time of delay if it should be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make War upon her; the said, that the Emperor and King Ferdinand his Brother should surely win no great Honour, if they should come to oppugn her a Widow confuted with Tears, and a young Child yet crying in his Cradle. The Countess sent away, when he was returned to King Ferdinand, told him, That the Queen was altogether in the power of the Bishop, and could neither say nor do any thing, but what he had before received from him; for he only (as he said) commanded all; as for the rest of the Nobility, they shared amongst them the Honours and Preferments of the Realm, and as Men desirous of credit and gain, had rather be the Governours of the young Prince, than the Servants and Waiters of a great and mighty Foreign King; all which, he said he had both heard and seen. Wherefore all the hope was in War, wherein such speed was to be used, as that the Queen with her Son unprovided, and expecting the event of their Embassage from Constantinople, might be driven out of Buda before they could take up Arms, or well advise themselves what to do; and that the Queen sought delay but to make her self the stronger, and in the mean time to call in the Turk, and so to make a more dangerous War. Wherefore if ever he purposed to Reign in Hungary, he should forthwith call off all other Cogitations, and make ready his Forces with all speed possible.

Hereupon King Ferdinand furnished with Money from Charles the Emperor, without delay raised a great Army, which he sent down the River Danubius to Strigoniom, which City had all the Reign of King John, continued faithful to King Ferdinand. The General of his Army was Leonardus Vellus, a Nobleman of Rhenia; who for many causes, thought it expedient first to open the way to Buda; for almost in the middle of the way stood Vitegrade, with a goodly Castle upon the top of an Hill by the Rivers which Town (but not the Castle) Vellus after nine days Siege took with the loss of about two hundred of his Men, all the Garrison Souldiers therein being either slain or taken Prisoners, with Valentinus Lieutenant their Captain. From Vitegrade he passed over the River Danubius to Pefth, which he took, being forsaken of the Enemy. With like success he took the City of Vachia without loss; and removing thence, and crossing again the River with his Fleet, came and encamped before Buda, so to terrifie the Citizens, and to discover as far as he could the purpose of the Queen. Where Pererus, Stephanus Rajcaius, and Franciscus Francopanis Bishop of Agria, all Men of great Nobility amongst the Hungarians, revolted from the Queen to King Ferdinand; the Bishop was reputed for a Man of great Integrity, and upon meer confidence to have gone over to Ferdinand; yet was he by Letters from George the Kings Tutor, challenged to have revolted, in hope by means of Charles the Emperor to be made a Cardinal. Vellus lay with his Army at the hot Baths, about a mile and a half from the City, as if he would rather besiege it than assault it. The Germans lying there, did fetch in Boory round about the Country; which was taken in evil

part by the Hungarians on their side, who seizing their own Cattel, or their Friends driven away, the Villages burnt, and the poor Husbandmen bound and taken Prisoners, fell together by the Ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other side they of Buda sending out their Troops of Horsemen, skirmish with the Germans if they did but stir out of the Camp, and well defended the Villages from the injury of the Enemy; for Valentinus Thauricus General of the Queens power, had taken into the City a wonderful number of light Horsemen. Whilst the Army lay thus encamped, it furnished that Balthazar Pamphilius a noble Hungarian, straying out of the Camp even unto the Gates of Buda, desired the Warders at the Gate to give him leave to talk with Valentinus their General, for that he desired to see his old Friend, and to confer with him of certain matters concerning the good of the Common State. Which thing being granted by the General, he was immediately received into the City with his Troop of Horsemen. Shortly after returning again into the Camp, he reported how he had been entertained by his old acquaintance in the City; where viewing the Garrison, the great Artillery, and Fortification of the City, he perceived it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more seasonable time of the year. Which thing he moved Vellus, by nature suspicious, and doubtful of the fidelity of a Stranger, that he commanded him in anger to avoid the Camp, because he had without his leave gone into the City, and upon his own private infidelity had conference with the Enemy, and by amplifying their strength, to have discouraged the Army, by putting them out of hope of Victory. Wherefore Vellus never attempting to assault the City, returned again to Vitegrade to besiege the higher Castle wherein the ancient Crown, King Stiegs, parts from Buda, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were ever after him Crowned, was kept; which Castle he also took, with something less loss than he had done the lower Town. Not long after, he marched with his Army to Alba Regalis, the City where the Hungarian Kings were usually Crowned and Buried; which by the means of Pererus was delivered unto him, and a Garrison put into it for King Ferdinand. These things thus done, Vellus retired again to Strigoniom; which he did the rather, because the Germans and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no means agree together, in so much as that Vellus the General in parting them was wounded in the Thigh, and Pererus hurt with a Stone; besides that, Winter was now come far on, and the Souldiers cried out for Pay. For which causes, Vellus (being also sick of the Stone) bidden his Souldiers for that Winter about the Country. Yet before that, he new fortified Pefth, and left therein a Garrison; because it was reported, that the Turks upon their Frontiers were making preparation to come to aid them of Buda.

At such time as King Ferdinand was levying his Forces for the invasion of Hungary, the Queen by the Counsel of the Bishop had in good time craved aid of the Turks Lieutenants in the Countries bordering upon Hungary, especially of Uffrey Governour of Bafus (a very aged Man, and of great Honour, who had married one of the Daughters of Bajazet the old Emperor) as also of Mahometes Governour of Belgrade, and Annaraber who had the charge of the Frontiers of Dalmatia; from whom he received one answer, That they might in no case without express commandment from Solyman depart from the places

The Queen  
aid of So-  
lyman ex-  
pressly for-  
bidden.

Solyman  
promitteth  
to protect  
the Queen  
and her  
Son, ac-  
cording Fer-  
dinand, and  
sends  
Trefents to  
the young  
King.

King Fer-  
dinand  
dismisses  
the higher  
Castle  
Army de-  
parts from  
Buda.

Alba Re-  
galis deliv-  
ered to King  
Ferdin-  
and.

Lachus  
King Fer-  
dinand his  
Embassie  
dur impris-  
oned by  
Solyman.

places committed to their charge. Besides that Mahometes was by rewards overcome by Lachus, he he passed by Belgrade to Constantinople, and so stir or aid the Queen. Wherefore this, rejected by these great Captains, certified Solyman by her Embassadors, what danger her self, her Son, and the Kingdom was in, craving his speedy aid. Lachus was not yet come to Constantinople, being fallen sick by the way, but had felt before, Ptolemy his Physician to the great Bassiae, and especially to Lurza his old acquaintance, upon whom he had bestowed great Gifts, and was in hope by him to have obtained what he desired, but all in vain; for Solyman who thought it much for his honour to defend his own right, and that he had before given unto King John thought also that it would redound both to his great profit and glory, if he should as it were upon charity take upon him the protection of the Widow and Fatherless Child, in their great distress and danger. Wherefore calling unto him the Embassadors, the three great Bassiae standing by, he said, That he had of his meer bounty before given the Kingdom of Hungary unto King John, to defend to his posterity, so long as they should retain the kind remembrance of so great a benefit; wherefore to declare his constancy, incapable from his bounty, he said he would take such a course in the matter, as that the Germans his Enemies should not long rejoice of the Wars they had begun. And in token of friendship, and that he had taken upon him the protection of the young King, he caused to be delivered unto the Embassadors a royal Robe of Purple and Gold, a Buckler with the Bos most curiously wrought, a Horsemans Mace with a handle of Gold, and a Scimitar with the Scabbard richly set with Stones; and afterwards wrote effectually to Uffrey and Mahometes his Lieutenants. That they should without delay aid the Queen, and not to make excuse because it was Winter, and that it might if the rook any harm through their default and negligence, it should cost them their Heads. The Queens Embassadors glad of their good dispatch, were scarce departed from the Turks Court, when Lachus came to Constantinople; and underhanding by his Physician the success of the Hungarian Embassadors, proceeded for all that in his business, and delivered his Message, and upon reasonable conditions requested the Kingdom for King Ferdinand. But when he in speaking had oftentimes made mention of Charles the Emperor, as if he would with all the power of Germany aid his Brother; Solyman was so moved therewith, that he was presently taken away and committed to Prison; the great Bassiae, but especially Raskyn, Solymans Son in Law, a proud and furious young Man, chiding him and taking him up as worthy of death, for offending with his liberal Speech the Majesty of so courteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the King of Kings; requiring friendship, when in the mean time his Master most impudently made Wars in Hungary.

Uffrey and Mahometes the Bassiae aforesaid, having received such frait commandment from Solyman, assembled their dispersed Souldiers, and by drawing brought them down the Rivers Savus and Dravus, into Danubius; for it is a hard matter to perform any great thing by Wars in Hungary without the help of a great Fleet, for conveying of the great Ordnance, Victual, and other such necessities of the Army, from one side of the great Rivers to the other, as occasion requires; but as then being the midst of Winter, and the North Wind blowing hard, Danubius was so Frozen on both sides, that the middle of the

River was scarce open; so that the Turks not able to pass for the extremity of the Weather, Solyman, were enforced to their Tents there to abide the hardness of Winter, to the vexation of their readines. It is almost incredible to be spoken, with what patience and resolution the Souldiers endured all the extremities of the time, in so bare a place, their Horses, which of all other things they held most dear, starving for Cold and want of Meat.

The Spring at length coming on, right welcome both to the Turks and the Queen, Mahometes with his Turke and wild Illyrians, and Uffrey with his Souldiers of Bafus, entered into Hungary, with whom Valentinus General of the Queens Forces, joyned also, with an Army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queen to further the matter, sent Presents to the Turks Generals, victualled the Camp, and furnished them with great Ordnance for the besieging of such Cities as were holden by King Ferdinand her Enemy. They passing over Danubius, took the City of Vachia (being but badly defended for King Ferdinand) and putting many to the sword, after the manner of their barbarous Cruelties, burnt the City. From thence they removed to Pefth, which was valiantly defended by Barcecius and Rajcaius, the one a Hungarian Captain, the other a German, that the Turks despairing of the winning of the City, and not well relieved by Victual by the Queen then, fearing future wrong, passed again over Danubius, and faithfully rejoining the great Ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their own Countries; but in their retiring, the Hungarians by the leading of Fererus Genarus, slew many of them, amongst whom was one Achometes one of their best and valiantest Captains.

King Ferdinand advertised of the Turks departing, returned again to his old hope of recovering the Kingdom; perfwading the Emperor his Brother, not to give over the War, so fortunately begun, especially now that the Turks having forsaken the Queen, were departed and gone. Wherefore the new Forces lately before raised in Austria, Bohemia, Sillesia, and Moravia, for the new supply of Vellus his Army, were presently sent into Hungary, under the leading of the Lord William Regendorff Steward of the Kings House, who was then gone as far as Pofsonium to have relieved them of the Queen, as a man of more ancient and honourable General Vellus gave place. He, furnished with these new Supplies, three months Victuals, and great Artillery from Vienna, joyning with the old Army, marched directly to Buda, and besieged it. Overagainst the stately Castle of Buda, wherein the Queen lay, was a great Hill called St. Gerrards Mount, so high, that the middle thereof was equal with the highest place of the Castle, and from the top thereof they might look into the Streets of the City, betwixt which Hill and the Castle was a great Valley and a deep Ditch. Upon this Hill, Regendorff sought to beat the Castle, and to terrifie the Queen, planted his Battery, and so shooed a new built Tower thereof, that it was thought that it would have suddenly fallen; which if it had, yet was it supposed a dangerous matter to have assaulted it, because it was walled about by a rubble Wall. But the sumptuous Towers and the princely Galleries of the Kings Palace in the Castle, which every Man law Regendorff might have beaten down with his great Ordnance, he spared; but whether of himself, or else commanded by the King (as loath to destroy so goodly Buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time again repaired) was uncertain. Wherefore by divers Heralds

1541.  
The Queen  
expressly her-  
Forces  
with the  
Turks and  
barbarous  
Vachia.

Pefth is  
valley be-  
sieged by  
the Turks.

King Fer-  
dinand  
dismisses  
the higher  
Castle  
Army de-  
parts from  
Buda.

Buda be-  
sieged.

Regendorff  
sought  
to beat  
the Castle.

sent unto the Queen, he wished her to break in sunder those Gyves and Fetters wherein the Bishop under colour of protection, had fast bound her Son and her, and to accept of King *Revalius* offer, who was ready to bestow upon her a goodly Seignior, whereas she might most honourably live in quiet, and bring up her Son in safety. Which thing if she, as a simple Woman, and ignorant of her own danger, should refuse, and obstinately contend the peril wherein the flood, he would forthwith in most terrible manner break down the Palace about her Ears. Whereunto the Bishop in the Queens behalf answered, That she was not such a Fool to exchange the Kingdom of Hungary for the Principality of *Sepulvia*; and that she thought *Regendorff* a very doting and mad old Man, who being once before well beaten in those Ditches, came now again like a Fool to receive his utter destruction in full gerdon of his rash Folly; wherefore he should cease to terrify valiant Men, fighting with discretion for their natural King and Country, against his drunken Company, for that they were nothing troubled with the noise of his great Shout; but yet he said, that he would above all the rest, by way of private courtesy, gently request *Regendorff* to discharge his Pieces with a little less noise, because he had a Sow at home graced with Pigs, which terrified with the thundering of his Guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the grief of his Guests. For the Bishop was of a sharp and teasing Spirit, and such a contentner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the Kings Orchards burning certain Houses, he in derision caused two Hogs to be hanged upon the same Gallows with them. Not long after, *Regendorff* removed his Camp from *St. Gerrards* Mount, to a more commodious place for the barring of the City, called the *St. Juss Graves*, near unto the Gate called the *Yew Gate*. Which thing the Bishop seeing, after his quipping manner requested of *Regendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old Man; for that in removing his Camp into a more commodious place, he seemed to be a proper wile Man and of good discretion, now that he had pitched his Tents in a moist place amongst the dead, both for himself being an old Man and almost worn with vain labour; and for his Army there condemned to die with him. *Regendorff* thus encamped, began in two places to batter the Walls; *Perennis* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians near unto the Gate called *Sabatina* in one place, and he himself with the Germans betwixt the *Yew Gate* and the Castle in another; which was done with such violence, that a great part of the Wall was beaten down, and another part thereof overcharged with Earth, which the Defenders had cast up on the inner side for the strengthening thereof, was at the same time borne quite out and fell down, to the wonderful dismay of all that were in the City. Which fair opportunity to have taken the City, *Regendorff* let slip, either for his want thereof by reason of the great smoke of the Artillery on both sides, and the Dust arising with the fall of the Wall which covered all; or else according to his natural disposition, doing all things leisurely and suspiciously; so that a little delay bereft him of the present apprehension of so sudden a resolution; and the Germans used more to flustering battle than to assaults, were not to be so easily brought on to assault the Breach upon the sudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The Wall was opened in that place almost two hundred Paces in length, yet standing almost the height of a Man,

which might easily have been scaled with short Ladders; but night was coming now fast on, wherein the Germans would not willingly attempt any dangerous matter; so that the assault was deferred until the next morning. Upon the first of *Buda* in the mean time taking the advantage of the Enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labour in that night raised up a new Rampier in stead of the Wall that was fallen, every Man without exception putting his hand to the Work. In the morning the Germans coming to the Breach, gave such fierce assault unto the new made Rampier, that *Orso Foiscau* desperately entered into a flattered Hoof, which joined unto the Wall; and certain other Companies, one Souldier helping up another, had almost recovered the top of the Rampier, and were there ready to have set up their Ensigns; when they of *Buda* with wonderful constancy and resolution withstood the assailants, *George* the Bishop encouraging them, and fighting amongst them; who having laid aside his Hood, was now to be seen with his Helmet on his Head, running too and fro as need required all along the Rampier. At length the Germans seeing themselves to strive in vain against resolute Men, were enforced to retire. In this assault *Regendorff* lost above eight hundred Men. *Perennis* was also in like manner, but with less loss, repulsed at the other Breach he had made at the Gate *Sabatina*. After that, *Regendorff* attempted by undermining to make open the City, but was by Countermine disappointed of his purpose. Yet for all this, they in the City began to feel the want of many things, so that it seemed they were not able to endure any longer Siege; the common People pinched with Hunger, crying openly out in mutinous sort, that it was time to yield and make an end of those common miseries; but such was the Authority of the Bishop, with his provident foresight of all urgent events, that once shewing himself in the Market-place as if he would have preached he could turn the peevish minded people which way he pleased.

After all this, it misted but a little, but that this City which could not by Enemies force be won, had by shameful Treason been lost; there was at that time in *Buda* one *Bornemissa* a Lawyer, who had in former time been Maior of the City; this *Bornemissa* exceedingly hated the Bishop for taking part with the Law against him, and being full of malice, and desirous of revenge, promised to *Revalius* (Marshall in the Enemies Camp) to deliver to him the blind Postern in *St. Marius* Church-yard, whereby he might enter the City; which Gate served the Citizens in time of Peace to go through to the River. *Regendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, so liked thereof, that he in himself thought it not good, in a matter of so great importance, to use at all the service of the Hungarians: Quite contrary to that *Bornemissa* had requested of *Revalius*, who desirous to have the matter brought to pass without the slaughter of so many guiltless People as was by him to be betrayed, would have had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would show mercy unto their Country-men and Kinsmen, and use their Victory with more moderation than the Germans, who provoked with many despights, and coming in by night, were like enough to make great use of their Blood. But *Regendorff* after the manner of his Nation, to be counted pollicy, using to keep promise with no Man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to have all the glory of the conceived Victory wholly to himself; made as if he would have

have used only the Hungarians, and glozed with *Revalius*, who for the more assurance he took as a Pledge; For against the appointed hour, which was about midnight, having before given straight charge that no Man should fit in the Camp, he sent four fleec Companies of Germans with great silence unto the Postern; in which time his son *Cadi* stood with a strong Troop of Horsemen ready to have entered, at such time as the Germans (received into the fort) should break open the great Gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemissa* fail to perform what he had as a Traitor promised; but opening the Postern we spoke of, had with great silence received in most part of the great German Companies. But when he felt asked folly of them as they came in, for *Revalius*, and heard them answer nothing but in the German Language; although he was otherwise a Man of a bold Spirit, yet then surprised with a sudden fear (as it oftentimes chanceth in such actions to Men deceived of their expectation) he stood as a Man amazed that knew not what to do, and forgot to command the Germans, who altogether unacquainted with the City, knew not which way first to go; and stealing on softly in the dark, went on with no great courage, for fear of Treason, till asking of them that followed, for him that should direct them. The Germans could not go so closely, but that they were by the clattering of their Armor and the light of their Matches, descried by the Watch; who asking for the Word, and they not giving it, presently raised an Alarm; but now all too late, the City being as good as half taken, had the Germans well conducted, refused to give on with the matter so well begun; but they ignorant of their own fear, ran back again to the Postern, in such haste, that one of them miserably wronged another, in striving who should get out first; and their passage so much letted by the Pikes and Weapons which they which first had cast across the way to run the lighter into the Camp. The first that set upon the Germans was *Bacimus*, who had that night the charge of the Watch; and after him *Vicchio*, who kept the Court of Guard in the Market-place; and hearing the Cry of Alarm, came thither with a strong Company both of Horsemen and Footmen. Many of the most valiant Germans, who coming in first, were in flight become last, were slain or taken, and amongst them many of *Bornemissa* his Familiars and Friends (as for himself, he was got out among the foremost) from whom the Bishop by the exquisite Torment wrought out the whole Plot of the Treason, and afterwards caused them to be severally executed to the terror of others. *Revalius* in the mean time complaining in the Camp, That he was deceived by the General; and *Bornemissa* wofully lamenting, That having worthily got the name of an infamous Traitor, he had thereby lost all his Substant and undone his Friends and Kindred. The General *Revalius* (condemned even of the common Soldiers, for his foolish Arrogancy and Pride) was hardly spoken of through all the Camp, as he that by too much intemperance had overthrown the fairest occasion of a most goodly Victory; wherefore from that time he attempted no great matter, but set himself down by long siege to tame his Enemies, and to win the City.

*Solyman* understanding of the Queens distress in Hungary, and with what desire *Ferdinand* (supported by the Emperor his Brother) thirsted after that Kingdom, consulted with his Baffles, of the purposes and power of his Enemies both there and elsewhere; and politically resolved

at one time, with his divided Forces, to withstand their attempts in divers places, and those neck of his power is well to be perceived. First, he sent *Solyman* Baffles, to march to *Babylon*, to defend the Country of *Medopotamia*, and the Frontiers of his Empire along the River *Tigris*, and against *Tamar* the Persian King. *Mahomet* a-mother of his great Baffles, he sent into Hungary to relieve the besieged Queen; and *Anders* his Officer Baffles, which was the fourth of his chief Baffles, with another Army to fly at *Belgrade*, in readiness to aid the other Baffles sent before him, as occasion should require, if he should find his Enemies too strong. Unto *Bor-belle* he committed his Navy, for the defence of *Grecia* and *Epirus* against *Auria*, who but a little before, aided by the Turks and Moors (which took part with the Turks) out of *Clepea*, *Neapolis*, *Adramutium*, *Rapina*, *Tepina*, and call *Molodunia*, except the City of *Lepis*, and caused those Cities to submit themselves to the Government of *Mahomet* King of *Tunes*. These Cities are at this day called *Calabria*, *Susa*, *Mahometia*, *Memetaria*, *Sfaxia*, and *Africa*. And because *Solyman* understood, that *Maylat Ferdinand*, he sent against him *Achometus* Governor of *Neapolis*, who commanded *Peter* of *Moldavia*, Prince of *Valachia* to aid him; who afterwards accordingly came unto him with thirty thousand Horsemen. He himself also doubting the purposes of the Christian Princes, and especially of *Charles* the Emperor, more than he had need, came to *Hadrinople*, and in the Countries thereabout raised a third Army, to aid the two Baffles sent before into Hungary; keeping with him his Son in Law *Rufinus*, whom he had made one of the four great Baffles of his Council, having thrust out *Lefebus*, whom the Turks call *Lurcia*, his Brother in Law, and exiled him into *Macedonia* for evil entreating and striking his Wife, which was *Solyman* Sister, as is before said, but was at this time done.

*Mahomet* the Baffles desirous to do his great Matter the best service he could, entered into Hungary with his Army about the middle of June in the year 1541; being with him in the way the other *Mahomet* Governor of *Belgrade*, who gave the shameful overthrow unto the Christians at *Esek*; joyning also with him the power of *Bajna*, now commanded by *Ulanus* the Persian; for that *Ulfers* the old Baffles was lately dead. The Captains of the Christian Army hearing of the coming of the Turks, entered into Council, Whether they should continue the Siege, or else go and meet them by the way and give them Battle. But the Period of the Hungarian Kingdom drawing fast on, and the inevitable Destiny thereof so requiring; the opinion of *Regendorff* prevailed against the rest for the continuing of the Siege, he seeming more willing to die than to cross over the River to *Pegh*, or to retire to *Viegrad* or *Sirigium*, as divers would have persuaded him; wherefore he removed from the place where he lay before, and encamped his Army on the further side of the City, at the foot of *St. Gerrards* Mount, where the Hill lying between *Buda* and the Camp, and departing from the River, leaveth a fair Plain toward the East; of purpose that the Turks (which he knew would not go far from the River and their Fleet) should be enforced dangerously to pass by the Mouth of his great Ordinance,

¶ P p 2 which

The Bishop  
his Court  
a Roge-  
dort.

The Ger-  
mans of  
leading  
the Breach,  
are with  
the Reg-  
dorff.

The Ger-  
mans not  
condemned  
as dissi-  
pated and  
discomfi-  
ted.

*Bornemissa*  
a Lawyer  
of the City  
of *Buda*.

A great  
Breach in  
the walls  
of *Buda*.

*Solyman*  
at one  
of his  
Baffles  
the world  
is depicted.

The order  
of King  
of Hungary  
and his  
nephew *Anders*.

which he had aply placed upon the front of his Trenches; for such was the nature of the place, that the Camp lay defended on the right hand with the steep Hill, on the left hand with the River, and behind toward the City with a strong Bulwark. Upon the right hand, upon a little rising ground, he placed the lesser Camp, wherein were the Hungarians which favoured King Ferdinand, and then followed his Ensigns. He made also a Bridge from his Camp into a little Island which lay in the River, and with a Fort well planted with Ordnance commanded both the River and the Plain, so to beat the Enemy's Fleet coming up the River, and themselves also as they should march along the Plain. He was about also to have made a Bridge of Lighters and Boats quite over the River, from his Camp to *Peßk*, and in this order to expect the coming of new supplies from King Ferdinand, and to repel the Enemy who was coming, and with long Siege to weary them in *Buda*; for there was such force both of Victual and all other warlike Provision in *Peßk*, as would well have sufficed his Army until Winter had been spent. As soon as the Turks were come nigh the City, *Valentinus* as an Ambassador from the Queen, met them with two thousand Horse, and fully instructed both the *Mahometis*, what the Christians did; what strength they were of, and how they might most conveniently encamp their Army. Wherefore the *Bassa* marching on boldly forward, came within half a mile of the Christian Camp, where he quickly intrenched himself round with a strong Trench, filling a great part of the Camp with his Tents. But the other *Mahometis*, Governor of *Belgrade*, a most pollicer Captain, took the higher ground towards the rising of the Hill, nearer unto the Tents of the Hungarians than of the Germans. Unto these two Armies thus encamped, belonged also two Fleets; the Christian Fleet consisted of four and twenty Gallies, about fourscore small Pinnaces, and little less than a hundred Ships of burthen and other great Boats; whereas the Turks Fleet was not thought to be past half so great. Near unto the little Island, joined as we have before said by a Bridge to the Christian Camp, beneath in the River had the Turks taken another Island called *Cepelia*, over against their own Camp; where calling up a great Bulwark in the uppermost end thereof, and planting it with great Ordnance, they from thence shot at the Fort which the Christians held in the little Island, and at their Vessels passing to and fro in the River, as the Christians did at them likewise. This Island of *Cepelia* lyeth somewhat more than forty miles in length in the River *Danubius*, full of Country Villages, so commodiously, that if *Regendorff* had at the first taken it and fortified it, before the coming of the Turks, as the Hungarians persuaded him to have done, the Turks could by no means have encamped in the Plain, but must needs have forsaken their Fleet, fetching a great compass about more toward the West, further off from the River; which would have turned to the Turks great disadvantage. But no *Alan* is so wise as to foresee all things, when as the very evil conceits, be the Plot never so well laid, shall of it self, beside the loss, leave unto the unfortunate Man the Note of the want of provident Foresight and discretion. But *Regendorff* was unwilling to divide his Forces, until he had some new supply from King Ferdinand. Whilst the Armies lay thus near one to the other, there were some light skirmishes made every day, either by the Horsemen or the Footmen, and sometime one brave Man challenging forth another hand to

hand, whom he thought by his Armour or some other sign of his worth, to be like to himself; which was so pleasant a sight to behold, that both the Armies upon a military courtesy, as if it had been so agreed, would many times for certain hours forbear to shoot any shot, of purpose to see those Gallants, with true Prowess to prove their Valour and Manhood one upon another with their Spears and Swords only. In which light skirmishes the German Horsemen were often times put to the worst; who mounted upon *pranceworthy* Horses, firmer for a set Battle, could never so readily charge the Enemy, nor pursue him in his flight; as could the Turks with their nimble and ready light Horses, so well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about easily frustrate the first charge of the heavy Horsemen, and by and by come upon them again with a fresh charge, and so oft retire and come on again, until they had either wearied or overthrown them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and also better armed, did easily encounter the Turks, and foil them, although they were in number more.

There was amongst the German Captains a Nobleman called *Eckius Rayfchachius*, whose Son (a valiant young Gentleman) being got out of the Army without his Fathers knowledge, bare himself gallantly in fight against the Enemy in the sight of his Father and of the Army, that he was highly commended of all Men, and especially of his Father, who knew him not at all; yet before he could clear himself, he was compassed in of the Enemy, and valiantly fighting, slain. *Rayfchachius* exceedingly moved with the death of his brave a Man, ignorant how near it touched himself, turning about to the other Captains said, This worthy Gentleman, whatsoever he be, is worthy of eternal commendation, and to be most honourably buried by the whole Army. As the rest of the Captains were with that passion approving his Speech, the dead Body of the unfortunate Son refused, was presented to the most miserable Father; which caused all them that were there present to shed Tears; but such a fuddain and inward grief surpris'd the aged Father, and struck to his Heart, that after he had stood a while Speechless, with his Eyes set in his Head, he suddenly fell down dead. From that time the General commanded, that no Man should upon pain of death, go out of the Army to skirmish with the Enemy without leave; wherein he was so severe, that he hanged up one or two that presumed to transgress his Commandment; which thing much discouraged his own Men, and so encouraged the Enemy, that they would sometime brave the Christians upon the top of their own Trenches.

Many days had now passed since the coming of the *Bassa*, the Turks and they of *Buda* daily increasing both in strength and courage; when on the other side, faint courage, weak strength, troubled council, uncertain resolution, the ominous signs of an undoubted overthrow, were easily to be seen; and hope it self, the stay of all human Actions, especially of Martial Affairs, almost lost; the only things that held their fainting Hearts, was the open letters of King Ferdinand, and the firm opinion they had conceived, That *Charles* the Emperor would not in so great a danger fail to aid his Brother, both with Men and Money; and last of all, the firm resolution of a General, which far passed all reason, the sooner to draw him to his end. The Armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground, and out of *Cepelia*, perceiving

The Turks suddenly assail the Christian in the Island.

the Germans in the little Island as careless men to keep but negligent Watch, agreed amongst themselves at one instant out of both their Camps, to assail divers of their Forts; and so in the break of the day landed with their Fleet so closely and suddenly to the Island, that they had slain almost six hundred of the Germans, before they were thoroughly awake or could well arm themselves; wherewith the self were put in such a fear, that they fled to the Camp in such haste, that many of them fell beside the Bridge and were drowned in the River. All the Camp was wonderfully troubled with the fuddainness of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries raising the Alarm in divers places at once; yet for all that, certain German Companies in one of the Forts nearest unto the River, and the Soldiers in the Fleet, well declared their present resolution and valiant courage, in recovering again of the Island. For *Heroldus*, the Camp-Master, persuading them not to suffer the Christian Ensigns and great Ordnance to be so shamefully carried away of the Turks; and *Marius* the Admiral at the same time landing divers Companies in the Island with his Pinnaces and great Boats; they so courageously charged the Turks, then busied in the spoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great Ordnance, that they drove them again into their Boats, leaving unto them as Victors, both the Island and the Ordnance, having before their departure, received no less loss themselves than had the Germans before.

It was reported, that the Turks Fleet might that day have been quite overthrown, if the Christians using the Victory, and hopen with the course of that swift River, had courageously pursued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are easily seen, which in the very heat and huddle of the danger cannot be foreseen; for such as fuddain accidents are attended with great peril, do oftentimes daze the minds of right wit and valiant Captains; yet four of the Turks Pinnaces were sunk, and three taken, and many of the Turks slain or drowned in the River. Shortly after, the Turks more and more encouraged with the multitude of themselves, and the fearlessness they perceived in their Enemies, did at sundry times so insolently trouble and assail the Camp of the Christians on every side, that they left them almost no time of rest, one Company fall succeeding another, so that they were almost in despair, to be able long to defend their Camp, the Enemy still growing both in Strength and Courage. For the *Bassa* that lay at *Belgrade*, still taking unto him the sick and wounded Soldiers, sent continually fresh men in their stead; and *Valentinus* taking unto him a Company of the Turks Janizaries Harquebusers, had driven *Peremus* with the Hungarian Horsemen out of the upper Camp. So that they in the neither Camp were now hardly beset with their Enemies on every side; yet were they well helped by the great Artillery from *Peßk*, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his Horsemen in assailing the Camp on that side.

Valentinus General for the Queen in Buda, confideth Perceus of the coming of Solyman.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian banished men, but with the Germans, did by the way of private courtesy and Friendship, by a faithful Soldier with *Peremus* speedily to provide for the safety of himself and of the Hungarians with him; for that there was a great Beast coming, which would at one morrow devour them all. For *Solyman* advertised of the doings of the Emperor and King Ferdinand, thinking that they would have come down to *Buda* with a puissant Army, was resolved to be present himself at so notable a Battle, and was therefore

coming thither with his Army in all haste. Wherefore *Peremus* thus forewarned, laid plainly to *Regendorff* and the other Captains. That except they would presently rise with the Army and depart, he would now whilst he had yet time, make shift for himself and his Countrymen. Their opinions diversly delivered, at last they all agreed, that it was best the next night to pass over the River to *Peßk*; only the General upon a fatal obstinacy said, He would not without King Ferdinand's commandment depart from *Buda*; and therefore sent Count *Solyman* with a swift Pinnace up the River to *Vienne* to know his pleasure therein. In the mean time urged with fear, *Peremus* fretting at their long stay, it was resolved upon, that they should the next night after the Moon was down, pass over the River in four Convoys to *Peßk*. In the first, were to pass over the Hungarians, with their great Ordnance. In the second, the German and Bohemian Horsemen; and in the other two, the Footmen, and the Baggage of the Army. For it was not to suffice a matter to make a Bridge over *Danubius*, as they had at first supposed; for after they had begun it, and almost planked it, there rose such a Wind and Tempest, and the violent River became so rough, that the Timber wherewith the Bridge was fastned together was broken, the Joyns unloosed, and many of the Boats whereof the Bridge was framed, their Cables being broken, were carried away by the force of the Stream. The first and the second Convoys therefore favoured that they well passed over; for although they of *Buda* and the Turks, seeing in the day time from their high places the Fleet drawing together into one place, might have some suspicion of the matter, some guessing one thing and some another; yet could they foresee nothing of the fuddain departure of the Enemy: But that multitude of Ships and Boats now passing too and fro, could not long deceive the attentive and vigilant Enemy; and so much they left, for that the two Hungarian Armies even then discovered to the Bishop the Flight of the Germans; who presently certified the *Bassa*, and the other, *Mahometis* thereof, which without further delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in their Camp; the great Ordnance was brought forth, and after the Janizaries and other Footmen, followed the Horsemen, dismounted from their Horses to do the better service; who all with a horrible cry assailed the Trenches. Then began the Germans to quail, their Flight being now discovered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably resist the Enemy. All the Camp was filled with tumult and confusion, and especially at the River side, every man in that great fear striving to get aboard, without regard of order or flame; for the dead time of the night then covered with dark and thick Clouds, made all things more terrible, even unto them which were of best courage, the Authority of *Regendorff* the General (in the darkness of the night, and so great clamor both of his own People and of the Enemy, and the thundering of the Ordnance) was as nothing; he (besides that he was then sick in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderful and fatal chance, for as he was writing Letters to the King, a Faulcon-Shot out of the Enemies Camp falling in his Tent, and striking in under a Chelt which stood there, wounded him grievously in the left shoulder with a Splinter of the same. The other Captains of the Footmen, envying that the Horsemen were so well escaped, stood as men more careful of themselves than of the common danger, faintly resisting the Enemy. The uppermost Tents, wherein *Peremus* lay, were

The Christians Army departing in the night from Buda.

The Turks assail the Christian Camp at their departure.

The Bassa returns with his Army within half a mile of the Kings Army.

Skirmishes betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

A magnificent  
pride of the  
Bijah.

Great  
laughter of  
the Christians.

firt taken by *Mahometes* of *Belgrade*, and *Valentinus*, and the German Footmen, chased all over *Scindia*, and *Gerrards* Mount. Fleet of *Buda* also fell out, and entered the Camp on that side which was next unto the City, and with Wild-Fire burnt the Tents a little before forsoaken by the Germans. And the Bishop at the same time caused a great Stack of Straw standing by the Kings Stables near unto the Rivers-side, to be set on fire; which gave such a light, that a man might have seen all over *Danubius* unto the Walls of *Pesth*, as if it had been light day; whereby the great confusion of the Christian Army by Land, as well as the shameful flight by Water, was of the Turks plainly discovered. Then was the great Artillery from every place discharged upon the flying Fleet, as well from *Buda* as the Turks Camp. And to increase the fear, *Cafon* the Turks Admiral rowing with his light Boats against the Stream, fell upon the Ships crossing the River to *Pesth*, where he took certain Boats loaded with Soldiers, and with his great Ordnance sunk divers others; so that the River was filled with dead Bodies, and the miserable Company of Soldiers and Mariners laboured to save their Lives by swimming; for at such time as the Janizaries having slain the first Companies, were broken into the lower Camp; and the rest of the Germans flying over the Bridge into the little Island, were there slain without mercy, by the Turks pursuing them, many of them leaping into the River and there perished. Three hundred Sail of one sort of Ships and other, were so confused and mingled together, that *Danubius* seemed that night to have been covered over, as if it had been with a great Bridge. But the Christian Fleet seeing all lost, cleared themselves so soon as they could of the Turks; and to beating them back with great Cannon, nance out of the tops of their Ships, got up the River to *Comor*. The rest of the Land Forces endured the same Fortune in the Camp, of whom the Bohemians died most honourably, slain by the Enemy in Fight. Many falling into the hands of them of *Buda*, were saved or slain, as was their Fortune to fall into the power of a merciful or merciless man. But the Sun rising, plainly discovered the Slaughter of the Christians, and the Victory of the Turks, not so well before known. There were about three thousand men of one sort and other, in warlike manner had taken a little Hill by Saint *Gerrards* Church, and there stood upon their guard, until such time as more than two thousand of them were slain; the rest casting away their Weapons yielded in hope of life, and were referred for a spectacle more grievous than death it self.

At the same time *Cafon* with his victorious Fleet coming to the Shore of *Pesth*, brought such a fear upon them that were escaped thither, and might easily have defended the Walls, (only with the cry of his Soldiers and the thundering of the Artillery) that the Horsemen for haste to get out, were like to overrun one another. The Germans had at that time so much forgot their wonted Valour, and so trembled at the name of the Turks, that as soon as they saw their white Caps, in their Ships, they ran away as men dismayed, unarmed, leaving behind them their Plate, their Carriages, and whatsoever good thing they had else. Yet some of the Hungarian Horsemen more desirous of the Spoil than afraid of death, staid behind rifling the Merchant Ships, for *Pesth* was become a very rich Mart Town, for all kind of Merchandise, Merchants resorting thither from all other places of the Country, as to a strong and commodious City, and of more safety than the rest. But *Cafon* now entering without resistance,

new some of those greedy Hungarians, and ran through the Town with such barbarous Cruelty and Thirst of the Christian Blood, that he spared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, except some few, which either for their Beauty or Strength of Body were reserved for the Turks beauty Lull, or flaviish Labor; so that in this War it is reported more than twenty thousand Christians were one way and another by divers chances slain. There was taken at *Pesth*, in the Camp and in the Island thirty six great Pieces for Battery, of wonderful Beauty; and of lesser Field Pieces an hundred and fifty. As for Shot, Powder, Armour, Weapons, and Victual provided for Winter, such force was found, that the Turks accounted it for the greatest part of their Victory. *Rogendorf* the unfortunate General, at such time as the Turks having won the Trenches, were fighting in the midst of his Camp, desiring rather to be slain in his Tent, than to live after a great overthrow, was against his Will by strong hand carried aboard a little Pinnace by his Physician and Chamberlain, which would not leave him as he lay, and was so conveyed up the River to the Island of *Comor*; where he shortly after, partly for the painfulness of his Wound, but more for grief of mind, died in a little Country Village called *Samaricus*, leaving unto the Germans a woful remembrance of his accursed obstinacy and pride. *Solyman* still doubting the coming of *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* to *Buda*, was coming with his Army from *Hadriampole* in such haste, that he caused the Janizaries, his best Footmen, contrary to their manner, to march as fast as his Horsemen; but understanding by the way, of the late Victory obtained by his Captains, he took more leisure, and came with a great power to the same *Comor*, and there incamped on the other side of the City, to avoid the noisome favour of the dead Bodies, which lay yet unburied. Where calling unto him the other Army, and making one huge Camp of both, he highly commended all his Captains, but especially the two *Mahometes*. And understanding that the Victory was especially gotten by the means of *Mahometes* Governor of *Belgrade*, he made him General of all his European Horsemen, one of the most honourable Prefereements of the Turkish Empire; the other Captains he rewarded according as they had deserved, and withall augmented their Pay.

After that, he caused the Prisoners, in number Turkish Cavalry, about eight hundred, to be brought out; who bound in long Ropes, were in derision led all along the Army, ranged in order of Battel, and afterwards by his commandment flayed by his young soldiers; laying with severe countenance, that they were worthy of such death, which by Embassadors dissemblingly entreating of Peace, had in the mean time craftily waged War. Amongst these Prisoners was one Soldier of *Bavaria* of an exceeding high Stature; him in despite of the German Nation he delivered to a little Dwarf (whom his Sons made great account) to be slain, whose head was feared as the Kings of the tall Captives; with that cruel spite to aggravate the indignity of his death; when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the Legs a long time by that apish Dwarf with his little Scimeter, as if it had been in disport, fell down, and was with many feeble blows hardly at last slain by that Wretch, still heartened on by others, to fascinate the Eyes of the Princes, beholding it as their Sport.

This barbarous and cruel execution done, *Solyman* sent his Embassadors with Presents to the young King, which were three beautiful Horses, with their Bridles of Gold, and their Trappings richly

Pesth taken by the Turks, and the city of the Turks.

*Solyman* sends for the young King into the Camp.

*Rogendorf* sent to *Comor*, there died.

*Solyman* returns to *Buda*.

The Queen finishes her Son to the Camp attended with the Nobility.

*Solyman* courteously receives the young King.

richly fet with precious Stones, and three Royal Robes of Cloth of Gold; and unto the chief of the Nobility he sent rich Gowns and Chains of Gold. The Embassadors which brought these Presents, in courteous manner requested of the Queen, to send the young King her Son, attended with his Nobility, into the Camp, and without all fear, to hope that all should go well both with her and her Son; for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other Kings, not in Power and Fortune only, but in Vertue and upright dealing also, was of such an heroicall Disposition, that he would not only defend the Child, whom in the right of his Father he had once thought worthy his Protection and Favour, Victory confirming the fame, but would also augment his Estate, with the largest Bounds of his ancient Kingdom. Wherefore he was desirous to see the young King, and to behold in him the representation of his Father, and with his own hand to deliver him to be embraced of his Sons; that of his Protection renewed, so happily begun, might be grounded a firm and perpetual Friendship with the *Osotoman* Kings; and that he would always account of her as of his Daughter, but the cause why he came not to see her, which he did in courteous desire, was for that by ancient custom the *Osotoman* Kings were forbidden that point of courtesy, to visit other mens Wives in their Houses. Besides that, *Solyman* (they said) was not so forgetful of his Modesty and Honour, as to receive into his Pavillion the Daughter of a King his Friend and Ally, and the late Wife of a King his Friend and Tributary, and the fair young Mother of a Son, growing in the hope of like Regal Dignity, for fear he should draw into any supposition the inviolate name of her Chastity, which in Queens was to be guarded with an especial and wonderful care. Whereunto the Queen (a manifest fear confounding the tender Senties in her Motherly Affection) answered very doubtfully; but the Bishop perswading her, and instantly requesting her, not to give the Turks occasion to suspect, that he had them in distrust, by her little and unprofitable delay; sent her young Son in Princely swathing Clothes, in a rich Chariot, with his Nurse and certain great Ladies unto the Camp, attended upon with almost all the Nobility to whom *Solyman* had sent Presents. In his coming to the Camp, he was for honour sake met upon the way by certain gallant Troops of the Turks brave Horsemen; and all the way as he passed in the Camp, orderly stood the Janizaries of *Solyman* Guard. As soon as he was brought into the Camp, *Solyman* courteously looked upon him, and familiarly talked with the Nurse, and commanded his Sons there present to take him in their Arms, and to kiss him, in certain token of the love they would bear him, whom they were in time to have their Friend and Tributary, when he was grown to mans estate; these were *Solyman* and *Bajazet*, begotten of his fair Concubine *Roxalena*; bearing the Names of the one of his Grandfather, the other of his great Grandfather. As for *Mustapha* his eldest Son by his Circassian Wife, he then lived in *Adan* a great way off; who though he was a Prince of so great hope, as never any of the Turkish Kings had a Son of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloved of his Father, brought out of favour with him by *Roxalena*, as if he had traitorously gone about to take the Empire from him, yet living, as did *Solyman* his Grandfather from *Bajazet*; for which cause *Solyman* secretly purposed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his Successor, as hereafter shall appear.

But *Solyman* at such time as the Noblemen of Hungary were dining merrily with the Baffies, had commanded certain Companies (to whom he had before given instructions what he would have done) under the colour of seeing the City, to go to one of the Gates called *Sabatina*, and the chief Streets; which was done so quietly and cunningly, that a wary Watchman standing there and beholding the manner of the Turks coming and going too and fro, could hardly have perceived how the Gate was taken, until it was too late. For many of the Turks walking fair and softly by great Companies into the City, as if it had been but for pleasure, to have seen it; and other some to colour the matter, walking likewise back again, as if they had sufficiently viewed the City; by that means they without any tumult or stir quickly took the appointed Gate, with the Market place and chief Streets of the Janizaries caused Proclamation to be made in all parts of the City, that the Citizens should without fear keep themselves within their Houses, and forthwith, as they would have their Lives, Liberty, and Goods saved, to deliver all their Weapons, which they seeing no remedy, did; and having delivered their Arms, and taken them into their Houses as their unwelcome Guests. But such was the quietness and modesty of the Turks, by reason of the severity of their Martial Discipline, that no Citizen which took them into their Houses, was by them wronged by Word or Deed. *Solyman* understanding that the City was thus quietly and without resistance taken, sent the Child back again unto the Queen, although it was now almost night; but the chief Noblemen he retained fill with him; these were *George* the Bishop and Treasurer, *Petrus Picche* the young Kings high Kinman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Taracene* General of the Queens Forces, *Stephannus Verbitus* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Urbanus* Governor of the City of *Buda*. This sudden and unexpected change exceedingly troubled all their minds, and so much the more, for that the great Baffies with changed countenance began to pick quarrels with them, and as it were frantically and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The Queen seeing the City so craftily surprized, and the Nobility injuriously detained in the Camp, troubled with grief and grief, by humble Letters requested *Solyman* not to forget the Faith he had long before given unto her, and eyes of late confirmed by his Embassadors; but mindful both thereof, and of his wonted Clemency, to send back unto her the Noblemen, who for their Fidelity and valiant Service had well deserved both of him and her; this he did by *Russenes* Baffia, whom he had loaded with Gifts, and amongst other things of great price, had sent him a fair Coroner of her own, and a goodly Jewel set with rich Stones, to send unto his Wife (*Solyman* Daughter) for a Present.

After that, *Solyman* conferred with his Baffies four days, what order to take concerning the Kingdom of Hungary; in discourse whereof the great Baffies were of divers opinions. *Mahometes* desired him to carry away with him to *Constantinople*, both the young Child and all the Nobility, to leave such a Governor in *Buda*, as by his wife and moderate Government, rather than by rigour, might put the People out of fear of Servitude and Bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay upon them the yoke of the Turkish Government. But *Russenes* Baffia (before corrupted, and a man in greater

The great Baffies of Hungary of divers opinions for the disposal of the Kingdom of Hungary.

greater favour than the rest, because he was Solyman's Son in Law, and therefore further from all suspicion of Flattery; saying, That nothing could be more dishonourable unto so great and mighty a Monarch, who never had at any time with any Spot or Stain blemished the Glory of his Name, than after Victory, against all right and reason to break his Faith at once with a weak Woman and silly Infant, whom he had before taken upon him to protect and defend. On the other side, Mahomet Governor of Belgrade (an old mortal Enemy of the Christians, of all the rest best acquainted with the state of Hungary, and for his great experience and approved Valour, then extraordinarily admitted by Solyman into Council among the great former opinions, as too full of Lenity; and being asked his own, delivered it in this mischievous manner as followeth:

The Opinion of Mahomet Governor of Belgrade to Solyman, concerning the disposing of the Kingdom of Hungary.

I know (said he) most mighty Solyman, that he which in consultation of matters of so great consequence is to deliver his opinion last, shall be different from the rest, be subject to envy and reprehension, and therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrary opinion to them that have before spoken, my speech must be unto your Ears both unpleasant and tedious. But I refuse not to be counted by my self, yea and presumptions, if you will so have it, rather than a smoother up of other men's sayings, as one of no Judgment; whilst I recount those things, which as the present case standeth, may wonderfully profit your designs and the Imperial State; for right I may desire you to yield a little to my year, and if I may by your good favour so say to you that I have already done as when as I, now grown an old man in Wars against these Hungarians, have by experience learned those things of the State and Strength of this Kingdom, and the disposition of the People, which being here laid down, may much avail for your better determination of this so weighty a cause as admitteth no repentance if you shall now be overseen therein. You have now within the space of these twenty years come in Wars your self in person five times into this Country, when as I as no obscure Captain or Soldier, was in all those Wars and Battles ever present, of purpose, as I suppose, to revenge your Injuries, to enlarge your Empire, and in brief to assure you of a good Peace, which could never be by force of Arms and Victory. And therefore you valiantly won Belgrade, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of most outrageous Thieves and Robbers, and in former time famous for the unfortunate attempts of your Ancestors; when as from thence the Hungarians in time of Peace had at their pleasure, whilst your Father was then occupied in the Persian War, spoiled the Borders of Servia and Illyria. The same Hungarians about five years after, for that they had in cruel manner slain your Embassadors, you overbore in battle, and slew their King; and possessed of Buda, to manifest and make known by a notable demonstration, the magnificence of your heroic mind, even unto the remotest Enemies of your name, did choose out of the reliques of that vanquished Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the Royal Crown, although not born of Royal Blood, or unto you known for any other desert, than that he was a little before, both your public and private Enemy; and coming gainst you with a strong power out of Transilvania, he had in the mean time lost his Brother, a better man than himself, slain with our Swords. After that, rose up the Austrian King, a new Enemy, to expulse the Hungarians, reigning by your courtesy, and so you took in hand the third War against the Germans, which you so effectually prosecuted, that having first with your self the King, you carried the terror of your self not only to the Walls of Vi-

enna, but into the very heart of Germany. But two years yet scarcely past, the same King (never long contented with Peace or Wars) supported by the power of his Brother Charles, and in their besieging Buda defended by your Garisons, stirred you up again to revenge the Injury, Slaughter, and Spoil by his Souldiers done; for that you thought it to stand with your honour to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare Bounty made a King; and then desired above all things, to fight a noble Battle with the two Brethren for the Empire of the West. But they at such time as you with Fire and Sword went through their ancient Kingdom, endured not the sight of your coming. After that, ensued a Peace between the Hungarians and the Germans; your Majesty permitting and approving it, as at such time as you made haste to go against the Persians; but the German King so broke that Peace, that had not I in good time revenged his Treachery, by the overthrow of a great Army of his at Exek, you must of necessity have been sent for from Babylon your self, as but now you were glad to come in haste, by long and painful journeys from Constantinople, to aid us in time, and I surely hope, to make an end for all; that all things (as in firm order in Hungary, the inconveniences of so many labours and so great charge, five times undertaken for another man's profit, might now at length take end; except (as I see (me with) you be in mind never to give over the protection of the Child and Widow, a matter full of infinite labour and peril, not to be counterwaied with that glorious show of honour, which by this (in my opinion) your too wise men is pretence to your haughty mind, ever too unwise men to this high point of Wisdom, abounding with Glory, which in the very course thereof cutteth in sunder the sinews of Victory, and is never by doing as I wish you more fortunate than your Ancestors, who have united eighteen Kingdoms to this your Empire, so would I not have you more wise than they is for what can be a more unwise path, than always to play the wisest of men? That is to say, always to be careful of other men's Affairs, and in mean time oftentimes to endanger his own Estate, his Health, his Wealth, his Honour. You have satisfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duty both of Charity, Fidelity, and if it must needs be, of Honour and Glory also; if it be to be gotten rather by Courtesy, Clemency and Lenity, than by the inevitable strength of wise Policy, and the constant resistance of your mind's; for by those instruments, and some other, have worthy Virgins always promoted and supported the Ottoman Kingdoms. Wherefore let those vain Jews (as Semus unto me) of counterfeit honour delude the minds of idle and foolish Kings; assuredly they never pleased your armed Ancestors, but after the Enemy was quite overthrown, the Triumph made, and the Trophies of Victory erected. But let this be as best pleased your high Wisdom and Judgment, whereunto the greatest Wits gave place. Truly (as I said) we have the chance of War, and the assured vent of things; which chance of War, and the assured vent of things, which pleasure of my mind persuadeth me unto; when as necessity, which ruleth all things, presently foreseeth me and sheweth me a far better Course. The Hungarians above all other things notably want us not to revolt them, who infamous for their unconstancy after Treachery and Treachery, are still at variance amongst themselves; and their banished men are continually setting on the Germans to invade the Country, and the weak power of the Queen and the Child is not such as that withouten so near and so mighty an Enemy to be against another man's Kingdom must of necessity be defended by our help, which may not be left than a strong Army without our great peril. To be brief, every year to take in hand so long an expedition of so great labour and travel,

Mistake of the Court.

Solyman curried Buda the thirtieth of August 1541, and there fell the first battle after the Mahometan manner.

The Doom of Hungary.

The Queen departed out of Buda with her Son.

with an Army furnished with Horsemens, Footmen, Artillery, and a Fleet of 50 ships for defence of another man, as commonly we do, (I think to me more madly) rather do I think it to stand with the Majesty of the Ottoman Emperors, thus to be moved every year at the request of a pining Woman, crying for help; except you think it more profitable and honourable to maintain a defensive than offensive War: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is best to turn this Kingdom (so often conquered and defended by Law of Arms) after the manner of your Ancestors, into the form of a Province; the Queen I would have sent to her Father, and the Boy her Son brought up in your Court at Constantinople, and there instructed in our Religion; the Nobility of the Country I wish to be slain, and their Castles razed, and the notable Families which have the bravest minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the Country into Asia; as for the base multitude, I would have kept under with good Garisons, to till the ground, and inhabit the Cities. By this only means (mighty Solyman) shall both the Hungarians perceive themselves conquered, and the Germans glad to forbear coming into Hungary, unless they will rally and unfortunately hazard both Styria and Austria.

But Solyman thinking it good to do sacrifice before he would resolutely determine of so great a matter, entered into Buda with his two Sons, Selimus and Bajazet, the thirtieth of August in the year 1541, and there dedicated to the Virgin Mary (being before by his Priests Purified after the manner of their Superstition) sacrificed the first Mahometan Sacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great Counsellors, provided out of them all both for his own security and honour, and published a Decree, the fatal Doom of that flourishing Kingdom, whereunder it yet groweth at this day: That Buda should from that day be kept with a Garrison of Turks, and the Kingdom be turned into a Province of the Turkish Empire; and the Queen with her young Son should presently depart the City, and live in Lipso, in a fertile and quiet Country beyond the River of Theiss, which something to comfort her, was near unto the Borders of her Father Sigismund his Kingdom, to be safely conducted thither with all her Wealth and Jewels by his Janizaries. Wherefore the Queen and her Son, according to this Decree, with Tears and Mourning, Christening in her heart the Tyrant's perfidious dealing (which necessity informed her then to dissemble) departed from Buda, constrained by the Turks to leave behind her all the Ordnance in the Castle and City, with all other the Warlike Provision and Store of Victual. The Noblemen went with her also, who although they went forrowful for this woful and unexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their Liberty and Safety, whereof they had for the space of three days despaired. Only Valentinus was kept in safe custody in the Camp, because he was a Martial Man of greatest power amongst the Hungarians; and besides that, much hated of the Turks for the hard pursuit of Cafo and his Horsemen, slain at Storaberg in Austria. Thus the Royal City of Buda fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after ensued the final ruin of that Kingdom, sometime the strong Bulwark of Christendom, but lost to the great weakening of the Christian Commonwealth; which may justly be imputed to the Pride, Ambition, and Diffention of the Hungarians amongst themselves, and the calling in of the common Enemy; the due consideration of whose only

coming, might well have sufficed to make them agreed.

Whilst these things were doing at Buda, King Ferdinand expecting the event of this War at Vienna, and hearing of the shameful loss of his Army, and that the General deadly wounded was fled to Comara, and that Solyman (Fame creating the evil News) was coming towards Vienna; sent Leonardus Velsius (who never liked of the Siege of Buda) to Comara, to stay the further Flight of the Souldiers, and to gather together so well as he could the dispersed Reliques of the scattered Army, and to comfort again the discouraged men with the hope of new supplies and of Pay. And somewhat to stay Solyman, who as it was thought would suddenly come to Vienna, he sent Count Salma and Sigismund (indubitably a noble and grave Counsellor, his Embassadors, with Presents and new Conditions of Peace to Solyman. The Presents were a high flaming Cup of Gold after the German fashion, curiously set with curious devices, daily exprefling the hourly passing of the Time, the motion of the Planets, the Change and Full of the Moon, the motion of the superior Orbs, ever moving by certain Wheels and Weights curiously conveyed within the frame, and exactly keeping due time and motion; lively exprefling the wonderful motions and conversions of the Celestial Frame. A most curious and strange device of Work, delicate and perfected by the most cunning Astronomers for Alexander the Emperor, whose noble mind never spared for any Cost to obtain things of rare and strange device. The Embassadors passing down the River of Danubius, were at their landing first received by Cafo the Admiral of Solyman's Fleet, and by him brought into a rich Tent, the ground under their Feet being all covered with rich Carpets; to whom Ruffian Bassa sent such good honour into the Camp afforded, but especially most excellent Wine, no less than the Turks by their Law, than desired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Baffes feasted the Embassadors, Solyman himself dining not far off in his Pavillion; at which Feat the Baffes for the more courteous dined with the Embassadors, not sitting with their Legs gathered under their flat upon the ground, as their manner was but sitting in Chairs at a high Table, after the manner of the Christians; only Mahomet Governor of Belgrade, for his Age and Valour, an extraordinary Gift, far down upon a Cushion beneath the Baffes. Their Cheer was only Rice and Mutton, and that so plainly and sparingly clothed, as if they had thereby noted our gross and manifold excess; who measure not our Cheer by that which Nature requirith, but that which greedy Appetite desireth, as if therein consisted the greatest Nobility; and the Drink for the great Baffes themselves, right easy to be had, was fair Water out of the River Danubius. After Dinner the Embassadors were brought in unto Solyman, each of them led betwixt two Baffes holding them fast by the Arms, as it had been for honours sake, and so brought to kiss his Hand. For the Turks suffer no Stranger otherwise to come unto the Presence of their suspicious Emperor, but first they search him that he have no Weapon about him, and so clapping him by the Arms under the colour of doing him the honour of dishabing, to receive him of the use of his Hands, lest he should offer him any violence; yet hath he always as he sitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by him a Target, a Scimeter, an Iron-Mace, with Bow and Arrows.



The great Globe was also brought in by twelve of the Embassadors Servants, which with the strangeness thereof filled the mind of *Solyman*, and the Eyes of his Baffles with admiration; for *Solyman* was of so flarp a Wit, that he was not learned only in such Books as contained the Laws and Rites of the Mahometan Superstition, but had also curiously studied Astronomy, and especially Cosmography, in which profitable and pleasant study he much recreated himself as his leisure served. The Embassadors desired that he would give the Kingdom of *Hungary* to King *Ferdinand*, almost upon the same conditions that *Lafca* had before required it for him at *Constantinople*, paying him six yearly Tribute as King *John* had usually paid, and promising farther to draw *Charles* the Emperor his Brother into a false League; so that *Solyman* might turn his Forces upon the Persian, which it was thought he most desired. Besides that, they said he should desire nothing honourably nor indifferently, if he should prefer the young Child before King *Ferdinand*, who befide his ancient Right unto that Kingdom, (which they were not now to urge, as oppressed by his happy Victories, but might in a time be revived) had also a late interest by a League betwixt him and King *John*, wherein he had expressly covenanted by the solemn consent of the greatest part of his Nobility, that King *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the Kingdom. Whereby they excused him of the late War, as justly taken in hand against the Queen and her Son usurping upon his Rights; which King *John* knowing to be good, and moved with Confidence, had by his solemn act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman*, his fetter up and defender, as also to the touching of himself in honour, to have to unthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the Oath of Obedience bound. Wherefore they requested, that sith he being a Prince of all others most mighty and magnificent, handing upon his upright dealing both in Peace and War, had so lightly regarded the sile dealing of so ungrateful a man; he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* to many ways injured, as his Friend and Tributary, than to have him his perpetual Enemy. Concluding, That nothing could be unto him, for the good report of his Justice more commendable, or for the assurance of a perpetual Peace more profitable, or to the immortal praise of his Bounty more honourable, than to call a King of a most ancient Discent, famous for his Verue and Fidelity, chosen for a King by the Bohemians, desired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperor elect of the Roman Empire by the Germans, and the natural Brother of the great Emperor, his Tributary King of *Hungary*. *Solyman* with cheerful countenance accepting and commending of the Presents, answered them two days after by *Rufan* the Baffa his Son in Law, that day was his resolute condition of Peace and Friendship; If King *Ferdinand* would forthwith restore all the Cities, Towns, and Castles, which were before belonging to King *Lew*, and for ever after abstain from *Hungary*, and whereas he had been so often provoked by him to War, and had therein bestowed great charges, and taken so much Travail, he could for that be content with an easy pain (which *Lew* he was for his great honour) to impose an easy Tribute upon *Austria*; upon which Conditions he was content to enter into League with them; but if so be that those Conditions seemed unto them too heavy, and that they would rather make choice of War than Peace, he would

bring to pass by continual War, that such things as they had taken from the Kingdom of *Hungary*, should be required with the destruction of *Austria*. But the Embassadors, although they were much moved at the proud Demand of Tribute and power, *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* were disdainfully abused; to keep the best course of their Negotiation, and to win some time in so hard estate of things; required a Truce until such time as King *Ferdinand* and the Emperor his Brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their request the Turk (perceiving their drift and purpose) would in no safe grant, for Winter was now fast coming on; it was lawful for the Embassadors all the time they were in the Turks Camp, to view every part thereof, *Rufan* Baffa conducting them from place to place; where above all things, they most wondered at the perpetual and dumb silence of so great a multitude, the Souldiers being for ready and attentive, that they were no otherwise commanded but by the becking of the Hand, or a Nod of their Commanders; they marvelled also at the exquisite order and sweetness of the Turks Camp, finding there in nothing disordered or noyful; so that it seemed not the Camp of such a rude and barbarous Nation, but rather of them which were the Authors of Martial Discipline. The Embassadors being rewarded, and so few away, *Solyman* commanded the old Governor of *Belgrade* to spoil the Borders of *Austria* all along *Danubius*; *Cafan* also General of the voluntary *Horsemen*, he sent into *Austria* for like purposes; who neither of them did any great harm, by reason of the suddain rising of the great Rivers, with the abundance of Rain then falling in Autumn. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken Prisoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the Mahometan Superstition) Governor of *Buda*; who by the upright administration of Justice, and courteous using of the People, with *Veretius* the old Chancellor, should do what was possible to put the People in hope of long Peace and Tranquility. Which things done, after he had staid about twenty days at *Buda*, he determined to return again into *Thracia*, because the Rain of Autumn and the cold of Winter was now come in; and was also in doubt to be shut in with the rising of the great Rivers, wherewith the Country of *Hungary* is in every place so treated, and on every side, so compassed, that it is an hard matter to pass. By the way he left *Lafca*, King *Ferdinand*'s Embassador, again at liberty, whom he had left in Prison at *Belgrade*; but he long enjoyed not that benefit; for shortly after returning into *Polonia*, he died of the Flux; which caused many to suppose, that he was poisoned by the Turks. A man for his Verue and Learning famous worthy of a longer life, whose death the King himself much lamented.

As *Solyman* was returning into *Thracia*, and was come to the River *Dravus*, it was told him, that *Stephen Maylat*, Vayvod of *Transylvania*, who took King *Ferdinand*'s part, a professed Enemy of the Turks, was taken by the cunning of *Peter* of *Moldavia*, and Prince of *Valachia*; and that all the Country of *Transylvania* was well pacified, and yielded to his Obedience. Of which News *Solyman* was passing glad; for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a Martial man of a forward Nature, desirous of rule, and ready upon any occasion to revolt; forasmuch as he remembered *Gritus* his Legate, and the Turks by him slain; and knew also, that the *Transylvanians*, an invincible People, born to trouble, and more delighting in uncertain War than assured Peace; was by him

stirred up; whom he withed rather by gentleness to appease, than by force of Arms and strong hand to subdue. But because we have oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whose taking *Solyman* so much rejoiced, it shall not be amiss in few words to declare in what fineness he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloody man, *Peter* of *Moldavia*.

This Moldavian by the commandment of *Solyman* (as is aforesaid) had joined his Forces with *Achometes*, Governor of *Nicopolis*, against *Maylat*; which being united, were in number fifty thousand Horsemen, beside Footmen; which after the manner of those Countreys, were not many, every man almost in the Country, he he never so poor, keeping a Horse to serve upon. *Maylat* befet with the multitude of his Enemies, and finding himself too weak to encounter them, he knew to be buffed in a greater War, forsook the Field, and fled again into the strong Town of *Fagaras*, as he had done the year before, when he was overcharged by King *John* Power; for there as in a most strong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid up his greatest Substance and Provision for the Wars, but especially the rich Spoil he had long before taken from *Gritus*. *Achometes* coming thither with his power, and perceiving the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it best, as if with him he could overcome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he sent a Messenger unto *Maylat*, to persuade him to yield himself unto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his Friend, than to be judged his Enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodnes, which had given whole Kingdoms unto his Enemies; promising, that he would use the utmost of his Credit, which was not of the small, and labour for him as a Friend, and might feel the fruit of his Clemency and Bounty, and fill enjoy the Government of *Transylvania*, paying him some small yearly Tribute, as he had before requested; forasmuch as he could take no course better, being befet with so many Enemies, than to make his Peace upon reasonable Conditions, and that with as much speed as was possible; in which doing, besides that he should well provide for his own safety, he should also save both his Wealth and Honour; for *Solyman* was coming (as he said) with his victorious Army, who would with assured death revenge his vain hope of holding out the Siege, if he should upon a stubborn and obdurate mind then refuse to obey his command. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certain Peace, than to endure an uncertain War, answered, That he could be content to conclude a Peace, so that it were not upon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solyman*'s command, which was wont to be both reasonable and just; wherefore upon sufficient Pledges he would come into the Camp, in preference to agree upon the Conditions of the Peace and demanded to have *Achometes* his Son a valiant young Gentleman delivered in Hoilage. Which thing *Achometes* denied, for that he had (as he said) before given him to *Solyman*, as the manner was, and therefore had over him no more power; but he promised for him, that was but one, to give four of his best Captains. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and gallant retinue attended upon, came to the Enemies Camp, where he was courteously and honourably received. But the Parly, as it could not be conveniently begun immediately after the first salutation, so could

it by no means be then ended, but was deferred until the next day; to the intent, that the treacherous Moldavian might take his well acquainted and well known Gueft, whom he had against that time invited to a solemn Banquet. By that means, the next day about the midst of Dinner, Fortune favoured the intended Treachery, that *Maylat* (who was of so proud and choleric a nature, that he could not well brook the least indignity) was by occasion of some insolent Speech, of purpose mistof by the Moldavian Guefts, put into such a rage, that laying his hand upon his Sword, he in a free flung from the Table, at which time all the other Guefts starting up also, laid hands upon him, and took him, fluming, and in vain crying out, that he was shamefully betrayed. His Followers were all forthwith stripe of all their bravery by the noody Moldavians, and their Horses and Armor taken from them. Whilst *Maylat* was yet furiously exclaiming of this Treason, in came *Achometes*, who to seem guiltless of the matter, with deep diffimulation sharply reproved the false Moldavian, that he had in doing so foul a Fact shamefully violated the Laws of Hospitality, renowned of all Nations, falsified the Faith which he had given him for his safety, and betrayed the lives of such notable Captains as lay in hoilage for him. Whereunto the Moldavian (as if it had been in contempt) scornfully answered, that he had upon good cause taken *Maylat* Prisoner, and so would in safety keep him for *Solyman*, unto whom it only belonged to judge, whether he had justly or unjustly kept him.

Not long after, the strong Town of *Fagaras* was delivered, with the Hoftages, but whether by fear or corruption of *Maylat*'s Lieutenant, is uncertain. So *Valentinus Turacuss*, and *Maylat*, two of the greatest Noblemen of *Hungary*, sufficient of themselves to have restored the Hungarian Kingdom (first sent in funder with civil Difcord, and afterward with the intent of the Turks) fell into the hands of the Enemy, nor were acquitted in Batel, but deceived by Treason. The Town being thus surrendered, almost all the Country of *Transylvania*, was by *Solyman*'s consent delivered to the young King, unto whom all the People most willingly submitted themselves, and took the Oath of Obedience, remembering that his Father had almost for thirty years space with great Justice and quietness governed that Province; and with many Presents honoured the young King living in *Lippa*, with the Queen his Mother, and his two Tutors, the Bishop, and *Vicbe*.

At the same time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunate suit of his Subjects of *Spain*, had prepared a great force both by Sea and Land for the conquering of *Algiers*, from whence the Turkish Pyrats did so infest all that Coast of the Country, from *Gades* to the Mountains *Pyrene*, that the Spaniards (all Trade of Merchandise being far apart) were glad to keep a continual Watch and Ward all along that Coast for defence of the Country. Wherefore although he well knew of *Charles* the coming of the Turks to *Buda*, and how hardly he was by the Langraves and others spoken of, for leaving his Brother so hardly befet, to go many against a sort of Pirats in *Africk*, yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of *Germany* into *Italy*, where by the way he met *Odavian Farnesius* his Son in Law, *Alphonfus Vassius* his Lieutenant, by the Venetian Embassadors, near to *Verona*, and so brought to *Milano*, where he was with great Solemnity joyfully received of the Citizens, and under a Canopy of Gold brought unto the Palace; he himself



going in a plain black Cloke, and a homely Cap in mourning vils; when as the Women and vulgar People, upon a curious simplicity, expected to have seen to great an Emperor in his Royal Robes, glittering with Gold and precious Stones, and the Imperial Crown upon his Head. His heavy Countenance answerable also to his Attire was much noted, as prefiging the woful overthrow which was the day before received at *Buda*, but not yet known in *Italy*. From *Milain* he departed to *Genoa*, where he was advertised by Letters from his Brother King *Ferdinand*, of the overthrow of the Germans, of the Victory of the Turks, and the coming of *Solyman*. Upon which news, *Vasfin* and *Asurie*, his two chief Commanders, the one at Land, the other at Sea, would have persuaded him to have deferred his intended expedition for *Africa* until the next Spring; and with such power as he had already raised in *Italy*, and brought with him out of *Germany*, to stay still in *Italy*, so to make shew unto the Turks as if he would have returned and holpen his Brother; and in the mean time to assure himself of his state in *Italy* against the French, who (as it was thought) would be ready to take all occasion of advantage, if any mishap should befall him, either by the force of the Enemy, or violence of Tempest. But he constant in his former resolution, answered them as they sat in Council, that they had perswaded him for great reasons to stay in *Italy*; but that he was for far greater to pass into *Africa*; for if he should then stay in *Italy*, it would be thought that he was for the safety of the Turks fled out of *Germany*, which disgrace could no otherwise be prevented, but by the present prosecuting of his former determination for *Algiers*, and satisfying the expectation of his Subjects of *Spain*; and so by Sea valiantly to prove their better Fortune, which had of late not so well favoured them at Land; in hope that *Algiers* might be won before the Seas should grow rough and dangerous with Winter Tempests; which if it should fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he said, greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, that the dissembling Friendship betwixt the French King and him, would not long endure; and the rather, for that there was a new grudge risen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Renuz*, who for certain years had been Ambassador for the French King at *Constantinople*, to *Solyman*, and was few months before sent back again by him into *France* to the King; but returning back again with new instructions from his Master, for the confirmation of a further League betwixt the Turkish Sultan and him, he was by certain Spaniards of the Emperors old Souldiers, who had knowledge of his coming, belated upon the River *Padus* as he was going down to *Venice*, so to have passed into *Epirus*, and slain, together with *Caesar Trepatius*, or as the common report went, first taken and tortured, to get from him the secrets of his negotiation, and afterwards slain. Which report so much touched *Vasfin* in Credit, that in purgation of himself, he offered the Combat to any man of like quality to himself, that durst charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthily taken away, for undertaking so odious a Charge, as to stir up the Turks against the Christians, and to shew unto them such opportunities as might best serve their purpose, by discovering unto them the Emperors Designs, to the great hurt of the Christian Common-Weal. But were it well, or were it evil, as *Paulus* the third of that name then Bishop of *Rome*, meet-

ing the Emperor at *Luca* as he came from *Genoa*, could not, or would determine, fire it served as no small occasion to set those two great Princes again at odds, whereby the wished Unity of the Christian state was fore shaken, and a way opened for the Turk. The Emperor at his coming to *Luca*, was honourably received by the Cardinals and Bishops, and lodged in the Court; the great Bishop was before placed in the Bishops Palace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talk with him, and the Bishop to him once. But the Bishop having nothing at all prevailed with the Emperor and the French Ambassador, for the appeasing of the troubles even then like to arise betwixt him and the French King; did what he might to persuade him to employ such Forces as he was about to pass over with into *Africa*, against the Turks in defence of his Brother *Ferdinand*, and of the Country of *Austria*, if *Solyman* should happily pursue his late obtained Victory at *Buda*. But he still resolute in that fatal determination of invading *Africa*, rejected that the Bishops request also. So the great Bishop having moved much, and prevailed little, in the greatest matters which most concerned the common good, taking his leave of the Emperor, returned by easy journeys to *Rome*.

The Emperor in the mean time with certain Bands of Italians, under the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Augustinus Spinola*, of his thousand Germans, came from *Luca* to the Port *Lane*, and there imbarking his Souldiers in certain Merchants Ships provided for the purpose, and five and thirty Gallies, departed thence, commanding the Masters of the Ships to direct their Course to the Islands of *Baleares*; but after they had put to Sea, they were by force of Tempest suddenly arising, brought within sight of *Corfica*; where after they had been tossed too and fro two days in the rough seas, and put into the Court, the Wind something falling, they put into the Haven of *Syracusa*, now called *Bonifacium*. The dispersed Fleet once came together into the Port of *Syracusa*, and the rage of the Sea well appeased, he put to Sea again for the Islands *Baleares*, now the Emperor driven by tempest into Sicily. He met with a Tempest from the West, more terrible and dreadful than the first; wherein divers of the Gallies having lost their Masts and Sails, were glad with extreme labour and peril in striving against the rough Sea to get into the Harbor of the lesser Island, taking name of *Barcinus Mago* the famous Carthaginian, whose name it retaineth until this day. From hence the Emperor with all his Fleet passed over to the greater Island, being wonderful glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his Viceroy in *Sicilia* was in good time come with the Sicilian Gallies and Ships of *Italy*, in number an hundred and fifty sail, wherein he had brought forth store of Batts and Victuals as might have sufficed for a long War. *Mendoza* was also expected to have come thither with his Fleet from *Spain*; but he by reason of contrary Winds being not able to hold that Course, altered his purpose according to the Tempest, and so happily cut over directly to *Algiers*. So the Emperor nothing misdoubting the careful diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already chanced, as the Emperor's Admiral hoisted sail, and in two days came before *Algiers*, and there in goodly order came to anchor before the City in the sight of the Enemy. Whilst the Fleet thus lay, two of the Pyrates which had been abroad at Sea, seeking for prize, returning to *Algiers*, not knowing any thing of the Fleet,

The Emperor and his ship of Batts met at Luca.

The Emperors Fleet out of Spain and other countries.

The Duke of Alva.

Duke in great affliction.

The Emperor's death at Constantinople.

fell into the Bay amongst them before they were aware; the bigger vessel *Vicomtes Cicada* stemmed with his Gally and sunk him, the other with wonderful celerity got into the Haven. In the mean time *Mendoza* with his Gallies had passed the Promontory of *Apollo* now called the Cape of *Califfines*, and in token of honour saluting the Emperor after the manner at Sea, with all his great Ordnance, gave him knowledge that the Spanish Fleet was not far behind. In this Fleet was above an hundred tall Ships of *Biscay* and the *Low Countries*, and of other smaller Vessels far greater number. In their Ships, besides the Footmen, were embarked a great number of brave Horsemen out of all parts of *Spain*; for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their own Charge gallantly furnished themselves with brave Armor and courageous Horses, to serve their Prince and Country against the Infidels. Over these choice men commanded *Ferdinand of Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, for his approved Valor then accounted a famous Captain. Their Ships going altogether with Sails, were not able to double the Cape as did *Mendoza* with his Gallies, for now it was a dead Calm; howbeit the Billows of the Sea went yet high, by reason of the rage of the late Tempest, and did so beat against the plain Shore, that it was not possible to land the Souldiers; but that they must needs be wafted up to the middle; which thing the Emperor thought it not good to let them unto, and so to oppose them Sea-sick and through wear against the sudden and desperate Assaults of their fierce Enemies. He also feared for the coming of the Spanish Ships for two causes; first that he might with his united Power more strongly assault the City, and terrify the Enemy; then, to communicate the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whole request and forwardness and greatness. Charge he had undertaken, which late delayance for two days, although it was grounded upon good reason, did not only disturb an assured Victory, but to the notable hurt of the whole Army, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward ensued.

In the mean while the Emperor sent a convenient Messenger to *Alanagas*, otherwise and truly called *Alfan-Aga*, or *Alfan* the Eunuch; who with a little Flag of Truce in his hand making sign of a Parly, and answered by the Moor with like, as his manner is, went on there, and was of them courteously received and brought to *Alfan*. This *Alfan* was an Eunuch, born in *Sardinia*, brought up from his youth in the Mahometan Superstition by *Barbarossa*, a man both politic and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his Kingdom of *Algiers* in his absence with *Solyman*. This Messenger brought into his presence, required him forthwith to deliver the City first furnished by Force and Treachery by *Hlorucine*, and afterwards to the destruction of mankind, fortified by *Harisudun Barbarossa* his Brother to *Charles* the mighty Emperor, come in person himself to be revenged on those horrible Pyrats; which if he would do, it should be lawful for the Turks to depart whether they would, and for the natural Moors to abide still with their Goods and Religion wholly referred unto them untouched, as in former time; and for himself, he should receive of the Emperor great Rewards both in time of Peace and War, so that he would remember himself, that he was born in *Sardinia*, and was once a Christian; and accept of the fairest occasion which could possibly be offered for him to return again to the worshipping of the true God, and to enjoy the favour and bounty of the most mighty Emperor,

and wishal to revenge himself of the cruel Tyrant *Barbarossa*, for the unnatural Villany done unto his person. But if he would needs dally on the time, and make proof of the strength of his great preparations, he should undoubtedly, with the rest of his Followers, receive the full reward of his obliquity, which they had to the example of others, received at *Tunes*. Whereunto the ungracious Eunuch answered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow his Enemies Council; and with a grinning countenance ask him, Upon what hope the Emperor trusted to be able to win the City the Messenger pointed with his finger directly to the Fleet, told him, That which you see, with his great Artillery, and Valour of his Souldiers, both Horse and Foot; whereas the Eunuch scornfully laughing, replied, And we with like Force and Valour will defend this City, and make this place, already famous for your overthrows here twice, now the third time, of all others most famous by the Emperors discomfiture. It is reported, That there was in *Algiers* an old Witch, famous for her Preditions, who had (as it was said) foretold the Shipwracks and misery of *Dido* *Verra*, and *Hugo Moncada*, to them of *Algiers*, and also prefixed a time when as the Christian Emperor adventuring to besiege that City, should there receive great loss both by Sea and Land. The fame of which blind Prophecy serving fully to confirm the hope of the Turkish Souldiers of the vulgar multitude, *Alfan* for bold and augmented (although he himself being a crafty wile fellow, believed no such vanity) that he did therewith not only encourage his own Souldiers, but also struck a terror into the minds of the weaker sort of his Enemies, seeing themselves cast upon so dangerous a Coast upon the approach of Winter. There was in Garrison in the City but eight hundred Turks, and most of them Horsemen, but such as whose Valour and hardiness far exceeded their number. For *Alfan* had lost many of his best men, some in fight against *Mendoza*, and otherwise at Sea, slain or taken by *Auria* in *Cosica*, and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, and Sicilian Gallies; but many more were by his leave gone to aid the Moors against the Portugals; the other multitude did scarce make up the number of five thousand; which were partly natural Moors born in that Country, and partly such as were born in *Granada*; to whom were joined many fugitives out of the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, who in former time having entered into Rebellion, and fearing condign punishment, were led to *Algiers*, and there revolted to the Mahometan Superstition. But the Captains of the wild Numidians made up a great number both of Horse and Foot, which lying flagrant without the City in the open Fields, should night and day vex and molest the Christians. This brutish People, naturally Enemies unto the Christians, had always with rewards and hope of a rich Spoil, allured out of the Countries thereabout to aid him; neither was it lawful for any man to carry his Wife or Children out of the City, into places of more safety farther off, or to shew any small token of fear, pain of death being by the imperious Eunuch propoed to whosoever should but look heavily for fear of danger, or speak a word favouring of Cowards. The Emperor by *Auria* making choice of a most convenient place for landing his men, laid his Gallies so close unto his tall Ships, that his armed Souldiers might with ease come out of the high built Ships into them, and so out of them into the long Boats, to be forthwith set on shore. And such was the speedy diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plenty of Boats

The Emperor's death at Constantinople.

The Emperor's death at Constantinople.

The French Kings Embassy to the Emperor.

Boats still ready to receive the Souldiers as fast as they could come out of the Gallies, that the Footmen were in a very short time all landed. The Emperor having a little rested and refreihed his Souldiers, divided his Army into three equal Battels, which was in number about twenty thousand. Footmen, better Horfemen and others, who of their own voluntary Will then followed the Emperors Fortune. Unto every Battel he appointed three Field-Pieces, to terrifie the Numidian Horfemen, which were still picking up and down about them, ready to charge if they could take them at anyadvantage And so feting forward a few Furlongs, encamped in a ftrong and convenient place, near unto the City, between two deep Ditches, viz. the Water falling from the Mountains, was naturally worn fo deep, that neither Horfeman nor Footman could well pass over, but by Bridge; and falf by upon the left hand was an Hill, from the top whereof it seemed the City might with great Ordnance well be battered.

The description of Algiers.

The City of Algiers, fometimes the Royal Seat of the great King *Juba*, called of the Romans *Tulca Cefarea*, is in form of a Triangle, fquare falf by the Sea towards the North, having a Haven, but neither great, neither fafe from the North-Wind. The Houses farther off from the Sea, ftand in feemly order upon the rifing of a fteep Hill, as it were upon degrees; in fuch fort, that the Windows of one row ftill overlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the Sea, moft beautiful to behold. The Emperor having divided his Camp into three parts, every Nation by themselves, lying on the East fide of the Town, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for that whilst he assaulted it on that fide, his Ships and Gallies from the North fide, might in time of the Assault with their great Ordnance beat the Enemy all along the Wall; which still rifing higher and higher according to the rifing of the fteep Hill, could not conveniently be defended with one Bulwark, as we fee it may in plain ground. Neareft unto the rifing of the Hills, lay the Spaniards; in the midft, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the Plain neareft to the Sea, the Italians. In the mean time whilst the great Ordnance was landing, and the Horfes unshipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcry fhewed themselves upon the tops of the Mountains above the Spaniards, and from thence affely gaufed them with their Darts and Shot; for they nimblely running too and fro in the known parts of the rough Mountains, would fuddainly and fiercely affail them, but after the manner of their Nation skirmishing afar off, rather than near at hand. In which manner of light skirmishes, all the day was spent until night, with fmall danger but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, these wild People, one Company still fucceeding another in the place they had before taken, never left fhooting; for wheresoever they faw any Fire in the Spanish Camp, thither came Arrows, Darts, and Stones flying as thick as Gall; for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their Fires, and with silence to expect the day, that they might come nearer unto them. Wherefore as soon as the Sun was up, the Spaniards by the perfuafion of *Alvares Sandes*, Master of the Camp, valiantly climbing up the high Mountains, repulsed and put to flight the Numidians, and took the top of the Hills, and there lay as it were encamped in the poor Shepherds Cottages. But the fame day fuch a multitude of the wild People was flockt about them, that they were compaffed in round, and glad to fight on every fide in a Ring. Yet this hercefnets of this barbarous

The Numidians skirmish with the Spaniards.

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and got the hills.

People, was by the Valour of the Sicilian Companies quickly repuffed, whose Pikemen glittering in their bright Armor, made fmall account of the Numidians Arrows and Darts, but orderly stepping forwards with their Pikes, and the Harquebussers clofe by their fides, easily repuffed their naked Enemies. The Numidian Footmen are for moft part Youths half naked, with long hair not unlike the Irish, using no other Weapons but Darts; they fight mingled with their Horfemen, trusting the one to the other, and are of a wonderful fwiftness, and agility of Body. Their Horfemen use long Spears armed at both ends, which they with a marvelous dexterity use, to the endangering of their Enemy purfuing them; they use also long and light Targets made of Leather, wherewith they fo cunningly defend themselves and their Horfes, both in their Charge and Retreat, that for a fmall triffe, in respect of the danger, they will give a man leave to cast feven Darts at one of them, which they will all fo furely avoid either with the Spear or receive them without harm into their Target. In the mean time, whilst this wild People thus skirmished all the day, at night a fuddain misfortune overthrew all the Emperors hope; for as he stood beholding the unshipping of his great Ordnance, his Horfes, Victual and other necessaries of the Army, a storm of Wind and Rain began about fix a clock in the Afternoon, holding on all the night without intermission, with fuch rage, as if Heaven and Earth should have gone together; wherewith the whole Army at Land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the Fleet at Sea by force of Tempest driven aground, perished. That night three Companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their General, lay without the Trenches against the fuddain Assault of fo uncertain an Enemy, who when they had all the night endured the relentless Rain and excessive cold, were fo overcome with the extremity of the Weather, that neither were their minds able to relieve their weak bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds; for they could neither conveniently ftand nor lie down, all the ground being fo miry, that at every step they funk up to the calf of the Leg. Upon these ftarved Companies, the Turkish Horfemen and Moors Footmen, who diligently observed the Watch the Christians, perceiving their diftreffes, fuddainly fell into in the dawning of the day; and fo fiercely charged them, their Match and Powder being now fo wet that they could not use their Pieces, that they all fled, except a few Pikemen, who made a ftand, and were all quickly flain by the Turks; who fo desperately purfued the rest in chafe, that they followed them over the Trench into the Camp. This Alarm being heard, *Gemilur Columa*, the Italian General came prefently thither, being fent by the Emperor, who with certain Companies iffued out over the Bridge against the Enemy; who now in fnew difcouraged with the coming out of this new Supply, did indeed, or at leaftwise made as if they did diforderly retire for fear. At which time *Ferdinand Gomzaga*, Victory of Sicily, a man of greateft account in the Army next unto the Emperor, coming in also, and engaging them as valiant men, to recompence their shameful flight with a fresh Charge, by driving the Enemy home to his own door; which thing *Columa* faid could not be done without great perill, but *Gomzaga* being a man of a noble Courage, defired to have the difgrace which al the Italians had received, falfed some way, al though it were with need fo great danger; thinking also that it might happily fall out, that the

The description of the Numidian Footmen and Horfemen.

A martial law.

The Moors put to flight by the Italians.

The Italians fight, and the danger the whole camp.

Enemy being put to flight, and haftily purfued, they might together with them enter the City, without danger of the Artillery. So without farther delay, the rest of the Italian Companies were led forth of their Trenches with great cheerfulness by *Augustine Spinola*, who fo valiantly charged the Enemies, that they put them to flight, and purfued them fo hard, that they came with them to the very Gates of the City; where many thut out for fear of letting in the Italians together with them, efclaped by known ways, fome to another Gate, and fome into the Mountains. But then these barbarous People, with Darts and Shot from the Walls, began to overwhelm the Italians which were unadvicably come within the danger, and with rude outcries to terrifie them, and the which before were fled without the Walls, returned again to fight. They also which had thut the Gate, fell out again, and hardly charged the Italians, who already gaufed with thut from the Walls, and rent in funder with the great Ordnance, fled most diforderly; for why, they were but raw Souldiers taken up in half, little or nothing acquainted with the Wars. As which time *Alfonso* alfo falling out, who was easily known by his Countenance and rich Attire, purfued the chafe with his Troops of Turks and Moors Footmen. Only certain Knights of the *Rhodes* fought valiantly, and retired orderly; and *Spinola* with fome other Gentlemen making a ftand at a little wooden Bridge, fomewhat falfed the Enemy and faved the lives of many. So the Italians which first charged most valiantly, being in the flight become hindmost, the Enemy striking them down as they fled, covered the Fields with their dead Bodies by the fpace of half a mile, efpecially they which fled towards the Sea; for there they were circumvented and flain by the mercilefs Numidians, who beholding the Shipwrack, were come down to the Sea fide for prey. But the foremost Companies of the Italians which first fled into the Camp, fled in fo much haft and fo great fear, that none of the Leaders in fo great and fuddain a perplexity, remembered either the common fafety, or performed the duty of an advicd Captain; fo that all seemed at once loft both by Sea and Land. Only the Emperor, armed with an invincible courage against all the chances of fortune, and notto be difmaid with any mishap, was both unto himself and others that day the greateft Captain; for when all was almost loft, he in good time fluted the matter by coming on with the Squadron of Germans, whereof he fent before three Ensigns to ftay the flight, and with them as a fire and fresh supply to guard his Camp beyond the Bridge which was over the Ditch, ferving his Army for a Trench as we have before fald. But fuch a fear had poffeffed the minds of the flying Italians, and fuch was the fierce purfuit of the Enemy, that those Germans (not before aware of their backs) as if they had been afraid of the Turks white Caps, or not able to abide their fight, or to hold up weapon against them; by and by turned their backs, and shamefully fled for Company with the Italians. Then the Emperor galloping forth with his Horfe, and his Sword in his Hand drawn, reproving them of Cowards that fled, fort forwarding with the German Squadron; and with a shout and many Country fpeaks to them, that a few words in their own Language; *When will you (fellow Souldiers) shew your Faces to your proud Enemies, if now when you should fight for the honour of the Christian Name, for the glory of the German Nation, for the falfeguard of your own Lives, in the presence of your Emperor, you fear a few difordered*

The meale courage of the Emperor in flying the flight of his army.

and naked Barbarians? Immediately when he had thus fald, the Germans touched with shame, and diffidain that it should be thought they needed any exhortation to perform the parts of valiant Souldiers, iffued out against the Enemy; who moved with their coming, and seeing the Italian certain valiant, and expert Captains, stood fild a while and began to retire; whether it were because they feared the great Artillery and assault of the Germans, or that they thought they had done enough for that fully; when as for the full accomplishment of the Victory they faw the Christian Fleet overcome with a most horrible Tempest, miserably to periff before their Faces; and many of their Men, efpecially the Moors, hafted to the Sea fide in hope of a more certain Prey, whereas no Enemy was to be feared. For the blustering Winds blowing from divers quarters, as if they had confpired to raise a most horrible Tempest, had made fuch a rough Sea, and the huge Billows went fo high, that the Ships by the violence of the Weather, and rage of the Sea, put from their Anchors, fell foul one of another, and went fo loft; or else driven upon the Main, were there beaten in pieces in the fight of the Army; fo that all the Sea Coast Westward from *Algiers* to *Cercado*, lay full of dead Men and Horfes, and the Ribs of broken Ships. The Numidians beholding this miserable Wreck, came down by great Companies from the Mountains, and without mercy flew all that came alive to Land. In the fpace of a few hours was loft about a hundred and forty Ships, and all the fmall Boats and Carvels, which were in number many. Some of the Gallies, which they had from midnight to the next day at noon, by the painful labour of the Mariners, and skillfulness of the Masters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the Tempest, and fearing to be eaten up with the Sea, with Sails and Oars ran aground; but the Souldiers and Mariners swimming to Land in hope to fave their Lives, and thinking that the greateft danger had been now past, were by the Numidian Horfemen which ran up and down the Sea fide, flain. There might a Man have feen Free-men of all forts, with Tears commending their lives and liberty to their own Gallies, flaves, that by the speech and entreaty of them, which by the fuddain change of fortune had but even now shaken off their Irons, and with merry Hearts fwam out to their liberty, they might be freed from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grievous and awful fight for divers hard extremities, when as every Man according to the difpofition of his mind and skill in Swimming, ftanding doubtful in most affured death, that to receive or refuse, was by fatal Destiny drawn to his end, and either drowned in the Sea, or thrust through with the Enemies Lance; yet most made voice to abide the danger of the Sea, and to expect the event of the Tempest, rather than to haften their end by the Enemies merciless Hand. By that means it came to pass, that that barbarous Cruelty of the Enemy (as being most feared of the Mariners and Souldiers) faved many Gallies; which by the appointment of the fcareful Mariners and Passengers should otherwise have been run on ground. But after that, a notable Gallie wherein *Jamesinus Auria* was, was feen to come near unto the Shore, and to be driven upon the sands by force of the Weather and the beating of other Gallies. The Emperor not enduring to fee fo valiant a young Gentleman, Captain of many Gallies, flain without help by the Moors in the fight of *Auria* his Uncle; fent by and by one of his Captains called

As horrible tempest.

The Christian Fleet perishes by Shipwreck.

A hard choice.

Many Gallies were lost by the waves of the Sea.

Antonius

*Antimus of Aragon*, with three Bands of Italians to the Sea side; by whose coming the Moors were put to flight, and he with the rest in the Galley saved; but so, that the saving of him was the loss of divers other Gallies. For many delivered of the fear of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of the Souldiers came down to the Sea side, desiring to save themselves from the rage of the Sea, ran their Gallies on ground; and had not some bold Captains (grieved to see so great a loss) ran up and down the Banks with their drawn Swords in their Hands, and by threatening death unto the Galley-flaves and Mariners, staid their rowing, most part of the Gallies had by the example of the others perished. *Aurica*, not so angry at himself as at the Emperor (who, contrary to the observation of skillful Sea-men, could not be dissuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in so suspicious a time of the year) with an invincible courage strove against the violence of the Tempest, and rage of the Sea; inso much, that being requested by some of his Friends to save himself, whatsoever became of the Galley; he was so angry thereat, that he commanded them to be bestowed under Hatches. Four Gallies also of *Verginius Ursinus* Earl of *Aguilaria*, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the fear of death. Certain Gallies also of *Scilia*, *Naples*, and *Spain*, happily endured all the rage of the Tempest; yet was there fifteen great Gallies cast away; with the loss whereof, besides the loss of so many Ships, the Tempest still enduring, so great sorrow and dejection in the whole expedition of the Wreck of all, possessed the whole Army, that not only the young Souldiers regarding only their own lives, but even the most valiant Captains careful of the common Estate, were utterly discouraged; for never was Army in any memory overwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their Victuals being lost in three days, nothing was left to relieve them withal, and they wanted Tents wherein to shroud and rest the Souldiers spent with labour, hunger, cold, and wounds, in such perpetual Rain and so dirty a Country. In which so great miseries a wonderful care, heavier than the former fear, exceedingly troubled the minds of all Men, to think upon that horrid Wreck; when as having lost so many Ships, and they poor Men landed in *Africa*, were in doubt however to return again into their native Countries. Yet the notable courage of the Emperor still kept the distressed Men in hope, which never altogether forsaketh wretched Men in the midst of their calamities; for he with a courageous heart and cheerful countenance performed all the parts of a provident and courteous General. For when he had again made sure his Camp against the assaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied Captains, especially the Duke of *Alva* (wonderfully wearied in the last skirmish, and done weep) to spare themselves and take their rest; he comforted the wounded Men, and caused them to be carried and cherished in the Tents which by chance yet stood (for the tempestuous Wind had almost overthrown them all), and so not sparing himself for any pains, being in his Armor and through wet, won the hearts of all his Souldiers the more. In this conflict he lost about three thousand Men, among whom was five of his forward Captains, and three Knights of the Rhodes; but many more were hurt. The greatest loss was thought to be in loss of the Ships and of the Mariners, which was also increased by the loss of a wonderful deal of great

The misery of the Christian Army.

The cheerfulness of the Emperor comforted the whole distressed Army.

Ordnance, reckoned so much the greater, for that it would come into the hands of the Moors, to the common harm of the Christians, so soon as the Sea would give them leave to dive for it. Shortly after, *Aurica* (as he went to foresee the Tempest, a wonderful observer of the Sea, of the Heavens, and of the Clouds) misstruck that place, departed with the remainder of the Fleet to the Cape called *Metaphum*, because it was a place of safer riding for his Gallies, and better for the taking in of the Souldiers; advising the Emperor to march thither by Land. Which his Counsel the Emperor liking well, to relieve the hunger of his Souldiers, commanded first all the draught-Horses which were first unshipped for the drawing of the great Ordnance, and after them the Horses for service, to be killed, and divided for Meat among the Souldiers. As for Wood to make Fire of, they had plenty of the Planks and Ribs of the broken Ships, Fortune as it were with that one poor benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the Emperor departed from *Algiers*, with his Army divided into three Batails, the sick and wounded Men being received into the middle; and when he had marched seven miles (the Enemies Horsemen still hovering about him) he came to a heady Brook which the Moors call *Alcaraz*; which was grown so high with the abundant Rain and the check of the Wind and of the Sea, that being but a shallow thing before, it was not now to be passed over by a good Horseman. Wherefore the Emperor of necessity there encamped. The next day, that lying with his Army in form of a Triangle, two sides of his Army was defended with the Sea and the Brook, and the other with a strong Guard of armed Men, for he thought it not good to depart from the Sea, a sure defence for his Army on the left hand, to seek a Ford farther off. Many adventuring to swim over, were by the violence of the Stream carried away and drowned. Wherefore the Emperor caused a Bridge to be made over it, of the Masts and Sail-yards of the broken Ships, which were by chance there taken up, and so passed over the Italians and Germans. The Spaniards marching higher up the Brook, found a Ford whereby they passed over. After which time the Turks pursued them no further, being called back again by *Alfon* their Governour; as for the Moors and Numidians which still followed at hand always ready to skirmish, they were easily repulsed by the Habiqueries and Field-pieces appointed to every Nation; but upon such sick and wounded Men as were not able to keep way with the Army, they exercised all manner of cruelty; for there was none which in that small hope, possessed with fear of their own safety, was greatly moved with the compassion of their Fellows misery. The next day passing over another little River, which the Souldiers waded over up to their Breasts, they came in three days march to the Rode where the Fleet lay, and encamped in the Ruins of the old City *Tippa*, near unto the Sea-side, which served them in stead of a Fortress against the Barbarians. The Sea was now calm, the Wind laid, and the Weather so faint that all Men thought the Souldiers might now well be embarked and transported into *Europe*; wherefore the Emperor to the great joy of the whole Army, commanded every Man to make himself ready to go aboard, in such sort, that first the Italians, next the Germans, and last of all the Spaniards should be embarked; but so many Ships and Gallies, as is before said, being lost by Shipwreck, it was thought that those which were left were not able to receive the whole Army, although it was crowded together

The Emperor departed from Algiers.

He embarked his Army.

together as close as were possible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the Masters and owners of the Ships to call all the Horses overboard into the Sea, reputing it an unmerciful part, to prefer the safeguard of those Horses (although they were of great worth) before the life of the best common Souldier or Horse-boy in his Camp. Which thing much grieved the minds of the Noblemen and Owners of those goodly Beasts, not only for that they were (not without extrem necessity) for the present deprived of such an inestimable Treasure, but should for ever, as they said, lose the most notable race of Horses in *Spain*; there with grief and rain compassion, have been goodly Horses of service, bearing up their proud Heads, swimming all about the Sea unto the Ships nearest unto them for safeguard, as if it had been to the Shore, and in the end wearied with long swimming to be there drowned. But scarce half the Souldiers were yet embarked, when the East and North-East Wind, and friskways after divers contrary Winds almost as great as the first, rose; whereupon the Ships which had already taken in the Souldiers, not expecting any command, for fear of being driven upon the Rocks, directed their Course according as the Wind carried them, with full Sails along the Coast; They were quickly out of sight, and dispersed with the Tempest, some into one Country, some into another, carrying the Fame of that Shipwreck, and the report that all was lost, into the Islands of the Mediterranean and Ports of *Italy*. The force of this Tempest was so great, and the Billows went so high, that some of the Ships were in the fight of their Fellows swallowed up of the Sea. But amongst the rest two Spanish Ships full of Souldiers were by wonderful mishap by contrary Winds driven again to *Algiers*, and there set fast upon that fatal Shore, where the Numidian Horsemen with a multitude of the Moors following them, came running down to the Sea side to kill them as they fled, and come to Shore; for the barbarous People thirsting after Christian Blood, would not receive them to mercy, although they were ready to yield themselves, and covenanted nothing but the safeguard of their lives. At which their cruelty the Spaniards disdaining, with their Weapons in their hands got to Shore, and standing close together as desperate Men, withstood them who had with their multitude quickly compassed them in round; yet in despite of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanity or Law of Arms) could do, they made way through the midst of them, from the place where they were cast on Shore, unto the very Gates of the City. But seeing the Turks fall out, they called unto them, offering to yield themselves Prisoners to *Alfon* without further resistance, if they would assure them their lives, which they were in great hope of, for that he was born of Christian Parents in *Sardinia*, and was attended upon with many Renegade Spaniards. So *Alfon* coming forth of the City, gave them his Faith for their safety, and beating away the Moors and Numidians, courteously saved them all, wisely making great account of so great a gain as would rebound unto him by so many Prisoners, joynted with no small commendation of his clemency, saving them. Of the Germans the third part never returned home, but were either lost with Shipwreck, or else dead of the Sickness ensuing so great miseries. The Emperor perfwaded (or rather overruled) by *Aurica*, to avoid the violence of the Tempest, sailed along the Coast of *Africa* Eastward to *Buzia*; the Cattle whereof was kept with a small Garrison of Spaniards; where

Horles of great price drowned by the Emperor's command, to make room for the common Souldiers.

Two Spanish Ships full of Souldiers driven by Tempest to Algiers.

*Alfon* took the Spaniards to mercy.

The Emperor returned to Buzia.

the Emperor landing, found some fresh Victual, though not much, yet such as did both him and the other Noblemen no small pleasure. Whilst the Emperor lay at *Buzia* expecting fairer Weather, a great Ship of *Genoa* laden with Victual chanced to come into the Bay, to the great joying of the hungry Souldiers; but such was the violence of the Tempest, that her Anchors came home, and the driven upon the Flats was cast away; yet so, as that part of the Victual driven to Shore, and half spoiled with the Salt-water, well relieved the encamping want. In the mean time the Emperor when he had long looked for the arriving of the Tempest, and was now out of hope of any new supply of Victual, sent away *Gonzalez*, a Spanish Arabian and Rhodian Gallies; for the Wind blowing at North was now come to North-west, and put them in hope to adventure again to Sea, rather than to stay there longer. So although with a troublesome yet a prosperous Course, they came in short time to the Port of *Utica*, now called *Farinia*; where *Mulefles* King of *Tunes* bountifully relieved *Gonzalez* and his Fleet with all kind of Victual and other necessities. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in safety at *Drepanum in Sicilia*. The blustering Winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging Sea became calm, so that the skillful Sea-men for fear of new dangers, and weary of those that were past, thought it best to adventure again at Sea. Almost every hour they were reasoning in Council, what Course they were for most safely best to take; when some were of opinion, that it was best to bear for *Sardinia* or *Sicilia*; and others would have had them to have kept along the Coast of *Africa*, and to directly for *Sicilia*. But the Wind coming fair at East, the Emperor directed his Course to the Islands *Baleares*, and from thence at length arrived at the Port of *Valencia* in *Spain*, greatly commended even his Enemies, for the wonderful courage and constancy in passing through so many extremities, in such sort as if he had triumphed over the malice of fortune.

About this time the dissembled friendship betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *France* the French King brake out into open hatred. The King first thinking himself deluded by the Emperor, who had long time fed him with the vain hope of the restitution of the Duchy of *Milan*, when as he meant nothing of it; and of late abused by the death of *Rinco* his Embassador, slain by the Spaniards in passing down the River *Pado*, as is before declared. In revenge whereof he raised a great power in *France*, and at such time as most Men thought he would have invaded *Italy*, sent *Charles* his Son with the one part of his Forces into the Low-Countries, which were then governed by *Mary Queen of Hungary* the Emperors Sister; and *Henry* his other Son with the other part of his Forces to invade *Spain*, both young Princes, of great hope. And not so contented, but desirous by all means to trouble and molest the Emperor, as he did in the Low-Countries by setting on the Duke of *Cleves*; so by *Antoni* *Polonus* his Embassador, a Man of great credit, who earnestly solicited *Solyman* the Great Turk; with whom he was then in League, to spoil the Borders of *Spain* with his Gallies, at the same time that *Henry* his Son was besieging *Perpenna* in *Spain*. For which practice he was of most Men discommended, as too much favouring his own grief, and especially by such as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew upon the French King no small envy) was carried in the Turks Court, shall not

1543. The French King thought the most to trouble the Emperor, solicited the Spaniards to invade his countries.

(as I hope) be unto this History impertinent to declare.

After the death of *Rinco* slain by the Spaniards, *France* the French King sent *Antoniou Polimus* a Man of great dexterity, his Embassador to *Solyman*'s, who passing by many by-ways to *Venice*, and *lyoia* over the Gulf to *Sibimicon*, crossing over *lyoia*, met with *Solyman* in *Adria*, as he was coming from *Buda*; and there first offered unto him the Present sent from the King his Master (for with empty hands no Man might presume to come to those barbarous Kings of the East) which Present was a Cupboard of Plate curiously wrought, in weight six hundred Pounds; and five hundred rich Garments of all sorts of Silk and Skarletto be bestowed upon the Bassaes and other great Courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings Letters, and heard what he had further to say, seemed to be greatly moved with the death of *Rinco*, and promised *Polimus* not to be wanting unto the French King, by Sea or Land to give him aid in his just Wars against *Charles* his Enemy, for breaking of the League, but inasmuch as nothing could be well determined of such matters in his Journey of so great haste, he told him, that as soon as he was come to *Constantinople*, he should then have answer by his Bassaes of all his demands. The Embassadors above all things desired that he would send *Haridienus Barbaruffa* with his Fleet against the next Summer unto *Prevence*, there to be received into the French Harbors, and to be employed against the Emperor as occasion should require; and further, That he would request the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to join in League with the King his Master against *Charles* the Emperor, whose power began now to be dreadful to their Estate. *Polimus* was not slack in his business, but all the way as he went fought to win the favour of the Bassaes, still giving them one Present or other, and filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to *Constantinople*, in the latter end of December, *Solyman* promising what he had before said, advised *Polimus* to return to *France* with his Letters, and to bring him certain word back again from the King, of the determinate time and full resolution of taking those Wars in hand; and that he would in the mean time send *Junubeus* his Embassador to *Venice*, who had been there divers times before, and would provide to have such a Fleet in readiness as he desired. *Polimus* excusing glad of that answer, with great speed returned back again to the King, bringing with him as Presents unto *Solyman* two goodly Turkish Horfes and a Sword richly set with Stones of great price. The French King having by his Embassador received *Solyman*'s Letters and Presents, and three days together discoursed with him at large of the manner of his proceeding in the Turks Court, in short time after sent him back again to *Solyman* with full instructions both of the time and prices, and other circumstances of the intended War. *Polimus* coming to *Venice*, found not *Junubeus* there, as he had well hoped; yet to lose no time in expecting his coming, he with *Pollicerus* Embassador Lieger for the French King, and other of the French Faction, laboured the Senators in the behalf of the King. For it was thought like enough, that the Venetians left mauling all their Councils by their profane counsel, and consent to that League, especially being requested thereto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to have the Port-Town *Maranu* delivered unto them in reward thereof; which otherwise the French, in whose possession it was, threatened to deliver to the Turks, and to

make them their evil Neighbours, rather than to have it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore *Polimus* having audience given him in the Senate, notably pleaded the French Kings cause, grievously lamented the death of the Embassador slain by the Spaniards, and bitterly inveighed against the ambition of the Emperor, who as he said aspired to the whole Mistrarchy of *Italy*, not by true verue and valour, but by meer craft and deceit, encroaching till upon the liberties of the Free-States, and by little and little imposing upon them the Yoke of Bondage; In confirmation whereof he produced many examples, to them well known, requesting them to joyn their Forces with the Kings; in which doing, they should assure themselves of such reward as the undoubted Victory, as they could not desire greater. Whereas if they should refuse to do so, and would rather sit still and look on as neutrals, they should undoubtedly, Fortune having decided the quarrel, grievously offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquished, hatred; and of the conqueror, injury. Besides that, in taking up of Arms they should highly gratify *Solyman*, who provoked with late injuries, had determined with a puissant Army to invade *Hungary*, and at the same time to fend *Barbaruffa* with a great Fleet against the Spaniards their common Enemies; for the imparting of which his designs he would shortly send unto them *Junubeus* his Embassador: As for the event of the War they need not to doubt, when as they of themselves were strong enough without to thrust the Emperor out of the Duchy of *Milan*, being generally hated of the people, feeding his Souldiers with the spoil of the Country, and on every side befet both by Sea and Land by two of the greatest Monarchs of the World. Whereunto the Senate delayed the time for certain days, that *Junubeus* might in the mean time come further, gravely answered, That the amity they held with King *France*, ought to be unto them an ornament, but no burden; the like also they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no case seem to cast off, although they had been by him overwrought; Wherefore the Senators and all the Citizens in general were of opinion, to preserve their Peace, as they which in the hard times of War had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recovered with long Peace: But if they did once see the Ensigns displayed, and the Wars begun, they would then take further advice. Whether it were good for them to thrust themselves into those Wars or not, when as they were in League and Friendship with three of the greatest Princes of the World. In the mean time *Junubeus* arrived at *Venice*, and was there honourably received. He requested, That the League before made at *Constantinople* by *Baderius* their Embassador, might by the authority of the Senate be confirmed; and so commanded the French Kings cause to the Senate, that he requested no more, but that unto that amity which they already held with the French, they would joyn further courties, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his Brother, and had undertaken to aid him against *Charles* King of *Spain*; but as to joyn in League with him, or in his quarrel to take up Arms, he requested nothing. Which was quite beside the expectation of *Polimus* and *Pollicerus*, who by urging of the matter, and by telling of all, had thought easily to have persuaded the Senate to have granted what they requested, and therefore thought the Turk (who had so coldly spoken in the cause) to be some way corrupted. But as

it afterward appeared, there was such equity and modesty in *Solyman*'s Letters (who was otherwise of a proud and insolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which would not stand with the good of their Estate. Wherefore *Polimus* having in vain stated certain days at *Venice*, was in one of their publick Gallies transported to *Ragufium*, and from thence traried by Land to *Constantinople*, where he found all things more difficult than ever he dreamed of. For the great Bassaes said, There could no Fleet be late out that year, by reason that he was come too late to sue for such a matter, the Spring of the Year being now past, of all other times most fit for to take in hand so long a Voyage. So that *Polimus* was above measure vexed with care and grief, that he had so ill sped, and was come too out of season both at *Venice* and *Constantinople*. *Dixius* also, one of the Masters of the Rhodian Gallies, was come to *Constantinople*, to carry newsto *France* of the coming of the Turks Fleet; who told *Polimus*, That the Kings Sons were with strong power far entered into the Low-Countries, and had already invaded *Spain*, expecting nothing more than the coming of the Turks Gallies. Wherefore *Polimus* (as it easily chanced to Man deceived by trust reposed in any other Mens promises, and bewailing the evil success of their vain travel) wonderfully tormented himself, cursed the froward and uncourtly manners of the Bassaes, called upon the Faith of *Solyman*; and besought the great Bassaes one by one, that they would not contrary to their promise forsake the King, who upon the hope of the coming of the Turks Fleet, had now invaded both the Low-Countries and the Kingdom of *Spain*; forasmuch as by that delay, which was unto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he said) betrayed the Majesty of his King, and a moist assured Victory now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obsecrations, he was so importunate and tedious, that he became unto those proud Bassaes rather loathsome than gracious; insomuch that to end his rage, they thought it best sharply to take him up, and for that time to shake him off. And therefore sending for him and the other French Gentlemen which followed him, to the Court, the great Bassaes then sitting in Council, and *Barbaruffa* with them for the Honour of his place; as soon as they were come into the Council-Chamber, *Solyman* Bassa the Eunuch turning himself about, spake unto them in this sort.

Frenchmen (said he) this place for dispatch of one of most weighty affairs, appointed by the grave Judgment of our most mighty Emperor to us his faithful Servants, doth (as it best becometh) receive us daily coming into it, void of love and hatred, and without doth notably put us in remembrance, to speak our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankness of speech (the Messenger of truth, and therefore the faithful keeper of Friendship) should be unto your ears unpleasing or troublesome; for since your King hath called the friend and fellow of the Ottoman Name, we may not now either forget the duties of love, or loath your friendship; seeing that our Emperor doth marvellously affect you, and is not a little desirous to strengthen you with his power, and by overcoming your Enemies to increase your power and honour. But in your demands is no equity, no modesty, for that you immediately and importunately and others which favour you not, so with call you plainly by your right Names, unreasonable and shameful; Men who as too too forgetful of your duties, do most fondly trouble the Laws of amity and friendship. For Leagues are confirmed by like

profits, making even the charge and mutual dangers; but if neglecting your Friends kindness and could know they will make no requital, they will quickly grow weary of you. So happened it unto you Frenchmen, who ever forgetful and negligent in our dangers, but in your own always mindful and diligent, have shewed your selves friends unto us when need was, not in deed and certain aid, but only in bare Letters, and empty promises. Tell me I pray you where ever you shewed any sign or token of your good will or aid? I have been kept in suspense of some doubtful hopes, when as *Charles* with all the power of the West came into Hungary; And *Corone* and *Patrias* were in the mean time shaken in Greece with the Enemies Fleet; and left of all Tunes taken with so great a Fleet? But all this we pardon you; yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not so much as once grieve at our great injuries, as you ought to have done; but yet your gratulatory Embassadors unto the bloody common Enemy, who had but even then slain so many of our people. At length our Emperor came to *Aulona* to your great profit, about to pass ever into Italy; but neither then in the arrival of your Fleet appeared the good will of the Apulians towards you, which were of you so openly promised, neither did you so much as once move to invade the upper part of Italy; so neither serving our turn, nor with fitting your care, you have always left the ocean of the good seas, as you doze off. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed we your Counsel or united Forces; for the Venetians to their pain felt both our Forces and our Raib; as for the rest, War, the notable revenge of our wrongs, most happily brought to pass, at such a time as you of your own voluntary heads made peace with the common enemy, to invade us; and did as unkindly as impudently, as it were blow Wind in his Sails. But we, without your help, have not only repelled so great assaults of our Enemies; when as this same *Haridienus Barbaruffa* put to flight their Fleet at *Ambracia* and happily flew the Spanish Pyrats of *Castrum*, and having again recovered our own Cities, took also from them some of theirs; wherefore we are bound unto you for no desert, but we had rather forget these unkindnesses, than to fail you whom we have once received into our friendship. For we perform ours to you, as it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occasion; which will not rashly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you should have done for the setting forth of our Fleet; for Summer now well spent, followeth the pestilent time of Autumn, so that Mariners cannot in convenient time be taken up, or safely thrust into the Gallies; for in long sailings you would not think, but that such a Company of Sailors usually set at the charge of an unacquainted Air, would be in danger of their lives? Who would not fear Shipwreck in their return, when as this same *Haridienus* so great a Master at Sea, driven upon the *Acroceraunian* Rocks in the Month of August, lost so many Gallies? A Fleet would be rigged in Winter, furnished and set forward in the Spring, in Summer is late sailing and making War. Which that it may be so done, we will for the Commonwealth sake, persuade the Emperor; for the Navy once left, cannot upon the sudden be again restored for much Gold, whereof the Ottoman Emperor warrieth no store, heaped up by many Ages. If thou be wise take these things in good part as friendly spoken; but whether the Emperor will pardon thy boldness or not, let himself consider; truly we have suffered both him and our selves in speaking to thee so plainly.

These things severely spoken by the Eunuch Bassa, did so much the more trouble *Polimus*, for

for that they seemed to have been sent from the mouth of *Solyman* himself, who was thought to have heard all that was said. For behind the Baffies as they sat in Council, was a Window with a brazen Grate, and a Curtain drawn before it, that the Emperor when he pleased, might unperceived hear the complaints and futes of all Nations, and note the manners of his great Counsellors; whose care for the administration of Justice was so much the greater, for fear of his presence. Yet did not *Polinus* for his repulse, deserting the delicate dealing of the Baffies, to give over his fute; but winning by gifts the favour of the *Capiaga* or chief Porter, a Man ever of great authority in the Turks Court, laboured by him to be brought to the speech of *Solyman* himself, who faithfully performed what he had undertaken. So the French Ambassador brought by him into the secret place of the Court, which few Christians had ever been, and to him how all matters had before passed, and most earnestly besought him not to fail the Kings expectation of the Fleet he had before promised, who at that present was invading his Enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman* courteously and expressly answered, That the opportunity of sending out of his Fleet was past; not by his will, but by which was always immutable and firm, but by his late coming, and the time of the year half spent; but promised the next Spring without doubt to send unto the King his Friend and Brother, twice so great a Fleet as he had desired against *Charles* their Enemy. With which answer, the Ambassador dispatched away *Dixius* into France, upon whose arrival, King *Francis* called back again *Henry* his eldest Son with his Army, from the Siege of *Perpenna* in Spain.

The Princes and States of Germany, at the request of King *Ferdinand* and the Nobility of Hungary, about this time decreed with one consent, to take up Arms against the Turks, for the recovering again of *Buda*, and other the lost parts of Hungary. For besides the dishonour done to their Nation at *Esek* under the leading of *Casazianer*, and again at *Buda* under the leading of the Lord *Rodoff*; they well saw, that if they did not speedily relieve the Hungarians overwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks Forces, they should in short time be enforced to fight for their Religion, Children, Wives, and Lives, against the same mighty Enemy, at their own Doors. For preventing whereof, the Princes and free Cities of Germany, sent out thirty thousand Footmen, and seven thousand Horsemen; amongst whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards Duke of Saxony, then a young Gentleman about twenty years old. But the General of these German Forces, was *Joachim* Marquis of Brandenburg, a Man more for the honour of his House than the valour of himself preferred to that place; yet so, that unto him was joined eight others, Men of great years and experience, by whose Counsel he was to be directed. When they were come to *Buda*, King *Ferdinand* power met them; where, beside such as were taken up in *Austria*, *Huguenot* Governour of *Sirria* came in with ten thousand Horsemen. Unto these the Noblemen of Hungary, *Gasper Sereclius*, *Andreas Bator*, and *Petrus Peremus*, a Man of the greatest authority, power, and experience, amongst the Hungarians, joined themselves, with fifteen thousand Horsemen; whither also *Paulus* the third of that Name, then Bishop of *Rome*, sent three thousand chosen Footmen out of Italy, conducted to *Vienna* by *Alexander Vitellius*, a most famous Captain. The Marquis with this great Army marched

from *Vienna* along the River *Danubius*, but so softly, that the Hungarian and Italian Captains said plainly, That the best part of the Summer and hottest time for Wars, was passed over in loitering and dallying out the time to no purpose; especially *Tachius Medius*, who had long before overtraded the King, to be ready to set forward his Forces with the first of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment their Garrisons, or put in any new Forces; for thereby such resolute and speedy invasion, it was like enough he might recover both *Peft* and *Buda*. Which policy and wholesome Counsel for well given, King *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great Men of his Court (liking nothing but what proceeded out of themselves) rejected, expecting the full assembly of all his Forces, before the setting forth of his Army. At length the Marquis was by soft marches come to *Strigomium* (King *Ferdinand* himself laying behind at *Vienna*) where it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to lose *Buda*, was either in person himself coming into Hungary, or else sending down the General of his European Horsemen, who might never far far forward to War, without sixty thousand Horsemen. Which news so troubled the Germans, that they made no great halt forward, doubting how they should return again if they chanced not to get the Victory; beside that, it was thought that the Marquis never purposed to fight a Battle, or endanger himself or his Army for the Kingdom of Hungary, but only to defend the bounds of *Austria*, and by thus showing strength of Germany, to terrify, if he could, the Turks, if they not content with Hungary, should also provoke the Germans. But after it was by certain Espies from *Samandria*, known that all that report of the coming of the Turks great Army was but vain, and that there was scarce a thousand Janizaries and twice so many Horsemen come to *Buda*, and that the Turks Fleet was both for number and strength far inferior to the Kings, they set forward again with more cheerfulness, much encouraged by the forwardness of the Hungarians, especially of *Peremus*; assuring them, that if they would without delay march on, and spend no more time in vain, they should not find at *Buda* any such number of Turks as was worth the name of an Army; for that *Solyman* using but every second Year to make War, did that year take his rest, and was not like to undertake any great expedition. For these reasons all Men being persuaded of the Enemies strength and purpose, to come to the Siege of *Buda*; for then would the Soldiers with much more courage and cheerfulness endure the Siege of *Buda*, if they had by good fortune first beaten them out of *Peft*; Which Counsel was both best liked and followed, and the Army by two Bridges with great and painful labour made over *Danubius* (which was in that place divided into two parts) transported. As the Army passed an Italian Captain, Admiral of the Kings Fleet, came down the River, and in despite of the Turks took the Island of *St. Margaret*, lying in the River a little above *Buda*, and by force repulsed the Turks Fleet unto the Suburbs of the City. The Marquis to avoid the danger of the

The Marquis of Brandenburg came to Peft with his Army.

the great shot from *Buda*, after he was passed the River, fetched a great compass about, and so came to the North side of *Peft*; for on the South it was defended with the River *Danubius*, running betwixt it and *Buda*; and on the East and West the great Ordinance on the one side from the Castle of *Buda*, and on the other from Mount *St. Gerard*, did so fow all along the Walls, that no Man could without most manifest danger there abide. For *Buda* standing upon the Hill, and divided from *Peft* only with the River, so overlook and commandeth all the plain Country about *Peft*, that without peril no Man can fire on any side of the City, but Northward towards *Austria*, covered by the City from the shot out of the Walls. As the Marquis was coming thither, he was told by certain Fugitives, That *Bala* Governour of *Buda* (who in that place succeeded *Solyman* the Hungarian Renegade, lately before dead of the Plague) had in Garrison in *Buda* two thousand Horsemen; and that *Ulamus* the Persian Governour of *Bafna*, was come unto him with three thousand more; whereunto *Amrath* had also joined another thousand which he brought out of *Dalmatia*; and that *Segemen* was come thither also with a thousand Janizaries from *Constantinople*; as for the rest of the Footmen, that they were but wild Country people, fitter for labour than for service in Wars. They told him also, that the Enemies Fleet consisted of sixty small Pinnaces, ten Gallies, and a few other great Boats; and that *Solyman* had commanded his Captains to come to the defence of *Buda* and *Peft*, to the last Man, without regard of any other place. And had proposed unto the valiant, great rewards; and to the cowardly, extreme punishment; charging them further, that if need were, they should in time send for *Achomet*, the General of his European Horsemen, to *Sophia*, to aid them. The Turks upon the approach of the Christians, issued out at one of the Gates of the City, and skirmished with the Hungarians; but after they had sufficiently proved one anothers strength, and some few were on both sides slain, they retired into the City, and the Hungarians to the Camp. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the Camp near the City with five companies, to chuse a place for planting the Battery; the Turks at one instant falling out at two Gates of the City, gave him a hot skirmish, where at the first, the fight was begun with like courage and force, but the Turks still sending forth new supplies both of Horse and Foot; first the Christian Footmen, and after that the Horsemen, not able longer to endure the force of the Janizaries, were constrained disorderly to retire, having lost in that retreat four of their Captains and two Ensigns; and had not *Vitellius* with one Company of Horsemen sored together, valiantly repulsed the insolent Janizaries, the loss had been much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieved with this loss, and perceiving the manner of the Enemies fight, encouraged his Soldiers, purposing if he could to be fully revenged; and above all others, requested *Peremus* to be ready to join with him as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay encamped in the Kings Orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great Camp and from the City; out of these Orchards he went with twelve Companies of his European Footmen, commanding them to stand still within the Walls, in readiness at all affairs; and so fetching a great compass about, marched along the River side towards the City; neither did the proud Enemy (brag of the former days Victory) make any delay, but bravely fal-

lied out at the East side of the City, and courageously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harm, and seeing his Enemies come on as he desired, covered his foot with his Pikes, and standing close, received the Enemies charge; his foot still playing under the Pikes, circumstances upon their Knees; many of the Turks were there laid on the ground, whilst they desperately sought to have broken the order of the Christians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks Horsemen and Janizaries coming out of the Gates, and divers others beholding the fight were come over the River from *Buda*, to be partakers of the Victory, had filled the lithermost Bank; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little and little retired, as if he had been overcharged; then began the Enemy to give a great shout, and more fiercely to assail the Christians; their Horsemen also call behind them, to have there charged them. Which thing *Peremus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vitellius* were drawn a great way from the Gates, he suddenly with his light Horsemen came in betwixt the City and the Turks at their backs; four hundred followed also *Mauritius*, (afterwards Duke of Saxony) with a strong Troop of German Horsemen, of purpose to have thrust them in for retreating back again into the City. But then the Turks perceiving the danger, and finding themselves shut in, stood as Men more than half dismayed, bethinking themselves which way to take, and so began to retire. When *Vitellius* coming on courageously with his Pike-men and his Harquebuses divided into the ranks, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian and German Horsemen breaking in amongst them on the other side, made great slaughter of them, and struck such a fear amongst the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the Gate, thrust one another through with their Pikes; divers other were also by the Horsemen driven into the River and there drowned. This day *Segemen* lost above an hundred of his Janizaries, and four hundred others. The chiefest commendation for this piece of service was given to *Vitellius*, who had so well and so quickly revenged himself of the Turks; and next him to *Peremus*, who as skillful Captain had so well awaited the time to entrap the Enemy; Neither is *Mauritius* the young Saxon Prince unworthy his due praise, who valiantly charging the Turks, and having his Horse slain under him, was in danger to have been there lost himself; had the Turks still sending forth new Followers, covered him with his own Body, until such time as that he was rescued by others. *Ribischi* himself presently dying of his Wounds, this little Victory encouraged the Germans, that the Marquis commanded the great Ordinance to be presently brought forth, and the Battery planted, which was at the first placed so far off, that it did little harm, although the Wall were both old and thin, not above five Foot thick; and the Ordinance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either too short, or quite over the City into *Buda*; which fault once perceived, the Battery was removed nearer, and a fair Breach soon made in the Wall, with the continual beating of forty great Pieces of Artillery. *Vitellius* was the first that offered to assault the Breach, so that the Germans would presently second him, which thing they all by holding up of their hands promised courageously, but cowardly by and by broke that promise; for oftentimes it chanced, that they which before the danger are readiest to promise their help, are in the very danger it self of all others most slack. The Hungarians also for parts

The Turks setting on again, and discomfiting Vitellius.

Mauritius in danger to be slain.

A breach made in the wall of Peft.



parts promised not to be behind. The silence of the Enemy at the Breach and in the City, was wonderful, for that many thought he had been fled back over the River to *Buda*; for Segement Captain of the Janizaries, an old beaten Soldier, ordered all things with as little fire as was possible; he had received new supplies from *Ulamas*, and had cast a deep Countermine within the Wall against the Breach, and on the inner side of the fame had made a strong Barriado, with Gabions and Wine Vessels filled with Sand and Earth; behind which stood the Janizaries, and next unto them the Turkish Archers, and last of all the Horsemen who had left their Horses to serve on Foot. The signal for the assault once given, four Italian Captains ran desperately with their Companies by the ruins of the Wall to the Breach; but whilst they there set up their Engines, and wondering at the Enemies fortification, were ready betwixt hope and fear to leap down, they were suddenly overwhelmed with a shower of Arrows and Bullets. Yet *Vittellius* still encouraging them, brought them still on, who did what they might to have entered; but the German Footmen with their General stood still under the Walls, looking on, as Men nothing moved either with the hope of Victory or danger of their Friends; and the Hungarians not so much as once looking upon the Enemy, retired; two of the Italian Captains, *Rufus* and *Fidus* were there slain, and *Carpius Vitellius* his Nephew, flung in the Shoulder. The Turks with Shot and Stones flew and repelled, and beat down the Italians, whereof the Germans also standing still, fell part, and were more gauled than Man would have thought. Men could have been, that did nothing; for there they still stood for shame, lest if they should have also retired, they should have incurred a second infamy as bad as the first; which thing *Vitellius* perceiving, would in no case depart from the Breach, but withered rather to lose his Men by whole Companies, than to leave the least colour of excuse to the Germans, or that they should say they staid longest, of whom he thought greater anger than grief complained, that he was forsaken and cowardly betrayed. In time of this assault one of the Turks was heard to speak aloud in the Italian Tongue, *Why do not you valiant Italians spare your selves, and give place to these lascivious Germans? We all wish to spare you, and to beat the drunkards out of your cities, and to cut off their heads, that they should be hereafter provoked on.* At length the Germans were weary of their hot flanding and nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith retired; but so disorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the Enemies shot, that if the Turks had at the same time fallen out at all the Gates, it was thought that the whole Camp had been greatly endangered. In this attempt rather than assault, even hundred Christians were slain outright, and many more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

All this while the Marquis and *Hugonot* the great Commanders of the Army, kept themselves so far from Gunshot, that they were nowhere to be seen, until that *Torniusius* and *Fosifus*, two valiant Captains, finding them out, withed them for shame to free themselves for the comforting of the Army. A little before night they conferred with the other Captains, whether they should forsake the Siege, or continue it still; whereof most of the Germans best liked to be gone, as the safest way; though *Vitellius* and some others spoke earnestly to the contrary. At which time a Spy coming in, brought news that *Ascomates*, *Solyman* Lieutenant of the European Horse-

men, had passed over the River *Savus* at *Belgrade*, and was coming to *Oravus*; who coming either cunningly fained, or vainly believed, caused the Germans to make a short conclusion, and to resolve flatly to return to *Vienna*, fearing that if they should longer continue the Siege, they should be staid against their wills by *Ascomates*. Which thing made many of the old German Soldiers to hang their heads for shame, and the Hungarian to curse both the Germans and the hard fortune of their Nation, vainly wishing for a General in courage answerable to the strength of that great Army. *Segement* perceiving how much the Christian Army was discouraged by the last days evil success, early in the Morning courageously sent out all the Horsemen, and after them certain Companies of Footmen, to relieve them in their retire; who in many place skirmished with the Hungarians, being nothing inferior unto them either in courage or skill; and the matter was brought to that pass, as if it had been so agreed upon, that many of the most notable and expert Soldiers on either side encountered together hand to hand in the fight of the Italians and Germans, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with such fidelity, that they regarded no other Enemy but him whom every one hand singled out for himself, as if it had been in a triumph for exercise hand to hand. It happened, that a notable Captain of the Turks, desired to see *Vitellius*, who being thewed unto him (for he was easy to be known by his Armor) the Turk ran unto him to embrace him for his honour, and so departed. About five hundred Horsemen so encountered one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were slain or hurt. The night following the Battery was removed, and the Army marched towards the River to the Elceat. But the Turks, ceiving the Christians to be departed, fellied out of the City on all hands, and with a great cry upbraiding them of Cowardice, hardly pursued the Rereward of the Army. *Ulamas* was come over himself from *Buda*, and so eagerly followed the Army, that it could hardly have escaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a stand, and requested the Hungarian and German Horsemen to turn back upon the Enemy; which they at his request did, and not only repulsed the Enemy, but also put him to flight, and in the chase flew many. After which time the Army passed on quietly; yet seven hundred Germans which were sick and straggled behind the Army, were by the Turks Horsemen miserably slain in the fight of their Fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, first at *Esch*, then at *Buda*, and now at *Papls*, returned full of heaviness and grief, as they which were now to forget the fubduing of *Hungary*, and to become careful of *Germany* it self. The Army coming to *Vienna*, was there broken up, and the Italians sent home into their Country, who for most part died by the way, of infection taken in the Camp in strange Ail, and a most quietie time of the Year.

But to cover the shame of this unfortunate expedition, and to turn Mens eyes to another by some notable accident; *Petrus Perennis*, the noble Hungarian was the Man pickt out for the purpose to fill Mens mouths. He, betrayed with the envy of the Court, was for suspicion of aspiring to the Kingdom of *Hungary*; by the commandment of King *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Lificanus*, a Spanish Captain in the Castle of *Strigenium*, as a Traitor, and presently delivered to *Medices* the Admiral, to be conveyed up the River to *Vienna*.

The un-  
courtesy of  
Lificanus  
the Span-  
ard in the  
apprehen-  
sion of  
Perennis.

*Vienna*. *Lificanus* at the time of his apprehension pickt covertly and unaccountably took from him his Chain, and a rich Cloak lined with Sables; which indignity done to noble a Gentleman, so much offended the minds of the rest of the Hungarians, that above twelve thousand of them thompson presently returned home to their own dwellings, cursing the Germans to the Devil. This *Perennis* was one of the greatest Powers of *Hungary*, but of a most haughty and magnificent mind, so that he would sometime have almost a hundred goodly spare Horses fit for service led before him without their Riders; and would sometime speak too liberally against the bareness of King *Ferdinand* Court, who polled by his Courtiers, hardly maintained his State; which his surpassing magnificence and princely Port was caused for the other great Courtiers to envy at his Estate, and to seek his overthrow; who as Men overcharged with the burden of another Mans vertue, whereof they never bore the least part, and always gaining by the depraving of other Mens perfection, conspired together his overthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would say, That he favoured of a Crown. This notable Man, as he had many worthy Vertues, so was he not without cause noed of ambition and uncontent; for after that King *Lewys* was lost, he disdaining the preferment of *John* the Vayvod to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, took part with King *Ferdinand* against him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour unto himself; but after he saw King *John* again restored, and his State strongly supported by *Solyman*, and that all things stood doubtful and fickle with *Ferdinand*, he with little levity found means by divers ways to Bass to be reconciled to King *John*; which he hardly obtained of him by the intercession of *Solyman* himself (as is before declared) to whom he gave his Son as a Pledge of his Fidelity. After which time he lived in great Honour and Loyalty all the Reign of King *John*; but after he was dead, and saw *George* the Bishop the Kings Tutor doing what he list, to reign like a King, he disdained his Government, and followed by King *Ferdinand*, revolved again unto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the Kingdom. But now falling into the envy of the Court, Malice found out matter enough to work his confusion. First it was given out, That his son who had many years been detained in *Solyman* Court as a Pledge of his Fathers Faith, was even then under the colour of a fained escape come into *Pologonia*; when as he had secretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his Father being a Man much favoured of the People, should by promising them all possible Freedom, allure them to the Turkish fubjugation; in reward of which good service he should be made Governour of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and put in hope also to be made the Tributary King thereof. If it should fortune the young King to die. Besides that, it was accounted a thing very suspicious, that he had the Winter before used great kindness and friendship towards the Turkish Captains, by sending them great Presents, and receiving the like again. And last of all, his Letters directed to certain Hungarian Captains were produced, wherein he seemed to promise them as his Friends and Followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his present Estate. All which things King *Ferdinand* not easily to be persuaded to conceive evil of the Germans his Countrymen, were it never so apparent or true, but of Strangers any thing) quickly believed,

and therefore caused him (as is before said) to be apprehended. But *Perennis* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admiral to *Vienna*, when he was come near unto the Gate of the City, and heard that *Philippus Torniusius* with certain other brave Captains of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admiral; he requested that the clove Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might have leave to speak to those noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was easily granted, for that the Nobility and approved valour of the Man seemed unto them which had the charge of him, unworthy of such restraint, liberty or imprisonment, yea or of the least suspicion thereof. So he turning himself towards them, spake unto them in this sort:

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (said he) whom de-  
lightful every hath circumvented guilefuls; but much table speech  
my miserable King Ferdinand, whom domesticall to Tornius  
Thieves because of Selfishness, of Friends, and Honour  
near all as once. For I to come to pass, that by the  
this inconsiderate wrong done unto me, do shall ever  
terly lose the love and fidelity of the Hungarian Nation,  
and may therefore for ever not without cause  
despair for the obtaining of the Kingdom of Hunga-  
ry, fubience that it is not lawful for me to inferior  
to move of my Nation in Birth, and having for my  
good and faithful service well deserved reward of a  
good King, so much to be desired for the deliverance  
of my Son from the Captivity of the Turks, but that  
for my snifter Fortune, dreadful death in stead of a  
comparable joy must be presented to mine Eyes. For  
will these malicious Pick-thanks, guilty of their own  
Cowardice, the wicked Controvers and Witnesses of my  
wrongful Accusation, spare me being laid fall and in  
duance, which never before the Kings Honour? For  
every Man of what Nobility I never, be he never so  
guileful, when he is once in hold, must be content to  
endure, not what he hath deserved, but what his hard  
fortune assigneth. To me agree, mine end, and the  
conscience, which only God the most just Judge  
leaveeth as a comfort to Men in misery wrongfully  
accused, delivered me of this care; and so will the  
Marques our General, to whom I before upon a mis-  
trust foretold, that such a danger would shortly be-  
fall me, and that I had rather be slain guileful, than  
to withstand my self from Trial, which thing I told  
him at such a time as I was so guarded with mine  
own strength, that I feared no Mans force. I have  
seen you do me this honourable favour, as to request  
King Ferdinand in my behalf quickly and honourably  
to proceed to the Trial of my Cause, and according to  
his own princely disposition, and the will of others  
to discern between his faithful Friends and fained  
Flatterers. Truly we are too unfortunate Captains,  
if for a little time success we shall be so adjudged  
at Men that have received their Fortune. *Caz-  
zianer* peradventure received the just punishment  
had deserved, for the shameful forsaking and losing  
of the Army at *Esch*, when as he possessed with an  
uncouth fear, forgot the duty of a General, more a-  
fraid of death than dishonour; for when he had vol-  
untarily committed himself to safe custody, he was  
so generally condemned of Cowardice, that despairing  
to defend his Cause, he brake Prison, and as wicked-  
ly as unfortunately resolved to die the Turks; but nei-  
ther was I of late the General, neither were we con-  
quered, although we prevailed not, but honourably re-  
tiring, valiantly repressed the inclemency of the pursuing  
Enemy. As for the Kingdom of Hungary, I might  
then well have affected the same, and easily have  
deserved it as *Solyman* Hands, when as King Fer-  
dinand after the death of King John was making  
his preparation for that War, at which time my Friends  
and Followers at my devotion, with the love of the  
Hungarians towards me, fearing of no small dan-  
tance

The breach  
assailed  
by the Ita-  
lians.

The Ger-  
mans stand  
still as  
lookers on,  
while the  
Italians  
give the  
assault.

The con-  
stant  
speech of  
Turk  
Archie-  
bishops  
Germans.

The Ger-  
mans and  
the Itali-  
ans retire  
with life.

A notable  
skirmish  
between  
the Turks  
and the  
Hungari-  
ans.

The Chris-  
tians re-  
moving  
from Beth-  
are assailed  
by the  
Turks.

Maters  
forward-  
ed by  
Perennis.

The Chris-  
tian Army  
broken up  
at Vienna.

Perennis  
the notable  
Hungarian  
approach-  
ed upon  
suspicion  
of Treason.

Perennis  
his good  
of the ad-  
miral and  
the rest of  
the capi-  
tains.



tance for the obtaining of the Victory, might have misfringed no unreasonable or unreasonable to have drawn a Man into court; not altogether becoming a Christian. Wherefore I have, and will to long as I live fight against the Turks, if King Ferdinand shall show himself an indifferent Judge in this accusation, falsely furnished against me by the malice of mine Enemies.

Perenna, Valentine and May-lis, three of the greatest Nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetual Prison.

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admiral courteously perswaded him to have good hope in the clemency of the most just King; and shortly after performed his request; for he and *Tornielius* taking the King as he was Hunting, entreated him to deal favourably with *Perenna*. For all that, *Perenna* could not obtain that his cause might be openly heard, but was committed to safe keeping; but whether it was for the perpetual Prison; but whether it was for the imprisonment of new Treason, or for revenge of his old uncontentancy, is uncertain. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian Blood, equally worthy of the Kingdom, *Polinus*, *May-lis*, and *Perenna*, shared almost in like Shares of envy, cut off all hope of raising a King to their sedulous and therefore miserable Countrymen; when as *Perenna* lay too late bewailing his uncontentancy in perpetual Prison; and the other two left in Chains near unto the *Euxine* Sea, expected death the end of their miseries. This end had the Wars taken in hand against the Turks by the general consent of the Germans in the year 1542. which many thought might worthily be compared with the greatest losses of those times; when as King *Ferdinand* having in vain spent a great mass of Treasure (the King's pay for the imminent War) and lost the opinion before conceived of the strength of *Germany*, had now as a weak Prince, and subject to injury, provoked him against the Turks, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their late Victories.

1543.

*Polinus* the French Kings Ambassador following the Turks Court, ceased not by all means to solicit *Solyman*, with his Gallies to aid the King his Master in the invasion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperor, in *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. In which fure he was so croffed by *Solyman* the Eunuch Basha, then Viceroy, that he was almost in despair of speed. For the Malicious Eunuch, being himself a great Sea-man, and carrying the Honour of *Barbarossa* (who was to be employed in that service) fought by keeping him out of all honourable Actions, to diminish his former Glory; and concerning the present, proceeded openly as he sat in Council, That he saw no other cause why the Turkish Emperor should to his great charge and the common danger, send out such a Fleet, but to serve *Barbarossa* his own turn. But *Solyman* having diligently heard, and deeply considered of that the Basha had said, rejected their opinions, who would not he should have given the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promise, whatsoever should ensue thereof, to send his Fleet unto the King by *Barbarossa*. Two days after, the French Ambassador before in despair, but now revived with that Decree, was solemnly Feasted by *Ruffian* Basha (*Solyman* Son in Law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Basha; for it was the greatest pleasure, both of them joying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two Princes by sending this Fleet. After which, divers Gifts were bestowed upon the Ambassador and his chief Followers; and at such time as he was to take his leave, *Solyman* gave him great charge

of his Navy, that it might be safely kept, and also after the service done, again returned; and withal delivered him Letters unto King *Francis*, wherein after the glorious rehearsal of his proud Titles, he writ unto him as followeth:

We have upon a brotherly Bounty granted unto *Polinus* your Ambassador, such aid to great a Fleet as you have desired, thoroughly furnished for all of *France*; whose direction we have commanded *Hadrien* our Admiral to follow, and by your appointment to proceed against the Enemy. But you shall do well and friendly, the Wars once happily ended, to send back again my Fleet to Constantinople. All things shall undoubtedly fall out according to your own desire and mine, if you shall carefully take heed that *Charles* the Spanish King your perpetual Enemy, do not again deceive you with the motion of a deceitful Peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferant Peace, when you have brought upon his Countries all the calamities of War.

*Polinus* taking his leave of *Solyman* then lying at *Hadrinople*, returned to *Constantinople*, where he found *Barbarossa* with an hundred and ten Gallies and forty Gallions, ready to put to Sea, which he had with incredible celerity rigged up and furnished. And so setting forward the eight and twentieth of April in the year 1543, and passing the Straits of *Hellaspontus*, he arrived first at *Carisium*, in *Euboea*; and from thence to *Malea*, where he was by contrary Winds caft into the Bay of *Lacedemon*, and there staid nine days before he could double the Cape of *Metapontum*, called in ancient time *Tenaros*. After that he came to *Methon*, and from thence crossing the Ionian, came to the Strait of *Melana*; where the Turkish Pyrats being come with their Gallies within the sight of *Rhegium*, began to land their Men. The Turks already landing, fled out of the City for fear; but the Castle was fill kept by *Dilacus Gaudemus* a Spaniard, who refused to have any parly with *Polinus* the French Ambassador, and with those out of the Castle flew certain of the Turks; where-with the rest being enraged, broke into the City, and finding it desolate, let it on Fire, fore against the will of *Polinus* and *Barbarossa*, who fought to have found out the Authors thereof, and to have punished them accordingly.

After that, certain Pieces of great Ordnance were landed and placed against the Castle, which with a few Shot so terrified the Captain, already troubled with the crying out of his Wife, that he without any more ado yielded himself and the Castle with all therein, into the hands of the Enemy; unto whom with his Wife and Children, *Barbarossa* at the request of the French Ambassador granted both life and liberty; the rest he shut up in a Church, and gave the Spoil of the Castle to his Soldiers. There was in the Garrison of the Castle about twenty Spaniards, but many more Citizens, which were all carried away Prisoners. One of the Captains Daughters, a young Gentlewoman of exceeding Beauty, had with her good Grace so warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat *Barbarossa*, that he (now fitter for the Grave than for Marriage) became amorous of her person; so that taking her from her Father, and entering him in the Mahometan Superstition, he made of her as of his Wife; inasmuch that certain Months after he welcomed and bountifully entertained the Captain as his Father in Law, coming to see his Daughter at the Port called *Formis Heracleis* in *Turkey*, where the Turks Fleet then lay. *Barbarossa* sailing along the Coast of *Italy*, came to

*Solyman* Letters to the French King.

The French Ambassadors Letters to comfort *Polinus* the Cardinal, the Pope's Legate in Rome.

*Solyman* cometh with a great Army into Hungary.

The Castle of *Walpo* treacherously yielded, and the traitors justly rewarded.

*Offis*, in the Mouth of the River *Tibur* and brought forth a fear upon the City of Rome, that the Citizens were ready generally to have forsaken the City; had not *Polinus* by his Letters to *Rodolphus* Legate in the City, in part raised the Iudain Tumult. The Bishop himself was then at *Bosconia*, a Town betwixt *Cremena* and *Placentia*, travelling (in fiew) with the Emperor, to have made a Peace betwixt him and the French King; but labouring in secret to have bought of him the Dukedom of *Adilion*, for *Giulius* his Kinsman the Emperors Son in Law. *Polinus* his Letters written to the Cardinal at Rome, and sent by the Governour to *Tarracina*, were to this effect.

This Fleet which is by *Solyman* sent for the defence of France by *Barbarossa* his Admiral, is by his appointment at my command; so that it is not to hurt any but our Enemies. Wherefore make it known to the Romans and others dwelling along the Coast of the Pope's Territory, that they fear of no Hostility; for the Turks will never violate the Faith of their Emperor solemnly given unto me; and you know most assuredly, that the French King desires nothing more, than that the Estate of Rome might not only be kept in safety, but also flourish most gloriously, and be therefore preserved from all injury. Careweli.

In like manner he also comforted up them of *Naples* and *Offis*, to that they brought up to the Turks all manner of Victual, and sometimes for four Sheep or a couple of Ovens deemed a good Prisoner taken in some place of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Yet for all this, the Romans did not so much credit the Ambassadors promise in the behalf of the Turks good dealing, but that many of the weaker sort fled out of the City into the Country by night, although the chief Magistrats did what they might to have stayed them. When *Barbarossa* had thuslien three days in the Mouth of the River *Tibur*, and there watered, he passed along the Coast of *Etruria* and *Liguria*, without doing any harm; and so sailed directly to *Marfille*. Where leaving him with his Fleet for a while, expecting the French Kings further pleasure, we will again return unto *Solyman*, who at the same time that *Barbarossa* was spoiling the Frontiers of the Emperors Dominions in *Italy*, came with a great Army into *Hungary*, for the more assured possession of that Kingdom, whither he by King *Ferdinand* so much longed. And because he would make all fire before him, he sent *Amurath* Governour of *Dalmatia*, and *Ullamas* the Persian Governour to *Besna*, to besiege *Walpo*, a strong Town situate upon the River *Dravus*, not far from *Esek*, famous for the overthrow of the Christian Army under *Cassianus*; after whom *Solyman* sent *Alphonse* the great Commander of his European Horsemen. This Town (part of *Perenna* his possessions) was against all these Forces kept and worthily defended by *Perenna* his Wife (her Husband then lying in Prison at *Vimma*) and her Friends; who by the treacherous Soldiers delivered to the Enemy, together with their Generals whom they could by no means perswade to consent to the yielding up thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the last, they took him prisoner, and so delivered him with the Town to the Turks; who received him with all courteous, and used him honourably; but those traitorous Soldiers, whether it were in detestation of their Treachery, or for the spoil of them, were all put to the Sword; the just reward of their Treason. The rest of the Ci-

tizens were taken by the Turks to mercy, and well used. The Bishop and chief Men of *Quinque Ecclesia* (a famous City not far off on the other side of *Dravus*) hearing of the loss of *Walpo*, and terrified with the greatness of the Turks Army, fled for fear, leaving none but the meaner sort of the People in the City, who willingly yielded the same unto the Turks. The next Town of any strength was *Sesepia*, belonging also to *Perenna*; which for that divers Gentlemen of the Country which were fled into the City, encouraged the Citizens to stand upon their defence. But after much harm done on both sides, when they were no longer able to hold out, so saved their lives and liberty by yielding; but *Amurath* was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable composition, or should at their pleasure come forth; and so as they came out at the Gate, flew them every Mothers Son, thereby to terrify others from making like resistance.

*Solyman* understanding of all these things, gave those Towns which were taken, to *Amurath* the General; and having put all things in readiness, departed from *Buda* the next day, to besiege *Sirigium*; which was his Army to besiege *Sirigium*, which was then kept by *Lefcanus* and *Solanman*, two proud covetous Spaniards, with a Garrison of one thousand three hundred Soldiers, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, and the rest Germans. *Paulus* Bishop of *Sirigium* got himself out of the City betimes, despairing of all mercy; so that he should have fallen into the power of *Solyman*; by very intercession he had been once before reconciled to King *Ferdinand*, and had again revolted from him to King *Ferdinand*. The Castle of *Sirigium* was situate upon a high Hill overlooking *Danubius* running underneath it; the Walls were built even without any Flankers, after the old manner of building before the invention of Guns; for which cause *Vitelius* and *Tornielius* two expert Captains (the year before sent from the King to view the place, and the manner of the Fortification) were of opinion, that the City could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong Enemy; being subject also unto a Hill not far from the Gates of the City. Against which inconvenience the old Garrison Soldiers which wintered in *Sirigium*, cast up new Bulwarks and Fortifications, and after the manner of windy headed Men, making great boast before the danger, what they would do, seemed to wish for the coming of *Solyman*. But after the with for the coming of *Solyman*, his Tents covered the Fields and Mountains round about the City, and withal brought a Gallant Fleet up the River, all those brags were laid in the Dust, and every Man began to grow doubtful of his own safety; for that they being but few (although a Man of good worth) were to withstand the infinite number of their Enemies, as oftentimes will most desperately to expose their lives to all manner of dangers. This their fear was also increased by the coming of certain Messengers from *Solyman*, who understood of what the Nations the Garrison consisted, sent unto the City the men of his own Guard; one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all Renegade Christians; that every one of them might without an Interpreter speak unto their Countrymen in their own Language; These Men admitted into the City, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the Name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yield; denouncing all torture and extremities unto them

*Solyman* cometh with his Army to Sirigium.

Stf

which

*Solyman* granted to send his Fleet by *Barbarossa* to aid the French King, and the Emperor.

which should endure the fummons of the Cannon. Whereunto it was answered by the Captains, That those faithful and valiant Soldiers, who had repaid their last hopes in their Arms, were neither to be won by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which answer the Messenger returned, and the same day the Turks great Ordnance were planted upon the Hill before the Gate of the City, and the weakest parts of the Walls round about the City, so well picked out by the Turks to be assaulted, as that they could not more skilfully or commodiously have been chosen out of them which had, within most diligently viewed every thing; so that it is to be thought that the Christians wanted not only Fortune against the Turks, but also Faith amongst themselves. *Salamance* distrustful the Fortifications of the Suburbs, retired into the City, contrary to that he had before vainly boasted. *Alchomates* General of the European Horsemen, laid siege to that part of the Wall which was next to the Bishops Gardens. *Ulamus* the Persian besieged the Tower near unto the Gate towards *Buda*: The *Alapi* or common Soldiers were by their Captains brought on to dig Trenches, and cast up Mounts, as was thought most convenient. It is incredible to be spoken, with what fury the great Ordnance were discharged without ceasing; inasmuch that the Tower with a great part of the Wall near unto it, shaken with continual Rattle, fell down with such violence, as if all had rarely, fallen down with a most terrible Earthquake; neither was any Man able to stand upon the Walls, but that the Janizaries with their Harquebuses out of their Trenches, and from their Mounts, would most certainly fetch him off; and many which stood within farther off, were with the Turks Arrows, falling from high as if it had been out of the Air, grievously wounded. But that which most troubled the Defendants, and did them greatest harm, was the Stones, which beaten in funder with the great Shot, and not to be avoided, did with their Pieces kill or maim the Soldiers near hand: With which dangers they were enforced to forsake the uttermost Wall, and to cast up new Fortifications within, that they might with less danger defend the place. Neither in the Enemy wanted courage to assail the Breach; thrice they desperately attempted to have entered, and were always with loss repulsed. In many assaults, amongst others, *Bulucius* the Samrac of *Syngina*, and a Man of great account amongst the Turks, was lost. Whilst the Defendants were thus busied, many of the Soldiers and Mariners which came up the River with all things necessary for the Army, from *Buda*, went on there, and lay in the Suburbs of the City in such security, as if there had been no Enemy nigh; which thing they in the City perceiving, suddenly fell out upon them before they could arm themselves, and drove the rest of their Fleet; so that betwixt fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them slain. *Zimar* a Persian, Admiral of the Fleet, in refusing of them which to save their lives fled unto the River, was shot through with a small Shot and slain. Whilst these things were doing, and the Turks having in many places fire shaken the Wall, did with greater force daily assail the City, and the Defendants with their continual loss, and out of all hope of relief, were more and more discouraged; an old Calabrian Engineer which had long time served King *Ferdinand*, fled out of the City to the Turks; who being courteously entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by him of Baffaes of many things concerning the strength

and state of the City, satisfied them in all that they desired; and further, directed them in planting their Batteries in places most convenient for the speedy taking of the Town. In the mean time whilst the Turks were with restless labour battering the Walls, and working in their Mines, it fortuned that a gilt brass Cross which stood upon the top of the Scepter of the Cathedral Church, was by the continual shooting of the Turks thereat, at length beaten down; at the sight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the superstitious manner of that Nation taking the chance as a token of good luck, cried out presently, *Strigimium* is won.

*Lifcanus* and *Salamance* fearfully consulting of the event of the Siege, and secretly conferring together, resolved to save themselves, and to give up the Town. *Lifcanus* was no great Soldier; and yet by continual spoil grown exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but folly to buy the Name of a resolute Captain at too dear a price, with the loss of his Life and Wealth. The like feeling was also in *Salamance*, who preferred the safety of himself and of that which he had got in long service, before all credit and honour, were it never so great. Their their purpose was not amongst the common Soldiers, of whom almost the third part was now either slain, or with wounds or sickness grown weak; yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were still strong enough to defend the Town. But the under Captains and Ancients using to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yield unto *Solyman* upon reasonable conditions, rather than to expose themselves to the certainty of death, which should nothing better King *Ferdinand* could. Not long after, an Ancient was by night led down over the Wall; and having by an Interpreter received the Turks Faith, called forth *Salamance*, that he might upon better conditions go through with them for the yielding up of the Town. Who without further delay coming out, went to *Alchomates*; before he went, commanding them yielding up of the Town.

which defended the Water Tower next to the River side, a place of great danger, for safeguard of their lives to get them into the City; who terrified with that news, and hastily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege thereof, perceived; who suddenly breaking in, flew such as were not yet gone, and possessed the Castle. But *Salamance* being brought before the great Baffaes, when he had stood upon many nice terms, and required many things to have been granted him, obtained no more, but that they should without delay yield up the City, and put themselves wholly to the mercy of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard being there slain, himself writ to *Lifcanus*, how he had sped; willing him forthwith, if he loved his own safety, to yield the City, without standing upon further terms. *Lifcanus* Strigont, upon receipt of these Letters coming forth to the Soldiers, declared unto them the necessity of yielding up of the Town, and what hope there was to escape with life and liberty. But whilst the Soldiers filled with indignation, stood as Men in doubt what to do, *Hala* Commander of the Janizaries came unto the Gate, and with cheerful rather than stern countenance required to have it opened unto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamance* in the Camp; which was forthwith opened by *Lifcanus*, and the Keys delivered unto him. The Janizaries entering peaceably into the City, possessed themselves of the Walls and Fortresses. He then, commanding the Christian Soldiers to give place, out of whom they chose all the beardless Youts, and

and commanded the rest to cast down their Harquebuses and other Weapons in a place appointed, which they all for fear did, expecting nothing but some cruel execution to be done upon them by the barbarous Enemy. Which their fear was the more encreased by a strange accident then unlookingly chancing; for whilst the Soldiers did as they were commanded, with their Harquebuses cast down their Flasks full of Powder also, one of them suddenly took fire of a Match which was by chance cast in amongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew about all that heap of Weapons among the Turks, which filled them with anger and fear of some sudden Treachery, that they fell upon the Christians and slew divers of them; until such time as *Hala* (perwaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Janizaries to flay their fury. This tumult appeased, *Hala* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian Soldiers as would serve *Solyman* in his Wars, should have such place in his Army as their quality required, with bountiful entertainment; yet of all the Christian Soldiers were found only twenty, which careful of their lives, accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would upon such as refused, exercise their wanted cruelty. *Halis* entertaining them courteously, sent them away with the other youths whom he had before called out, down the River to *Buda*; the other Soldiers he took into his protection, and used their labour to help the Turks to make clean the Castle. But *Lifcanus*, who to save his Gold had made Shipwreck of his honour and reputation, was glad to give unto *Hala* the fair Chain of Gold which he had most covetously and insolently before taken from *Jeremus*; when as *Halis* (who would otherwise have scorned him by force) by way of military courtesy now craved it of him as a strange kind of ornament among the Turks; with which gift he was in hope to have saved the rest of his Coy. But fortune favoured not so much the covetous Coward; for when he was about to depart away with his Horses of service, which he kept very good, and had cunningly stuffed the Saddles full of Gold, thinking foily to have conveyed it, the Turk laughing at him, took from him his Horses furnished as they were, saying, That he which was to go by Water needed no Horses. So was the covetous Wretch at once quit of the great Wealth which he had in long time evil got. The Captains with the rest of the Soldiers dispoiled of the Arms, were conveyed over the River of *Dambius*, and to travelled on foot to *Poffimium*, where the Count *Salme* by the commandment of the King apprehended *Lifcanus*, *Salamance*, and some other of the Captains for suspicion of Treason, and committed them to safe custody, there to answer for their cowardly yielding up of the City.

*Solyman* entered into *Strigimium* the tenth of August in the year 1543, and there converting Christian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan Superstition, first sacrificed for his Victory (as he had before done in *Buda*) and after with all speed to strongly fortify the City, as if he would thereby for ever have taken from the Christians all hope of recovering the same again, deriding the slothful negligence of the Germans, who possessed it of fourteen years, had neglected all that time to fortify it. Not long after, *Solyman* leaving *Offianus* a valiant Captain Governor of *Strigimium*, and sending his Tartarian Horsemen to spoil the Country on the west hand, as *Alde Regalis* went himself to besiege the Castle of *Tattis*, called in some time *Theodora*. The Garrison Soldiers terrified

with the loss of *Strigimium*, and the sight of the Turks Army, upon the first fummons yielded the Castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That Castle after the manner of the Turkish Discipline, (who with few and those very strong Holds keep their Provinces in subjection) was by *Solyman* commandment presently raised down to the Ground. *Tattis* General of the Italians called *Humbal*, Captain of the Castle, to have his Head struck off for his cowardly yielding up of the place he had taken charge of; thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of strong places, not to refuse an honourable death in defence of their Country, for fear of an ignominious death attending their Cowardly.

*Tattis* thus laid in the Dust, *Solyman* marched with his Army towards *Alba*, surnamed *Regalis*, for that the Kings of *Hungary* by an ancient custom used there to be crowned and also buried. *Buda*, *Strigimium*, and *Alba Regalis*, three principal Cities of the Kingdom of *Hungary* stand in manner of a Triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compass. *Buda* and *Strigimium* are situate upon the River of *Dambius*; but *Alba* standeth more into the Land, strongly fenced in the midst of a great Lake, but not so wholly, especially in the Summer time, the Winter Waters then decreasing, and growing arising from the heat of the Sun. From the City through the Marsh or Lake, unto the firm Land, his three broad and high Causeys (in manner of the Breaks of a Cart-wheel) well built, with fair Houses and Gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle, whereby Men pass in and out of the City. At the end of every Causey toward the Land were cast up strong Bulwarks, which the Citizens used to watch but in dangerous times of War; so that by these Bulwarks the Houses of the Suburbs standing upon these Causeys, were safe from the danger of the Enemy, the Lake filling up all the spaces betwixt the Causeys; which, what for the Depth, what for Mud, Flags, and Bulrushes, growing in it, was not by Horse or Man to be passed through. And the City it self standing in the midst of the Lake, compassed round about with a strong Wall, and a deep Ditch always full of Water, was hardly to be besieged; for which cause a great number of the Country people upon the coming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their Cattel, as unto a most safe hold. In the City lay in Garrison two Companies of Germans, and two hundred Horsemen, unto whom were joyntly five hundred Hungarian Horsemen, such as in time of Peace lived by Robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Tarvus*, *Solyman* approach. Whereupon he in halt called together the other Captains, with *Birron* the Mayor of the City, and other the chief Citizens to consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the City, but especially, Whether the Suburbs of the City, standing upon those three broad Causeys, were to be destroyed or not? That so the City standing in the midst of the great Marsh, might both with less labour and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alleged; at last the Citizens cried out with one voice against

A cowardly  
is certain  
was  
rewarded.

Solyman  
sent to  
Alba  
Regalis.

The description  
of Alba  
Regalis.

The citizens  
of Alba  
will  
not suffer  
the City  
to be destroyed.

the matter, and fied. That they would never suffer those goodly Suburbs, wherein were so many Churches and fair Buildings as might compare with the City it self, to be so shamefully destroyed, to the utter undoing of so many rich Citizens; for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous Enemy, to shew such a token of extreme fear; and with their own hands to burn and destroy those stately Buildings, which might by strong hand be well enough defended against the Enemy, if they did not play the shameful Cowards. Of which opinion with the Citizens was also *Offaviano Serasfatti* an Italian Captain; alleging that both the City and the Suburbs might both with like danger be defended; forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the Marshes, and yet the worst should happen, the Defendants might yet safely enough retire into the City. At last standing up as one thrust forward, both with the publick hard Fortune and his own, said, *Valiant Gentlemen, what shew will you give of your valour, or what honour shall you have of your service, if you shall defend so famous a City, by deforming it of your selves, and cutting off the Suburbs, as it were the Arms thereof, before the danger, upon too hasty desperation? For you shall be wishing, either in the service of the King, or the honour of your selves, except this City (if God so please) be of you whole and sound valiantly defended.* Upon this Speech they all arise, the wiser fort and of greater experience giving place to the importunity of the ignorant and simple. *Barocius* himself full of care, and overcome with the vain opinion of the greater part, yielded also unto the fatal resolution of leaving the Suburbs. For it often falls out, that they, who wisely weighing dangers in the balance of reason, and do therefore fearfully resolve of the event of things, and do thereupon oftentimes give more hard and resolute judgment of things than Men of greater courage, yield nevertheless to be partakers of other Mens follies, yea even to most assured death, rather than by maintaining their fearful opinion, to be deemed Cowards. So fell it out with *Barocius* the General, who fetching a good countenance on the matter which nothing liked him, went out to the Soldiers, declaring unto them the reasons why the Suburbs were to be defended; exhorting them with like valour on their parts to answer that honourable resolution, promising to provide whatsoever should be necessary for the obtaining of the Victory; assuring them of great rewards and preferment, which should by their good service deserve the same. Hereupon the Suburbs were by the common labour of the Soldiers and the Citizens quickly fortified, the great Ordnance in places convenient orderly planted, and Watch and Ward kept by the Captains and their Companies by their turns day and night. But the Turks drawing near to the City, bent their Forces only against the Suburbs of the Gate leading towards *Buda*; for that they perceived the Marsh was in that place drier than the other, and the sandy Ground more unfit for the making of Bulwarks and other Fortifications for the safety of the Defendants, than in other places where the ground yielded better Turf. *Barocius* perceiving the Enemies purpose, drew all the Italians and Germans from the other Gates into the Suburbs of the Gate of *Buda*, leaving the Country-people which were fled into the City and the Citizens, in their places. At the first coming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German Horsemen, with the Italian Footmen, killed out of the Suburbs, and after certain light skirmishes retired. Which manner of fight was con-

tinued by the space of three days without any great harm done on either side; for the Captains, had warily commanded, That the Soldiers should not adventure too far. But after that *Solyman* himself was come and had with the multitude of his Tents beset the City far and near, to the terror of the beholders, the Christians shut up all the Gates, and fell out no more. Which thing caused the wild Hungarian *Uzras* (used to open skirmishes) to provide for themselves in time, and not to suffer themselves to be couped up (as they termed) within the Walls of the City; so for fashion sake, asking leave to be gone (who were not against their wills to be slain) they by night departed, being not to be entertained by the General or Citizens to stay, and by known ways escaped through the Woods from the Enemy. In the mean time the Turks were come with their winding Trenches within forth, and with their Arrows and small Shot so foured the top of the Bulwark, that no Man could there possibly appear but he was straight wounded; and such was the fury of the great Artillery; that it had in short time battered in funder the Planks and Timber which kept in the sandy Mound, whereof the Fort was made, more for the fear than for strength; in such sort, that the great Shot flying quite through all, flew and wounded many there was a far off; in which distress of the Defendants, the Turks *Alapi* with small danger filled up the Ditches of the Bulwark, and divers places of the Marsh with Earth and Wood, which they brought continually from a Wood thereby with six hundred Waggon, so that in the space of twelve days, they had made a firm way for them to pass over upon, both to the Bulwark and the Suburbs; a work before thought impossible to have been performed. The Ditches thus filled up, the Turks valiantly came on, seeking by plain force to enter the Bulwark. First came on the *Alapi*, whom as Men of least worth the Turks Captains use to thrust to the first danger; after whom followed the Horsemen, now on foot, with Swords and Targets, or else their Horsemen's Staves, covering the Janizaries, who upon their Knees with their Harquebussiers fore gauged the Defendants. This hot fight endured above three hours with equal hope and courage; but the Turks still relieved with fresh Soldiers, repulsed the Christians, and gained the uttermost Bulwark; nevertheless the Italian Fort was that day valiantly defended, the very Women and Maids helping to defend it; in this assault a tall Hungarian Woman, whose courage far exceeded the weakness of her Sex, thrusting in amongst the Soldiers upon the top of the Fort, with a great Sythe in her hand at one blow struck off two of the Turks Heads, as they were climbing up the Rampier. This assault was given the nine and twentieth of August, on which day the Turks had before taken *Belgrade*, and also slain King *Lepus* at the Battle of *Mohacs*; and were therefore after their superstitious manner in observation of their fortunate and unfortunate days, in good hope to have then taken the City; wherein they were much deceived, being not able at that time further to enter, but enforced again to retire. Whereupon *Solyman* offended, sent for *Abraham, Achmet, and Hala* (the chief Captains in that assault) into his Tent, and removed them thence, for that the Bulwark being so valiantly and fortunately won, they had not with more courage prosecuted the Victory, but cowardly (as he thought) given it over, being in a manner already won; and therefore with stern countenance commanded them to prepare all things ready

The Turks with irresistible labour fill up the Ditches, and take, and by plain force assault the Bulwark of the Suburbs towards Buda.

A notable act of an Hungarian woman.

The Suburbs of Alba Regia by the Turks.

The miserable slaughter of the flying Christians.

Embassadors sent to Solyman to treat on condition for the yielding of the City.

ready within three days for a fresh Assault, and never to return unto him, except they did win the City. Whereunto the Captains answered no more (for were they never so guiltless, they might not before him stand to excuse themselves) but that they would in short time accomplish his desire. Wherefore having made all ready, and encouraged the Soldiers to this last Assault, they terribly assailed the Rampiers, and brought a great fear upon the Defendants; for taking the benefit of a thick Mist (as it oftentimes chanceth in marsh grounds) they were with great silence (contrary to their manner) got up to the top of their Rampier, and came to handily blows, before they were well discovered. The Fight was for the time fierce and terrible; but the Janizaries prevailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians also, so that now well was he that could run safest towards the City. But that their hasty Flight little availed, when as they were to pass out by a little narrow Gate in manner of a Wick; and they into the City, without regard of them that fled, had plucked up the Draw-Bridge over the Ditch. For naturally it cometh oftentimes to pass, that the fear of the present danger, without blushing excuse our foul dealing. So the barbarous and fierce Enemy pursuing the flying Christians at the Heels all the length of those Suburbs with most cruel execution, many notable men, some fighting, some flying, were there slain; amongst whom was *Offaviano Serasfatti*, Author of the evil Council whereof infused the calamity. *Barocius* the General flying on Horseback to the little Gate, which was not to be passed through, and crying in vain to them that fled, to have the great Gate opened, was by the coming of the Janizaries slain; whose Head and right Hand fell of rich Rings, was by the barbarous Enemy carried about in decision upon a Lance. The rest of the flying multitude finding the little Gate shut up with the Bodies of the dead, and the Bridge maliciously drawn up, desperately threw themselves into the deep Ditch; where some of them labouring to swim out, were caught by the Legs and Arms by other that could not swim, and both together drowned. Some hardly crawling over, were forth in the Head or Back with the Turks Arrows; otherwise flitting fast in the Mud, were as if it had been in sport shot to death by the Turks; some few there were which got over, and were saved.

There was yet left in the City the General of the German Horsemen, and *Offavio de Cremona*, an Italian Captain; these two gathering the remainder of the Soldiers which were left, placed them upon the Walls; but the Citizens were struck with such a fear, that they could not tell which way to turn themselves. For now *Bircus* the Mayor, with the Aldermen and other chief Citizens, seeing the slaughter of the Italians and Germans, were so overcome with despair, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be repaid in making of any farther resistance, but only in the mercy of *Solyman*. Wherefore *Bircus* sent unto the Turks from the Wall, That he might safely send Embassadors to *Solyman*, to treat with him upon reasonable conditions, for the yielding up of the City; which thing *Achmet* easily granted. With these Embassadors for the Citizens, went also the Generals of the German Horsemen, and *Carole Rufus* an Italian Captain (who of all others had born himself most valiantly in all the Assaults, to the great admiration of the Turks) a treatise for the safety and liberty of the Soldiers. The Embassadors being brought before the great Baffa, requested, That yielding the City, the Citizens

might enjoy their Lives and Liberty; whereunto they were so answered, as that it seemed they should not all be pardoned; yet was the general fear well diminished, for that the punishment expected, was but some few. *Rufus* was courteously entertained; and easily obtained, that the Italians might in safety depart with Bag and Baggage to *Vienna*; the like grace also had the General of the Germans for his Soldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baffa, offered unto *Rufus* honourable entertainment, if he would have served *Solyman*; which when he refused as bound to King *Ferdinand* by Oath, in honour of his Valour he gave him a Ramich Cloak wrought with Flowers of Gold. The Embassadors returning into the City, and telling how they had sped, delivered the Citizens of a great fear. Shortly after the City being yielded, *Achmet* by open Proclamation in the Market-place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themselves ready against the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them; he also frantically charged the Citizens to keep their Houses until the strange Soldiers were departed. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans set forward, conducted by *Homares* with a Company of the Turks Horsemen, who faithfully defended them against the Tartars, running up and down the Country after the Spoil; neither was any thing taken from them but their Bags, which the German Horsemen gave a new fashion carried at their Saddle Bows; these the Turks greatly desired, delivered with the novelty of the invention, to see them throw off with a Firelock without a Match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their travel set upon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hot skirmishes, and had hardly escaped unspoiled, had they not been rescued by the Kings Soldiers lying in Garrison in the Castles as they passed along the Country. The few which remained, after many cruelties came at last to *Vienna*, more like Ghosts than Men.

*Solyman* entering quietly into the City, first visited the Sepulchres of the Hungarian Kings, and gave up Proclamation, That the Hungarians to *Alba* should fear of him no harm; for that he was not Regis, come to conquer them, but to deliver them from *Solyman* the Bondage of the Germans, and to restore each his again that entire Kingdom unto *Stephen* the right Heir of King *John*. But within three or four days after, he called out the chief Citizens of *Alba* to a Field not far off, wherein the Bodies of some condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would have there taken an Oath of their Fidelity; whither, after they were all assembled in the best manner they could, as to some solemn Feast, the Tyrant (without regard of his Faith or Promise) caused them all to be slain. Howbeit some report, that he caused them only to be put to death which bare office in the City, at such time as they revolted from the Obedience of the Queen and the Infant King, unto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German Soldiers; and that he sent the rest into exile to *Buda* and *Belgrade*. So *Solyman* leaving *Balibius* Governor of *Alba Regalis*, and *Adomantes* sometime Governor of *Belgrade*, his Lieutenant General for the whole Government of that Kingdom, returned again towards *Constantinople* (Winner now beginning to approach) after *Hademet* had that Summer won *Strigonia* and *Alba Regalis*, two of the chiefest Cities of Hungary. All this while King *Ferdinand* had raised no Power worth the speaking of, to withstand so mighty an Enemy; only at *Vienna* lay seven thousand Germans and four thousand Italians, at such time as *Solyman* departed from *Alba Regalis*, which were shortly after discharged.

*Solyman* enters into Alba Regia, and gives up Proclamation, That the Hungarians to Alba should fear of him no harm; for that he was not Regis, come to conquer them, but to deliver them from Solyman the Bondage of the Germans, and to restore each his again that entire Kingdom unto Stephen the right Heir of King John. But within three or four days after, he called out the chief Citizens of Alba to a Field not far off, wherein the Bodies of some condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would have there taken an Oath of their Fidelity; whither, after they were all assembled in the best manner they could, as to some solemn Feast, the Tyrant (without regard of his Faith or Promise) caused them all to be slain. Howbeit some report, that he caused them only to be put to death which bare office in the City, at such time as they revolted from the Obedience of the Queen and the Infant King, unto Ferdinand, and had then brought in German Soldiers; and that he sent the rest into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So Solyman leaving Balibius Governor of Alba Regalis, and Adomantes sometime Governor of Belgrade, his Lieutenant General for the whole Government of that Kingdom, returned again towards Constantinople (Winner now beginning to approach) after Hademet had that Summer won Strigonia and Alba Regalis, two of the chiefest Cities of Hungary. All this while King Ferdinand had raised no Power worth the speaking of, to withstand so mighty an Enemy; only at Vienna lay seven thousand Germans and four thousand Italians, at such time as Solyman departed from Alba Regalis, which were shortly after discharged.

*Solyman* returns to Constantinople.



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Dilts.

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Gule  
ta.

Winds driven first to *Cajeta*, and afterward to *Naples*, where he was by the Viceroy honourably entertained, and a Houle appointed for him richly furnished; the Neapolitans wondering at the strange Attire of the People, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plenty of all manner of sweet Perfumes; for into every Ditch they put in Orders of exceeding price, so that it was well known, that a Peacock and two Pheasants dressed after the manner of the Kings Kitchen, cost above an hundred Ducats; so that not only the Dining Chamber, when they were carved up, but all the Houle was so filled with the strange and fragrant smell, that all they that dwell near thereabouts were partakers of that unufual and delicate Perfume. From *Naples* he was about to have travelled by Land unto the Emperor, being then in conference with the Pope at *Bavatum*, (bearing to adventure the Sea, possessed by the Enemies Fleet) had not the Emperor by his Letters willed him to stay till where he was. But whilst he made his aboad at *Naples*, and carefully attended what Courte *Barbaruffa* would take, (who furnished with so great a Fleet, was departed from *Nice* disappointed of his purpose) he was by certain Messengers advertised of *Africa*, That *Amida* his Son was risen up against him, and possessing himself of the Kingdom, had slain his Captains, polluted his Wives, and taken the Castle of *Tunee*. With which news he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to pass over into *Africa*, and though late, yet as he might to remedy his domestical troubles, in hope to oppress that Rebellion in the beginning, and his Son also, before he could gather any strength to resist upon. Wherefore he with all the haste he could opened his Coffers and entertained Souldiers, the Viceroy giving leave to all such banished Men as would, to come and give their names to pass over as Souldiers into *Africa*; upon report whereof, such a number of Malefactors and condemned persons came flocking to *Naples*, that it was thought a sufficient Army might have been made of such kind of men; every one of them chusing rather to enter into Pay, and blot out the infamy of banishment, and prove the fortune of Wars, than to live wandering up and down the Woods and in danger every hour to be hanged. Of these infamous Men, one *Joune* *Baptista* *Lofredus* (a Man well born, but of a fierce and covetous disposition) undertook the leading; he covenuing with *Muleless* to have three months Pay before hand, levied a thousand, and eight hundred Men, which he presently shipped, and keeping the greatest part of their Pay to himself, passed over with the King into *Africa*, and landed at *Guleta*. But how *Amida* rose up against his Father, and what was the end of that bloody Rebellion, shall not be amiss briefly to rehearse. There were certain Noblemen of great Authority about *Amida* when *Muleless* departed, which at their pleasure ruled the young Prince, who easily hearkened unto their Counsel, and followed the fumes; the chief of these was one *Mabometes* Son of *Bahamer*, who in the Reign of *Mabometes*, *Muleless* his Father, was *Maniphet*, whom *Muleless* (possessed of the Kingdom) put shamefully to death by cutting off his Privities, because he had by hasty Marriage deceived him of *Rishomata* a Maiden of incomparable Beauty, the Daughter of *Abderrah* Captain of the Castle, whom he most passionately loved; for which cruel fact, *Mabometes* his Son had long time conceived a deadly hatred against *Muleless*, which he had many years dissembled, that he might as occasion served be the more cruelly revenged. Next unto him was another *Mabometes*

firmamed *Adulzee*, whom *Muleless* was wont commonly to call his worst Servant. These two with a few others conspiring together, gave it out, that *Muleless* was dead at *Naples*, and before his death had most irreligiously (as they accounted it) revolted to the Christian Religion. With which report they perceiving *Amida* moved, came unto him and perswaded him quickly to enter into his Fathers Seat, lest *Mabometes* his younger Brother (then lying in hostage with the Christians at *Guleta*) should by the favour and help of *Touarres*, whose Garrison was ever ready, be preferred before him. For *Mabometes* was eighteen years old, resembling his Grandfather in Name, Favour, and Disposition, and therefore of the Citizens of *Tunee* best beloved. Wherefore *Amida* came in post haste out of the Camp to *Tunee*, to lay first hands upon his Fathers Kingdom. The People which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings death, received him with doubtful countenance; and as many stood marvelling that he was so rashly come into the City without his Fathers commandment, *Mabometes* (appointed by *Muleless* to govern the City) came out and sharply reproved him as guilty of high Treason, perswading him to return again into the Camp; and seeing him fly by force of multitude thrust him out of the City. *Amida* deceived of his expectation, got him out of *Tunee* the way into the pleasant Country of *Martia* of *Tunee*. Between *Utica* and the ruins of old *Carthage*. But *Mabometes* Governor of the City, after he had repulsed *Amida*, got him with all speed by Water to *Touarres* at *Guleta*, to know of him more assuredly, if any false News were brought from *Sidon* of the death of the King; and to complain of the rashness and intollerable presumption of *Amida*. Where staying some what long in discoursing with the Captain, and afterwards returning to the City, he was suspected to have practised with the Captain to make *Mabometes* (the Pledge in *Guleta*) King in his Fathers stead; for so the common voice went. The Moors are by nature a faithless People, hasty, suspicious, desirous of News, which true or false, they for the time interpret as fervent best their Factions, whereunto they are exceedingly given. So at the first there rose in the City a doubtful rumor of the making of a new King; the suspicion whereof more and more increasing, set all the City on an uprose. By occasion whereof, certain of the Citizens, to whom the very name of *Muleless* was odious, secretly certified *Amida* (then in the Gardens of *Carthage* fighting and grieving at his hard Fortune) how all stood, and that now was the time to do himself good. He revived with that unexpected News, and encouraged by the persuasion of *Bahamer* and *Adulzee*, and other his Followers; resolved to take hold upon that good offer of Fortune, which would not always frown, and to follow his good hap. So in haste returning to *Tunee*, and entering in at the Gate, which he then found open, ran presently to the Governors Houle, and finding him not at home, cruelly flew all his Household, and with his bloody company went presently to the Castle; where *Feres* the Captain seeking to have kept him out, and boldly laid hands upon his Horses Bridle to have thrust him back, was by a desperate Ethiopian, one of *Amida* his Followers, thrust through with a Sword and slain; over whose Body yet sprawling, *Amida* forcing his Horse, brake into the Castle with his Friends, and finding *Mabometes* Governor of the City, presently flew him also. And so by this means *Amida* in the space of an hour (a little before, a man in despair) obtained the City, the

Amida  
out of  
all out  
of  
Tunee.

Amida re-  
turneth  
and possi-  
sion of  
the Kingdom.

Castle, and the Kingdom together. After that, he murdered his younger Brethren, and embred with blood, without shame polluted his Fathers Concubines. *Muleless* landed as he had said) at *Guleta*, with such Forces as he had brought with him out of *Italy*; was received by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to adventure with such an handful of Men to go to *Tunee*, before he were well assured of the good disposition of the Citizens towards him; and was the more earnest with *Lofredus* not to go, because the Viceroy had expressly written, That he should in no case go any further than *Guleta*, except the King according to his promise had a good strength of the Numidians to join with him. But certain of the Noblemen amongst the Moors, which under the colour of Friendship were fled out of the City, and had after the folemn manner of their Nation put their Swords unto their Throats, and sworn to be faithful unto him, wonderfully prick forward both the King and *Lofredus* (too hasty of themselves to their own Destiny) bearing them in hand, That *Amida* upon the first sight of his Father would forsake the City, and betake himself to flight. So without more staying, *Muleless* with Ensign displaced set forward towards *Tunee*, *Lofredus* cheerfully following him; *Touarres* requesting them in vain to beware of the Moors Treachery. *Muleless* marching till forward, was come to nigh the City; that they might from the Walls descry him; when suddenly a strong Troop of Moors fell out of the Gate with a terrible Cry, and fiercely assailed him; whom the King's Horsemen valiantly received, many falling on both sides. *Adulzee* in this hot skirmish fighting courageously against his Enemies, was wounded in the Face, and bled exceedingly; which so discouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their Backs and fled; when presently a wonderful number of Horsemen, had before *Lofredus* and his Souldiers round; upon whom the Italians discharged certain Field-Pieces; but after they had once discharged them, they had no leisure to charge them again; for the barbarous Enemy came on so thick and so fast, that the Italians seeing themselves too weak, and compassed in round, let fall their Weapons as Men discouraged, and cast themselves into the Lake, for by swimming and taking hold of the little Boats, to save themselves from the Enemies Sword; which Boats stood those distressed Men in great stead; for being furnished with small Pieces, they did beat back the Moors, who eagerly pursued them even unto the Lake with their Horses. *Lofredus* as a Man amazed with the sudden coming of the Enemy, took the Lake with his Horse, and was there unhurt by the Enemy and slain, as were divers with him. Some few there were that fought courageously, chusing rather honourably to die in the midst of their Enemies, than shamefully to be fringed in the sinking Lake. *Muleless* soiled with his own Blood and with the Dust, flying amongst the rest, was known and taken; nothing more bewraying than his odoriferous Perfumes. In this conflict a thousand three hundred Italians were lost; the rest which escaped, *Touarres* relieved, and shortly after shipped them over into *Sicily*, from whence as we travelled home to *Naples*, but so poor as we showed the misery of their Fortune. *Amida* having thus obtained the Victory, was more careful of nothing than to make his Father unfit for Government, which he did by the cutting the right of both his Eyes with a hot Penknife; the like Cruelty he used upon *Nabazar* and *Abdalla* his Bro-

Muleless  
going  
to  
Tunee,  
by  
the way  
of  
Carthage.

Lofredus  
slain.

Muleless  
taken.

Amida  
put  
out  
his  
Eyes  
and  
blinded  
them.

theren, then taken with his Father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Captain of *Guleta*, That he had taken a few Youths Prisoners, which he would deliver unto him; and that he had bereft his Father of his sight, who had deserved a worse punishment, as he that had long before done the like to his Brethren; but had yet left him the life, as an example to other Tyrants, and to shew that he dealt not altogether unmercifully with so perfidious a Father; left off all he continued (upon certain conditions) the same League which his Father had with him; which he well saw was to great purpose, especially in the newness of his Kingdom. Neither did *Touarres* refuse the same as standing with his present profit; for upon this agreement, *Amida* was to give him certain Money to pay his Souldiers, and to deliver him the Prisoners he had taken, with the Ensigns and Body of *Lofredus*. For more assurance whereof he gave *Sebites* his Son, then nine years old, in Hostage; yet upon condition, that if an assured Peace could not be agreed upon, but that they must needs enter into War, then *Touarres* should forthwith restore him his Son *Sebites* in safety. These Capitulations, although they seemed not unreasonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honour of the Emperor, that he should enjoy the Kingdom, who by most horrible Treason and detestable Villany had thrust himself thereinto without the Emperors leave. Wherefore he entered into a new device to call in the rightful Heir, who might at the Emperors pleasure (offended with the injury done by *Amida*) reign in *Tunee*.

There was an exile amongst the Numidians one *Abdamelech*, ever since the time that *Refestes* fled to *Barbaruffa*. Him because he was *Muleless* affe natural Brother, *Touarres* sent for, putting him in hope of the Kingdom, supported by *Abdamelech* a great Prince amongst the Numidians, who had all that long time courteously entertained him. Neither was *Abdamelech* slow to accept the occasion presented, especially encouraged thereunto by the Numidian Prince his good Friend, and the predictions of the Astrologers, who had foretold him, That he should die King of *Tunee*. Which vain kind of Divination having in it no manner of assurance, yet caught great minds oftentimes to undertake great attempts beyond reason, which falling out with more hap than they were with reason foretold, giveth some credit to that Vanity, and causeth those cold Prophets to be of some accounted as great Wizards. And to work this feat, such a time was offered, as a better could not be wished; for *Amida* having set all things in order as he pleased in the City, and casting no peril, was gone to *Bahamer*, to take order for his Customs, which was then great upon Fishing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keep his promise, sent back *Sebites*, *Amida*'s Son, in a Boat to *Tunee*, and received *Abdamelech*, who travelling most part by night, was secretly come to *Guleta*, and there reitting himself and his Horses a few hours, to prevent the fame of his coming, posted in haste with a Troop of his Numidian Followers to *Tunee*, and passing through the City, went directly to the Castle, which he entered without resistance of the Wardens, supposing him to have been *Amida* come from *Bahamer*; for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Jews to have kept him from the Sun and the Dust, and by that happy light got into the Castle before it was known who he was. The Wardens perceiving their error, began as Men amazed now too late to betake themselves to their Weapons, for

Touarres  
sends for  
Abdamelech  
Amida  
da his re-  
turned  
Ward.

Abdamelech  
enters the  
Kingdom  
of  
Tunee.









of the greatest Prince on Earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the Army, he would confederate to their request; or if they would not thereunto consent, that for recompence, all they within the Castle should continue his Slaves and Prisoners; notwithstanding if they incontinently and without delay did surrender the place, he would exempt out of them two hundred. Whereupon the Messengers returning in despair, were slain by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and fair promises, that they would do much as lay in them, to persuade the Baffa, to confederate to a more gracious composition; fearing indeed that the besieged through despair would resolve (as their extreme refuge) to defend the place even to the very last Man. Wherefore they went presently to the Baffa, to declare unto him his oversight in refusing them who voluntarily would have put themselves into his hands, whom reason would he should with all courtesie have received; for that after he had the Castle and the Men in his power, he might dispose of them as he should think good. The Baffa liking well of his counsel, caused the Messengers to be called again, and with fained and dissembling words told them, That at the instance of *Dragut* and *Salla Rais* there present, he did discharge them of all the costs and charges of the Army, swearing unto them (the better to deceive them) by the Head of his Lord and his own, inviolably to observe all that he had promised unto them; which they too easily believed, and forthwith went to declare the same to the Governour, and others within the Castle. The Baffa, the better to come to the effect of his desire, after these Messengers sent a crafty Turk, whom he charged expressly to persuade the Governour to come with him into the Camp, for the full conclusion of the giving up of the Castle, and for the appointing of such Vessels, as should be needful for their safe conduct to *Malta*; and that if he made any doubt to come, he should make shew as if he would there remain in Hostage for him; but above all things, to consider of the strength and assurance of the besieged, and of the disposition of all things there. Which the subtil Turk so finely handled, that the Governour by the counsel of those who had perswaded him to yield (notwithstanding the reasons of Wars and Duty by his Office forbid him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge) resolved upon, so small an assurance of the Baffa, and gave ear to the miserable end of his Fortune. So taking with him a Knight of his Household (to send back unto those of the Castle, to declare unto them how he sped in the Camp) under the conduct of the Turk that was come to fetch him, he went straight to the Tent of the Baffa; who by the Turk that went first in, was advertised of the small courage of the Defendants, which he assured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to such order and agreement as he would himself. Upon whose perswasion calling in the Governour *Valier*, after he had rigorously reproved his rashness, said unto him, That forthwith as he had once given his word, if he would pay the charges of the Army, he was content to let them go with Bag and Baggage, otherwise he would discharge but two hundred. Whereat the Governour greatly moved, answered, That that was not according to his last promise unto the Knights before sent. But when he saw it would be no better, he requested him that he might again return to the Castle to know the minds of the rest; which the said Baffa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to send back the Knight that he

had brought with him, to make report of these hard News to the besieged; as for the Governour, he was sent to the Gallies with Irons on his Heels. When they of the Castle understood what had passed betwixt the Baffa and the Governour, they began exceedingly to fear the mischief then at hand; yet took no other resolution, but to return the said Knight to the Baffa, to know whether they should expect from him no better answer. Who as soon as he was come before him, the Captain of the Castle was brought in, of whom the Baffa asked, Which of the two he would chuse, either to pay the expenses of his Army, or else both he and all the rest to remain his Prisoners? Whereunto the Governour answered, That a Slave had no other authority than that which by his Master was given him; and that having lost (besides his liberty) the power to command, if any thing were yet reserved in him, could not counsel him to command others to agree unto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before sent. Which thing the Baffa hearing, for fear that such a resolute answer should come to the knowledge of the besieged, and cause them to become desperate; having taken counsel with his other Captains, he took the Governour by the Hand, and with a smiling and dissembling Countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therefore without troubling any thing, he should cause them all to come out of the Castle. But the Governour, because he had been before deceived, would not trust to his word, but said unto him, That he might command him that was come from the Castle, for that he knew they would now do never a whit the more for him. So the Baffa turning towards the other Knight, commanded him forthwith to go unto them in the Castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing again as before, by the Head of his great Lord, and his own, That they should all be delivered at last at liberty, according to the conventions first agreed upon. Which the Knight believing, went to report to them this good news; which they received with such joy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap to fear, they ran in haste with their Wives, Children, and best Moveables, striving who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the Enemies spoiled of all they had, and taken Prisoners: part of the Knights were sent to the Gallies, and the rest to the Baffa. Who being by the Governour put in remembrance of his Faith twice given, answered, That there was no Faith to be kept with Dogs, and that they had first violated their Oath with his great Lord, unto whom at the giving over of the *Rhodes*, they had (as he said) sworn never more to bear Arms against the Turks. The Castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about two hundred Moors, cut of that Country that had served the Knights, cut in pieces, and thereupon, a great Peal of Ordnance discharged, with great cries and shouts in sign of their Victory. Thus the strong Castle and ancient City of *Tripoli* in *Barbary* was delivered unto the Turks the fifteenth day of *August*, in the year 1551. Whilst the Baffa lay at this Siege, the Lord of *Astracan*, who had many years been Ambassador from *France* to the French King at *Constantinople*, and was now sent again by *Henry* the Second, came to the Turks Camp, being requested so to do by the great Master of the *Rhodes*, to have disswaded the Baffa from that Siege; wherein he nothing prevailed. Yet now grieved to see how the faithless Turk, contrary to his Oath, most villainously treated the

Governour

The flames  
of the  
faithless  
Baffa to  
the French  
Embassa-  
dor.

The wary  
answer of  
the Govern-  
our to the  
Baffa.

The Castle  
surrendered.

The Turks  
Triumph  
for the  
winning of  
Tripoli.

A shameful  
cruelty  
of the  
Turks.

Tenef-  
war and  
Zolmek  
taken by  
the Turks.

Governour and the other Knights, lying at his feet as Men half desperate; was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his Oath; which if he would not keep, that were at the least according to his own voluntary offer, he would release two hundred of them; but he excused himself as before, saying, That no Faith was to be kept with Dogs, which had first broken their own Faith. Yet afterwards he contended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most unfit for service (amongst whom was comprehended the Governour and certain other old Knights) should be set at liberty; who were forthwith sent aboard the French Embassadors Gallies, and by him transported to *Malta*; where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had so cowardly surrendered a place, which they might much longer have defended. The next day after the Castle was delivered, which was the sixteenth of *August*, the proud Baffa for joy of this Victory made a solemn Dinner, whereunto he invited the French Embassadors, and *Valier* the late Governour; which they refused not to come unto, in hope to recover some more Prisoners. This great Feast for the more Magnificence was kept in the Castle-Ditch against the Breach, where were set up two itately Pavilions, the one for the Baffa, and the other for the Embassador and his Company, where he was honourably Feasted with wonderful plenty both of Flesh and Fish and good Wines, all which he had found in the Castle; which service was done with Musick of divers sorts, and Officers in number above a hundred, apparelled for most part in long Gowns of fine Cloth of Gold, Tufted or Fringed; and the other of Velvet or Damask. The Baffa was no sooner fed down, but all the Ordnance of the Fleet were discharged with such a noise and thundering, that it seemed the Heavens and Skies did shake. The Table being set up, the Embassadors and the late Governour *Valier* entered into the Pavillion of the Baffa, and beside the two hundred Men which he had promised, obtained twenty more, upon the Embassadors promise, That he should for them cause to be released thirty Turks taken at *Malta*, at the landing of the Army there. The Turks having in their hands an ancient Gunner of the Castle, called *John de Chabas* born in *Danmark* (so the end that this triumphant Feast should not be unperfected of some cruel sacrifice of the Christian Blood) for that he had in time of the Siege shott off the Hand of the Clerk General of the Army, brought him into the Tower, and when they had cut off his Hands and his Nose, put him quick into the Ground to the Waist, and there for their pleasure shot at him with their Arrows, and afterward to make an end of him cut his Throat. The Baffa shortly after departing out of *Barbary*, left *Dragut* the Governour of *Tripoli*, honouring him with the Title of the Sanzack of that place; from whence he many years grievously molested the Moors near unto him by Land, and the Christians by Sea. The same year 1551. *Solyman* notwithstanding the five years Peace before sent with King *Ferdinand* at his going into *Persia*, sent *Achemates*, his Lieutenant in *Europe* with a great power into *Hungary*, who with *Hala* the Baffa of *Buda* invaded the upper part of *Hungary*, and first took the City of *Temeswar*; and contrary to their Faith given, slew the Garrison and Soldiers; after that, they took also the Castle of *Zolmek*, forsaken by the Christians, and certain other small Castles. But laying Siege to *Essem*, they were partly by the valiancy of the Defendants, and partly by the coming of of

Winter enforced to forfake the Siege, and to get themselves into their Wintering places. Queen *Isabel*, King *Fohn* his Widow, seeing the Turks daily encroaching upon that little they had left her, and that she was not able by any means to defend *Transylvania* against them, by the advice of *George*, Bishop of *Veradum*, her old Counsellor, agreed with King *Ferdinand* to deliver unto him the Government of the Country, with all the Royal Dignity of *Hungary*, for which she was to have of him *Cassovia*, and a yearly Pension of an hundred thousand Ducats. Which agreement made and thoroughly concluded by *Baptista* *Casplani* an Italian (whom *Charles* the Emperor had but a little before sent to aid King *Ferdinand*) the Queen returned into *Polenia*, her native Country; and to King *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almost all the Province of *Transylvania*, and what else the Queen had in *Hungary*. But the Bishop a little before made a Cardinal, being suspected by *Baptista* the Italian, that he favoured the Turkish Faction more than King *Ferdinand*, and by that means sought to get the Government to himself, was by the Italians device suddenly murdered in his own House at *Veradum*; an end good enough for a troublesome a Prelate. *Hala* the Baffa of *Buda* proud of his good success he had the year before, understanding that divers of the chief Hungarians had withdrawn themselves into the Castle of *Agria*, purposed in himself with all his power to besiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achemates*, *Chafas*, and other of the Turks Sanzacks and Captains by *Solyman* appointment ready at his call, he came with an Army of thirty thousand Turks, and the tenth of *September* in the year 1552, encamped round about the Castle; where after he had placed his Artillery, he began a most furious Battery. But doubting to prevail that way, he attempted also to undermine the Castle, omitting nothing that could be devised for the taking thereof; but all in vain, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobos* their Captain, courageously endured the Siege and very manfully repulsed the Enemy. At length, the twenty ninth of *September* the Enemy with twenty eight Esquifs of select Soldiers gave a fresh assault to the Castle, and were by the Defendants enforced shamefully to retire; at which time four and twenty Barrels of Gunpowder by mischance caught Fire, and besides that it blew up divers Captains and Soldiers, did much harm in the Castle, to the great dismay of the Defendants. After that, the Turks with incredible pertinacity the twelfth of *October* fiercely assaulted the Castle from morning until night, and for desire of revenge and hope of spoil left nothing unattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten back, and with great loss enforced at last to give over the assault. Thus the Baffa nothing prevailing by force, attempted by great promises and large offers to have brought them out; which he understanding to be nothing regarded, and his Letters scornfully burnt, brought on his Soldiers again, and gave unto them in the Castle a most furious assault, but with no better success than before; for having lost many of his best Soldiers, he was enforced to retire. So after he had in vain six weeks besieged the Castle, he was glad to raise his Siege, and to retire to *Pessin*. After which departure there were found twelve thousand great shot, whereas he had battered the Wall. In this Siege six thousand Turks were slain, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this

Victory,

Victory, made *Stephanus* the worthy Captain, Vayvod of *Transylvania*, and bountifully rewarded the other Captains and Souldiers as they had well deserved.

Henry the French King, who together with his Kingdom had (as it seemed) received the hereditary Quarrels of *France* his Father against *Charles* the Emperor, had by his Embassador the Lord of *Ararant* to wrougth the matter with *Solymán*, that the more to trouble the Emperor, he sent a great Fleet into the *Tyrrhenum* or *Tufcan* Sea, which in the year 1553, and the year following, did great harm upon the Coasts of *Calabria*, *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, as also in the Islands of *Elba*, *Corfica*, *Cerde*, and *Mallorca*, and such like places on the Frontiers of the Emperors Dominions; yet were the Turks in most places notably again repulsed by the people of those Countries. The same year *Solymán*, seduced by *Roxelana* (sometime his fair Concubine, but then his imperious Wife) and *Ruffan* Bassa his Son in Law, most unaccountably murdered his eldest Son *Mulapha*, the mirror of the *Ottoman* Family; Which tragical Fact (the like whereof both for the treacherous contriving and inhuman execution hath seldom times been heard of) I have thought good here in due time to set down, in such sort as it is by most credible Writers of that time reported.

Mulapha  
Solymán  
eldest Son  
in great  
affection  
with the  
Peop'.

Solymán  
became  
amorous of  
Roxelana

Mulapha  
sent to  
Garamania.

*Solymán* after the manner of the *Ottoman* Kings (who to avoid the participation of their Sovereignty, use not oftentimes to Marry, but otherwise to satisfy their desire with such beautiful Concubines as is pleased them to make choice of out of the fairest Captives of all Nations, most daintily brought up for that purpose in the Court) had by a Circassian Bondswoman a Son called *Mulapha*, who for his wonderful towardsness and rare perfection, was amongst the Turks had in such expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themselves more happy, than in the hope laid up in him; whose noble carriage was such, as thereby he so possessed the minds of all Men in general, (but especially of the Men of War) that he was reputed the glory of the Court, the flower of Chivalry, the hope of the Souldiers, and joy of the People. Whilst he thus grew, encreasing both in years and favour, it fortuned with *Solymán* as it doth with Men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxelana*, of some called *Rofa* (but more truly *Hazrat*) by condition a Captive, but who graced with beauty and courtly behaviour, that in short time she became Mistress of his thoughts, and Commandress of him that all commanded; and that which more established her in possession of his love, she had in time made him Father of four fair Sons, *Mahomet*, *Solymán*, *Bajazet*, and *Tschanger*, and one Daughter called *Chamaria* Married to *Ruffan* or *Ruffenes* the great Bassa. In this height of worldly Bliss nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Mulapha*, *Solymán* eldest Son by the Circassian Woman; who honoured of the greatest, and beloved of the rest, stood only in her light, impairing her and hers (as she thought) of the hope of the Empire, which he now above all things fought to bring to one of her own Sons; which the better to compass, the under the colour of great good will and love, procured that *Mulapha* the young Prince and his Mother should as it were for their greater honour and fame, with a Princely allowance be sent into *Garamania* to govern that great Country, far from the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to pass; for that the Turkish Emperors usually send for Sons after they come to any years of discretion;

unto such Provinces as are far from the Court, attended upon with one great Bassa and some grave Doctor of their Law, to acquaint them with the manner of Government; the Bassa instructing them in matters of civil Policy, and the Doctor in matters concerning their superstition; and yet by sending them afar off, to keep them from aspiring to the Empire by the favour of the Court; (a thing of the Turkish Emperors not unworthily feared even in their own and beloved Children.) *Roxelana* having at this once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great Competitors both of her Love and the Empire (things of all others enduring no Partners) rested not so, but began straightway to plot in her malicious Head the utter destruction of him, to whom all others wished all happiness. This she saw was not to be brought to pass without some Complices; wherefore after she had in her secret conceit discarded many, of whom at first she had reasonable good liking; at last she made choice of *Ruffan* Bassa her Son in Law, upon whom she would fix up her rest. This *Ruffan* was a Man basely Born in *Epirus*, altogether composed of dissimulation and flattery, ever serving his own turn, were it never so much to the hurt or grievance of others; by which means he, although none of the best Souldiers, was yet by many degrees grown up to be the greatest Man in the Court, and *Solymán* Son in Law; him she probably thought to win the succession of the Empire to one of her own Sons, his Wives full Brethren, rather than to *Mulapha* her half Brother. Beside that, she was not ignorant how that *Ruffan* as one careful of the Emperors profit (the readiest way to preferment) had abridged the Pensions and Fees of the Officers and Servitors in Court; which he perceiving to please the Emperor, proceeded to far therein, that he attempted to have cut off, if it had been possible, some part of *Mulapha* his princely allowance; for which doing she knew how odious he was to all the Courtiers (whereof he made small reckoning) but especially to *Mulapha*, inasmuch that it was thought he would not forget so notorious an injury, if ever he should obtain the Empire. Hereupon the brave with *Ruffan* upon the matter, whom she found ready enough of himself to do what in him lay to further her mischievous desire.

To begin this intended Tragedy, she upon the suddain became very devout, and being by the favour of *Solymán* grown exceedingly rich, pretended as if it had been upon a devout Zeal for the health of her Soul, after the manner of their Turkish Superstition, to build an Abbey, with an Hospital and a Church; which to godly a purpose she imparted to the *Mufti* or chief *Mahometan* Priest, demanding of him, if such works of Charity were not acceptable to God, and available for her Souls Health. Whereunto the *Mufti* answered, That those works were no doubt gracious in the sight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her Souls Health, being a Bondswoman; yet very profitable for the Soul of the great Emperor *Solymán*, unto whom as unto her Lord, both she and all she had appertained. With which answer of the great Priest she seemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderful penitent, and Melancholy; her cheerful countenance was replete with Sighs, and her fair Eyes flowed with Tears, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heaviness. Which thing *Solymán* perceiving, and sorry to see his love upon conceit so to languish, sent her word to be of good cheer, and to comfort her self; promising in short time to take such a

court

Solymán  
means  
his  
Roxelana.

Solymán  
sends for  
Roxelana.

She excels  
her  
self and  
rejoices  
to come.

Solymán  
marries  
Roxelana.

Roxelana  
plots  
the  
confusion  
of his  
Empire.

Roxelana  
joins her  
self  
Ruffan.

course as should ease her of all her grief; which he forthwith did, solemnly manumitting her from her bond Estate. So great a favour obtained, *Roxelana* with so great cheerfulness began those meritorious works by her before intended, as if she had thought of nothing but Heaven, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of Hell. When she had thus a good while busied her self in paying the way to Heaven, as was supposed; *Solymán* not able longer to bear the company of her, in whom his Soul lived, after his wonted manner sent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who should have brought her to his Bed-Chamber. To whom she with her Eyes cast up to Heaven, demurely answered, That her life and whatsoever else she had was at her dread Sovereigns command, but again to yield her Body unto his Appetite might not in any case do, without the great offence of the High God, and manifest Breach of his sacred Laws, which nevertheless he not now voluntarily to yield him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his Bondswoman; and because she would not seem to use this as an excuse, she referred her self all in things to the grave judgment of the learned and reverend *Mufti*, with whom she had before at full conferred. This she did, presuming of the Sovereignty she had over that great March, whom she might well know she had so fast bound in the pleasing Fetters of his affection towards her, as that she was sure enough of him without a Keeper. *Solymán* ravished with her love, and well the more for her demerit; sent for the *Mufti*, requiring his judgment in the matter; who before intruded in all points, agreed with that *Roxelana* had said, aggravating the heinousness of the Fact, if he should give assent to subvert her of a Slave, who being now free, he might not lawfully so without great offence touch unmarried. Whereupon *Solymán* more and more burning in his desires, became a fresh Suter to her for Marriage, whom he had to often before commanded; which his Sute easily obtained, (as the Mark she had all this while aimed at) he with all speed to the great admiration of all Men, and contrary to the manner of the *Mahometan* Emperors, solemnly Married her, appointing for her yearly Dowry five thousand Sultanyne.

This Woman of late a Slave, but now become the greatest Empress of the East, flowing in all worldly Felicity, attended upon with all the pleasures her Heart could desire, wanting nothing she could wish, but how to find means that the Turkish Empire might after the death of *Solymán* be brought to some end of her own Sons. This was it that had (as it before said) long troubled her aspiring mind, and in the midst of all her Bliss, suffered her yet to take no rest. Noble *Mulapha*, *Solymán* eldest Son, and Her apparent of the Empire; although far absent, was yet still before her Eyes present; his credit, his valour, his virtues, his perfections were all bars to her desires; he was the only Cloud that kept the Sun from shining on her; if he by any means might be taken away, then wanted no part of the desired. Which to bring to pass, the wicked Woman laboured cunningly, by little and little to breed in *Solymán* Head no small suspicion of *Mulapha*, That he being a young Man of a haughty Spirit, desirous of Sovereignty, generally beloved, and dwelling with the immoderate favour of the Men of War, which were all at his devotion, led nothing else to be expected from him, but when he should (as did his Grandfather and *Solymán*) lay hand upon the Empire, and work his aged Fathers destruction. This mischie-

vous Plot by her devised, was not a little furthered by *Ruffan* the great Bassa, by whom passed all great matters; who nothing omitted, that could be fitly devised for the disgrace or confusion of the young Prince. For he as a great secret, craftily told all them that were sent Governors into *Siria*, that *Mulapha* was secretly suspected by his Father, of aspiring to the Empire, and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to observe all his actions, with the manner of his Life and Government; and by their Letters diligently to advertise him of whatever they should see or hear; bearing them in hand, that the more suspiciously or oddly they should write of him, the more gracious and acceptable it would be unto the great Sultan. Wherefore he by these Men oftentimes certified of the princely disposition, courage, widom, valour and bounty of *Mulapha*, whereby he had won all Mens Hearts; he doubted that he would at length be preferred to the Empire, yet durst he not for all that adventure to temper with *Solymán* about that detestable conspiracy against the innocent Prince, but still delivering the Letters to the malicious Woman, left the rest by her ungracious head to be wrought. And the still as occasion best served her purpose, ceased not with pleasing allurements and flattery (wherein she was most excellent) to infect *Solymán* mind, that whensoever he should chance to have any speech of *Mulapha*, she might take the fitter occasion to bring forth those Letters. Neither was she in her drift deceived, but having found a fit opportunity, with Tears trickling down her Cheeks (which to serve their turns subtil Women seldom want) she told the Emperor in what danger he stood; recounting amongst other things, how *Solymán* his Father had by such means deprived *Bajazet* his Grandfather both of his Life and Empire together; and therefore, most instantly besought him, as if it had altogether proceeded from a parental love, by that example warned to look to himself. But the slight arguments of suspicion seemed as they were indeed, unto *Solymán* scarce probable; for that the little prevailed thereby. Which thing the well perceiving, and inwardly grieved thereat, converted her cruel mind to other mischievous devices, and fought by all means how to poison the young Prince; neither wavered she therein, as it were vowed to kill all kind of mischief and villany, ready to have performed what she desired, had not Gods providence withstood so horrible a practice. For whereas certain rich Apparel was by her sent unto him in his Fathers name, he fearing the worst, would not touch it before he had caused curious variances (as it was thought) by which that time prevented the Treason of his wicked Stepdame, and made her malicious practice manifest to the World. Yet defied she the not so, but was still plotting new devices, tending all to one purpose; for being grown to that height of honour and power as never was Woman in the *Ottoman* Court, and by the means of *Tromilla* a Jew (as it was thought) having bewitched the mind of the Turkish Emperor, the fill grew more and more in favour, and obtained that her Sons might by turns be still present in Court; of purpose, that by their daily presence and continual flattery, they should more and more procure their Fathers love; and if by chance *Mulapha* should come thither, the might have the better means to dispatch him; if not, to expect some other fit time, when the might by some one or other mean take him away. But *Mulapha* never coming (for why, the Emperors Sons

Mulapha  
in danger  
to have  
been  
by  
Roxelana.

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ule not without their Fathers leave to go out of the Provinces assigned unto them, or to come to *Constantinople*, but after the death of their Father to receive the Empire, attended upon with a number of Soldiers) the easily deviled another practice, that her Sons should visit upon their Father, not in the City only, but in the Provinces also; for that *Tschanger*, surnamed *Crookback*, always followed his Father in the Camp. Certain years thus spent, and the still hammering her mischievous devices; at length Fortune favouring her wicked desire, got from the *Bassa* which had the Government of *Mulapha* and the Province of *Amasia* (as we have said, every one of the Kings Sons hath with him one *Bassa*, which is as it were his Lieutenant in administration of Justice and Martial Affairs) certain suspicious Letters, wherein was contained, that there was a Speech of a Marriage to be made between *Mulapha* and the Persian Kings Daughters; which thing he thought good to give knowledge of to the Council, that if any harm should ensue thereof, he might be out of all suspicion. Those Letters being brought to *Ruffan*, he thought he had now as good as half brought to pass the long desired ruin of *Mulapha*; so making no stay, he opened the matter to *Roxelana*, and afterwards both together went to the Court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor; in doing whereof, they forced both their ungracious wits to fill his head, yet doubtful, with suspicion, and to possess his mind with the fear of his own most dutiful Son; saying, That he as a proud and ambitious young Man, ravished with the desire of to govern an Empire, fought against the Laws both of God and Nature, to take his Father out of the way, that so he might with more speed satisfy his aspiring mind. And to give the more credit to this their most false suggestion, they warned him of the alliance by him purposed with the Persian King the ancient Enemy of the Ottoman Emperors; wishing him to beware lest *Mulapha* supported by the strength of *Perfia*, and the favour of the Sanzacks and Janizaries, whose love he had by bounties purchased, should in short time when he feared least, together deprive him both of his Life and Empire. With these and such like accusations they so prevailed with the aged Man, whom they never suffered to rest in quiet, that he at length resolved to work his falsity (as he supposed) by the death of his own Son, in this sort:

In the year 1552 he caused proclamation to be made almost in all the Provinces of his Kingdoms, That forasmuch as the Persians without resistance with a great Army invaded *Syria*, burning and destroying the Country before them, he to repress their outrageous insolency, was enforced to send thither *Ruffan Bassa* with an Army; which according to his appointment was in short time raised. Now when all things were in readiness, as if it had been for such a War as was pretended, he commanded *Ruffan*, with as much secrecy and subtle tumult as was possible, to lay hands upon *Mulapha*, and to bring him bound to *Constantinople*; which if he could not conveniently effect, then by any other means so take him out of the way.

With this wicked and cruel charge *Ruffan* with a strong Army marched towards *Syria*. *Mulapha* understanding of his coming, without delay with seven thousand of the best Horsemen in all *Turkey* made towards *Syria* also; whereof *Ruffan* hearing, and perceiving that he could not (as he desired) conveniently execute the cruel command of the unnatural Father, forthwith turned his back, and treading the same steps he came,

returned with his Army to *Constantinople* with such speed, that he endured not to behold the very Dust raised by *Mulapha's* Horsemen, much less his presence; giving it out, That he certainly understood that the Province was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But unto *Solyman* he told another Tale in secret, which he maliciously had devised, That he by most apparent signs and manifest presumptions had perceived the whole Army to incline towards *Mulapha*, that if he should have attempted any thing against him by plain force, he should have been utterly forsaken, and had therefore in so dangerous a case left the matter as it was his grave further direction. This Tale suspiciously told, raised in the wicked Emperor's Father (nothing degenerating from the natural cruelty of his Ancestors) a new and great suspicion, whereof to disburden his disquieted mind, he conceived with himself a most horrible device. Wherefore the year following, which was the year 1553, he raised a great Army; giving it out, That the Persians had with greater power than before invaded *Syria*, and that therefore he for the love of his Country, and defence of his Empire, was determined to go thither with his Army, and in person himself to repress the attempts of his Enemies. Wherefore the Army being assembled, and all things necessary orderly provided, he commanded to rest forward, and in few days after followed himself; who coming at length into *Syria*, presently by trusty Messengers commanded *Mulapha* to come unto him his *camp*, for there he should be expected. And yet for all these shadows, the matter was not so cloaked by *Solyman* conveyed (although he was exceeding careful thereof) but that his mortal and deadly hatred against his Son was perceived by the *Bassas* and other great Men about him; inasmuch that *Aschmat Bassa* by a secret and trusty Messenger gave him warning thereof, that so he might in time the better provide for the safeguard of his life. Neither could *Mulapha* himself but marvel, that his aged Father without any apparent reason should come so far with so great an Army; yet trusting to his own innocence, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he resolved (although it were with the extremest danger of his life) to obey and yield to his Fathers command; for he thought it more commendable and honourable to incur the danger of death, than living to fall into the cruel suspicion of disloyalty. In so great a perplexity of mind, after he had with himself much discomfited road and fro, what course he were left to take, at length he boldly and resolutely asked the Doctor, whom (as we have before said) he had always with him in his Court, Whether the Empire of the World, or a blessed Life were of Man more to be desired. To whom the Doctor frankly answered, That the Empire of the World, to him that would enter into the due consideration thereof, brought with it no felicity more than a vain desire and outward appearance of good, nothing being more frail or uncertain than worldly Honour, bringing with it fear, vexation of mind, tribulation, suspicion, murder, wickedness, spoil, ruin, and captivity, with infinite mischiefs of like nature, not to be desired, of him that would attain to true felicity; by which means the blessed Life was to be left and not gained; But they that unto whom God hath given the Grace rightly to consider and weigh his felicity and blessedness of this outward Estate (as the common sort deemeth to be the only life) and to strive against the Vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an upright kind of life,

The malicious device of *Ruffan*.

*Mulapha* cometh to his Fathers camp.

The execution of *Ruffan* by the order of *Solyman*.

The malicious dream of *Mulapha* in coming to his Fathers camp.

*Mulapha* prophesied in his mind.

His talk with his Doctor.

had undoubtedly a place assigned for them in Heaven, and prepared by the great God, where they should at length enjoy life and bliss eternal. This answer of the great Doctor wonderfully satisfied the troubled mind of the young Prince, foreseeing as it were the approach of his own end; and to laying not any longer discourages, forthwith forwards towards his Father, and making great haste came at length to his Fathers Camp, and not far off pitched his Tents in the open Field. But this his haste coming the more increased the suspicion in the mind of his wicked Father; neither spared *Ruffan* in the mean time with his crafty and subtil devices to augment the fame; for by a sign given he caused the Janizaries and chief Men in the Army to go as if it had been for Honour sake to meet *Mulapha*; which they all without delay presently did at his command, and so all together set forward. In the mean time he the most crafty Varler, with troubled countenance (for he could notably dissemble) as a Man half dismayed came in haste unto *Solyman's* Pavilion, and fully told him, That the Janizaries and almost all the best Soldiers of the Army were of themselves without leave gone to meet *Mulapha*, and that he feared what would ensue thereof. Which news so troubled the old Tyrant, that he became pale for fear, and going out of his Tent, and finding them gone, easily believed all to be true that the false *Bassa* had told him. Neither wanted *Mulapha* strange warning of his end: for near at hand for the third day before his setting forth was toward his Father, falling asleep in the Evening, he thought he saw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright Apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a most pleasant place, beautified with most glorious and stately Palaces, and most delicate and pleasant Gardens; and pointing to every thing with his Finger, to say thus unto him, Here rest thy for ever, which in this World have led an upright and godly Life, following Vertue, and detesting Vice; and after that turning his Face to the other side, to have shewed him two great and swift Rivers, whereof the one boiled with Water blacker than Pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of Men wallowing and tumbling, some up, some down, crying horribly for mercy; And there (said he) are punished all such as in this frail life have been malicious workers of iniquity; the chief of whom: (as he said) were Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other great Men of the World. *Mulapha* awaking, and having told him all this, and having said unto him his Doctor, asked him what the fame might signify? Who standing a great while in a muse (for the Mahometans are exceeding superstitious, attributing much to dreams) full of sorrow and grief at length answered, That this Vision (for so it pleased him to term it) was undoubtedly to be feared, as presaging unto him the extremest peril of his Life, and therefore requested him to have great care both of his Life and Honour. But *Mulapha* as he was of a noble spirit and courage, regarding nothing that answer, stoutly replied, What, shall I suffer my self to be terrified and overcome with childish and vain fear? Why rather haste I not courageously and resolutely to my Father? And so much the more boldly, because I know assuredly I have always (as reason was) revered his Majesty, that against his Will I never surmounted him in felicity and greatness of this outward Estate (as the common sort deemeth to be the only life) and to strive against the Vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an upright kind of life,

that for I might at length without Murder, without Blood, without Tyranny, well and justly reign in Love and Peace, and invite alive with my Brethren; for I have fed down with my self, and chosen, if it be my Fathers pleasure so, rather to die in his Obedience, than reigning many years; to be reputed of all Men, especially my Competitors, a Rebel or Traitor. Having thus said, he came unto his Fathers Camp, and pitching his Tents (as we have before said) fired him self all in White, in token of his Innocency, and writing certain Letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, use to write, and always to carry with them, for they are wonderful foolish in their Superstition) and putting them in his Bosom, attended upon with a few of his most trusty Followers, came with great reverence towards the Tent of his Father, fully resolving to have kissed his Hand, as their usual manner was. But when he was come to the entrance of the Tent, remembering that he had yet his Dagger girt to him, he enred not until he had put it off; because he would not come into his Fathers fight with any Weapon, if happily so he might clear himself of his Fathers needless suspicion. So when he was come into the more inward Rooms of the Tent, he was with such honour as belonged to his state cheerfully received by his Fathers Eunuchs. But seeing nothing else provided but one Seat whereon to sit himself alone, he perplexed in mind, stood still a while musing; at length asked where the Emperor his Father was? Whereunto they answered, That he should be by and by see him; and with that casting his Eye aside, he saw seven Mutes (these are strong Men bereft of their Speech, whom the Turkish Tyrants have always in readiness, the more secretly to execute their bloody Butchery) coming from the other side of the Tent towards him; at whose sight stricken with a sudden terror, lay no more, but *Levy death*; and with that, a-riding, was about to have fled; but in vain, for he was caught hold on by the Eunuchs and Mutes, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death; where without further stay, the Mutes cast a Bow-string about his Neck, he poor Wretch still striving, and requesting that he might speak but two words to his Father before he died. All which the Murderer (for no addition is sufficient significantly to express his unnatural Villany) both heard and saw by a Traverser from the other side of the Tent; but was so far from being moved with compassion, that thinking it long till he were dispatched, with a most terrible and cruel voice he rated the Villainsenured to blood; saying, Will you never dispatch that I bid you? Will you never make one Night the less to me? In which horrible commanding speeches, yet thundering in their Ears, those butcherly Mutes threw the poor innocent Prince upon the ground, and with the help of the Eunuchs forcibly drawing the knotted Bow-string both ways, by the commandment of a most wicked Father, strangled him. With like barbarous Cruelty, he shortly after caused *Mahomet* his Nephew (*Mulapha's* his Son) to be strangled also.

This unnatural and strange Murder committed, he presently commanded the *Bassa* of *Amasia*, *Mulapha's* Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his Head in his own preference to be struck off. Which done, he sent for *Tschanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in sporting wife, as if he had done a thing worth commendation, bid him go meet his Brother *Mulapha*; which thing *Tschanger* with a merry and cheerful Countenance hasted to do, as one glad

*Mulapha* cometh to his Fathers Tent.

*Mulapha* most cruelly strangled in his Fathers fight.

*Mahomet* strangled his Nephew *Mulapha's* Son.

glad of his Brothers coming. But as soon as he came unto the place where he saw his Brother lying dead upon the ground strangled, it is not to be spoken how he was in mind tormented. He was scarcely come to the place where this detestable Murderer was committed, when his Father sent unto him certain of his Servants to offer unto him all *Musapha's* Treasure, Horses, Servants, Jewels, Tents, and withal, the Government of the Province of *Amassia*; but *Talhaner* filled with extreme sorrow for the unmerciful death of his well beloved Brother, spake unto them in this sort. *A wicked and an ungodly Cain, Traitor* (I may not say Father) take thou now the Treasure, the Horses, the Servants, the Jewels, and the Province of *Musapha*. How came it into thy wicked, cruel, and savage Breast, so ungraciously and contrary to all Humanity, I will not say the Reverence of thine own Blood, to kill thy worthy, warlike, and noble Son, the Mirror of Courtiers, the Prince of great Soul, the like of whom, the *Osman* Family never yet had, nor never shall? I will therefore my self provide that thou, nor none for thee shall ever hereafter in such sort shamefully triumph over a poor crooked Wretch. And having thus much said, flaid himself with his own Dagger into the Body, whereof he in short time died; Which so soon as it came to the old Tygers Ear, it hard to say how much he grieved. His dead Body was by his Fathers commandment carried from *Alapa* in *Syria*, to *Constantinople*, and afterwards honourably buried on the other side of the Haven at *Pera*. For all this bloody Tragedy, his covetous mind was not so troubled, but that he could forthwith command all *Musapha's* Treasures and Riches to be brought to his Tent; which his Soldiers in hope to have the same given among them for a Prey, willingly halted to perform. In the mean time the Soldiers which were in *Musapha's* Camp, not knowing why was become of their Master, first seeing such a multitude of Soldiers thrusting into their Camp without all order; to repress their tumultuous infidelity, stepped out in their Armor, and notably repressed them, not without much Bloodshed.

At length, the noise of this stir was heard by the rest of the Kings Soldiers, who seeing the Tumult to increase more and more, ran in to help their Fellows; so that in short time there began a hot skirmish and cruel fight on both sides, in which that two thousand were slain, and more wounded; neither had the broil so ended, had not *Achmet* Baffa a grave Captain, and for his long experience of no small Authority amongst the Soldiers, kept back the Janizaries, and staid their fury; and turning likewife to *Musapha's* Soldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous persuasions, in this manner appeased their rage, *What my Brethren* (said he) *will you now* (degenerate from your ancient Loyalty, for which you have been for so many Ages commended) impugn the command of the great Sultan our dread Sovereign? Truly I cannot sufficiently marvel what thing should move you, whom I have hitherto proved to have been most worthy and valiant Soldiers, in this civil conflict to draw those Weapons against your Fellows and Brethren, which you have most fortunately used against the Enemies of the *Osman* King; except you mean thereby to make your selves a fearful spectacle unto your Enemies, who grieving to see themselves overcome by your Victorious Weapons, may yet rejoice among themselves to see you turn the same one upon another. Wherefore my Son, for your ancient honours sake, be careful that you do not by this your infidelity lose the reputation of your Wisdom, Loyalty, and Valor; for which you have hitherto been above all others commended; reserve these your Weapons, which you have

now too much used among your Fellows, against your Enemies, of whom you may yet more Praise and Honour. This Speech of the old Baffa so mollified the stout Souldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Musapha's* Tents to be carried to *Solyman*; but so soon as the death of *Musapha* was blown into the Ears of the Janizaries and the rest of the Army in *Solyman's* Camp, another Tumult rose among them worse than the first: They were quickly all up in Arms again, and with a great noise confused with Tears and Lamentation, as they were in rage and fury, brake violently into *Solyman's* Pavilion with their drawn Swords; which struck the Tyrant into such a fear, that destitute of all Council in himself, he was about being holden by his Friends, and making a Virtue of Necessity, upon the sudden adventured to do that which at better leisure he would scarcely have thought upon; for going forth out of his Tent, but with a pale and wan Countenance, he spake unto the enraged Souldiers thus: *What Breil* (said he) *is this? what Stir? what so great Infidelity? what mean your inflamed, fierce and angry Looks? know you not your Sovereign? and him that hath power to the command you? Have you so refused to fight the ancient and invincible bones of your fathers and your country, with the blood of your Lord and Emperor?* Whilst he was yet thus speaking, the Souldiers boldly answered, That they denied not, but that he was the Man whom they many years before had chosen for their Emperor; but in that they had by their own Valour got for him a large and mighty Empire, and in like manner preferred it; that was therefore of them done, that he should for the same govern them verily and justly, and not to lay his bloody hands without discretion upon every just Man, and most wickedly embrace himself with innocent Blood; and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they said) moved with just cause to revenge the unworthy death of guidless *Musapha*; and that for that matter, he had no just cause to be angry with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publicly clear themselves of the Treason wherewith they were accused by *Musapha's* Enemies, and that the Accuser might be brought forth to justify his Accusation; protesting, that they would never lay down their Weapons, until the Accuser made his appearance in Judgment, and commenced his Accusation judicially, upon pain to endure the like punishment if he failed in proof. Whilst these things were in doing, the haughtiness of the late committed fact moved every Man to shed Tears; so that *Solyman* himself seemed to be sorry for the Murder so lately by himself committed; wherefore he promised unto the Souldiers whatsoever they required, and did what he could to appease their angry minds. For all that, they in the mean time, left he should craftily slip away and deceive them: of that he had promised, and of the expectation of such things as they had required, with a marvellous care and diligence all kept Watch and Ward.

*Solyman* to appease this rage of the Janizaries, deprived *Rufan* Baffa of all his Honours, and took from him his Seal wherewith he had the keeping, and delivered it to *Achmet* Baffa. But *Rufan* worthily stricken with fear and horror, seeing himself now in no safety in his own Tents, fled secretly to *Achmet*; asking his Council what were best for him to do, and what Course to take in so doubtful and dangerous a case? To whom the Baffa answered, according to what he commanded. Which answer well satisfied *Rufan*; and so he which of late gave other Men access unto

unto the Emperor at his pleasure, was now glad by his old Acquaintance and Friends to prester this poor suit. To know his pleasure what he would have him to do; from whom he received this answer, That he should incontinent without delay quit him of his fight, and out of the Camp; which the Baffa did he could not conveniently do, being by his displeasure and the Souldiers rage disurnished of all things necessary for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* sent him answer again, That he could give him neither longer time nor delay, and that they were best for him without more ado to be gone for fear of further harm. Whereupon *Rufan* guilty in conscience of his most horrible Villany and Treachery, accompanied with eight of his most faithful Friends instead of his late world of Followers, posted in haste to *Constantinople*, and there (not without danger of his Head) with *Roxelana* and other the complices and contrivers of the Treason against *Musapha*, in great fear expected the event of his Fortune.

This young Prince *Musapha* thus shamefully murdered by his own Father, was for his rare Virtues generally beloved of the Turks; but of the Souldiers most for his Martial Disposition, and readiness for the effusion of Christian Blood. The opinion they had conceived of him was such, and their love so great, that they never thought there was any in the *Osman* Family, of whom they expected so much for the enlarging of their Empire; in which, that evanescence, when in their private or public Actions they fail of any great hope, they use this Proverb even at this day, taken from him, *Quis Sultan Musapha*, *Sultan Musapha* is dead; as who should say, our hope is all lost. *Achmet* Baffa the great Champion of the Turks, a Man of exceeding Courage, not ignorant of the small affluence of the great Honours of that State, at such time as he received the Seal from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly bestow it upon him, so he would at one time or other to his no less disgrace take it from him; to whom *Solyman* solemnly promised with an Oath, not to displace him so long as he lived. For all that, he had not long enjoyed that honour, but that *Solyman* falling in dislike with him, and willing again to promote *Rufan* Baffa to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks Court, which by reason of his Oath he could not do so long as *Achmet* lived; To have his Oath, and to prefer his Son in Law (whom he had indeed displaced only to please the tumultuous Janizaries) refused to have *Achmet* any longer to death. Of which his purpose *Achmet* altogether ignorant, and one Morning after his wonted manner coming into the *Divane* in all his Honour, upon the sudden received word from *Solyman*, that he must presently die, and forthwith was the Hangman ready to have strangled him, as was given him in charge; whom the stout Baffa thrust from him with his hand, with countenance as clear as flower no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, espied at last an honest Man whom he had before many times pleased, whom he most earnestly requested for all the kindness shewed unto him, to do him that last favour as to strangle him with his own hand, which should be unto him the greatest good turn that he could possibly devise, desiring nothing more than to die with the hand of the Hangman. Which thing when he after much intreaty had undertaken to perform, *Achmet* would him, that he should not at one twich strangle him outright, but letting the Bowstring slack again, give him leave once to breathe

and then to dispatch him; which his request was by his Friend accordingly performed, and he in that sort strangled; wherein it seemeth, that he was desirous, first to taste of Death, and not to die all at once. Immediately after whose death, *Rufan* Baffa was again restored to his place of chief Viceroy, and had the great Seal delivered unto him; which honour he enjoyed about six years after, and so at last died of the Dropsie. This was the end of these two great Baffas *Achmet* and *Rufan*, who in that time failed that great Empire, under *Solyman*, and of whom we have so much spoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* having appointed *Achmet* to die, should say, It is better for his great Heart once to die than to die a thousand times, in seeing his Honour taken from him and bestowed upon another.

The Turks Gallies by the solicitation of the French before brought down into the Tufcan Sea, did much harm upon the Coasts of *Calabria* and *Sicilia* in this year 1554, as they had the year before, and so did divers years after. At which time also *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admiral scouring along the Seas, carefully looking to the Frontiers of the Venetian Estate, chanced to meet with the Baffa of *Callipolis*, who in the year before had rifled certain Venetian Merchants; in revenge of which injury he set upon him, and after a great Spoil made both of the Turks and their Gallies, he ransacked *Durrachium* then one of the Turks Port Towns in *Dalmatia*.

The next year 1555, the same Baffa recovered his strength; but not daring to be too buffe with the Venetians, first of all he sent of *Bianco*, *Elia*, subject to the Duke of *Florence*, and whilst Letter sent to *Solyman*, to persuade him to take up Arms against the Venetians, as they which had broken the League.

At the same time, *Haly* the Baffa of *Buda* by Policy surprised the strong Castle of *Babova* in *Hungary*; and was in good hope by the like success to have taken the Town and Castle of *Zagreb*, a place of great importance; but failing of his purpose, he came the next year 1556, with a great Army, and the thirteenth day of June encamped before the Town, wherein was Governor *Marchus Horvath* a valiant Captain, with a Garrison of notable Souldiers. Shortly after he began a most terrible Battery; during which time the Christians falling out divers times, slew many of his Men; who for all that used such diligence, that the twentieth of June they had the uttermost Wall, and after five hot Assaults were in hope at the sixth to have won the Castle also; but the Christians perceiving the danger, resolutely sallied out, and having slain eight hundred of them, drove the rest again from the Wall. Yet the Turks gave it not so over, but with a great number of Carts laboured to have filled up the Marriah and Ditches about the Town, which their Attempt was by the industry of the Defendants also defeated. The Baffa perceiving how hardly the Town would be won by force, attempted to have persuaded them to have yielded it up by composition; but failing therein of his purpose, began again the twelfth of July to assault the City, which Assault he maintained five days together without intermission, still sending in fresh Men instead of them that were wearied or slain; yet was the City for all that by the Valour of the Christians nobly defended. So when he had in vain persevered the uttermost of his Forces, he raised his Siege the one and twentieth day of July and departed; but within six days after, he returned from the City *Quinque Ecclesie*, and

1554

1555

1556

A terrible Assault.

Solyman  
offspring to  
Talhaner  
all Musapha's  
treasure  
and wealth.

Talhaner  
got for  
himself  
kill his  
himself.

A bloody  
tumult  
arose  
twixt  
the Soldiers  
of Solyman  
and Musapha.

The Tumult  
arose  
by Achmet  
Baffa.

The Janizaries  
rose up  
in arms  
against  
Solyman  
for the unworthy  
death of Musapha.

The stout  
tyrant  
of Solyman  
to the  
accusation.

The first  
answer  
of the  
Janizaries  
to Solyman.

Solyman  
himself  
seemeth  
to be  
sorry  
for the  
murder.

The mild  
words  
of Achmet  
Baffa  
to the  
Janizaries.

Rufan  
Baffa  
deprived  
of his  
honours  
and  
power.

Zigheh  
so  
valiantly  
defended.



and assaulted the City afresh; but was at length glad to give over the Siege and be gone, when he had lost of his best Soldiers above ten thousand, and of the Defendants slain but an hundred and twenty. After his departure there was ten thousand great shot found, whereof he had battered the Town and the Castle, which was for this time worthily defended. The Turks in the mean time after their wonted manner ceased not to do what harm they could in the Tufcan Sea, and had again miserably spoiled the Island of *Corfica*; for withstanding of whom the Bishop of *Rome* exacted of his People a great Subsidy, and finely dript the Jews of the Money, and seized upon their rich Merchants Goods in his Territory. At whose earnest suit *Solyman* in their behalf writ unto the Bishop as followeth:

Sultan *Solyman*, most Mighty Emperor of Emperors, the Son of *Selymus*, Emperor of Emperors, to whom God give eternal Victory; to Pope *Paulus* the Fourth, Greeting.

*M*ost excellent and most mighty Lord of the Professors of the *Meliss* Tels, and Lord of Rome, the Almighty keep thee. As such time as thou shalt receive our Seal, thou shalt understand by our Letters, that certain *Hebræus* have come unto us, complaining that they are oppressed of thee with too grievous Exactions, when they come to traffique at Ancona; This burden I request thee to take from them, and to restore again unto them their Goods, that thereby they may be able to pay to us our Tribute; which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) shalt do, thou shalt feel my Favour. Farewell. From Constantinople the last of the blessed Month \* Ramelembol, in the year of our great Prophet Mahomet, nine hundred three score and four.

\* The ninth of March, Anno 1556.

*Haly Bassa* *Zigeth* *again*.

*Haly Bassa* *(a overture)*.

*Haly Bassa* given with the late repulse he had received at *Zigeth*, came again the next year, and besieged it, at which time King *Ferdinand* sent *Nicolaus Pöblicher* and the Count *Serinus* with a Power raised in *Suecia* and *Austria*, to recover *Baboeva*, a Castle between *Zigeth* and *Stria*, before surprised by the Turks; of whose coming the *Bassa* having intelligence, rose with his Army and departed from *Zigeth*, which he had for certain Months hard besieged, and not far from *Baboeva* met with *Pöblicher* and *Serinus*; who joining *Battel* with him, after a hard and sharp Fight overthrew him and put him to Flight. This Victory with the coming down of young *Ferdinand*, King *Ferdinand*, Son, Archduke of *Austria* with new Supplies, so terrified the Turks in that part of *Europe* along the River *Drauwa*, that they for fear forsook *Baboeva*, *Sammartin*, *San-Laurence*, and divers other small Castles which they had before taken, and fled to *Quinke Ecclesia*.

The Governor of *Zigeth* encouraged herewith, rallying out with his Garrison, flew many of the Turks in their Flight towards *Quinke Ecclesia*, and meeting by chance with a Troop of Horsemen, which were bringing the Turks Pay, overthrew them, took the Money, and so with an exceeding rich Prey returned to his Castle. At which time also *Adam* the Governor of *Rab*, otherwise called *Tovarum*, having burnt the Suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, and driven away many thousands of Cattle, at a Town called *Siga* overthrew five hundred Turks, and as many fugitive Christians, and so with a great Prey and little or no loss at all of his Men returned.

*Henry* the French King, at the same time in Wars with *Philip King of Spain*, and troubled with the loss of his Army, overthrown not far from *Saint Quintin* (at which time the Duke *Montmorency* Countable of *France* and General of the Army, with his Son and divers other of the Nobility of *France* were taken Prisoners) by his Ambassador *Michael Condignac* solicited *Solyman* to have by Sea invaded *Naples* and *Sevilla*, so to have withdrawn the Spanish Forces out of *France*, to defend their own Frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the insolency of the Ambassador, refused to do; yet nevertheless commanded his adventures all along the Coast of *Affrica*, to infest those Seas, and to do what harm they could upon the Coast of *Italy* and *Sevilla*; which they so diligently performed, that the Viceroy of *Sevilla* was slain for defence of those Countries to lie in readines with his Gallies in the Ports of *Cajeta* and *Naples*.

In the mean time the Guise, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of *Saint Pons in France* (and Brother of *Francois* the Duke of *Guise*, General of the French Kings Army in *Italy*, who upon the overthrow received at *Saint Quintin*, called out of *Italy*, shortly after took *Cajeta*) Admiral of the Gallies of *Malta*, went out toward the East with four Gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great Ships laden with the Turks Merchandise, which he took; and by and by after, light upon four of the Turks Gallies, with whom he had a great Fight; yet at length having sunk one of them and burnt another, he took the other two. After which Victory returning towards *Malta* to have repaired his Gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with four other great Gallies of the Turks; who desirous to revenge the loss of their Fellows, set upon him, and he feeling now no remedy, but that he must needs fight courageously, continued them. But for some time the two Fights before lost some of his Men, and seventy two of the Knights in the Gallies lay fore wounded, he, by the Council of the Captains retired towards *Malta*; but by the way one of his Gallies was taken by the Turks, with two and fifty Knights of the Order; yet with the rest and the Prizes before taken, he recovered the Island of *Malta*; where he staid that Winter; and the next Spring sailed into *France* to be partaker of those troubles, which beginning shortly after, have but of late taken end.

The immoderate Fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrary to his desire, than in the proof of those his Children, of whom the World held the greatest expectation. *Musapha* his eldest Son, the Mirror of Courtship, and rare hope of the whole Turkish Nation, the suspicious Tyrant had most unaturally caused to be murdered in his own presence, to the grief of all his Subjects in general, as is before declared; poor *Tschanger* was dead for sorrow; and *Mahomet* his eldest Son, by his best beloved the fair *Roxelana*, was departed this life also. So that now remained unto him only *Selymus*, the unworthy Heir of so great an Empire, and *Bajazet* his younger Brother, the lively image of his Father, both Men grown, and the Sons of the same *Roxelana*; but so far differing the one from the other both in Feature of Body and Disposition of Mind; as if they had not been of the same Kindred and Line. *Solyman* the elder Brother, most like unto his Mother, was in the secret determination of the aged Emperor his Father appointed Heir of that most mighty Empire. *Bajazet* much resembling his Father, was on the other side strongly supported by the care, and

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entire

*Bajazet* *Solyman* *younger* *him* *to* *aspire* *unto* *the* *Empire*.

entire love of his Mother; which whether it proceeded of a fecund consideration of his inevitable Destiny, or that he had by Loyalty or otherwise won her Favour, is not known; but every Man saw, that if it had been in her Power, the would undoubtedly have preferred him before his elder Brother *Selymus*, and have placed him in the Empire; but she must needs give way to her old Husbands Will, firmly and irrevocably set down, that the Destinies so permitting, none should reign after him but his eldest Son *Selymus*. Of which his purpose and resolution *Bajazet* being not ignorant, began most circumspectly to look about him, if he could by any means frustrate that forcible necessity, and exchange his certain destruction with an Empire; in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the favour and love of *Roxelana* his Mother, and of *Rafsan* the great *Bassa* his Brother in Law; who together had in any other matter been able to have overruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he resolutely for down himself, rather to end his days by making proof of good or bad Fortune, than upon the death of his Father (which by Course of Nature could not now be far off) to be as a Sacrifice basely butchered by some vile Hangman of his Brothers. *Bajazet* so resolved, and now already fallen out with his Brother *Selymus*, took occasion upon the general discontentment of the People and Army, for the unworthy death of *Musapha* their late joy to begin those things which he had before with himself plotted, and so to make a Head, whereunto he might afterward join the Body also; for why, that worthy *Musapha* had left behind him so great a desire of himself, that now it wearied many to live after him, they had so placed all the hope of their good Fortune in him, unto whom nothing was more desired than to revenge the wrong done unto him, or else to run the same hard Fortune with him; otherfore guilty of the immoderate Affection they had born unto him yet living, and fearing to be called to give an account thereof, thought any flate better and more assured than that wherein they presently stood, and therefore fought all occasions of new fits, how to set all in an hourly buny; only a Captain was wanting, *Musapha* could not again be revived, yet might he be strongly supposed to live. This device pleased *Bajazet*, as best fitting his purpose, being not ignorant of this disposition of the People. Wherefore by certain of his most faithful and trusty Followers he found out a certain obscure Fellow of a notable audacity, which should take upon him the Name and Person of *Musapha*, whose Stature also and Countenance and Proportion of Body differed not much from *Musapha* himself; he, as if he had by chance escaped, first began to show himself in that part of *Thracia*, which is above *Constantinople*, and lieth toward *Danubius*, not far from the Countries of *Molavia* and *Valachia*; and was for that cause both fitted for Rebellion, and also best stored with Horsemen, who of all others most honoured *Musapha*. Either he comes as if it had been from a long journey, suddenly accompanied, and as if he had been desirous at the first not to have been known; his Followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearfully give them that asked, occasion to guess, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Musapha*; neither did he himself much deny it; whereby the People became more and more desirous to know him. Which beginning thus laid, he afterward began to rejoice of his means coming thither, and to give God thanks for his safe arrival there amongst his Friends; he tells them, That at such time as

he was sent for by his Father, he durst not come into his fight, or commit himself unto him in his Fury, but by the counsel of his Friends to have with great promises persuaded one that was marvellous like unto himself to go in his stead; by whose danger he might make proof of his Fathers mind towards him; who before he was admitted to the speech of his Father, was without hearing miserably strangled, and so cast out before his Pavilion; at which time there were many (as he said) which perceived the deceit, but the greater part remained in error, deceived with the Lineaments and Countenance of the miserable dead Man, who was much altered with the terrible pains of death, and supposing it to have been him indeed that was slain. Which thing as soon as he understood, he thought it not good longer to stay, but presently to flee and to provide for his own safety; and so flying with a few of his own Followers, thereby the more secretly and safely to escape; and having passed above *Ponaris* by the People of *Bosphorus*, was now come thither, where he was in good hope to find much help and comfort in the Fidelity of his Friends, whom he requested not now to forsake him, or to make less account of him disgraced by the malice of his Step-Mother, than they had before in time of his Prosperity. For that he was amended to revenge the injury done unto him, and by force of Arms to defend himself; for what else had he now left? being by no other means preserved, but by the death of another Man; that he had sufficiently proved how his Father stood affected towards him, and that he now lived by his mistaking, not by his Kindness. The cause of all which his troubles was his Stepdame, who (as he said) with her incantments led the silly old Man (now almost doating for Age, and mad for love) whither she would at her pleasure, and by her Agent *Rafsan Bassa* forced him forward heading into all kind of mischief; but that God be thanked he wanted not his Friends, by whose help he would find a way out of these miseries, and take revenge of his Enemies; for why, he had as yet courageous Hearts, and the Janizaries with the greater part of his Fathers Family on his side, and that great multitudes of People would flock unto him upon bruse of his Name; so that they which did now mourn for him as dead (in number many) would by heaps run to help him being alive; so that they there present would only courteously receive him as a Guest, and protect him now distressed, till such time as his wellwillers and Friends might repair unto him. And this at last he gave out not in secret, but openly to all Men wheresoever he came. The same things did they also report, whom he made the People to believe to have been the Companions of his Flight; which was also confirmed by divers of good Account and Authority, whom *Bajazet* had before dealt wital to that purpose. So that a great number of Men altogether unknown to *Bajazet*, were by that means seduced; for this matter was so cunningly wrought; that many of them that had known *Musapha* alive, and seen him laid dead before his Fathers Pavilion, yet lifted not greatly to believe that they knew, but easily suffered themselves to be persuaded that this was the true *Musapha*. But the Companions and Followers of *Musapha* (in whose minds the lively Countenance and Remembrance of him was thoroughly engraven) nothing could deceive; yet blinded partly with fear, partly with grief and desire of revenge, and willing rather to adventures any thing, than longer to live without *Musapha*, were the first Men that came to offer their service

The crafty dealing of the foppish *Musapha* to deceive the People.

A counterfeit *Musapha* fit up to make a head of rebellion.



Solyman  
angry with  
the San-  
zacks, for  
not having  
for the  
Muffapha  
indis-  
creetly  
Paraua  
Baffa as-  
cend him.

service to this counterfeit *Muffapha*; and would not suffer other Men to doubt but that this was the very *Muffapha*, which was falsely reported to have been slain. As for the deceiver himself, he either kept with him, or entertained them that came, some with fair promises, some with courteous Speeches, and many also with Money and Rewards, which he made them believe he had reserved of the Relicks of his better Fortune; for *Bajazet* had before now provided, that nothing should in this behalf be wanting unto him for the countenance of his Credit. So within the space of a few days such a multitude of Men was resorted unto him, as might almost have made a whole Army. When *Solyman* upon the suddain was advertised by the fearful Messengers and Letters of the Sanzacks thereabouts, that a danger was like to ensue by the concurrence of so great a Multitude of People to this counterfeit *Muffapha*; he presently suspecting (as the truth was) that this was not done without the privy of one of his Sons, thought it not a thing to be neglected, and therefore by his Letters reproved the Sanzacks thereby, that they had suffered the matter to run so far, and had not in the beginning as their Duty was, suppressed the fame, grievously threatening them, if they did not with all speed send unto him in bonds that counterfeit Companion with the rest of his Complices. Which thing might be the easier by them performed, he promised to fend one of the chief Baffas, namely *Paraua Baffa* (who had married the Widow of *Mahomet* the eldest Son of *Roxelana*, of whom we have before remembered) and with him a strong power of the Soldiers of the Court; but if they would have themselves excused, that they should of themselves dispatch the matter before the coming of that Aid. This *Paraua* led after him certain Squadrons of Soldiers, not so many in number, as might be requisite for so great a business; he had caused the most faithful of his Colonels, Captains, and Corporals, to be culled out; wisely doubting lest his Soldiers, either led with Affection, or corrupted with Reward, might take part with him against whom they were sent. For the common sort of the Janizaries standing in suspense at the fame of *Muffapha*, and expectation of some great novelty, favoured that broil, and wished all on an hourly fury; neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had received this first charge from *Solyman*, considering how much it flooded them upon to make a speedy dispatch, began now to incourage one another to bestir themselves, to make all the speed possible, and with all their Power on every side to oppose themselves against the attempts of this new found *Muffapha*, labouring to flay such as were coming unto him, and to disperse such as were already come, by showing them the greatness of the danger, and threatening them with all extremities. In the mean time *Paraua Baffa* came on with his Army, and was not now far off; when (as in like case it oftentimes falleth out in things not yet sufficiently confirmed, and by celerity prevented) the Soldiers of the counterfeit *Muffapha* seeing themselves beset on every side, began to fear, and at first some few to slip away; but afterwards all, without regard of shame or of their promise, to forsake their Captain and flee every Man whither he thought best. The Captain seeking likewise to have made shift for himself, was with the chief of his Counsellors and Followers taken by the Sanzacks and delivered unto the Baffa, who with a strong Guard sent them all in bonds to *Constantinople*; where *Solyman* by most exquisite Torments drew from them all the secret devices of his young

Son *Bajazet*, and that he had purposed after such a Head made by this supposed *Muffapha*, as he thought convenient, to have upon the suddain joined himself with a great Power, and so to himself best serve for his purpose, to have gone directly to *Constantinople*, or else against his Brother *Selymus*. But whilst he goeth somewhat too slowly about his business, his unripe Counsels were by his Fathers Celerity overthrown. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thoroughly assured, caused the supposed *Muffapha* and his Companions at Midnight to be drowned in the Sea; thinking it not good to have these things commonly known, and to have his domestical wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his Neighbour Princes. Nevertheless being mightily offended with *Bajazet* for so great an infidelity, he ceased not to cast in his mind how to be revenged upon him; which his Wife *Roxelana*, a Woman of great Willows, was not ignorant of. Who after a few days, at such time as the old Mans Fury was overpast, falling of purpose into talk with him about the matter, the laid together in her Sons behalf, and alleged the indifferency of Youth, the necessity of the Fact, and the example of his Ancestors in like case, that it was so provided for by nature, that every Man should be careful of himself and his, and that all Men did indifferently shun Death, that young Men were by evil Counsel easily seduced, and made to forget their Duty. That it were reason he should forgive him this first Fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the Father to have saved his Son; but if he should again fall into relapse, there would not want time to punish him for both Faults; And that if so he would not pardon him for his own sake; yet he would vouchsafe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him, for whom she had before groaned, and now to be cruel upon him, one of the Pledges of their Love; in whom rested the Blood of them both; for in what would the case should be, if of those two Sons (all that God had left her) the Fathers Severity should bereave her of the one? Wherefore she requested him to moderate his Anger, and to prefer his Clemency before his just Indignation; forasmuch as God himself of all Power and Might, did not always deal with Sinners in Severity, but would not punish his Wrath. And would Mercy in any place be more fitting, than in the Father towards his Child? She promised further, that *Bajazet* should from thenceforth remain in most dutiful Obedience towards his Majesty; and upon his so great Clemency, to convert the fear wherein he now lived, into a World of Duty and Devotion. Honourable minds (the said) were retained with nothing more than with Kindness and Courtesy; that the remembrance of that his Fatherly Forgiveness should be a stay unto him, for ever doing the like again; at last, that he would promise for him, and take upon her, that he should for ever afterwards satisfy his Fatherly expectation in all kind of Duty and Loyalty. Which words mingled with Tears and other Womanly Gestures, so wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwise too much in her power, that he resolved to forgive the Fault; yet so, that he should come and submit himself, and receive from him his charge. This careful Mother foredrew no time, but by Letters secretly advertised *Bajazet* not to fear to come unto his Father at such time as he should be sent for; assuring him that there was no danger, for that his Father was by her means appeased, and he again brought into his favour. With which good News *Bajazet* well comforted, resolved to go at such time as he was sent for; full

Muffapha  
and his Com-  
panions  
being drown-  
ed at night

Roxelana  
intermitts  
Solyman  
for Bajazet  
her younger  
Son, and  
adviceth  
his pardon.

Bajazet  
goeth to  
his Father  
in fear.

Roxelana  
confesseth  
her Son  
Bajazet.

Solyman  
reproves  
Bajazet  
of disloyalty,  
yet afterwards  
pardons him.

full of fear, and oftentimes looking back unto his Brother *Muffapha*, whose dreadful example sufficiently warned him what a danger he adventured himself upon. Yet he came to the place appointed for the Parley, which was in a common Inn at a place called *Carehvan* a few miles from *Constantinople*; for such is the suspicious manner of the Turkish Tyrants of these times, not to suffer any of their Sons that be Men grown, to set their Foot within the Gates of *Constantinople*, as dangerous for soliciting the Soldiers of the Court, and so consequently for the altering of the State. *Bajazet* was no sooner lighted from his Horse, but his Fathers Guard was presently ready to receive him, commanding him to lay aside his Sword and Dagger; which thing though it be an usual matter in others that are admitted to the presence of the Turkish Emperor, yet might it then in the mind of his guilty Son raise a great fear. But his kind Mother (who had before seen in what fear and perplexity he would come) had conveyed her self into a Chamber fast by the entrance of the same House *Bajazet* was to pass, where one of a little Calfment covered with a thin Linnen Cloth, the called unto him in passing by, in these few words, *Corcome oglan, Corcome*; which is as much to say, Fear not my Son, fear not; with which short Speech *Bajazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as soon as he was come into a Chamber, and had done his Duty, *Solyman* commanded him to sit down by him; then began the grim old Emperor to reprove him of his rashness and want of discretion in taking up Arms, which he could not otherwise conceive of but as taken up against himself. And admit they were as he would have it, and the best that he could make of it, taken up against his elder Brother, yet was it nevertheless a great presumption and most wicked Fact. Neither was there any point in him, but that the whole fate of the *Mahometan* Religion (which at this day resteth upon the *Ottoman* Family) lay by his Domestical Discord been fore shaken, and brought in peril of utter ruin, to the great Injury, Reproach, and Contempt of his Majesty, a most detestable and horrible Crime, which could not with condign punishment be revenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to give himself rather a kind Father, than a severe Judge; so that he would from thenceforth leave the care of these things to God; forasmuch as none of these things are done by our appointment, but that Kingdoms and Monarchies are bestowed as best pleaseth him; so that if it were his Destiny to enjoy the Empire after his death, he should be sure thereof as of a thing that would of it self come unto him, and was not by any Mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him; but if it were otherwise appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vain to strive against the Will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherefore he should now as one well warned, cease to rage and storm, and not to molest his quiet Brother, or trouble him as he aged Father; for that if he should again fall and raise new fits, it would assuredly fall upon his own head; neither would any place of mercy be found for his second offence, and thence should then find him not as now his gentle Father, but a most severe and revenging Judge. Which when he had said, and *Bajazet* had thereunto briefly answered as the time would permit, rather craving pardon for his Trespass, than excusing that was not to be excused, and promising from thenceforth to live most loyally at his Command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that Nation cal-

led for Drink, which he commanded to be given to *Bajazet*, who not daring to refuse it, although he had rather have so done, drank thereof what he thought good, doubting lest that should have been his last; of which fear his Father forthwith delivered him by drinking a good draught of the same Cup. So *Bajazet*, though guilty, having with better success spoken with his Father, than had his Brother *Muffapha*, returned again to the former place of his charge.

This happened in the year 1555, from which time *Bajazet* so long as *Roxelana* his Mother lived, behaved himself with all dutiful and Brotherly Kindness both towards his Father and his Brothers; and that rather for to keep her favour, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her Affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his Fathers Kindness, or for any Love he bare to his Brother; the regard of her being the only thing that kept his fierce Nature in quiet. But the dead about two years after, he as a Man bereft of all hope of long Life, and discharged of all Bonds of Duty, fell to his former Course, and began more grievously than before, to revive the old grudges betwix him and his Brother; sometimes seeking by secret practices to have him made away, and often sometimes by open force entering into his Province, which was not far off; there evil intreated some of his Brothers Followers as he light upon, for their Matters sake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the disgrace of him whom of all other he wished dead. He had also certain of his Favorites at *Constantinople*, by whom he cunningly wrought by all means to gain the Love of the Soldiers of the Court, and doubtless that occasion served to pass over thither himself, and there to lurk in Treachery with such as were of his Faction, and to strive to his Designments. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but especially by Letters from *Selymus*, wherein he was also advised to have care of his own safety; for that he was far deceived, if he perceived not, that these Preambles of *Bajazet* wicked intentions, would at last turn upon his Head, who regarded neither God nor Man, unthly defines his Fathers Welfare as no less a bar, than was his Brothers, and therefore without Sides was his Life that at which Treason (as he said) began of long time plotted, and now occasion sought to have the fame performed; wherefore he should take heed that he were not by such Treachery overwhelmed before he were aware thereof; That for himself he could easily bear with the injuries of his Brother *Bajazet*, yet could not chuse but be moved with the greatness of his Fathers dangers. By which means *Solyman* hated against *Bajazet* was still more and more increased. Wherefore he by Letters put him in remembrance of his Duty, how courteously he had used him, and again what he had on his part promised; that there would not of necessity be place for forgiveness; that he should therefore cease to wrong his Brother and trouble his Father; that he had but a short time to live, and that after his death God would assign each of them their Fortunes. But all this was to no purpose, with *Bajazet*, fully set down to hazard whatsoever, rather than as a Beast to have his Throat cut by his Brother; which thing he as plainly saw would befall him in the Reign of *Selymus*, as if it had been then in execution. Yet he answered to his Fathers commands not impudently, but he deced agreed not with his sayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpose. Which thing as soon as *Solyman* perceived, he thought it best to take another Course, and to

Solyman  
adviseth  
his Bajas  
not to  
kill Bajazet.

Solyman  
removeth  
his two  
Sons far  
ther asun-  
der.

remove his Sons both farther from himself, and also farther from each from the other. Wherefore he thought it best to understand, That it was his pleasure that both of them within a certain prefixed time should depart out of their Governments (*Bajazet* being then Governor of *Cutai*, and *Selymus* of *Magnesia*) and that now *Bajazet* should remove to *Amasia*, and *Selymus* to *Iconium*. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in favour with his Father; yet because he was upon that to be given *Bajazet* the more extremities if he should be removed, he was removed alone, *Selymus* seem indifferent, commanded them both to remove; unto which command it was adjoynd, that the further they were off one from another, they should be so much the nearer in mind and Brotherly love: for as much as nearness of dwelling of the Great, did many times hinder their good agreement, whilst by forswearnes of Officers many things arose, and perfides done to the grieving of the Masters; and that the further safe do as they were commanded, and that he which fald longest should not be free from the suspicion of Contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his sake; but *Bajazet* hung back, and being gon a little on his way, fald, complaining of the unlucky Province of *Amasia*, stained with the Blood of his late Brother the Noble *Muradus*, and assigned unto him as ominous, saying he could be better to stay in his own Province whatsoever than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the nearest unto him in Blood, should be ever before his Eyes, to the wounding of his Heart; Wherefore he requested that he might at least winter in those places, or else there from whence his Brother was now departed; but *Selymus* would in no wise hearken unto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certain joyous Journeys with such Troops as his Father had sent him beside his own, to his Eastern Frontiers, yet that he might be meddling on the time, suddainly returning, and fetching a compass about, shewed himself at his Brothers Back, marching towards *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, the ancient Seat of the Turkish Kings; which he did not without the privy of his Father, who liked not of the lingring of *Bajazet*: for what if he, having gained the good Will of the Janizaries, should have gon either to *Prusa*, or directly to *Constantinople*? what a danger might have grown thereunto? In what year should he be able to returne? *Selymus*, in common fear, *Selymus* thought it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conveniently help one another, if *Bajazet* should (as was feared) turn himself upon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so frong as to adventure to joyn Batrel with his Brother, whom he knew ready to put all to the hazard of one day. But when *Bajazet* (contrary to his expectation) lay *Selymus* behind him, and he saw he gotte nothing by his long stay, and that his Brother should be so well furnished Heir of the Empire, if his Father should die, which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of Body dayly more and more feared; he writ unto his Father, accusing his Brother. That he could not more manifestly in any thing declare how manifestly he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect Course, to do more purpose than to aspire unto the Empire, and to have a purpose over to *Constantinople*, to be able to have the newes of his longling, if his Fathers long life should delay, then by the secret Ministers of his Treason to dispatch him, and by the murdering of him

to possess himself of the Empire; and yet nevertheless, this man as a most dutiful and obedient Son, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his Bosom. Whereas he on the contrary part meaning well, into whose conceit never any such thought came, but was ever at command, was not had in any regard, or call off and contemned, whose government was so much to them an unquiet and ruinous Province. After that, he converted his style to Prayers, requesting again of his Father, to gratifie him with some other Province, if it were: but that from which his Brother was departed; or with any other whatsoever, for that it were more lucky than that of *Amasia*: for answer whereof he said he would stay where he was, to the end that finding favour in his request, he should never have need himself to retire; but if he should not obtain his request, that then he was to go to whatsoever his Father should command. It was not altogether for nought that *Bajazet* found fault with *Amasia*: being the manner of the *Turks*, of the smallest things of all to divide upon the greatest. But *Solyman* understood the matter otherwise; who not ignorant of his Sons Tears, knew right well that he in them sought for nothing else but a more commodious place for him to raise new fits in, than was *Amasia*, so far distant from Constantinople. So he did not much delay to do what he would to frustrate his Fathers appointment, ceasing not in the mean time to augment his strength, with new Soldiers, to provide Armony, Money, and whatsoever else serving for defence of himself, and the Impugning of his Brother. Which *Solyman* took in no other part, than as intended against his own person; yet would he seem as not to have any such understanding of the matter: for why, the wary and politic Brother, by taking knowledge thereof, would not stir him by crying already running too fast of himself. Besides that, he was not ignorant that the Eyes of all Nations were bent upon this discord of his two Sons; and therefore he defired by all means, that these Grudges might be with as little stir as was possible, appeased. Wherefore he answered *Bajazet* courteously, That concerning his Government of *Amasia*, he could not alter it, as resolutely set down as was his Brother as himself, and therefore that they should do well to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the rest, they should be of good comfort, for that he would take such order, as that neither of them should have just cause to complain. *Partau* Bassa the fourth of the great Bassa's of the Court was appointed to go with this Messenge to *Bajazet*, and *Mehemet* the third of the same great Bassa's with like charge to *Selyman*: because the matter was so much to be done with all industry, and both of these great men were commanded not to depart from their charge were sent unto, before they were both come unto the places of their Government whereunto they were assigned. Which *Solyman* wisely did to keep them both within the compass of Duty and by the presence of such two grave Counsellors. Which thing *Selyman* took in good part, but *Bajazet* not so; who having resolved with himself first, to set all on a hurly hurry, thought nothing more unfit to his designs, than to be in the hands of his Father's Counsellors to be still. His Elbow as he sat leaning on all his Speeches and Doings: wherefore having courteously entertained him, and rewarded him according to his Ability, he dismissed him (though unwilling to depart) making this excuse, That he would use him as his Patron and Defender with his Father, forasmuch as he had no other in Court to defend his cause, pro-

*Solyman*  
 to be fore  
 that his  
 two Sons  
 should go  
 to their  
 appointed  
 Presidents,  
*Indeth*  
*Partau*  
*Bajazet*  
*and*  
*Mehemet*,  
 two of the  
 greater Bas-  
 sas, to see  
 for them  
 brought  
 thither.

*Bajazet*  
*Solyman*  
*Partau*  
*Bajazet*  
 again to  
 his Father

Solyma  
makes p  
paration  
against  
Bajzer  
and sen  
etb Aia  
to Sely  
mus.

*The Ja  
varies a  
willing  
go agai  
Bajazet*

mifing not to be unto him, *an unworthy or unthankful Client*; and to carry away back to him unto his Father, That he would above all things have care of his command, if he might fo do it his Brother *Selymus*, whose Injuries and Treacheries he had much ado to brook *Partau* the great Baffa fo went away, affured *Selyman* what the very mind and purpofe of his younger Son was. And albeit that *Bayazet* to make it feem as if fome thing had been done by that Embaffage, made him believe that he would have prefently gone towards *Amasia*; yet he was not deceived, for he was worft, made all the preparation he could againft him, commanding the Beglerbeg of *Grece*, though then fick of the Gout, to make hafte, and with his Horfemen to pafs over with all fpeed to aid *Selymus*; and *Mechemet* Baffa but lately returned, he fent forthwith back again for the fame purpofe to *Selymus*, with certain of the moft famous Companies of the Janizaries; and the *Mam* in *Amasia*, to the Embaffage as if he would himfelf in perfone have arrived at *Amasia*, and the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court came with evil Will together, drefling that War between the Brethren, as altogether abominable; for againft whom fhould they draw their Swords, was it not againft the Emperors Son, and happily the Heir of the Empire? Wherefore this War might (as they faid) well enough be left to be done, altogether unneceffary, and not they to be in Arms, to embroil their Hands one in another, and to pollute their Swords with fuch bloody Impiety; as for that which *Bayazet* did, he might be holden excufed, as proceeding from neceffity. Which Speeches of the Janizaries being brought to *Selymans* Ears, he forthwith declared them to the Mufti (who in all matters of doubt they confult unto as unto a moft facred Oracle) demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, of the himfelf prefumed whiles he yet lived, to be left in the State of his Army, rankt Towns, and trouble the State of the Empire, and how whatfo he deemed of them that were his Followers and took part with him? and laft of all of them all that refufed to bear Arms againft him, and faid that he had in fo doing nothing offended? Whereunto the Mufti answered, That he was both the Man and his Partakers were all worthy of death, and that fuch as refufed to take up Arms againft him, were as prophane and irreligious, as to be accounted defecate. Which the greater the Prefence of the chief Chieftains unto the People, and the chief Chieftains fent by the Emperor, as if he might be therewith moved. Within a few days after, there came to *Conftantinople* one of the Chieftains (whom *Bayazet* had intercepted, being fent from *Selyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Bayazet* gave his Father to underftand, That he was in all Duty his, and that he had not taken up Arms againft him, neither refufed to be unto him in all things obedient; but that he had only to do as he was commanded, and with him to fight for his Father, by whom he was fo commanded; he by himfelf, for that a mifchief was to be by one of them performed; which quarrel he was refolved to try whiles he yet lived, and that therefore he fhould be left not to meddle in the quarrel, or to give aid to either. But if fo be he would needs (as the report was) pafs over the Sea to aid *Selymus*, he fhould not think eafily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the word came, how to efcape and fave himfelf; and that he might get himfelf into *Afia*, make himfelf a Spoil with Fire and Sword, and be the *Amir* over the other the cruellest Enemy of the Turks that ever was. Which Meffage did not a little trouble *Selyman*. And withall it was re-

ported, That the Town of *Axaur*, where one of *Selymus* his Sons ruled as Sanzack, was already *Selymus* his *Bajazet* and shamefully sacked. But *Selymus* his King, that his Brother was gone towards *Amasia*, and not being as yet fully recovered from the effect of all his affliction of days as far as *Angora*, being out of all suspicion of danger, which he feared might befall him, he thought fit to have yet lingering in those quarters, huffed now towards *Selymus*, which was with a strong Garrison kept for him; for amongst other cares wherewith *Selymus* was vexed, it wasnot the least, That *Bajazet* in creeping *Iconium*, should get into *Syria*, and from thence into *Egypt*, an open Country, and not yet thoroughly established under the Turkish Government, neither could he be the old Government of the Mamelukes, and therefore he had change of mind from whence it would have been the advantage to have driven *Bajazet*, especially the Arabians being always ready and at hand at every light stir, where any hope of *Prey* was; out of which Province also in case of extremity he might easily transport himself into any of the Christian Kingdoms.

*Selymus* therefore took great care, that this passage, which might meet the last refuge of *Bajazet*, should not be mightily stopp'd up; and concerning the same, he gave his commandment unto most of his Commanders in *Angora*, that they were in readiness to aid *Selymus* whensoever he should call. With them *Selymus* lay encamped under the Walls of *Iconium*, attending every stirring of *Bajazet*, resolving there to expect further Aid from his Father, and not by untimely flight to commit himself to the hazard of one doubtful Battle. But what was on the other side not unmindful of that matter he had taken in hand, slept not thereupon, but first entered into a diligent sort of Horfemen which the Turks call *Chivats*, and are sometimes called by that People which we sometimes called *Gordis*, Men for their known Valour famous. He yet lay in the Plain and open Fields by *Angora*, of the Commodities of which City (which were indeed great) he made great use: In the Castle thereof he bestowed his Concubines; and of the rich Merchants he took up Money, to be disposed with the use upon the good success of the War, and from thence he took whatsover was needful for the maintenance and furnishing of his Men. Besides his own Family, which was very great, and those *Chivats* which he spoke of, many repaired unto him which had been in former time beholden to his Mother, his Sister and *Ruffian* the great Bassa; many also of the Reliques of the valiant *Murad* and *Achometes* the great Bassa, valiant *Murad* and *Achometes* his Soldiers, who desired to revenge the unworthy death of their Lords and Masters, even with their own. Neither was there wanting an exceeding Rabblement of such as were of their pretense late, desired some new innovation and change. The commination also of the State of the unfortunate *Bajazet* easily drew many to take part with him, whose whole trust was in his Valour: they favoured the young Prince, lively resembling his Father; when as in *Syria* appeared no likeness of himself, but the express Image of his Mother's Face and Body, a Woman, which the People had a natural hatred of all the People: he wasne heavily attended with his greivous Painch, blubbed cheeks, and exceeding red faced; so that the Soldiers in sport would say, He was fed with green Mantis: he was altogether given to his ease, and spent his time in Drunkenness and Sleep, neither was he courteous of Speech nor willing to deferre well of any Affairs for he would not (as he said) offend his Father, who being popular, so was he only of his Father's posterity.

### The description of Selymus.

Bejazet  
and his  
quarrel  
nearly  
ruined  
the  
Souldiers.

kind of Men he most mistook of them that set all their hope in a bountiful and courageous Prince. The same Souldiers were also wont to call *Bejazet*, *Sofy* (that is to say) a Man given to quietness and study; but after they saw him take up Arms, and for the safeguard of himself and his Children ready to adventure any thing, they began to admire him as a Man of Valour and Courage; and to ask among themselves, Why his Father should reject him of such worth, the express image of himself, and prefer before him that gorballed Sluggard, in whom no Spark of his Fathers Valour was to be seen? This entering into Arms was no Fault, being necessary either for self, or for his Father's Grandfather done the like? whereof no better example could be found; whom the force of necessity constrained not only to take up Arms against his Brother, but also to hasten the death of his Father; and by so doing, purchased unto himself and his Posterity the Empire, which he gotten, if *Solymán* did not unjustly possess, why might not his Son use the same Course? why should he so rigorously revenge that in his Son, that was so lawful in the Grandfather? Although there was (as they said) great difference between that *Solymán* and this *Bejazet*; for that this Man intended no harm against his Father, but wished him long to live; neither yet against his Brother, if he might by his leave but live, if he would but once cease to do him wrong; that it was always accounted lawful to repel Force by Force, and to slay present Death, if the Deaths would so permit. By such Actions as these, *Bejazet* his Power increased daily; which being now grown almost to the greatness of a full Army, he thought it not best to use longer delay, but to march forthwith against his Brother to fight with him one Battle for his Life, State, and Empire; accounting it some commendation (although in vain) to have attempted to great an Enterprize. His purpose was (as *Solymán* feared) to get into *Syrus*, which if he could bring to pass, he then doubted not of the rest. *Solymán* strengthened with his Fathers Power, lay waiting for his coming before *Iscion*, well appointed of all Warlike Provision; his Army was exceeding strong, and in it many notable Commanders, Martial Men of great experience, whom his Father had joyned unto him; who all lay covered with their great Ordnance planted in places most convenient. But *Bejazet* nothing terrified therewith, as soon as he came within sight of his Brothers Army, exhorted his Souldiers in few words to play the Men, for that now was come the time they withheld for, and place for them to shew their Valour in; wherefore they should shew themselves courageous and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunate; he told them, that their Fortune was now in their own hands, to frame it every Man as he would himself; so that if any of them were weary of their present fate, there was the Field wherein they might exchange it with a better and therein lay down; the miseries of their former lives; that of him they should if they overcame, expect Riches, Promotions, Honours, and whatsoever else the Rewards of valiant Men; that with the Victory of one Battle, all their desires should be satisfied, were they never so great; which Victory was by the Valour which rested in them to be gotten, and his Brothers Army, the heart of *Bejazet* of a headstrong Captain, overthrow; for as his Fathers Souldiers that were with his Brother, they were in Body present, but in Mind altogether on his side; that it was only *Solymán* that withstood his Welfare and their Felicity, whom they should therefore valiantly

seek for in Field as their common Enemy; and not to be afraid of his Multitude, forasmuch as Victory was to be gained, not by Number, but by Valour; and the most Mighty God of Heaven and Earth was still present, not with the most, but with the best. Besides that, he willed them to remember with what a cruel Enemy they were to fight, who thirsted after nothing more than their Blood: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to look upon his Words, but his Deeds; and said, If as you shall see me fighting for your profit, you shall likewise fight for mine Honour; I dare then assure you of the Victory. When he had with great Courage charged the Enemy, and fighting himself long time amongst the foremost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant Souldier, and worthy Captain, was for his notable Valor no less commended of his Enemies, than of his own Souldiers. The Battle was bloody and terrible, and many fell on both sides. But after that they with wonderful obstinacy had a great while fought with doubtful Victory, so that forty thousand Turks lay there dead upon the ground; at length the Victory began to incline to that side whereon stood the greater Strength, the juster Cause, and better Council. Many of the Enemies being slain, and many of his own People also lost, *Bejazet* was enforced to retire; which he did so leisurely, and without shew of any fear, that it seemed to the Beholders, he had well near as well gained as lost the Field; neither durst *Solymán* pursue him, but stood still in the same place, never moving his foot; any thing that he saw to be his Brother's back. But *Bejazet* after he had in contempt of his Fathers command thus run his own Course, and satisfied his own desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to perform the journey by him intended into *Syrus*, turned now his Course, and began in good earnest to go to *Amasia* his appointed Province.

*Solymán* speedily advertised of the event of this Battle, forthwith passed over into *Asia*; for as the great Baffles his Counsellors thought it not convenient for him to go over the Strait before the Victory; so after it was certainly known, they thought it not good longer to stay, left the overthrow of *Bejazet* might give occasion to such as secretly favoured his quarrel, so to shew themselves, and so to raise greater Troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage over, (as they said) much avail both to the discouragement of *Bejazet*, and the terrifying of his Friends; and therefore it was by them thought good, hastily to pursue him, now overthrow, and not to suffer him to gather Courage by the example of his Grandfather *Solymán*, *Solymán* Father; who had been more terribly vanquished than when he stood in his whole strength, and might seem by that means to have especially prevailed, for that he was at first unfortunately overthrown. Whether were these things without reason foreseen, for it is almost incredible, what admiration and love this battle (although unfortunate) did get to *Bejazet*; men wondered that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handful of Men, encounter with his Brother far better appointed, and also supported by his Fathers Strength; not fearing either the disadvantage of the place, or the Fury of the great Artillery; and to have behaved himself in the battle no less than a young Souldier, but an old and experienced Commander. *Solymán* might at his pleasure boast of himself as they said (to his Father) for the Victory; but *Bejazet* was the man that deserved to have overcome; and that *Solymán* might to any thing ascribe the Victory, rather than to his own Valour.

These

The battle  
between  
Bejazet  
and Solymán.

Forty thousand  
Turks  
slain.

Augierius  
Busequius  
Epistol.  
§ legationis  
his Turcica.

The order  
of the  
Turks  
Camp.

Bejazet  
sent to  
Amasia.

These and such like Speeches, as they made *Bejazet* gracious amongst the people generally; so doubled they his Fathers cares, and increased his hatred, to with him the rather dead. For why, he refused to sit down, not to leave any other Heir of his Empire than *Solymán* his eldest Son, always Loyal and Obedient unto him; whereas the other he abhorred as Stubborn and Rebellious, gaping after the Empire whilst he yet lived; of whom he was therefore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valour, and for the aid he had now so openly given to *Solymán*. For these causes he passed over the Strait into *Asia*, with purpose not to go far from the Coast, but as it were a far off with his favourable accident to countenance *Solymán* his proceeding; doubting by coming too near with his Army, to endanger himself by the sudden revolt of the Janizaries, which he above all things feared.

I myself (saith the Author of this History) saw him departing out of *Constantinople* the first of June in the year 1559, when as within a few days after, I my self was also sent thither; for the Baffles thought it not amiss to have me in the Camp, and to use me courteously as their Friend, for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inn in a Village near to the Camp, where I lay very well. The Turks lay in the Fields round about; but lying there three months I had good leisure and opportunity to see the manner of their Camp, and in part to know the order of their Military Discipline. So I attiring myself in such apparel as the Christians commonly use in those places, went up and down with one or two Companions at my pleasure unknown. First I saw the Souldiers of all sorts most orderly placed, and that, which he would scarce believe that knoweth the manner of our War, there was in every place great silence, and as a Man may say, dumb quietness, no bawling, no insolency, no not so much as a word or laughter passing in sport or drunkenness. Besides that, wonderful cleanliness, no Dunghills, no Excrements that might offend either the Eyes or Nose, for all such things the Turks do either bury or carry them far out of sight. They themselves so oft as they are enforced to discharge the burden of Nature, dig an hole with a Spade and bury it, so is all their Camp without filth. There was not to be seen any Drinking or Feasting, no Dicing (the great theme of our Wars) the loss of Money or time at Cards or Dice, the Turks know not. I met rarely with a rough Hungarian and his Companions, a Souldier, who heavy himself, to the Lute rather howled than sung doleful Dirty, containing the last words of a Fellow of his dying of his wounds upon the green Bank of *Danubius*, wherein he requesteth the River, because it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his Friends and Countrymen, that he died in an honourable death, and not unrevered, for the defence of his Religion, and honour of his Country; whereunto his Fellows fighting, bare a Foot, O happy and thrice happy, would Fortune with this change we might. For the Turks are of opinion, That no Mens Souls go more speedily to Heaven, than of such valiant Men as die in Battle, for whose welfare their Maidens daily make Prayers and Vows. I would needs know how they kill a young Souldier, where their Beasts were wont to kill a young Souldier, to be so bold, where I saw but four, or at most five Weathers hanging ready dried, and that was the Butchery for the Janizaries, which I deemed to be in that Camp not fewer than four thousand. I marvelled that so little Flesh should

suffice for many Men; but I was answered, That few of them did eat Flesh, for that most part of them had their Victuals transported from *Constantinople*. Then I demanding what it was, they shewed me a Janizary sitting by, who in an earthen Dish had killed a Turnep, an Onion, a Head of Garlicke, a Parsenep, and a Cucumber, all fauced with Salt and Vineger, or more truly to say, with Hunger; whereas he fed as fastly as if they had been Feasants or Partridges; his Drink was the common Drink of all living Creatures, even fair Water. By which frugal kind of Diet, they provide both for the health of their Bodies, and the sparing of their Purse; and that I marvelled the more at, it was the time that their Lent was at hand; which time with us Christians, even in well ordered Cities, much more in Camps, all Rings with Playing, Dancing, Singing, Crying, Quaffing, Carousing, and in brief with Madding and Phrensie. So that it is not vainly reported, That a Turk sent about that time Embassador into *Germany*, coming home reported, That the Christians on certain days riot, and became mad, until they besprikled with a certain kind of Athes in the Church, came to themselves again, and so recovered; and that it was wonderful thing to see, how much they were changed by the efficacy of that remedy, that they seemed not to be the same Men; meaning indeed the disordered manners of the Christians at *Sacroville*, and the Ceremonies used on *Almsweek* day: Which thing they to whom it was told, so much the more marvelled at, for that the Turks have many medicines which cause madness, but few or none which presently ease the same. And these things I observed to go before their great Falls, change nothing of their wonted manner of Life to the worse; but rather contrariwise prepare themselves to abstinence, by taking somewhat from their usual fare, the better to endure the sudden change of their Fall; which they so precisely observe, that upon their fasting days they will not so much as taste a Cup of Water, or wash their Mouths with Water all the day long, before the Stars appear in the Sky; which maketh their Fasts, especially in Summer when the days be long and hot, to be unto them very tedious.

Whiles I thus lay in the Camp, there came unto me one *Albertus* a learned Man with certain Presents from the Emperor to *Solymán*, which were, certain gilt Plate, and a most curious Clock, which was carried upon an Elephant like a Coffin; and some Crowns to be dispersed among the Baffles; which *Solymán* would needs have presented unto him in the Camp in the sight of the whole Army, to make it the better known what friendship was between him and the Emperor, and that he needed not to fear any danger from the Christian Princes.

But to return again to *Bejazet*, from whom we have a while digressed; he after the Battle at *Constantinople* had retired himself to *Amasia*, the place of his Government, as though he would have now there quietly lived, if his Father would so give him leave. He had now satisfied his youthful desires and grief, and seemed willing from thenceforth to satisfy his Fathers better expectation; and therefore ceased not by Letters and fit Men to prove his Fathers mind. Neither did *Solymán* shew himself strange from such a reconciliation; at first he easily gave the Messengers audience, read his Sons Letters, and courteously returned answer; so that it was commonly reported in the Camp, that the Father and the Son would agree, and that the old Man would pardon

The first  
time that  
Bejazet  
was  
sent  
into  
Asia.

The present  
from the  
Emperor  
to the  
Turks  
in their  
Falls.

Presents  
sent from  
the Emperor  
to Bejazet  
and Solymán.

Bejazet  
sent to  
Amasia,  
and first  
for his  
own  
use.

Solyman  
differ-  
ence with  
Bajazet.

pardon the youthful Frank already past, so that he would from thenceforth remain doubtful. But all this was by the Counsel of the Baffies, nothing but deep diffimulation in the crafty old Sir, until he had shut up *Bajazet*, and so got him alive into his hand; for it was feared, lest he despairing of pardon, should with such a power break into the Borders of *Perfia* (now the left place left for his refuge) as might prevent the watchful diligence of his Lieutenants upon those Frontiers; whom *Solyman* charged by continual Letters to stop all the passages into *Perfia*, as that there should not be any cranny for *Bajazet* to file out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were suspected to have taken part with *Bajazet*, or favoured him secretly, those he caused to be tortured and secretly made away, and among them some whom *Bajazet* had of purpose sent to excite them.

Bajazet  
departed  
into Am-  
asia, with  
purpose to  
fly into  
Perfia.

For *Solyman* leaving left *Tamas* the Persian King (more mindful of his old Quarrels than of the late enforced Peace) should hardly with much ado suffer his Son to be got out of his hands if he should file thither, and so again raise a long and dangerous War, did therefore wait he possibly might to oppress him before he should come thither. Which his purpose although it was covered with all secrecy, yet was it not hidden from some of *Bajazet*'s Friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to trust his Father, but to beware of Treason, and in any case speedily to provide for his own safety. But *Solyman* thinking he had now provided as that he could by no means escape, and happily the more to deceive his Son, appointed to recruit with his Army to *Confemiole* the day after the next day.

Bajazet  
discovered  
the Baffia  
of Sebafia.

But *Bajazet* upon the very Feast day, having performed the solemnities thereof, commanded all his things to be trusted up at *Amasia*, and so far forward upon his unfortunate Journey towards *Perfia*; knowing right well, that he went to the ancient Enemy of the *Ottoman* Family, but yet fully resolved to make proof of any Mans mercy, rather than to fall into the hands of his angry Father. Now were they all far forward, except such weak Souls as were not thoughtful to endure the labour of so long a Journey, among whom was left *Solyman*, *Bajazet*'s his youngest Son, but then newly born, which guileless Babe, with his Mother, *Bajazet* thought better to leave unto the mercy of his Grandfather, than to take him with him, a poor Companion of his woful and miserable flight; whom *Solyman* as yet uncertain of his Fathers Fortune, commanded to be Nursed at *Perfia*. *Bajazet* so commanded to *Amasia*, used such celerity in his Travel, that almost in every place he prevented the fame of his coming, and light upon many that were appointed to have staid his passage, before they were ready or aware of his coming. The Baffia of *Sebafia* he thus deceived; There was two ways, whereof the one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his Journey, and that the Baffia had already taken; wherefore he felt certain, as if they had been Fugitives, to tell the Baffia that he was already gone the other way. Which the Baffia believing, left the place he had before taken, and rising with all his power to pursue him the other way, whereby it was told him he was gone, left that way free and open for him to pass by.

Yea Baffia  
of Erzurum  
deceived  
by Ba-  
jazet.

The Baffia of *Erzurum* he deceived also by another much unlike this; for whom when he was not far distant, and knowing that in passing through his Country, he was to endure great danger, he set upon him with a will, sending unto him certain of his Followers with com-

missions; who afterwards lamentably complaining of the young Princes calamity, to move the Baffia to pity, at last requested that he would give him leave to shoo his Horses in his Territory; telling him that he came unprovided of all things, and therefore desirous in that fruitful Country to refresh his Horses a day or two, and to new shoo them. Whereunto the Baffia courteously answered, that he would not let him to take whatsoever he needed. But whether it was for the compassion that he had upon the fate of *Bajazet*, or for the secret love he bare him, or that he thought by that means the easier to entrap him, is doubtful; and happily prevented by *Bajazet* quick speed, had not as yet sufficient time to draw together his Souldiers. He sent also unto *Bajazet* certain final Presents, seeming to be glad of his welfare and coming; who nevertheless kept on his way, resting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baffia of *Erzurum* understanding that *Bajazet* came still on, made what haste he could also, and joining his power to the rest of the Baffies which followed after; for many Baffies and Sanzacks hearing that *Bajazet* was fled from *Amasia*, pursued fast after him, being charged by *Solyman* upon pain of their Heads to bring him back either alive or dead; but all in vain, by reason of his speedy departure, and for that he made more haste to fly, than they did to follow. Yet it cost no Man dearer than this Baffia of *Erzurum*, of whom we have now spoken, whereas *Solyman* of this cause displaced, and *Solyman* afterwards flew, with two of his Sons, young striplings whom he had before in despite shamefully abused against nature. Yea *Solyman* himself and *Mahomet* the great Baffia, with the *Bergerberg* of *Grecia*, followed also after *Bajazet*, though it were a far off.

This his departure grieved *Solyman* above measure, assuring himself (as the truth was) that he was fled into *Perfia*; which he would have been moved, that he could scarcely contain himself, but would needs have gone with all his power in all haste against the Persian, to have terrified him at hand from relieving his rebellious Son. But these his raging fits his grave Counsellors moderated, by declaring unto him what danger he should adventure himself upon, by reason of the doubtful faith of his best Souldiers. And what if *Bajazet* (as he was a deceiver and a fouldain Man) should in the mean time turn about above *Pomus* and the Fens of *Motis*, and so fetching a compass come to *Confemiole*, and proclaiming a general liberty in his absence, possess himself of the Empire. By which, whole persuasion *Solyman* staid his half a Journey; but *Bajazet* all the way as he went, writ upon the Gates and Doors, that he would give double pay to all such as should follow him; which caused *Solyman*'s Captains to have their own Souldiers in distrust, and the more for that they might oftentimes hear amongst them, speeches of great good will and love towards *Bajazet*.

After long flying, he was at length come to the River *Astrax*, which separated the Turks Kingdom from the Persian; which having passed over, and yet not far in safety, he left certain of his Followers upon the Banks of the River to keep the Sanzacks (who still eagerly pursued him) from passing over; whom the Sanzacks easily repulsed, and so passing the River, entered a great way into the Persian Kingdom, until such time as that they were met withal by certain of the Nobility of *Perfia* with great Troops of Horsemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they sought for in another Mans King-

*Solyman*  
much grie-  
ved with  
the flight  
of his Son.

The eager  
pursuit  
of the Baffia  
and San-  
zacks.

dom, were answered by the Turks, That they purified their King, fugitive Son. To whom the Persians replied, That they did not well, contrary to the League with their Lord and Master, to come in Arms beyond the Bounds of their own Kingdom; and that there was a strong League between King *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it behoved them to regard; as for *Bajazet*, their King would consider what was convenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himself. In the mean time they should do well to get thence out of that Country wherein they had nothing to do. Whereupon the Turks forthwith left this pursuit and retired.

Bajazet  
well enter-  
tained by  
the Persian  
King.

But by and by came Messengers from the Persian King to *Bajazet* to salute him, and to demand the cause of his coming, and also to see what strength he brought with him; which as some account was about twenty thousand. To whom *Bajazet* declared, That by his Brothers injuries and Fathers hard dealing, driven out of his Country, was fled unto the sacred Majesty of the Persian King, as his most assured refuge, who, as he well hoped, in compassion of Mans infirmity, would not reject him so distressed, and otherwise destitute of all help. Whereunto the Persian replied, That he had done very unwillingly to come unto him that was in League and Amity with his Father; whereas on one condition was, That they should account the Enemies of the one, the Enemies of the other; and the Friends of the one, the Friends of the other. Which Law to break, he accounted a thing utterly unlawful; nevertheless seeing the matter was so fallen out, he was welcome as unto his Friend, who in his behalf would leave nothing unattempted to reconcile him to his Father, which he desired to bring to pass.

So *Bajazet* the day after, being met with the Persian King, but in an evil hour, although at their first meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, cheerful looks, mutual kindness, often conference, and great feasting one of another; things whereby the secret thoughts of hollow hearts are best concealed; there was also a motion made of a straighter bond of alliance, and one of the Persian Kings Daughters promised to *Bajazet* one of *Bajazet*'s Sons; and he put in hope that the Persian King would never rest in quiet, until *Solyman* had made him Governour either of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylon*, or *Erzurum* (which Governments were by the Persians greatly extolled) and that he might there live without fear of his Brother, far from him and his Father also; where if any thing should fall out otherwise than well, he might have his Brother the Persian King a sure refuge to retire unto, and so safe from all danger. Which speeches were happily given out, of purpose to avert *Bajazet*'s thoughts from the feeling of the present danger; who seemed into himself to assure of the love and friendship of *Tamas* the Persian King, that at such time as he sent his Embassadors to *Confemiole*, for a reconciliation to be made between *Solyman* and him (as was commonly supposed) he would the first Embassador to tell his Father, that he had lost a Father at *Confemiole*, and found another in *Perfia*. But whether the Persian felt sincerely in this behalf for *Bajazet* by his Embassadors, which where many, may well be doubted. Like it is, that there was more fained show of double diligence, than of true meaning therein; and the rather to feed the mind of *Solyman*, than to do any good to the poor distressed Prince; and the rather, for that in the mean time all things were ferociously plotted that might end to his destruction. Which were no sooner grown to their full ripeness,

but there was of purpose a motion made, That such a multitude as followed this young Prince lay so close together, that there was not in one place Victual sufficient for them, and that it was therefore more convenient to have them billeted in the Country thereabouts; which would be more commodious, as well for the better victualing of them, as for divers other purposes also. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Persian King, far unlike his noble Father *Ismael*, stood in doubt lest he brought up a Serpent in his Bosom. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Persians mind at first to have destroyed *Bajazet*, but to have been thereunto enforced by the practice of some of his Familiars and Followers, who not regarding the courtesy of the Persian King, nor the Laws of Hospitality, perswaded *Bajazet* to thrust him out of his Kingdom; whereof there was many evident Tokens. And among other things it was told King *Tamas*, that one of *Bajazet*'s chief Captains should say, What mean we? Why stay we to kill this heretical King; and to possess his Kingdom? For we shall no doubt by his Treachery all come to destruction. And that upon such occasion the King was constrained to confend to a device more necessary than honourable. *Bajazet* had no great power, but most of them were valiant Men, and Souldiers of great experience, ready to adventure upon any thing; of whom the Persian not without cause stood in some fear. He knew his Kingdom to be neither ancient nor yet well assured, as gotten by his Father by the counterfeits of a reformed Religion; and who could assure him, but that amongst so many Nations over whom he Lorded, that there were many weary of the present State, and so desirous of novelties? Unto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the coming of *Bajazet*, a noble and valiant young Gentleman, and that more was desperately set; that as yet his might might right rather seemed in the power of his Guest, than he in his; and that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his Guest, but to couple him up as a most dangerous wild Beast. Which to do, the easiest way was to disperse his power, and so to take him unawares; for that he could not without much Bloodshed be openly taken in the midst of his strength, especially by the dainty Persian, of long time not used to War, and as yet not come together; against *Bajazet*'s Souldiers, Men of great activity and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted unto him for the dispersing of his Forces, and all the Commodities to ensue thereof alleged; which *Bajazet* might not well gainsay, although many of his wile Followers (Men of great reach) did secretly suspect the sequel. But what could he refuse, upon whom necessity lay so heavy? Where no other hope was left? Where he lived as it pleased another Man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelity of his Host, might be imputed to him for the greatest Treachery? So these most valiant Souldiers, the poor Princes faithful Followers, never again to see one another, are dispersed into divers Country Villages, and bestowed where the Persians thought good. Not many days after, at a time pickt out for the purpose, they in number few, and dispersed in a strange Country, were enclosed by many and plain; their Horses, Armour, Apparel, and whatsoever else, became a prey unto the Murderers. At the time influence was *Bajazet* and his Sons cast in Bonds alive, and that to the greater grief as many report, as he was sitting merrily at Dining with the Kings Table. The Persian King seemed to have fore-

Tamas the  
Persian  
King, at  
first of Ba-  
jazet.

Bajazet  
his En-  
emies di-  
spersed  
gain.

Bajazet  
imprisoned

foreseen much in this his hard dealing with *Bajazet*: as if that he, being a valiant and courageous young Prince, and much better Soldier than his Brother, should have succeeded his Father in his Empire, much trouble and peril might have grown thereby, both to himself and his Kingdom: and that it stood far better with the safety of his Estate, that *Solyman* (a Man wholly given to voluptuousness and ease) should reign over the Turks: in whose time he might as it were promise unto himself all peace and security; and therefore it was thought that he would never let *Bajazet* go alive out of his hand, but rather make him away in Prison, as if he had there died for melancholy and grief. Well he was assured, that after he had slain his Followers, and imprisoned himself and his Sons, he would never be Friends with him that had so grievously wronged him. *Bajazet* thus shamefully imprisoned, Messengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamur*. Amongst the rest, the Persian King sent a solemn Ambassador unto the Turk with Presents, namely curious Tents, costly Carpets, an Alcoran containing the Myths of their Superstition, and certain strange Beasts. The cause of his coming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made between *Solyman* and his Son; which Ambassador was honourably entertained and feasted by the great Baffes. Now was poor *Bajazet* in small hope of life, his cruel Father still craving to have him delivered into his hands to be slain; and the Persian yet denying to deliver him, and seeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no means unattempted to have wrung him from the Persian, sometimes he spoke him fair, putting him to the trial of his League, wherein it was agreed, that they should both have the same Friends and the same Enemies; otherwise he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of War, except he would deliver him his Son: he furnished with strong Garrisons all the Frontiers of his Dominion towards *Persia*, he filled all *Mesopotamia* and the Banks of the River *Euphrates* with Soldiers, especially with them of his own Guard, and such as he had before used in the Battle against *Bajazet*; over whom commanded *Mekmet* Baffa the third of the Visier Baffes, and *Selyman* the Beglerbeg of *Greece* (for *Selyman* was soon weary of the Field, and so betime returned home:) he also incited the Georgian People to take up Arms against the Persians; who wisely answered, that they had not such confidence in their own strength, as to provoke King *Tamur*; but let *Selyman* himself come with his Army, and when they saw him present in the Field, then they knew what they had to do, and that he should then well see that they wanted neither discretion nor valour. And because he would leave nothing unproved, he made them as if he would in person himself have gone to *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and so have on that side invaded the Persian; neither was the Persian King altogether out of fear, having to his cost many times proved, that *Solyman* was able to do. But the unwillingness of the Soldiers, and their minds altogether estranged from that War, easily staid the raging Turk; they detested that War, and forsook their Ensigns, a great number of whom (especially Horsemen) without leave of their Captains returned to *Constantinople*; and being commanded again to the Camp, went indeed, but with such countenance and cheer as well declared how they were affected, and what they would do if occasion served for them to revolt.

For which cause, after that *Solyman* perceived

that *Bajazet* could not alive be got from the Persian (excusing himself by fear of revenge by him whom he had so grievously offended, if he should by any means escape) he thought it best to follow that which was next, and to have him there slain; which he was in good hope to compass, and the rather, for that the Persian had but lately written unto him, that he could not but much marvel to see him deal so slenderly in a matter of so great importance: That he on his part had sent him divers Embassadors; and that he on the other side had sent him nothing but common Messengers with Papers, which caused him to think that he made no great account of the matter; wherefore he should do well to send unto him Men of account and place, with whom he might confer and spend also according to the weightiness and importance of the cause; besides that, he was (as he said) not a little in his debt, for that *Bajazet* and his Followers had been unto him no small charge before he could get him into his power; all which it were good reason he should have consideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceived that Money was the thing the Persian King sought after; and therefore rather than he would in an unfit time of his life intangle himself in a dangerous and unnecessary War, he determined by the counsel of his Baffes, rather with Money than with the Sword to fight with the Persian King. Hereupon was *Hassan Aga* (one of the chief Gentlemen of his Chamber) appointed Ambassador into *Persia*, with whom was joined the Baffa of *Marsa*, a Man both for his age and place, renowned; who departing with a large Commission almost in the depth of Winter, set forth and wonderful toil by those long and difficult ways, arrived at last at *Cabrin* the Seat of the Persian King, having by the way lost divers of their Servants and Followers. Being come to the Court, the first thing they desired was to see *Bajazet*, whom they found shut up in a close Prison, pale and wan as a Man forlorn, with his Hair and Beard so long and overgrown, as that he was not to be known before he was new Trimmed, which done, then appeared the lively resemblance of his wonted countenance and favour, so that *Hassan* verily knew him to be him, for he had been brought up with him of a Child in the Court, and for this cause especially had *Solyman* sent him thither to be assured that it was he. At length after long discourse and conference between the King and the Embassadors, it was agreed upon, that the King should receive *Bajazet* into his own Palace, and that the charges he had been at, and of the harms by him sustained since the coming of *Bajazet* into *Persia*, with such further reward as so great a good turn deserved; which things performed, that then it should be in *Solyman's* power to have *Bajazet* made away. With this news *Hassan* posthast to his Master at *Constantinople*, who forthwith caused the promised Reward, together with such charges as the Persian King demanded, to be made ready, and with a safe convoy to be sent unto the Borders of *Persia*, where they were of the Persians received. Presently after returned *Hassan* the appointed Executioner of the unfortunate *Bajazet*; for so *Solyman* had traitly charged him to strangle him with his own hands. Which thing this new made Hangman accordingly performed, and with a Bow-string strangled the unfortunate Prince; who is reported to have requested of the Executioner, that he might but see his Children before he died, and take of them his last farewell, which poor request could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the woful

ful end of the unlucky attempt of *Bajazet*, a Prince of far more worth than was *Solyman* his Brother, who in seeking to shun the death he feared, halted the fame before his time. Such was the Fathers end, was also the end of his four Sons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selyman*, and *Mahamet*; of whom the three eldest were strangled at *Cabrin* with their Father, while dead Bodies together with his, were solemnly brought to *Sofia* and there buried. The youngest but new born left at *Amasia*, and sent by his Grandfather to *Prusa* (as is before said) to be there nursed, was now upon the death of his Father commanded by his said Grandfather to be strangled also. The Eunuch sent by *Solyman* to have done the deed, and loth to do it himself took with him one of the Porters of the Court, a desperate and otherwise a hard hearted Ruffian, a Man thought fit to have performed any villany; he coming into the Chamber where the Child lay, and fitting from the Bow-string to the Child's Neck, and so strangled him, the innocent Babe smiling upon him, and lifting it self up as well as it could with open Arms offered to have embraced the Villain about the Neck and kissed him. Which guiltless simplicity so wounded the stony hearted Man, that he was not able to perform the intended butchery of the poor simple Child, but fell down in a swoon and there lay for dead. The Eunuch standing without the Door, marvelled at his long stay, going in, and finding the Ruffian lying along upon the ground, with cruel hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do, and so strangled the guiltless Child as had been given him in charge. Whereby it evidently appeared, that it was not the cause of the confusion of *Solyman* that so long he caused the guiltless Infant to be spared, but rather the opinion generally received amongst the Turks, who measuring all things by the good or bad success, refer all things that fall out well, unto God as the Author thereof, but they never so ungraciously begun; and therefore so long as it was yet uncertain what success the attempts of *Bajazet* would have, *Solyman* spared the Infant, left upon his Fathers good hap he might seem to have driven against the will of God. But now that his Father was dead, and his quarrel by the sentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to suffer him to live, lest of an evil Bird might come an evil Chick. I had some time (saith the Reporter of this History) great reasoning with my Chiaus about this matter; for falling into talk with him of *Bajazet*, he began bitterly to inveigh against him for taking up Arms against his Brother. Whereunto (saith this Author) I replied, That in mine opinion he was worthy both to be pitied and pardoned, for as much as he was of necessity enforced, and was to take up Arms, or else shortly after to yield himself to the slaughter. But he still exclaiming against him I laid unto him, You blame poor *Bajazet* of great wickedness for bearing Arms against his Brother; but *Solyman* *Solyman* took up Arms, blame none, who upon like occasion took up Arms both against his Father and his Brethren; yet he therein did nothing amiss, nor in your judgment blame worthy. And rightly, (saith the Chiaus) for the event of the matter shewed sufficiently, that that which he did was done by the appointment of God; and that he was from Heaven predestinated thereunto; whereas in *Bajazet* the event shewed the clean contrary. So that which I said unto you well, be it by never so wicked means compassed or brought to pass, they take it as done according to the will of God;

but if it fall out otherwise, they judge it as a thing condemned by God himself; depending wholly upon the good or bad event of things, and therefore judging them to be well done, or otherwise.

This year 1558, Charles the Fifth that noble Emperor (of whom we have in the course of this History so often spoken) who the glory of the World; had two years before delivered all his hereditary Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son *Philip*, did now the twenty fourth of February, on which day he was born, by his Embassadors solemnly sent for that purpose, resign that Empire unto his all the Honours and Titles thereof, which he did the thirtieth of March next following. So living as a private Gentleman in that solitary life whereunto he had to the wonder of the World certain years before retired himself from all worldly Affairs, the one and twentieth day of September following died of a Fever, when he had lived eight and fifty years, and thereof reigned thirty nine; a Man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongst the greatest Christian Emperors that lived before him. About which time also died his two Sisters, *Mary* the Queen of Hungary, and *Eleanor* the French Queen, both Ladies of great Honour.

The Knights of *Malta*, who of long had been Sutors to the great Bifhop and the King of Spain, for the recovery of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, about nine years before taken from them by the Turks; at which time they also surprised the Island of *Zerbi* upon the Coast of *Barbary* near *Tripoli* of *Tri* and *Tunes*, from whence they much troubled the Christians travelling by those Seas; had now at length so much prevailed, that the King commanded a great Fleet to be now forthwith made ready in September in the year 1559, to meet together in *Sicilia*, and from thence to go directly against the Enemy by *Malta*. Unto which Fleet, the great Bifhop, the Duke of *Florence*, and the Knights of *Malta*, with many other valiant Men out of divers parts of Christendom, joyined their Forces also; so that at length there was a hundred Gallies and Ships met together under the conduct of *Andrea Gonsaga* the General. But whilst this Fleet from divers places was long in coming thither, the Duke of *Medina Celi* came before with part of the Fleet to *Malta*, and in the Haven of *Marsa* *Mauro* expected the coming of the rest, who about the end of the year came thither. But whilst they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the Soldiers fell sick and died. At length the time of the year fit for their march forward being come, the Captains consulted among themselves, Whether they should first set upon *Tripoli*, or the Island of *Zerbi*, otherwise called *Mening*. The Knights of *Malta* being of opinion, that it were better first to besiege *Tripoli*, and that with all speed, before *Dragut* should come thither to furnish it with Soldiers and Provision. Others thought it better, Armys might be relieved with plenty of all things necessary, and from whence they might at all times of danger in safety retire, and from thence afterward as time should serve, to go to *Tripoli*. Part agreed upon. Wherefore in February the year following they departed from *Malta*, and sailed directly to *Zerbi*. In the mean time, *Dragut* the famous Pirate of that time amongst the Turks, and Governour of *Tripoli*, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Janizaries, and had notably strengthened the City with Men, Victual,

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and new Fortifications; and presently sent Messengers to Solyman at Constantinople, to certify him of the arrival of the Christian Fleet in Africa. But the Christians, coming to the Island of Zerbi, were at the first landing encountered by the Moors, whom they repulsed, and so at pleasure landed. This Island is not far from the Main; here and there full of Bogs and Marishes, other River hath it none, and in the midst is somewhat Hilly. It was inhabited with about thirty thousand Men, which dwelt in low Cottages, simply apparelled; yet is the Island reasonably fertile, yielding Dates, Olives, Barley, Mill, and such like. When the Christians were there landed, they sent for Caravans a poor King amongst the Moors (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Island) so use his counsel for their better proceeding in that War. In the mean time they agreed with eight thousand Men to besiege the strongest Castle in the Island; in going whereunto, the Spaniards went foremost, the Germans next, and the rest of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light upon ten thousand Moors which lay in ambush in a Wood, to have upon the sudden lay upon them unawares; but being discovered, and seven hundred of them slain in skirmish by the Spaniards, thereof fled. So coming to the Castle they planted their Battery, and laid hard Siege unto it. The Captain of the Galle finding himself too weak long to hold out, fled secretly with his Turks, leaving the Castle for the Moors to defend; who upon condition that they might in safety depart, yielded the Castle to the Spaniards; for keeping whereof, *Vergara* and *Cerdas* two Spanish Captains were there left with their Companies. Whilst these things were in doing, Caravans the Moor King came to the Camp of the Christians and there talked with the General; in whose hoary Countenance rested a royal Majesty; his Apparel was after the Moorish manner of white Linen, with him came also the King of *Tunes* his Son. In talking with the General his manner was to sit flat upon the Ground, and wisely discoursed how the Turks were to be removed out of Africa. But in the midst of these discourses, when such a thing was least feared, suddenly a Pinnace brought news from Sea, that *Pia* Bassa the Turks great Admiral was coming thither with a great Fleet of eighty five Gallies, and the same were daily repairing unto him on every side. Which was indeed true; for Solyman understanding from *Dragut* the Arch-Pyrate, that *Ilard* to be by the Christians now possessed and fortified, thought it not (in his so great power and flourishing Estate) to stand with his honour to suffer, but rather to give aid unto the Moors of that Island, a people agreeing in Religion with himself, and therefore commanded *Pia* Bassa the Admiral to take in hand that expedition. Who thereupon rigged up a great Fleet well appointed, and strongly manned with a number of the Turks best and most approved Soldiers, as well Janizaries as others; yet all both doubtful and fearful of the long Journey, as also of the time of the Enemies with whom they were to encounter; for why, the Turks had conceived a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great Wars both of ancient and later times to have been by that Nation (to the immortal praise thereof) most happily performed; they remembered *Charles* the fifth, and daily heard much of King *Philip*, the Heir both of his Fathers Vertues and Kingdoms, which made them to be careful, that many of them before their setting forth (as in times of greatest danger) made their Wills, and so departed from Constantinople, taking their leave of their Friends,

as if they should never have thither returned again. So that all the City was in a confused fear; neither was there any Man, whether he went or staid, that hung not in suspense with the doubtful expectation of the event of that War. Howbeit *Pia* with his great Fleet, with long sailing and a prosperous Wind was at length come well near as far as *Malta*, and knowledge thereof (as aforesaid) given unto the Christian Fleet at Zerbi. With which unexpected news the Christians there were not a little troubled; nevertheless they fortified the Castle with new Fortifications and Bulwarks, and fell to agreement with the principal Man amongst the Moors of the Island, who commanded the rest, and had before plucked down the Engines of *Dragut*, and set up the King of Spain (as he had before unto *Dragut*) six thousand Crowns, one Camel, four Callictricks, four Sparrow-Hawks, and four blew Falcons; a Tribute fit for such an Island.

But shortly after, viz. the ninth of May, the Great Master of *Malta* by another Pinnace gave the Christians at Zerbi again to understand, that the Turks Fleet was even now at hand, and already departed from the Island of Gozo, well appointed and strongly manned; and that therefore he advised them with speed to hoist sail, and to get them to some place of more safety, or else to come to him to *Malta*, for fear of being by so great a power of the Turks suddenly oppressed. Whereupon *John Andrea* the Admiral sent unto the General, requesting him to come aboard, that so they might before the coming of the Turks Fleet, retire themselves to some place of more assurance. But he for all that raised sail at the Castle, where the Spaniards had built four strong Bulwarks, whereof they had named one *Amis*, another *Genoveses*, the third the *Viceroy*, and the fourth the *Knight*; nor yet all perfectly fortified; as for the Castle it self they called it *Philip Alcazar*, by the name of the King. But whilst the General is thus busy, and vainly hopeth to keep both the Castle and his Ships, he the next day delaying from far the coming of the Turks great Fleet, hallooed with the Admiral to be gone; and putting out to Sea, was both times by a contrary Wind driven again into the Haven, so that he and the Admiral had much ado in time to get them into the Castle; for the Wind was so favourable for the Turks, and brought them so fast on, that the Christians dismayed with their sudden coming, knew not now well what to do, or which way to turn themselves. But by good hap, the greater part of the Ships and fourteen Gallies were got out and gon the night before, and the Great Master had in *Arc* called home his Gallies, wherewith and ten others of his own he afterwards defended the Enemies of his Island. As for the rest of the Fleet that staid for the General and the Admiral, some few Gallies escaped by flight, other some ran themselves a ground, ten of which were presently taken by the Turks, as were the rest also that were left, although they for a while thought they might have saved themselves. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admiral secretly stole out of the Castle, and so by good Fortune in two small frigates fled to *Malta*. Caravans also the Moor King, with the Prince of *Tunes*, got them away into the Main. *Genoveses* the Viceroy departing from *Ilard* into *Sirila*, provided as he might for the rest of that Country. *Amis* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the dispersed Fleet, having lost in this unfortunate expedition seventeen Gallies, with a great part of the Ships.

Now

The Castle of Zerbi besieged by the Turks.

Now in the Castle was left as General, *Don Alvarus de Sander*, a valliant Gentleman of great spirit and long experience, with five thousand Footmen, some Germans, some Italians, but for the most part Spaniards; besides a thousand other that were no Soldiers. So that the Turks beginning to besiege the same the seventeenth of May, were by many times notably encountered, and in their assaults repulsed. Unto this Siege at length came *Dragut* the Pyrate, who with fifteen great Pieces which he brought with him from *Tripoli*, increased the fury of the Turks Battery. Neither were the Christians in the mean time wanting unto themselves; having in the Castle forty great Pieces of Artillery, wherewith they flew a number of the Turks and Moors; and sometimes falling out, fought with them hand to hand; and having slain and wounded many, retired again into the Castle. In this manner the Siege continued three Months with many an hot and desperate skirmish, during which time, nothing more troubled the Defendants than Thirst in that hot and dry Climate and intemperate time of the year; for why, in the Castle there was but one great Cistern, which although it yielded some good store of Water, yet was it not enough to suffice to great a multitude, but was by measure still sparingly given out to the Soldiers so far as it would serve, no Man having more allowed him than would suffice to keep him alive; the quantity whereof some augmented distilling of the Sea Water, and mingling it with their allowance; and so well eased their thirst, until such time as having spent all their Wood, they wanted that poor help also. There might a Man have seen many poor Souls lying upon the ground half dead, gaping and still crying out nothing but Water, Water; in whose dry Mouths, if any Man upon compassion vouchsafed to pour a little Water as Men revive at Men, they would presently sit up, until that for thirst they fell down again, and so at length as Men roasted gave up the Ghost. Thus many died daily, beside them whom the chance of War and other Diseases without help consumed in so great a distress. *Don Alvarus* the Governour considering the great extremity they were now brought unto, attempted with *Don Sanchez de Leyva* Admiral of the Neapolitan Gallies, *Bolognino de Requesens* Admiral of the Sicilian Gallies, and some others, by night to have escaped away into a Gally which lay under the Castle, but in doing thereof were perceived by the Turks, and so all taken. Whereupon such Soldiers as sickness and the Enemies Sword had yet left alive, pinched with extreme necessity, forsaken of their best Captains, and out of all hope of relief also, coveninging with themselves to live only with the Enemy, yielded themselves into most miserable Captivity. In this unfortunate expedition perished about eighteen thousand Christians, some with sickness, some drowned, but most slain, beside the loss of a great part of the Fleet also.

Of this Victory *Pia* sent news by one of his Gallies to Constantinople, which for the more manifesting thereof, dragged at the Poop thereof a great Ensign of the Christians, with the Picture of Christ Crucified therein. Which was no sooner come into the Haven, but that the rumour of the overthrow of the Christians was forthwith blown through the whole City, the Turks exceedingly rejoicing one with another for the news of so great a Victory; yea many of them not so contented, came by heaps to the Gate of the Town, where the Emperor *Ferdinandus* Ambassador lay, and there meeting with his Servants, by way of derision asked them, if they had any

Brethren, Kinsmen, or Friends, in the Spanish Fleet at Zerbi, for if you have (said they) you shall shortly see them here. Besides that, they with many words most insolently bragged of the Christians; asking, who were able to withstand them, now that the Spaniard was also overcome? All which with much more the Embassadors Men with great grief were enforced to hear, but there was no remedy, seeing God had so appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious Fleet returned to Constantinople, dragging with it the Prisoners, Spoils, and Gallies of the Christians; a sight no less pleasant unto the Turks, than heavy unto the Christians; and that night it lay at Anchor near unto the Rocks in the face of the City, with the greater Pomp and Glory to come the next day into the Haven. At which time Solyman himself was come down into a Gallery near unto the Havens Mouth, adjoining unto his Garden, the better to see the coming in of the Fleet, and the Christian Captains set there to view upon the Poop of the Admiral Gally, namely, *Don Alvarus de Sander*, *Don Sanchez de Leyva*, *Don Bolognino de Requesens*, all of late great Commanders; as for the Christian Gallies all difarmed and unrigged, so to seem the more contemptible in comparison of the Turks, they were towed at the Tail of the Turks Gallies. They which then saw Solyman's countenance, perceived not in him any sign at all of any inordinate Joy, I may self (saith *Bolognino*, then the Emperor *Ferdinandus* Embassador there) saw him two days after going to the Church with the same countenance he had always, with the same severity and gravity, as if this Victory had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced strange or unexpected; so capable was the great Heart of that Old Sir, of any Fortune, were it never so great; and his mind so sedate, so to receive so great applause and rejoicing without motion. Within a few days after, the Christian Captives (before almost starved with Hunger) were brought to the Court; many of whom could scarce stand upon their Legs, some others for weakness fell down and fainted, and other some died outright; they were all solemnly led in Triumph, with their Arms disordered and scornfully put upon them; the Turks in the mean time insulting round about them, promising unto themselves the Empire of the whole World; and vainly asking, Wherefore my they were to fear, now that the Spaniard was overcome? *Alvarus Sander*, as chief of all the Prisoners, being brought into the Divan before the Viceroy Bassas, and demanded by *Rufan* Bassa, What his Master meant, being not able to defend his own, to invade other Mens? answered, That it belonned not him to judge thereof; and himself to have but to do his Duty, which faithfulness was as meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his Lord, although he had no good Fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassas upon his Knee, to speak for him unto Solyman, for that he had at home a poor Wife, with certain small Children, for whom he requested him to spare him. Whereupon *Rufan* Bassa (contrary to his manner) courteously answered, his Sovereign to be of a mild and gentle Nature, and that he was in good hope his Pardon might be of him obtained; so was he commanded away unto Caradine his Castle, towards the Black Sea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called back again; for that the great Chamberlain, a Man in great credit with Solyman, had not as yet seen him; for which cause he was sent for back again; wherewith he was

The Turks with their victory returned to Constantinople.

Angels in Babylon's Empire a Victory.

The military of the Christian Captives.

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not a little troubled, fearing lest the Bassias having changed their minds, would have put him to death. The rest of the Captives of the better sort were committed to the Cattle of *Pera*, and amongst them, *Don Sanchez de Leyva*, with his two base Sons, and also *Don Bilinguer Requena*; which two great Men, with *Don Alvarus de Sandes*, were nevertheless afterwards with much ado and almost beyond all hope, at the request of the Emperor, and by the dexterity of his Embassador, by *Solyman* set at liberty; although he had been denied them unto *Solyman* the French Kings Embassador, who had been an earnest intercessor for them. Yet before they were delivered out of Prison, the Mufti or Turks great Priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawful, for a greater number of Turks to exchange a few Christian Captives (for the Embassador beside the Rewards he had promised unto the Bassias, to further the matter, had also undertaken, that forty common Prisoners of the Turks should be set at liberty for them) whereunto the Mufti answered, That the Doctors of their Law were of divers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was lawful, and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolved upon, unto the more favourable part, and the exchange allowed.

There were amongst the Prisoners taken at *Zerbi*, besides these Noblemen of whom we have before spoken, two other noble Gentlemen right honourably Born, *Don John de Cardina*, *Don Bilinguer* his Son in Law, and *Don Gafso* the Duke of *Medina* his Son, to whom yet but a Youth, his Father nevertheless had given an honourable place in the Army. Of these two *Don John* had wily taken order for a great sum of Money to be left in the Island of *Chio*, by the way as the Turks Fleet went to *Constantinople*. From whence he afterwards secretly got into *Genoa*, but *Don Gafso* was by *Pial Bassa* (upon hope of a great ransom) purposely hid out of the way, which had like to have wrought his destruction; for *Solyman* having got an inkling thereof by the instigation of *Rufan*, laboured for nothing more than to have *Gafso* found out, so to have a more just occasion for the putting of *Pial* to death, being taken tardy in so manifest a fault. But all that labour was spent in vain, *Gafso* being by death taken away, but whether by the Plague (as some reported) or by *Pial*'s means (as it were more like) left the truth should be found out, is uncertain. But certain it was, that being with great care sought for by the Duke his Fathers Servants, he could never be heard of more. So that it was thought *Pial* for the safeguard of his own life, not to have spared *Gafso* his Prisoners life. Who nevertheless for a long time lived in great fear, and not daring to come to *Constantinople*, took occasion with a few Gallies to wander about amongst the Islands of *Ægeum*, as if he had there something to do; but indeed for shunning the sight of his angry Lord, for fear he should have been compelled in Bonds to have answered the matter. Until at length he appeared at the request of *Suleiman Bassa* (the Eunuch and *Solyman*'s great Chamberlain) and of *Solyman*, *Solyman*'s son, granted him his Pardon in these words well worth the marking, out of the Mouth of an Infidel Prince: *Well have he from me pardon and forgiveness for so great an offence, but let God the most just revenger of all villanies take of him due punishment after this life.* So fully he seemed to be persuaded that no evil deed ought to remain without punishment, either in this life or in the life to come.

There was in this expedition a Colonel of the Turks well acquainted with *Bushanque* the Emperors Embassador, then lying at *Constantinople*; into whose hands (in that discomfiture of the Christians) by chance was come the Imperial Ensign of the Gallies of *Naples*; wherein within the compass of an Eagle, were contained the Arms of all the Provinces belonging to the Kingdom of Spain. Which fair Ensign the Embassador understanding him to purpose to give for a Present unto *Solyman*, thought good to prevent the matter, and to get it from him; which he easily obtained, by sending him two Sutes of Silk (such as the Turks make reckoning of) for it; so providing that one of the Imperial Ensigns of *Charles* the Fifth, should not to the eternal remembrance of that overthrow, remain fill with the Enemies of the Christian Religion. This so miserable a calamity received by the Christians at *Zerbi*, made that Island, before little or nothing spoken of, to be ever since famous.

About this time to end this unfortunate year which, the twenty fifth day of *November* died *Andrew Auria* (that second *Neptune*) being ninety four year old; a Man in his time of great fame, and of the greatest Princes of that age had in no small reputation, but especially of *Charles* the Fifth, in whose service he did much for the benefit of the Christian Common-wealth, being for most part employed in his greatest Wars against the Turks and Moors. Yet amongst all the notable things done by his immortal Glory, the kindness by him shewed unto his native Country was greatest; which oppressed by the French, he set at liberty; and when he might have taken upon him the sole Government thereof (as did divers others before him) he moderated his desires, and respecting the only good thereof, appeared the great diffention that had of long reigned therein; and established such a form of Government, confirmed with so good and wholesome Laws and Orders (no Mans liberty infringed) as that it hath ever since to his eternal praise, in great wealth, state, and liberty thereby flourished.

The Turks the year following, with their Gallies robbed and spoiled divers places upon the Coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Malta*; against whom *Philip* King of Spain sending forth his Gallies, by force of Tempest lost twenty five of them, the eighteenth day of *September*, together with *Mendoza* Admiral of that Fleet.

*Ferdinand* the Emperor, having with long sute and much intreating obtained Peace of *Solyman*, and being now well thricken in years, and careful both of the State of the Empire and of the advancement of his posterity, began to deal with the Princes Electors for a choice to be made of a King of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of Germany, succeed him in the Empire; commending unto them his Son *Maximilian*, a Prince of great hope, then King of *Bohemia*. Whereupon an assembly of the Princes Electors was appointed to be holden at *Frankford*; where their meeting at the appointed day, with general consent the twenty fourth day of *November* in the year 1562, chose *Maximilian* the Emperors Son King of the Romans, and with all the accustomed solemnities Crowned him; who also the year after was at *Presburg* the eighth of *September* with much solemnity Crowned King of *Hungary*. Unto this solemn assembly of the Empire at *Frankford*, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor sent *Ibrahim Bassa*, otherwise called *Abraham Siroca* (a Polonian born, of whom we have before spoken) his Embassador with Presents and

The death of the noble  
Andrew  
Auria.

1561  
A great  
shipwreck

1562.  
Maximilian  
an chosen  
King of  
the Romans  
and after  
Crowned  
King of  
Hungary.

and Letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirm the Peace for eight years between them both concluded; who the seventeenth day of *November* in presence of the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had Audience; where after much glorious Speech in setting forth his Masters greatness, with his love towards the Emperor and his Son the new chosen King, as wishing unto them all happiness, he delivered his Letters of credence unto the Emperor; the Copy whereof I have not thought amiss here to set down, for that therein is notably to be seen the most insolent Pride of that barbarous Prince, and miserable estate of the rent Kingdom of *Hungary*, divided as it were at his pleasure betwixt him and the Emperor.

I the Lord of Lords, Ruler of the East and of the West, who am of power to do and not to do whatsoever I please, my Lord of all Grecia, Persia and Arabia, and Master of all things which can be subject to King and Command; the great Worship of these times, and strong Champion of the most wide World, Lord of all the White and Black Sea, and of the holy City of *Mecha*, shining with the brightness of God, and of the City of *Medina*, and of the holy and chaste City of *Jerusalem*, King of the most noble Kingdom of *Egypt*, Lord of *Ionian*, and of the City of *Athens*, Senan, of the sacred Temple of God, *Zebulon* and *Beniamin*, and *Rebuelin* and *Morad*, the Seat and Throne of the great King *Nathan Rattana*, and Lord of the Island of *Algiers*, Prince of the Kingdoms of *Tartary*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, of the *Georgians*, *Morea*, *Anatolia*, *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, and of all *Hungary*, and of many other Kingdoms and Territories, wherof I am Emperor; the most mighty Monarch *Sultan Solyman*, Son of the great Emperor *Sultan Selym*, who have grown from God to rule all People with a Bridle; and strength to break open the Gates of *Babylon*, and Cities and strong Places: two whose mighty hands have delivered all the ends of the World, none excepted. I the Ruler of the East, from the Island of *Tybein* unto the farthest Cape of *Africa*, whom God hath appointed a mighty Warrior in the edge of the Sword; amongst whose most mighty Kingdoms the impregnable Castle of *Celarea* is reputed for the leaf, and in whose hereditary Dominions the Kingdom or Empire of *Alexander the Great* is accounted for as aistle; with me is the strength of the whole World, and virtue of the Firmament. Forasmuch as thou King *Ferdinand*, which art the mighty Lord of *Christendom*, and the chosen Vessel of the mighty Christian Faith, created and elected Emperor of the Roman People, of *Bohemia*, *Vandalia*, *Crabatia*, and many other Countries King and Lord, &c. Not long since sent unto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protection and sanctuary of all that flee thence, and the Throne of Grace for all Princes of the time, which repair unto it) one *Augerius Bassa*, thy faithful Counsellor and Embassador, with Letters of consideration, to renew with us a Peace, and to enter into a farther league and bond of Amity: Which Letters bear date the year from the Prophet *Jesu* (upon whom and our Prophet *Mahomet* rest the brightness and peace of God) 1562, the first day of *June*, requesting us, That granting you Peace for eight years, we would not send any Hostility hereafter against your Cities, Castles, Countries, or Subjects, but to suffer them to live in Peace, Peace and Tranquillity, &c. Unto which your petition we answer you, That from henceforth for the whole space of eight years shall be betwixt us on both parts to be continued a new, true, and firm League; of which agreement, peace, and confederation, these shall be the conditions. First, That you our beloved shall be bound to send yearly to our Court as a Pledge of this

League thirty thousand *Hungarian Ducats*, with that remainder which you owe unto us for the two years last past; For which we promise unto you, that we from henceforth during this eight years League, will take no part either by war, or Hostility or Friendship with King *Johns Son*, forasmuch as belongeth to his hereditary Countries, whether they be in the better part of *Hungary*, or on the further side of the *Tisla*: All which for all that, by Law of Arms belong unto us. And the same King *Johns Son* in the time of this eight years League shall be bound in such sort to perform unto us his obedience, as that from henceforth he shall not be less of Hostility or War, or Hostility against you, neither to trouble your Subjects with Fire or Sword, nor to surprise your Cities, Castles, or Towns; or by violence to take away or exact of your People or Subjects, their Sheep, their Cattel, their Goods, Money or Revenues. We also our selves shall have no right, nor take occasion to drive away your People, to burn your Countries, to carry away any Captives; but rather in this eight years space religiously keep Peace and Concord with you. And under these conditions of Peace shall also be comprehended *Michael Balachius*, *Nicholas Batho*, with all their Goods and Territories, and divers other such like, which shall be subject unto you and King *Johns Son*. To be brief, if happily any of your or King *Johns Sons* Subjects shall have now been in time of War thrust into another one of his Gods, Lands, or Possessions, wherof new quarrels or such controversy, quarrel, and claims shall be deferred until this definite time of the League expired. Beside, if by chance any diffention shall hereafter arise betwixt us about our jurisdiction, which can by no means be composed and ordered; we will that yours shall in the mean remain as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmity (let apart) also many Towns situate here and there by *Danubius* and *Tatta*, shall be suffered to use the same Law which they did in former times; so that the Soldiers which are yet in the Garrison in the Castle of *Tatta*, shall have no right to insist or vex the Town situate near unto *Danubius*. Furthermore, if after this Peace concluded, any of your Noblemen or Gentlemen shall fortune to have any of our Noblemen by revolt or other occasion whatsoever, Captives, they shall deliver them and set them at liberty, to return unto their Friends freely without hurt or ransom; that so the Concord and Peace begun betwixt us, may be the more firmly kept, and our Subjects live in more security. All and every one of these things we grant, and promise to be of us from henceforth until the end of the aforesaid eight years, without all fraud or guile religiously observed and kept; and for that purpose have caused these our Letters of this Peace and Confederation to be published from our Royal Palace. And moreover, have not only provided, that the Copy of the same should together with our edict be proclaimed to all and every one of the Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, of our Armies both by Sea and Land, in all the parts of our Empire, and to all our mercenary Soldiers, but have also straightly commanded, that it shall be firmly and sincerely kept. We will also, that this agreement of Peace and Amity shall comprehend and concern our two chief Governors or Vayvods of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, so that none of your People of *Hungary*, *Crabatia*, *Salvania*, or other your Countries or Islands, whatsoever, shall in any sort be molested or injured by our Subjects. And if it shall fortune that some shall on your part one of their Captives set upon some Subject, or by force take away their Goods, the same Men shall in any case be bound to make thereof restitution. All else any shall flee from us, and carry away with them the Money or Goods of their Masters whom they served, or if the like shall be done by any of yours flying to us, then the same Goods on both

parts

*Pial* is  
diffident  
with  
*Solyman*,  
because  
he  
is  
in  
Constantinople.

parts are to be of right demanded and recovered again, and the fugitives to the example of others to be corrected and punished: forasmuch as fugitives Goods of right appertain unto their Lords and Masters. Furthermore it shall be lawful for your Captains and Commanders to forfist or build Castles, Cities, or Towns, in the Borders of Hungary, and to put into the same, Victual, Armour, and such like; but so, that they do none of these things out of their own limits. And during the time of this League, it shall not be lawful to take or carry away any of your Subjects Prisoners either into Hungary or in other places of your jurisdiction, which for all that, if it shall by any chance happen, that then such Captives without delay be suffered safely to return home again. Furthermore, whatsoever Christians shall have any business to do in our magnificent Court or any part of our Dominions, as are Embassadors, Officers, Servants, and such others; unto all these we not only grant and permit, that they may come and go about their business, and so again depart from our Court or Province; but also have willed and commanded them to be well and courteously entreated by our Subjects, and furthered with the interpretation of our Language. And if it should fortune any contention or discord to arise betwixt our Subjects on either side, about the Bounds and Limits of Lands, or other such like causes; such controversies we will to be decided and determined by discreet and indifferent Men on both parts, and the Authors of such discord and variance, to be punished as suspected persons and breakers of the League. We also prohibit those Skirmishes or Combats, which were wont to be sometimes on both sides made upon the Borders. And desire, that the form of this League and Peace, and every Article thereof, may be publicly read and set up in sundry places of your Dominions; and commandment given, that they may with due obedience and reverence be observed and kept. Which we likewise have now before promised faithfully and assuredly to perform; and your Embassador whom a few Months ago you sent unto us, in your name requested the same of us, and hath with earnest Prayer moved us, by Imperial Oath and the Letters of Credence to witness, that we did ratify and confirm the same; as if we our selves should speak to you in presence. Wherefore we have given to him these our Letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, Soldiers, and Subjects, may be bound also to observe and keep all these things; wherefore, so long as nothing contrary to this League shall be done on your part; so long in like manner all these Articles of Peace shall be of us accepted and assured. For witness and confirmation whereof I swear this Oath: By the true and living Creator of Heaven and Earth, by the true signs of our great and reverend Prophet, by my Imperial Power, and by my true Faith; that nothing contrary or repugning unto the aforesaid Articles, Conditions, and Promises of the eight years League agreed upon betwixt us, shall be attempted or done by any our Governors, Generals, or Vayvods, &c. Commanding moreover, all our future Governors of our mighty Empire in Walachia and Moldavia, and King Stephen himself, and others which have the Government of our Empire concerning you, That they all and every of them as well as our selves, shall justly, faithfully, and religiously accept, reverence, and keep these conditions of Peace, towards your Subjects, Cities, Castles, Towns, and other things appertaining to you; and in the least thing not to hurt, injure, or wrong any your Subjects. In brief, we shall as far as our part concerneth us, give unto this most mighty and great new made love and friendship, so great honour, reverence, and authority, that which may even in the least things be bad, shall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof, we have justified certain Christian Captives, whom by your Em-

bassador you requested to have set at liberty, frankly to return unto you without ransom; out of which Captivity they could never have been redeemed, if it regarded this our unity and friendship; nor had not we granted them liberty; trusting that you will in like sort set at liberty such of ours as you have Captives. Given at our Imperial Palace and Seat in the most mighty City of Constantinople, the first day of September, in the year of our great and reverend Prophet 960.

The same Embassador after he had delivered these Letters, presented unto the Emperor the Gifts he had brought from his great Master, which was two great Cups of natural Crystal curiously wrought and set with Stones of great price, a courageous Turkey Horse with a saddle and Trappings wrought with Gold, and set with precious Stones, and garnished with Chains of pure Gold; and four of the fairest Camels that were to be got in all Constantinople. In delivering of which Presents the Bassa made his excuse, that the Horse and Camels had lost their beauty, being with somewhat lean and weary.

This Peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperor Ferdinand and Solyman, held firm until after the death of Ferdinand, who about two years after in the year 1564 upon St. James's day died, being sixty years old; whereof he reigned as Emperor not full seven years. In whose place succeeded Maximilian his Son, before called King of the Romans. But immediately after the death of Ferdinand, the Captains on the Frontiers of that part of Hungary which was holden for the Emperor on the one side, and the Turks Captains with the Vayvod of Transylvania on the other side, weary of their ease, began contrary to the form of the League, to surprise strong Holds and Towns one in another's Confines, whereof ensued much trouble. The Archduke whereof Maximilian Balas the Emperor's Lieutenant in that part of Hungary which bordereth upon Transylvania, who first surprised certain Towns upon the Frontiers thereabouts; in revenge whereof the Vayvod suddenly set upon Sackmar a Town in the Emperors Territory, which he took, and therein Balas his Wife and Children. In despite whereof Balas ransacked and burnt Debrecin a great Town of the Vayvods. But not long after, the Vayvod Solyman's natural, aided by Moldavians, did much harm upon the Frontiers of that part of Hungary which belonged unto the Emperor; and first took Hadda, and afterwards besieged Ungar. In requital whereof, Maximilian the Emperor sent Lazarus Senni a valiant Captain; who with an Army of eight thousand besieged the strong Castle of Tokay, which he took the fifth of February, in the year 1565, and after that took the rich Town of

In the mean time Solyman, who had in himself fully prepared to berevenge of all these injuries (as well appeared by that he did the year following) to stay the Emperor from proceeding farther, until such time as he were at better leisure to be revenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for Malta) sent Marcus Linsinus a Renegade Transylvanian Christian, his Embassador to Maximilian to put him in remembrance of the League made with his Father, and to wish him to have regard how he further proceeded to the Breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperor, because he would not seem unwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his Lieutenants and Captains no more to invade Transylvania or that part of Hungary which the Turks held. Howbeit that whilst this Em-

Presents from Solyman to the Emperor Ferdinand.

1564. the death of Emperor Ferdinand.

New troubles in Hungary.

1565.

The Turks preparing war, especially for Malta.

bassador was thus entreating of Peace at Vienna, the Bassa of Transylvania in the Borders of Hungary, made divers incursions into the Borders of Hungary, and with six thousand Soldiers besieged the strong Castle of Jula, and the Turks in great number came daily into Transylvania. At which time also Senni General of Maximilian his Forces upon the Frontiers, by Messengers sent for that purpose, willed him not to give any credit unto the Turks Embassador, who meaning nothing but War, under the colour of Peace sought nothing else but to take him upon the sudden unprovided. Neither ceased these troubles thus, but daily grew from evil to worse; for in June the Transylvanians besieged Erden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two months Siege had it yielded unto them. In the mean time Solyman the Emperor's Embassador to Solyman, returned from Constantinople; assuring him, that the great Turk for all his fair words of Peace, meant indeed nothing but Wars, for which he was (as he said) making great preparation both by Sea and Land. Whereupon the Emperor began to raise new Forces; which thing drives Noblemen both of Germany and other places hearing of, came unto him with his Followers; and amongst other Romyus one of the Knights of Malta, and divers others of his Brethren, with five Companies of Soldiers well appointed, sent thither by George Hohenheim Grand Prior of that Order in Germany, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the same time also, the Turks being busie upon the Borders of Syria, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by Charles the Archduke, and taking them at an advantage, slew at one time three thousand of them. Yet for all this, the Turks Embassador was still at Vienna treating for Peace, and so cunningly handled the matter, that whereas Scimita Salva a valiant Captain, had corrupted the chief Judge with certain others of Alca Regale, to have betrayed the City unto him for performance whereof they had delivered their Wives and Children as Hostages, and he was now upon his way from Ra, which he but eight miles off, in an assured hope to have surprised the City; he was suddenly by Letters in post from the Emperor, called back again, for corrupting the hope conceived of Peace; and so was that notable designment unfortunately disappointed; of which practice the Turks having knowledge, afterwards most cruelly executed forty of the Conspirators, impaling some of them upon high Stakes, and hanging others upon Iron Hooks by the jaws until they were dead. Shortly after the Turks took Nafissa, which was not long after again recovered by the Emperor.

At the same time one of the Turks Spies was taken at Zigeah, who but thirteen days before was sent from Constantinople, of purpose to view the strength and situation of that place; he being brought before Charles the Archduke, and examined, said, That Solyman would assuredly the next Spring come in person himself into Hungary, to besiege the strong Castles of Zigeah and Jula. At which time also Count Senni took certain other of the Turks Spies, by whom he was certainly advertised of Solyman's coming the next year; and amongst others, Scapio Vayda the Bassa of Buda his chief Counsellor. Beside this, the Countreyses both to the Imperials and the Turks, were now straightly commanded by the Turks to pay no more contribution Money unto the Imperials; Whereupon it was easily gathered, that all that talk of

Peace was as Senni had oftentimes written, nothing else but to delay the time, and to keep them in security. Beside that, the Turks made incursions daily into one place or other of the Emperors Territories, shewing their ancient hate, and sowing by those light Skirmishes, as it were the Seed of a greater War against the next Spring; which the Emperor now out of doubt of being also warned thereof by many Letters from his Friends, put from Garifonius into his frontier Towns, especially into Ra and Zigeah. But knowing that to be but a poor help against so puissant an Enemy, he resolved as his Father and Uncle had done before, to rest upon the strength of the Empire, and against the next year to call a general assembly of the Princes of the Empire at Augusta, for the better understanding of the common Enemy. The Wars thus beginning again in Hungary, Solyman at the same time in revenge of the manifold harms done unto his Subjects by the Knights of Malta, (whose hand he found ever against him in all his dealings with the other Christian Princes) made great preparation both by Sea and Land; purposing, as seemed by the manner thereof, to have raised the memorial of those worthy Men from off the Earth. Whereunto, beside the natural hatred which he bare against all Christians in general, and them above the rest in particular, he was much incited by Callanus, Barbarus his Son, King of Algiers, and Dragut Governor of Tripoli; by whose persuasions he caused a strong Fleet to be rigged up, commanding the Lieutenants and Governors of his Ports and Havens all along the Sea Coast, to put to their helping hands, and to be ready against the next Spring, And not long after understanding partly of his own certain knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardingness they were; he calling together a great assembly of his chief Princes and Men of War, delivered unto them his mind as followeth:

What thing I have this forty years always wished, was now to have so much leisure from other Wars, Oration to us to pluck out of their Nests, and utterly to root out to his purpose these cursed Pyrats, which cannot themselves be the Bulwark of Christendom: That some methinks on the insolence of Malta, I have by the favour of God and Muhammed his Prophet, at this time obtained. For we have so repressed the attempts of the Persians, that they cannot let us; and in Hungary, from whence certain dreadful motions were reported, we our selves will shortly do these things which shall enforce our Enemies to hide their Heads in the heart of Germany, and to flee to us for Peace. Your selves daily hear the piteous complaints of our Subjects and Merchants, whom these Malcontents, I say not Soldiers, but Pyrats, if they but look into these Seas, spoil and make prize of; whose injuries or revenge, all Laws both of God and Man require. Neither can this thing happen unto me more pleasing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accomplish these things; that is, to win Malta, and to leave all things in order in Hungary and Polonia; except perhaps some Man think it a harder matter for us to hope these cursed Companies from the Rocks of Malta, than for our Ancestors to have driven them from Jerusalem, and to quite out of Syria; and for our selves to have forced them out of the strong Island of the Rhodes. But this some with say is never won; Italy, from whence aid may easily be sent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Believe me, they will never adventure to give us aid, as Sea, who remember themselves to have been thus by us so often overthrown; Beside that, so little a place cannot contain any great Garrison; neither if it could, could it long feed them.

Solyman's speech against the Knights of Malta.

Solyman's wish to have leisure from other Wars, to root out the cursed Pyrats.

them. Wherefore unto this expedition we have determined with the first of the Spring to send a most strong Fleet; and even now we have already commanded all our Sea Captains and Adventurers which acknowledge our command, to be there present with their Ships. The King of Algiers will be there, the Garrison of Alexandria are in readiness; so also Dragut with his appointed Fleet. As for our own it is by mine own appointment rigged up; unto which Fleet I doubt not but that all the strength of the Fleet will give place. Which thing (worthy Captains) we speak, trusting upon the help of Almighty God and Muhammed his great Prophet, with your known and approved Valour. Now remaineth only, that every one of you think with us, how this War may best be managed, so as to refer your devices unto us; which that you may the better do, Lo, I have deliver unto you the situation of the whole Island, and project of all their Fortifications which we have received of most expert and skilful Men.

Solyman purpose thus made known, and the matter well considered, after that they which best knew the strong places and manners of the Maltese, had declared their opinions what they thought to be most expedient; it was decreed, That they should with all speed set forward; wherefore Victual and other things necessary for such an expedition being with wonderful celerity prepared, they expected but Wind. Of these things John Paletia a Frenchman, Grand Master of Malta and one of the Knights of the Order, being both by Letters and Men advertised (for he had always fit Men his Intelligence as Com-panions, who warily noted the purposes and actions of Solyman) was not afraid, but knowing that of God depended the Victory, and that Men were to watch, labour, and force; he assembled a Council of his Knights, and in few words spake unto them in this sort:

What Solyman prepareth (most noble and valiant Knights) and what a great War he provideth against us, you with me of late rights well understand, wherefore it is needful for me to use any long Speech with you concerning that matter. The Enemy is known, his insatiable ambition is known, his strength is known, and his mortal hate against us and the Christian Name is sufficiently known. Wherefore let us all as one first reconcile our selves to God, and then provide all things as shall be needful for the War. In brief, noble Knights, to reconcile our selves unto God, and to appease his displeasure, two things are to be performed; whereof the one consisteth in amendment of Life, with a holy Conversation; the other in the religious worshipping of him, with a firm and constant trust in his help, with Prayer, which we called Godliness. By these means our Ancestors obtained many Victories against the Infidels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we shall in these things join together, we shall also frustrate all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But first, much as God usually helps them which labour and take pains, and not the negligent and slothful, we must of our selves join unto them their help, which both our profession and the course of War requireth; which partly consisteth in our selves, and partly in the right Christian Princes. For Victual, Armour, Money, and other such things as in Wars are requisite, we will so provide, that no Man shall justly complain, that he is spared either cost or pain. I will not put all my store, neither will I for desire of life, expose my danger. As for the Christian Princes, I cannot persuade my self that they will lie still in so fit an opportunity, and in so great a danger, not of our estate only, but much more of their own. Verily I will not spare to

exhort every one of them both by Letters and by Admonition, which in part we have already done; and I doubt not but we shall have aid enough from the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain (such is their Christian Zeal) and they I hope shall move the rest: As for you, the Princes and every Light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our Brethren, most valiant Knights, I am well assured you will so fight for the most holy Christian Religion, for your Lives and Goods, and for the glory of the Lucine Name, against a most cruel Tyrant, the roter cut of all true Religion, of all Civility and good Learning, the Plague of the World, hated of God and Man; as that he shall feel the sting of the Cross which he so much contemned, even in the City of Constantinople, yea in his House of Pleasure. For we shall not have now to do with him in the Island of the Rhodes, nor from the help of our friends (from Asia, from Europe, from Egypt) fortified with our Enemies both by Sea and Land; but in the Isles of Italy and Spain, in places strongly fortified, from whence the Enemy may easily be circumvented; which that it may so fall out, let us not cease to pray unto Almighty God, and to crave his ready help.

When the Grand Master had thus said, all that were present promised with one assent rather to lose their Lives, than in any part to fail the Common Cause, or to come into the power of Solyman. After that publick Prayer and Supplication was made in every Church through the Isle, and three Colonels chosen out of all the Knights; one an Italian famed Emperor, another Bornean a Frenchman, and Quartus a Spaniard the third, all advised Men, and most expert Souldiers, who should with all diligence provide all things necessary for the War. By whose appointment the Suburbs and Trees which might any way be hurtful to the fortified places, were overthrowen, the Fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garrisons strengthened, and all manner of Provision most plentifully distributed; and Letters from the Great Master came unto the Great Bishop and other Christian Princes, requesting their aid against the Common Enemy. Messengers were also diffused into divers places, to certify both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turks great preparation.

Solyman's Fleet departing from Constantinople the two and twentieth day of March, in the year 1656, kept a direct Course towards Peloponnesus, and so came to Methone where Malapsha Baffa one of the Turks greatest Captains, a Man of pie-ty and of great valour, and General of the Land Forces, mustered the Army, wherein were numbered seven thousand Horsemen of them which are of the Turks called Saphi; out of the lesser Asia, conducted by the Governour of that Country, and two Lieutenants of Sicilia, five hundred; and of the Island of Lesbos, now called Mytilene, four hundred; he had of the Janizaries four thousand five hundred, led by two Colonels appointed by Solyman; for that the chief Captain of the Janizaries, which they call the Aga, never departeth from the City but when the Sultan goeth himself: Besides these was a certain kind of Men amongst the Turks, who live of the Revenues of the Church; of them there was in the Army thirteen thousand, who had at Constantinople vowed their Lives for their Superstition. Out of Thracia and Peloponnesus were come two Colonels and one Lieutenant, with twelve hundred Horsemen, and three thousand five hundred Volunteers out of divers Countries. There also Piel Baffa Solyman's Admiral took view of the Fleet, wherein were found a hundred and thirty Gallies, two and twenty Ships

Ships for burthen, some greater, some lesser, besides one that was cast away near unto Methone, where was loft six thousand Barrels of Powder, thirteen thousand great Shot, and four hundred small Shot; besides these, there were ten Gallies from Spah; besides these, there were ten Gallies from the Rhodes commanded by Halpout a Man of twenty years; two Gallies from Mytilene, and about seventeen Gallies and other small Pyrats Ships. With this strong Fleet the Turks departing from Methone the thirteenth of May, arrived at Malta the eighteenth of the same Month, whereunto they had in the North-East part of the Isle, which the Inhabitants call the Cape of Saffre; but perceiving themselves not to be there in safety, they removed to another Port called Major.

The Turks  
find  
themselves  
in  
Malta.

The description  
of  
Malta.

The Island of Malta lying betwixt Africa and Sicily, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in Africa or Europe, but that the ancient Cosmographers, and the Moors Language, which the Moors use in the places used, claim it for Africa; it is in length from the North-East to the South-West twenty Miles; and in the broadest place twelve. It regardeth Africa Southward, over against Lepus Parva; and Sicilia towards the North, but more towards Pachium than Lilybeum; and is in circuit about threefoore Miles. It seemeth to have taken the name of Malta, of Meli or Hony, whereof it yieldeth plenty. The Trees there bear Fruit twice a year, and they have oftentimes twice Harvest, especially of Barley and Cotten Wool; yet is the Isle in some places stony, gravelly, and bare of Wood; nevertheless it beareth Figs, Apples, Almonds, Grapes, and other Fruit Trees planted by the industry of Man, Date Trees also, but not fruitful; it beareth Thistles of such bigness that the Inhabitants use them for Wood. Fresh Water is there wonderful scarce, and such Wells as they have are filled with Rain in Winter, for in Summer they are either clean dry, or else the Water becometh brackish. The Inhabitants are so burnt with the Sun, that they differ little in colour from the Ethiopians; they are of a wholesome constitution of Body, spare of Diet, indolent, rather painful than Warlike, dying more for Age, than of Sickness; their Buildings, except it be in the City, which is in the midst of the Island, and in the Suburbs, are long and low (like unto the Moors) covered with Turf or Reed. It is commonly supposed, that Saint Paul was by Shipwreck cast upon this Island, but it is with greater reason to be thought that it was the other Malta in the Adriatic betwixt Coreyra and Illyria, and better agreeeth with that which Luke writeth of the Apostles Trouble and Shipwreck in the Adriatic, of which Sea it is not to be gathered by the Text, that Paul and the rest were driven. But again to our purpose; That side of Malta which respecteth Sicilia, hath in it many good Harbours and commodious Havens fit for shipping; where besides the Port of Marsa Saffre towards the East, where the Turks Fleet first landed, and the Port of Saint Thomas, with another called Scala not far off, it hath two other notable Havens, the one called Ajdout, and the other Marsamora, divided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground; which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North almost in manner of an Island, having the Haven Major on the East, Marsamora on the West. Upon the head of this high ridge standeth the Castle of Saint Elmo, of great strength both by Nature and Art. As a Man entrench into the Haven Major, upon the left hand there are four Promontories, being far into the Haven on that side, almost in manner of Islands making to many Bays; upon

the first standeth the Gallows, whereof also it taketh name; upon the very point of the second, on a rough and high Rock standeth a most strong Caffe, called the Caffe of Saint Angelo, whereunto adjoynd the Town, separated from the Caffe only with a Wall and a Ditch, and is placed in a hollownes cut out of the main Rock; strengthened also with the Sea and the industry of Man; and is of some called the Burg, of others the new City; in this Caffe resideth the Grand Master, and the Souldiers in the Burg; upon the third Promontory standeth another strong Caffe, which they call also the Burg of Saint Michael; whence the Sea runneth along the winding Banks almost into the midst of the Island, unto a place called Aqua Marcia. Again, after the Port Marsamora, Weltward is the Harbor of Saint George; and after that another called Bormora; then followeth the Port Saint Paul, no less than the Port Marsa Saffre; after which cometh the Port called Salinarum Sinus; but on that side of the Island towards Ajdout, is only one Port called Millaria; near unto the Island of Malta lie certain other little Islands, as Gaudin, now Geca, two other called Cumina, and another called Piper, all subject to the Maltese.

Thus much I have thought good to set down concerning the Turks Fleet, and for the description of those places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the World. Now that it is not to be amiss, in like manner to declare upon what strength, next unto God, Valetia the Grand Master stood against so mighty and puissant an Enemy. First, there was in the Island thousand and three hundred Mercenaries, some Spaniards, some French, some Florentines, and the rest of Naples; there was also a thousand Seamen of the Knights Fleet, and five hundred in the Town of Saint Angelo; and of the Country People which were fitted to the strong places five thousand. Men not altogether unskilful of the Wars; there were also five hundred Knights of the Order, besides Priests and Squires; for of these three sorts of Men are they which are called Brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the Castles and Towns of Saint Elmo, Saint Angelo, and Saint Michael, whereunto they were proportionally divided; and in the City it self, which is called Mdina, being in the middle of the Island, was two hundred Souldiers and as many Citizens, with three hundred of the Country People all Horsemen, commanded by Jo. Vagso a valiant Captain. Besides this, every place was furnished with plenty of Victual, Armour, Weapons, Artillery, and whatsoever else was needful for the enduring of a long Siege, and that a War that should waste many things; and that which passed all the rest, Minds armed with invincible Courage against whatsoever should chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquished, Victors. All these things being in readiness and orderly disposed, as soon as they understood that seven and twenty of the Turks Gallies had put into the Haven Marsa Saffre, and were there landing their Men; Gym Admiral for the Order, a valiant and courageous Knight, marched thither with five hundred Hachelubiers, to have skirmish with them; but as soon as the Turks saw them coming, they retired again to their Gallies. On the other part where the other Fleet lay, two hundred of the Turks got on shore, met by chance with Riverius a Frenchman, and eight Knights more, who having his Horse killed under him, and some of his Companions slain, fell with the rest into the hands of the Enemy. Whilst these things were in doing, a certain Christian Mariner

Riverius  
with  
other  
Knights  
taken of  
the Turks.

fled out from the Turks to the City *Melita*: who discovered the Enemies purpose, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Melipha* had determined to have landed the greatest part of their Forces, presently have besieged some strong places; had not *Pial* Bassia the Admiral exclaimed against it, doubting to be left too weak at Sea; saying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the coming of *Dragut*, who was every hour expected. For *Solyman* had expressly commanded, that they should do nothing without his Council: so great an opinion had he of his Policy and Valour. But whether this report was true or otherwise, the Turks for all that returning with their Fleet to the Port *Adarschirach*, landed twenty thousand Soldiers and five Field Pieces, and so intrenched themselves. This done, *Pial* Bassia with seven thousand went to view the Castle of Saint *Michael*: but for fear of the great Shot durst not to come nigh it; nevertheless they of the Town falling out, courageously skirmished with the Turks; in which conflict, *Cursellum*, firmaned *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, so furiously assailed the Enemy, that he took from him one Ensign, and flew one of the *Samsack*: a great Commander, with divers others.

The Turks land.

They of the castle of Saint Michael with only one Turk.

When *Pial* was come again to the Camp, the General began to consult with the other Captains, whether it were better to lay Siege to the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, or to the Town of Saint *Michael*: in conclusion it was agreed upon, that they should with all their Forces besiege the Castle of Saint *Michael*. And going up the Hill to view the Castle, they were encountered by the Garrison Soldiers, in which Fight some few were lost on both sides. Thus by degrees things growing hotter and hotter, the Grand Master thought it good to certify *Garcias* of *Toledo* Viceroi of *Sicily*, how things stood, that he might the sooner rig up his Fleet to come to their relief. Wherefore he commanded one Gally to put out of the Haven by night, and to pass over into *Sicily*, with *Salvague*, one of the Knights sent thither on Message. In the mean time the Turks cast up a Mount to have battered the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, and beaten the Gallies in the Haven *Major*, and so to have opened a way for their Fleet to have entered; but they were not able long to keep that Mount, for they had scarcely well ended the Work, but it was forthwith by the continual thundering Shot out of the Castle beaten down again; which thing greatly abated the Turks Courage. About that time, *Obiad* came to the Fleet with six Ships, drawn out of them which were left for the defence of *Alexandria*, and in them nine hundred Soldiers. The Turks beaten from their first Mount, cast up another on an higher ground, whereon they placed three great Pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they annoyed not only the Haven wherein the Fleet of *Malta* lay, but the Castle of Saint *Angelo* also, the Great Masters Seat, and with a rolling Trench drew nearer and nearer unto the Castle of Saint *Elmo*; which although they had at first in vain attempted, hindered by them which were in the Castle; yet at last with much labour and travel they brought it to perfection; for the Turks in that kind of work, Ilt performed by their multitude, are accounted to excel others. Wherefore in short time they placed their great Ordnance in such sort, as that they might batter both the Castles of Saint *Elmo*, and Saint *Michael*. There was in the Turks Camp a Gentleman of *Spain*, but then a Slave unto a Turk, who understanding the Enemies purpose for the besieging of the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, by a Christian Fugitive advertised the Great Master thereof: Whereupon he forthwith sent *Corda* and

The Turks besiege the castle of Saint Elmo.

*Miranda* with two Companies of Spaniards into the Castle, who were afterwards a great strength unto the Castle, and hinderance unto the Enemy. At length came *Dragut* Governor of *Lepta*, long looked for of the Turks, with thirteen Gallies, and in them a thousand and six hundred Souldiers; after whom followed ten Gallions from *Bona*, and in them two Companies. In the mean time *Salvague* the worthy Knight (sent before into *Sicily*) came to *Melana*, and having certified the Viceroi of the state of *Malta*, was by him commanded to return to *Malta* in a Gallie, conducted by two Gallies of the Great Masters; which having brought him near unto the Island, returned again into *Sicily*; but he with his Gallie (not without much manifest danger) in the third Watch of the night brake into the Town through the midst of the Enemies Fleet, with the loss but of one of his Followers. Where having delivered unto the Great Master what he had in charge from the Viceroi, he was the same night sent back again by the Great Master into *Sicily*, to certify the Viceroi. That he had need of more Aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some Supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an Enemy. *Salvague* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himself again to Sea, and in short time arrived in the Port of *Siracusa*, where finding the two Gallies he before spoke of, he sent them to *Malta*, as he had in charge, with four hundred Souldiers, among whom were divers Knights of the Order, and certain skillful Canoniers: willing them to thum the West part of the Island, whereas they must needs come into the Enemies fight, and to pass by the East end thereof, which was further about, but safer; and turning Southward, to land in the Port *Milieres*, and from thence by the low places of the Island to convey the Souldiers by night to the City *Melita*, which was four miles off, from whence they might easily pass to the Castle of Saint *Michael*. This order taken, he went to *Melana*, and there declared to the Viceroi the danger of the War, with the small number of the Defendants, requesting of him a thousand Footmen, which with those already fixed, he thought would suffice to hold out the Siege until he with his whole Fleet might come to relieve them. But whilst these things were slowly provided (which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to pass, the Christian Princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger) the Turks upon the suddain the third of June the Turks assaulted the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, in hope with their scaling Ladders to get over that part of the Rampiers which was nearest unto the Bulwark of the Castle. But the Defendants, in the Ditch which before had no Flanker to scour the same, had of Earth and Faggots made a large strong Flanker, from whence the Castle also helping them, they valiantly resisted the Enemy, and filled the Ditches with the dead Bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, trutting to their multitude (wherein rather than with true Valour, they obtain so many Victories) thrust still on until they had by obstinate force (although long fight) gained the Flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the Ditch towards the Port *Marzamora*. In which place they with wonderful celerity fortified themselves, that they could not be hurt by the Defendants; where in they were much helped by their own great Ordnance planted on the other side the Haven *Marsa*; for with it they drove the Defendants from the place, beat down the corner of the Rampier, and battered the Front of the Bulwark, whose

Dragut comes to assault the castle.

Saint Elmo again assaulted.

New Supply sent to the castle Saint Elmo.

The Great Master did appoint of a supply by the feeting of the ship Master.

whose height and greatest trouble the Enemy, but was not so commodious for the Defendants, for that it was made without any Flankers. But night coming on, five thousand of the nine thousand Turks which gave the Assault, tarried there; whereas the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retired themselves into the Castle. The Turks in the mean time covered with Tow and Earth, filled up the Ditch which was under the Bulwark, but neither of any great wideness or depth; which done, they gave a fresh Assault, wherein above eight hundred of them were slain, part Janizaries, and part Spahis, and besides them many wounded, of whom the most part remained in the Ditch, where they perished, and could not be relieved. Of the Christians was lost five and forty, amongst whom were five Knights of the Order, *Guardamper* an Avergois, *Melina* a Colonel of *Narbona*, *Contida* a Spaniard, *Suma* a Florentine, and *Neine* a German. The same night the Great Master thinking, as reason was, that they in the Castle of Saint *Elmo* might want help, sent two hundred of his Knights and as many other Souldiers into the Castle; who if they had been more, together with the four hundred which were before in the Castle, might have driven the Turks both from the Rampiers and the Flanker, and also kept the place longer. But forasmuch as the Great Master wanted Souldiers, and had therefore sent *Salvague* into *Sicily*, for new Supplies (as we have before said) he in the mean time courageously expected their coming, refusing no labour or pain; yet bewailing sometime with himself the unfortunateness of the Christian Princes, by whose negligence so fit an occasion for the overthrow of the Turkish Enemy was let slip: But above all things, he marvelled exceedingly that no help yet came: especially those two Gallies, which (as we have said) were in all haste sent by *Salvague*; but they by the Masters default kept not the appointed Course: for first whereas they should have stuned the West part of the Ile, and have turned towards the East, they shaped their Course Westward to the Island of *Gaulis*, which was afterwards affirming that he saw certain of the Turks Gallies lying before Port *Meliera*; which was afterwards well known not to have been so; for the truth was, that he for fear (whereby notable designs are many times frustrated) durst not go forward. Whereby it came to pass, that the Great Master was disappointed of so necessary a Supply; which thing much grieved both the Viceroi and others, but especially *Salvague*. For he saw it would come to pass, that if the Turks should take the Castle of Saint *Elmo* (the most assured Bulwark and defence of the Island of *Malta*) the other places must of necessity be brought into extremest danger, all the way to relieve them being there by shut up. And that it might be taken, seemed not to him impossible, the Enemy having already taken one Fort, and laying hard Siege almost on every side of that little Pile. The due consideration of these and such like things grieved the minds of skillful Men, especially seeing such slack preparation in a case requiring such present relief. Yet in the mean time Souldiers were taken up at *Rome* by the commandment of *Pius* Quirinus then Bishop, to be sent to *Malta*; and by his example to stir up other Princes to send Aid unto this sacred War, he gave an hundred thousand pound of Gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commanded Gunpowder and other necessities for that War to be taken out of his Castle Saint *Angelo*, that so he might seem to be wanting in nothing that was

in him to perform. Over these Souldiers, in number fix hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Gelluma* General, and he appointed *Camilus Medicus* his Legate to accompany him. With these went many voluntary Men, of purpose to lay down their lives for the eternizing of their Names in so religious a War, and that with such an ardent desire, as that every little delay seemed unto them a year. Wherefore coming to *Naples*, they there found *John Andreas* *Auria* with eleven Ships, the Prince of *Poloponia* with nine, *Lancicus* with three, and three others left forth by other private Gentlemen. In these Ships were embarked all those Footmen which came from *Rome*, and so transported to *Melana*, where the Kings Fleet was providing. But whilst the Christians make slow preparation, considering the greatness of the danger, the Turks not ignorant thereof, resolved to prove the uttermost of drawn together. For the Castle of Saint *Elmo* once taken, they assured themselves with more ease to carry the rest; for that thereby they should first have the Haven *Marzamora* in their power, where their Fleet might in safety ride so long as they pleased; and the rising ridge betwixt the two Havens was commodious for them both to batter the Town of Saint *Michael*, and to keep the Haven *Major*, so that none could without their leave pass in or out thereof. Wherefore upon these and other such like considerations they began again to batter the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, as it had been before Thunder; which furious Battery they continued by the space of four days together without intermission. The night following they suddenly with great force gave an Assault, and with their scaling Ladders had almost gained the top of the Wall; when the Christians desirous of nothing more than to come to handy Blows, drove them down again with such a violence, that never after they durst for fear of the Wall, until the very last conflict. Whilst things were thus hot at the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, *Dragut* his Souldiers upon a bravery, as if they had been the only Men, went to a place called *Maria Scala*, which is between the Gallows and Saint *Thomas*'s *Rode*, as if they would have done more than the rest; which the Christians beholding out of the Town of Saint *Angelo*, to repress their insolvency, sallied forth upon them, and so welcomed them that they were glad after they had received a great loss, to be forthwith to retire to the place from whence they came. Of the Christians were slain *Bonhomme* a Frenchman, one of the Knights, and seven others.

Saint Elmo again assaulted.

The Turks repulsed.

The same time *Manfrances* was by the Great Master sent into the Castle of Saint *Elmo*, to command them as Governor instead of *Brodia*; for that he with watching and pains taken in defence thereof, was fallen sick. The same *Brodia* had many times before written to the Great Master, That the Castle was so well fortified and furnished of all things needful, as that he thought it impossible to be won by the Enemy; and so encouraged the Knights, and other the Defendants, that they fought against their Enemies with more than Mens Strength, and more Courage than is to be believed. Neither were the Turks for that discouraged, although they were with great loss still repulsed; but for certain days battered the Castle with greater fury than before, and immediately gave an Assault; for they had made a Bridge over the Ditch, of Mats and Sail Yards, of such a breadth,





The three  
Knights of  
divers  
opinions  
concerning  
the keep-  
ing of the  
Castle St.  
Elmo.

what opinion the three Knights themselves were of concerning the keeping of the Castle; of whom *Caprius* was of opinion, That the place was still to be defended, and that if he were there to command, he would undertake to perform it; and were rather to lose his Life than to forsake it, after he had once taken upon him the charge thereof. But *Rocca* the French Knight was far of another mind, and said plainly, that the place could not possibly be holden against so strong an Enemy; and that if *Julius Caesar* himself were alive, and saw to what trait the place was brought (especially all the Rampiers being either beat down or fore shaken, and such a power of obstinate Enemies lying round about it,) he would never suffer so many valiant Soldiers to be lost, but quit the place, and reserve his Men to a further service; for why, it was the part of valiant Men to perform so much as was of Men to be performed; but to strive to do more, was no Manhood at all; wherefore he thought it best to do that which Men use with Members mortified, whose recovery is desperate; in which case we doubt not to make a separation, so to save the rest of the Body with Life. The Spanish Knight in most parts agreeing with *Caprius*, said, That he thought it not good, that the place should so easily be forsaken; first, for that the Ditches and Bulwarks were yet defensible; and then because he saw so great a content among the Defendants, and such a cheerfulness to withstand the Enemy, which thing (as he said) prefigured Victory.

These opinions of the Knights thorowly in Council debated, and every particular well weighed, it seemed good to the greater part, that they retired were in the Castle should for certain days yet hold it out; especially because it was not the manner of the Knights of the Order chiefly to abandon their strong Holds, but rather to keep them to the last, that even therein the barbarous Enemy might perceive with whom he had to do, and to see his Pride abated. For if they should have forsaken the place, they might have been thought to have done it for fear; whereby the Enemies infolency might have been increased, and the honourable Order of those sacred Knights disgraced.

The Turks  
furiously  
assault the  
City.

But the Turks intensive to that they had before determined, the three and twentieth day of *June* assembling all their Forces both by Sea and Land round about the Castle, in the dead time of the night on every side set up scaling Ladders, made Bridges, wrought Mines, and with two and thirty great Pieces of Artillery battered the rest of the Walls yet standing, and presently gave the terrible Assault. The Defendants on the other side beat down some, repulsed other, slew many, ever more careful how to wound the Enemy, than to save themselves; and where he pressed fastest on, there to flew their greatest Valour. Great were the Outcries made on both sides, mixt with Exhortation, Mirth and Mourning; the face of the whole Fleet was divers, uncertain, cruel, and dreadful; and now it was the third hour of the day, when till the Victory stood doubtful, and had not the fury of the great Ordinance been so terrible, that it now had beaten down all the Walls unto the very Rock whereon the Castle stood, the Defendants might for some longer time have endured the Enemies Force. But the very Rock bared both of Walls and Defendants, and more than four hundred slain, a Man could now scarcely show himself, but he was presently flung in Pieces. *John* the Governor of the Castle, and *Garras* of *Endeze*, Men of equal Valour, Integrity, and Honour, were both slain with one shot; for a short and transitory Life made Partakers

of Immortality together. Yet the rest which stood in defence of the Castle, nothing terrified with so great a loss and slaughter of their Fellows, but augmented rather as they were with new Courage from above, fought with greater Force than before, overthrow the Turks Ensigns now set up in the Castle, slew the Ensign-bearers, Captains, and Colonels; now respecting nothing more, but honourably to lay down their Lives for their Religion and the obtaining of immortal Fame. By this time the Sun was mounted to the middle of Heaven, great was the Heat, and Men exceeding weary; the murdering shot never ceased, and such was the multitude of the Enemy, that he first in fresh Men instead of them that were wounded. On the other side, the small number of the Christians, and those weakened by Labour, Watching, Thirst and Wounds, did what Men might; yet at length were overcome by a greater Force; and so the Castle by the Turks won, but with such slaughter of their Men, that it was a wonder that so many should be slain of the few. The Defendants were all slain, every Man in valiant Fight.

The Castle  
of Saint  
Elmo taken  
by the  
Turks.

There may I not in silence pass over the inhuman and more than barbarous Cruelty of the Turks against the dead Bodies of the slain Knights, that thereby may appear, that Cruelty never wanteth whereon to shew it self merciless, yea even after death. The Turks after they had taken the Castle, finding certain of the Knights yet breathing, and but half dead, first cut their Hearts out of their Breasts, and then their Heads from their Bodies; after that, they hanged them by the Hoeks in their red Cloaks with white Croffes, (which manner of Attire they after an ancient Custom use in time of War, as they do black in time of Peace) in sight of the Castles, Saint Angelo and Saint Michael. And yet *Mulapha* the Turks General not contented, commanded them afterwards to be fast bound together, and so cast into the Sea, whose dead Bodies were in few days after by the Surge of the Sea cast up into the Haven Major and known by their Swords, were by the commandment of the formidable Great Master honourably buried. With which the Enemies most barbarous Cruelty he was so moved, that he commanded that no Turk should from that time be taken prisoner, but to be profrely slain. And thereupon all that were before taken, were forthwith put to the Sword, and their Heads cast over the Walls on that side towards the Enemy. From the beginning of the Siege to the taking of the Castle, of the Christians were slain three thousand three hundred, amongst whom were an hundred and thirty of the sacred Knights of the Order all worthy to be registred in the Book of everlasting Fame.

Valenta  
encourag-  
ing his  
Soldiers  
after the  
loss of the  
Castle St.  
Elmo.

The Castle of Saint Elmo thus lost, *Valenta* although his mind (as he had good cause) was inwardly attained with exceeding grief, yet made semblance otherwise, because he would not daunt the minds of his Soldiers; telling them, that nothing was happened unpurposed, or unworthy of them. This was (as he said) the Will of God, and the chance of War, that sometimes one, sometimes another should be overcome; and that cowardly, not such Valour as was in them that were gone, gave occasion to living Friends to lament; yet that the Enemy was not for that to be feared, who had also recovered such a loss, as he might thereby rather seem conquered, than a victorious Conqueror; whereas the loss of his Knights was recompensed with Honour and Immortality; things that will sufficiently inflame all noble minds to behave themselves valiantly. As for himself (he said) that trusting not in his own Strength, but in the help of Almighty God, he had not yet cast off the hope of Victory.

Valenta  
his Letters  
to the Go-  
vernour of  
Melita.

Victory over the relics of the discomfited Enemy; and that he well hoped, they were all of the same mind, wherein he most joyfully respected them to persevere unto the end. When he had thus said, he being a Man armed against all Fortunes, withdrew himself a little aside; where calling many things in his troubled mind, he determined to send Letters to *Petrus Mesquita*, Governour of the City of *Melita*, to certify him and the Knights of the Order that were at *Messana*, and the Viceroy, of the loss of St. Elmo; the Copy whereof, because it is in this evident appearance the Christian mind of him the Great Master, I have thought good here to set down as followeth:

Whilst the Knights are setting forward, in the mean time chance the miserable misfortune of the Castle Saint Elmo; which although it brought unto us that grief you may easily imagine, we for all that, as if it had happened by some secret appointment of God, have taken in that part, that he as a most merciful Father purposed thereby to warn us, but not utterly to destroy us. Neither do I think it lawful to doubt of his mercy and power. Yet for all that, I may nevertheless complain, that we are of them forsaken of whom is least befitted. So that in the space of seven and thirty days, wherein our most valiant Soldiers endured all the force of the Enemy (which truly was done rather by the power of God than of Man) we were hapless of our own (which owe so much unto us) not so much as with the least help, which they might officiously have sent us. But I list to ascribe it, whatsoever it is, to God, of whom alone we have hitherto received so many good things, so rest we in hope hereafter to receive also. For, for any thing that I can see, we must now trust to Mans help forasmuch as we could by no Letters, no Diligence, no Prayers, no Admonitions, and to be brief, by no Commands move them, who of all others ought most to have obeyed us. The friends of the time suffered us not to arrive to the Victory of this thing, it shall be your part to certify both him and other our Friends thereof; who if they had obeyed our command, or aided us with never so little a supply of Soldiers, happily we had not lost the Castle St. Elmo; in defence whereof we have lost the best part of our Soldiers. Wherefore except the Viceroy make haste to deliver us from this Siege, I fear that he cannot in time come; but especially if we be here besieged before the coming of those our small help which we as in a Dream have promised unto our selves, and which we now scarce hope will be in time present. For all that, we do not distrust of God his love and providence; by whose divine inspiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in sort: time stirred up, will hasten hither to relieve us. For all our warfare consisteth in celerity. Our Enemies having drawn all their Fleet into the Haven Major, Moxet, are busied in cleansing the Castles, and repairing the Breaches, that they may afterwards the better able them against us. Wherefore upon the sight of these our Letters, send unto us the Captains Catherin, Belcarac, Belmek, and Zoricius, with their Companies, that we may use their faithful and valiant service, God of his mercy send us aid from some place, and keep you. Fare you well, from our Castle St. Angelo, the twenty fourth of June, 1565.

*Mesquita* having received these Letters, commanded a Galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein embarked *Musius Cadenellus*, one of the Knights; to whom he delivered both the Letters of the Grand Master to him, and others of his own, almost of the same purport, directed to the Knights of the Order which lay at *Messana*, requesting him with all speed possible to pass over with them into *Scilia*.

Mulapha  
satisfies  
the Messa-  
nians to the  
Great Mas-  
ter.

The answer  
of the  
Great Mas-  
ter to the  
Turkish  
Jungles.

Philip  
Lascaris  
fifth from  
the Turks  
to the Ca-  
sar St.  
Michael.

In the mean time *Mulapha* the Turks General sent a Messenger to *Valenta*, and with him an old Spanish Captive, with promise of liberty if he would go with his Messenger to the Town, to talk with *Valenta* concerning the yielding up thereof, and to try if he would by any means come to agreement; who coming to the Town, the Turk first waiting at the Gate, the Christian was let in, and brought to the Great Master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But as soon as *Valenta* heard of the name of composition and yielding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not been a Christian, he would presently have commanded him to have been hanged. Wherefore he gave him choice either to tarry till in the Town, if he thought so good, or else forthwith to return and tell his Companion, that if he got him not Packing quickly, he would send him farther off with a great frock. With this short answer the Turk suddenly returned into the Camp. Whereupon *Mulapha* fell into such a rage, that he openly professed, never from that time to forbear any kind of cruelty against the Christians. He was then with *Mulapha* one *Philip*, of the most noble Grecian Family of *Lascaris*, who of a Boy taken Prisoner by the Christians in *Patras*, a City of *Achaia*, and by them honestly and courteously used, was therefore ever after well affected toward the Christians; he privy to many of *Mulapha*'s designs, by a certain divine motion thought he should not a little profit the Christians by reviving unto them; wherefore he resolved to file unto the Castle of Saint Michael. Which thing when he had oftentimes considered, at length the first of *July* he cast himself into the Sea (as by Land he could no way escape) and swum to the Castle, not without danger of his life; for discovered by the Turks, he was many times shot at both with their Arrows and small Shot. He, brought to the Great Master, revealed unto him many of the Enemies Secrets, and also advised him what was best to be done at the point of Saint Michael, to frustrate the Enemies purpose for the assailing of that place; with many other things, which were unto the Defendants no small help; and afterwards as often as need was, during the Siege, fought valiantly against the Turks.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Condellus* Escort, as we have before said into *Scilia*, came in safety to *Messana* where he found the Christian Fleet not yet ready to relieve were the distressed Maltese; for the Spanish Ship which was come, and *John Andreas Juria* with eight and twenty Ships was ready to return to take in four thousand Footmen, taken up in *Etruria* by *Capitius Vitellius*. Which backwardness the Knights of the Order considering, and what danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongst themselves they resolved by the power of God by all means possible to help their Brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generals of their own Fellows (the Commanders of *Messana* and *Baroli*) who forthwith went to *Garras* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the sacred Knights of their Order had done, not for the King of Spain only, but for the Christian Common-weal, and also what great charge they had been at the year before in the *Panionian* expedition, wherein they had neither spared Ships, Victual, nor Munition, for their own Lives, to profit the King and the Christian Common-weal. Besides this, they beought him well to consider, that the loss of *Malta* concerned not the sacred Knights only, but all Italy, and especially *Scilia*, for the nearness of

Nights  
great aid  
of the  
Viceroy.

to the  
King of  
Spain  
only, but  
for the  
Christian  
Common-  
weal.



So troublesome and puffed an Enemy. For these and other like reasons, which the shortness of the time suffered them not to rehearse, they requested of him four thousand Footmen, with whom all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntary Men would make all possible speed to relieve the besieged, which they had before in vain attempted; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the Enemy, or to recover that was already lost, yet at least to stop and stay his farther proceeding, until such time as he having rigged up and brought forth all his Fleet, might set upon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish and disperse them. But whilst the Viceroy having heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a Messenger came unto him from Spain, but with what command from the King (although Mon-guessed diversly) could not be known. But upon his coming, the Viceroy gave the Knights this cold answer, That he could not grant what they requested, for that in losing he should dishonour his Fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieve them as he desired; but if it pleased them to transport the Knights with part of the Bishops Soldiers into the Island, they might do so with their own two Gallies they had already, whereunto he would also join another of his own. The Knights when they could obtain no more, accepted of that which was offered.

Which being resolved forward, those four Gallies whereof we have before spoken wherein were embarked eighty Knights and six hundred other Soldiers, having at Sea suffered many troubles by the space of twenty days, could not as yet arrive at Malta; and because the Viceroy had commanded that they should not land, except they first knew whether the Castle Saint Elmo were still in the hands of the Christians, they sent out a Frigate to land, promising that day and the next to carry in the Sea for her return. In the mean time a great Tempest suddenly arising, it so fell out, that the Frigate could not at the appointed time return; wherefore the Gallies which expected her coming, fearing lest the had been either by Tempest lost, or by the Enemy intercepted, retired unto *Pozolo* a Port upon the Coast of *Sicilia*, nearest to Malta, there to expect some good News; where as soon as they had put in, they understood that Saint Elmo was yet defended; whereupon they put to Sea again, with purpose to have arrived at Malta. But when they were within two Leagues of the place where they thought to have landed, they saw a Fire there which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the Enemy, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them; wherefore they returned again to *Pozolo*, where now understanding of the French Knight come from Malta, that that Fire was by his commandment, as a sign that they might without fear come forward; they with all speed made again for the same place, and at length the nine and twentieth day of June about midnight landed at the *Black Rocks* on the South side of the Island toward *Africa*, and unseen of any got in haste to the Castle of Saint Michael joyfully received, and there staid to expect what the Great Master should command. In the mean time it fortuned, a great foggy Mist (which seldom times there chanceth) to arise so thick, that a Man could hardly see for it; at which time a Boy of twelve years old looking by chance out of a Window in the Castle of Malta, suddenly as one afraid cried out, that he saw a Turk going from the City to the Castle of Saint Michael. Which thing some of the Knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greak of the

City Malta, who brought back and examined (for that without the Governors pass it was not lawful for any Man to go out of the City) confessed, That his purpose was to have advertised the Turks of the coming of those Soldiers, that if they might have intercepted them as they should have come from Malta to the Grand Master; for which Treason he was as he had well deserved cut in four pieces. Three days after; this new Supply came from *Sicilia*, in the first Watch of the night came all in safety from Malta to the Grand Master, except two or three Boys, who overcharged with Armor and other Baggage, were not able to keep pace with the rest. It could not be told, how much the besieged rejoiced at the coming of these their Friends; and especially *Valletta*, who seeing the Flower of his Knights and other Soldiers; as it were by Divine Providence come unto him; with tears trickling down his Cheeks, and his Eyes cast up to Heaven, said:

*I thank thee, O Heavenly Father, which hearest the prayer my Prayers, and pesterest not with the rest, this little flock of Valletta. Whose words with reviving Wolves: these are the Words of thine everlasting Goodness, Mercy and Providence.*

These new come Soldiers requested of the Great Master, as a Reward of their Pains, That they might be put in Garrison into the Town Saint Michael, a place now most laid unto by the Turks; which thing they (commending the Great Master's easily granted; yet for all that removed not the old Garrison. These fresh and courageous Soldiers desirous of nothing more than to fight with the Enemy, the next day sallied out, and having slain two hundred of the Turks, and wounded as many more, without loss of a Man returned, every Mans Sword imbrued in the Blood of his Enemy. Which thing *Musapha* the Turks General hearing, knew it was they who came into the Town; and thereupon fell in rage with his Captains, as that they had by their negligence entered. But the suspicion grew most upon them that were appointed for the keeping of the utmost part of the Island; which was the more increased, for that three Gallies of *Algiers* had withdrawn themselves away; so that he neither trusted them nor the Renegade Christians, who as occasion served fled daily from him. For which cause he gave out Proclamation, That none of them should lie by night out of the Gallies, and that such as did otherwise, should therefore be burnt; or impaled upon sharp Stakes; and changing his Warders, appointed *Sale* with his Gallions, whom he thought to be more faithful, for the keeping of the Island. And that neither they nor the Christians should be able to attempt any thing, he chained together diverse Gallies in the Entrance of the Haven *Marzamacco*, and caused the rest of the Fleet to ride nearer together than before. But because exceeding many were at that time sick in the Turks Camp, of the Flux and other Difficulties; three places were assigned for them; one for the wounded Men near unto *Aqua Meisita*, guarded with two thousand Turks; another in the Pools of their Ships and Gallies for the Turks Volunteers; and the third amongst the Bulwarks, where the enforced Christians were cured. At the same time, *Musapha* appointed *Ochli* Bassa Governor of *Tripoli*; instead of *Drago* before slain; who going thither with five Gallies; and having fed all things in order there, returned again unto the Camp. With him the Bassa had sent two Ships loaded with Corn to *Tripoli*; there to make Bread, whereas they began to feel some want in the Camp. He also sent *Salech* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certify him of the

the winning of the Castle St. Elmo, and to deliver unto him the description of the Island of Malta as they found it at their arrival; and further to declare unto him, That he found the *Malfes* stronger and better provided; than was at his setting forth supposed; wherefore if it were his pleasure longer to continue the Siege, he should find a new supply of Men, Victual, and other Warlike Provision; which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other strong places of the Island also, though not so soon as was at first supposed; and that in the mean time whilst he expected Answer, he would not fail to do what he possibly might. And because he would not seem to have written an untruth, he began his battery in fourteen places with 70 great pieces of Artillery, amongst which was three most huge *Basilisks*; for from the Gallows Promontory to *Aqua Meisita*, and from thence to the Castle of St. Elmo, wherein he had placed 300 Janizaries, the Turks had inclosed all that compass with sturdy Bulwarks, Trenches, and Moones, from whence they with their thundering Shot day and night incessantly battered the Towns and Castles of St. Michael and St. Angelo, overthrow the Walls, beat down the Bulwarks, and brake down the houses in such terrible manner, that scarce any could be safe therein; which of all others most troubled the fearful Women and Children. But the Turks in their Trenches retired in, and so they stood, as if they refused not to stray far out of the Camp, but trusting upon their multitude, and that not many times without their loss being cut off by the Horsemen of the Garrison of Malta, who were ever ready at their heels.

When the loss of the Castle St. Elmo was known at Rome, the City was filled with mourning and heaving; the Romans were sorry for the dishonour, and some feared lest the Gallies of the *Malfes* should redound unto themselves. There was also amongst others, a certain envious and foul-mouth'd kind of man, altogether ignorant and unacquainted with Martial Affairs, who thamed not to lay the blame of the loss of St. Elmo upon the Grand Master; whom both his own Valour, with the worthy Testimony of so many famous and valiant men as were there present with him, as also this History gathered out of the true light of things there done, shall both for the time present and for all Posterity sufficiently acquit of so false a slander. But he will easily blemish another mans name; that *Barseth* not his own; neither can Ignorance rightly judge of the counsels of the Skillful or Cowardise, of valiant deeds.

But to return again to our purpose: we said before, that three Gallies were made ready at *Meliana*; in setting forth whereof, they which had the Charge used such diligence, that the seventh of July they departed out of Harbour. In them (besides the Knights of the Order) were imbarqued 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Bishops Soldiers, conducted by *Pompeii Columbus*; the Mariners were part hired, part Slaves, to whom liberty was granted, if they would willingly do their endeavour to get into the Haven, and to be accounted of as the rest of the Soldiers were. And because they would relieve the besieged not with Men only, but with Victual also, they put into the same Gallies five hundred bushels of Wheat, beside Gunpowder, Salt-petre, and Lead for Shot. And although it was thought a most hard matter, by the Haven itself to enter into the Island, the Turks notwithstanding it and all the places thereabouts, nevertheless there was in the Knights such an earnest

desire to relieve their Brethren, that they promised both to themselves and others, all things easie and safe. But when they began to approach the Island, they sent a Scout before, to understand by signs from the Castle of St. Angelo, whe-ther they were to proceed forward or not; who returned they so far that they might discover the sign, perceived thereby that they should retire. Which thing the Turks perceiving also, presently with the smoke of their great Ordnance and other things, they so obscured the Air as with a thick Cloud, in such sort as that those signs were no more to be discerned; but all in vain: for why, the Men had already desiered them; so those three Gallies returned again to *Sicilia*. For, *Valletta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring so many of the sacred Knights, to many noble Gentlemen and valiant Soldiers, into a most manifest danger: for he saw certain of the Turks Gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the Haven *Marza Moset*, at a place called *The Little Salts*, to impeach the going in or out of the Haven Major. About the same time, they which lay in Garrison in the City Malta, hearing of the notable Sally made by the Soldiers lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at such time as the Turks were fetching in a certain booty of Cattel, the Horsemen purified them, and having slain divers of them, recovered the prey; and yet not so contented, chased them even to their Camp. But the other Turks seeing their Fellows flying in such haste towards them, raised an Alarm, ran to their Generals Tent, and for that time ceased their battery.

The Great Master probably conjecturing, that the Turks would in short time assault both the Town and Castle of St. Michael, thought good by his preference to encourage and strengthen the Garrison; and therefore was about to have gone thither by a Bridge made of Boats from the one point of the Land to the other, between St. Michael and St. Angelo; but quickly understanding the certainty thereof, returned again into his Castle. Some there be that think, For him to have to do, done had been a ventures part, and full of danger, and therefore to have been discommended; for that great things are performed, not so much by strength of body as of mind, by politique counsel and direction, wherewith a General (although absent) may yet win his Forces be always present; but the General once lost (which may easily happen if he will prefer his Person to the danger) we see most commonly all fall together with him, no otherwise than do all parts of the Body when the Soul departeth. But other some are of contrary opinion, That the Generals preference, especially in great dangers, is both praise-worthy and most necessary; for that he, as the Soul, cannot provide for, or rule the body, except he be present, yea placed therein; and that *Valletta* in so doing, followed the Examples of the greatest Kings and most famous Generals; as of *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Caesar*, *Themistocles*, *Marius*, and others; whose words unto their Soldiers were these, *My self will be your Conductor in the field, in the battel partaker of the danger with you, you shall be in all things as my self*. Besides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, so most of all in Martial Affairs, all things are better, more orderly, and more easily done when the Master is present; neither was the learned Poet his meaning any thing else, when in the Wars betwixt the *Latins* and the *Rutilians*, he saith, *Urget presens Turm*; whereupon they concluded, that the Great Master in going had done both valiantly, wisely, and according to

his duty. But this we leave for martial men to determine.

*The King of Algiers came to aid the Turks.*

At the same time the King of *Algiers* came to Aid the Turks with seven Gallies and ten Gallios, and in them 2200 Souldiers, who forry that he was not there at the beginning, and desirous to do some notable Act, and withall to make proof of the Valour of his Souldiers, requested the great Bassa to bestow upon him the first place in the besieging the Castle of *St. Michael's*, which he not only granted, but joyed to his Forces 2000 of his own best Souldiers. These things obtained, he commanded ninety small Vessels by devices to be carried over land out of the Port *Marza-Moxes* to *Aqua Maria*, for that he purposed on that side to besiege the Castle by water. But *Valista* perceiving the Enemies purpose, both by seeing that was done, and also advised before by a Christian Fugitive, presently called unto him two hundred Gallies, and Ship-Masters of *Malta*, and imparting the matter unto them, demanded what they thought best to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it seemed they purposed at the Walls foot. They quickly perceiving the matter, answered, That in their opinion, if a Chain were made of Malls and Sail-yards as Spars joyned together with iron rings, and so drawn all alongt from the corner of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to that place whither the Enemy thought to land, their purpose might be so defeated. This device so pleased the Great Master, that the night following such a Chain was made, and fast mored in the appointed place. The Turks so soon as it was day perceiving this bar, stood as men doubtful, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purposed. Whilst they stood so abashed, a Christian Fugitive a most desperate Villain (in which kind of foolish hardiness, valour, and desperation, confanacy) came to the King, and promised him to break the Chain, and so with a Hatchet in his hand cast himself into the Sea; after whom followed two or three more to help him; who swimming to the Chain, got up upon it, and began to hew space with their Hatchets. Which the Christians beholding, suddenly five or six of the *Maltese* swam thither with their drawn Swords in their hands, and having slain two of them, caused the other to fly; after which time none of the Turks was so hardy as to attempt the fame. The barbarous King for all that gave not over his purpose so, but with wonderful diligence prepared for the Siege, which the fifteenth day of *July* began both by Sea and Land. But the Defendants turning their great Ordnance upon that place from whence the Gallies came, with the fury thereof (in the space of three hours, which the Assault endured) flew two thousand Turks, and sunk twelve of the Gallies; the rest coming as fast as the Chain, when they could get no farther, nor land their men, turned their Prows upon the corner of the Castle, but were glad at last to retire and leave that they came for, undone. The assault by Land also endured five hours, whereina many of the Turks were slain; and of the Defendants 200, amongst whom was *Fredericus* the Vice-Roy of *Sicilia* his Son, struck in the head with a great Shot, *Gordine* a Frenchman, *Franciscus Sanehera* and his Nephew *John*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was also wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valista* considering into what danger the State of *Malta* was like to fall, if he should be constrained to fight many such fights, where his Souldiers wearied day and night without rest, were still to encounter with

*A desperate Fugitive.*

*The King of Algiers naturally repulsed them by Sea and Land.*

*A hard blow to carry away.*

fresh men, and heard nothing of any Aid or new Supply: the 17 day of *July* sent a Messenger into *Sicilia*, who swam from the Castle to the farthest part of the Bay to *Aqua Maria*, and from thence escaped unknown through the midst of the Enemies, unto the City of *Malta*, and so in a little Frigate came to *Mejjana*. By him the Great Master sent Letters to the Vice-Roy, requesting him to send him his own two Gallies with those Knights which were at *Mejjana*, and such other Souldiers as might be sent by transpo; willing them, that as soon as they came to the Island, they should hover off aloof before the Haven, ready upon a sign given to thrust in. The same time that this Messenger arrived at *Mejjana*, came thither also the Fleet from *Spain*, wherein were many of the Knights of the order from divers Nations. The Vice-Roy desirous to send these two Gallies to *Valista*, sent Letters before unto him in several characters by two Frigates, wherein he certified him that he would send the Gallies, requiring to have from him some sign whereby they might at their coming know whether they should enter or retire; which Frigates taking divers courses, one of them laded with Medicines, as was afterwards known, was intercepted by the Enemy; the other although the came in safety to *Malta*, yet for as much as all the passages betwixt the Castle of *St. Michael* and the City *Malta*, were certain days before by the diligence of the Enemy shut up, and three which had used to pass too and fro, intercepted and most cruelly executed; and besides that, the Haven straightly kept; the Knights of *Mejjana* could have no further direction from the Great Master, for the safe sending of the two Gallies; yet nevertheless because he had requested them, and they themselves were of the same opinion (as he had before written) that what the least advantage of a little part is left to be feared; they thought it good to adventure them, yet with this regard, not to expose all those Knights to so great a danger, but of them all to send only forty, with a convenient number of other Souldiers, and with them *Salazar* a Spanish Captain was sent by the Vice-Roy to be landed on the Island *Gaulos*, who should afterwards from thence in a Boat (for that purpose rowed along by the Gallies) pass over into the Island of *Malta* as a Spy, to take view both of the City and Enemies Camp.

In the mean time the Turks mindful of the loss received in the Assault of the Castle *St. Michael*, and desirous of revenge, did so violently batter the Castle with their great Ordnance, that what the Defendants repaired by night, that they fell beat down again by day; and in time of battery made a Bridge, which the 20th day of *July* before the Sun rising they laid over the Ditch, that they might as if it had been upon even ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Christians. Which seen, and quickly perceived what danger it might bring, by and by *Parisio* the Great Masters Nephew, and *Aleria*, both Knights, with certain mercenary Souldiers failed out to have burnt the Bridge, but were so received of the Turks, that they were almost all slain together with *Parisio* and *Aleria*, and yet the Exploit superperformed. The Turks without ceasing continued their furious battery until the eighth and twentieth of *July*, which day in the Afternoon they in divers places assaulted the Castle; thrice they with fresh and new Supplies relieved their repulsed and wearied Souldiers, and so fiercely maintained the Assault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Castle.

But

*The Turks repulsed.*

*A Mine of the Turks defeated.*

*The Bridge made by the Turks burnt.*

But the Defendants with no less resolution withstood them, repelling them with their Weapons, with Shot, Fire, and Force, and at length inforced them with no small loss of their men to retire from the Walls. This Victory so encouraged the besieged, that now they made small reckoning of the Enemy; but so far as our men always spared their great Ordnance but in time of fight, and failed not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the Garrison was but weak, and that Shot and Powder grew scarce in the Castle. Yet decied in both, for that it was rather of purpose, than for want, so commanded by the Great Master; who hearing nothing of the coming of any Aid, and seeing the Enemy to give daily more fierce Assaults, would not vainly spend his most necessary helps. The Turks perceiving what little good they had done with their often Assaults, determined now to prove what might be done in undermining the Castle, and almost brought one of their Mines to perfection before it was by the Christians discovered; and to the intent they should the less mark it, they caused two Gallies to come as near as they could to the Walls, and to batter that place; in hope that whilst our men gazed upon that was done openly, they should the less regard what they were working in secret, that so they might in the mean time more easily get into the Castle. But the besieged careful of all that was to be cared for, perceiving their purpose, with a countermine defeated their Mine, and by the courageousness of certain of their Souldiers, but especially of one Ancient, drove out the Enemy, who having cast certain pots of Wild-fire before him into the Mine, and following presently after with a piece of Fire-work in his hand, forced him out. For which good Service he was by the Great Master rewarded with a Chain of five pound weight. Almost thereupon because of vertue springer vertue, which still rethens upon Difficulties, the next day, which was the first of *August*, the Bridge which we said the Enemy had made over the Ditch, was by a fallly made by the Defendants burnt down with Fire and Gunpowder cast upon it; which was in good time done; for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again assailing that part of the Castle where *Carulus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulsed. This Assault endured three hours, in which time 300 of the Turks were there slain; and of the Knights, *Rufus* himself and *Barefus*, with certain mercenary Souldiers. At this time the Christians were by the Enemy so shut in with the multitude of great Ordnance, that they could not so much as look into the Ditch or thence themselves, much less fallly out, but they were presently fer off. Yet did they not for all that make spare of their lives when occasion was given them to perform any notable Exploit; as appeared by *Calderonus* a Spaniard, who seeing some viewing that part of the Wall which the Enemy had most battered and shaken at the Castle Bulwark, doubted not to fallly out, but was presently taken with a Bullet and slain; which mischance when it might seem of right to have terrified the rest from attempting the like, did indeed the more incense them; so that when they saw the Enemy exceeding busy in filling the Ditch, they resolutely set down to offer themselves to most assured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the merciless Enemy, agreed to fallly out by night, and to meet with his designs. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other Souldiers, falling forth, caused the Enemy to forsake the Ditch and betake himself to fight, of whom

they flew about fourscore, and lost of their own, many; amongst whom were *Joannes* and *Mauritius* two Knights, whose heads the Turks the next day set up upon two Spears upon their Trenches, that they might be seen by the Christians.

The same day, they of the City of *Malta* at night made at one instant a number of fires, and as if it were in triumph discharged great Volleys of small Shot, with many other tokens of joy; which as well the besieged as the Turks thought verily to have been done upon discovery of the Christians Fleet, or else the landing of such Forces as were come to remove the Siege; whereas indeed it was neither, but done only to shew their cheerfulness, and to keep the Turks in silence with the novelty of the matter; who for all that were not slack in their business, but with Earth filled up the Ditch at the Castle Bulwark; whereby it came to pass that they could not be hurt but the flankers made in that place to four the Ditch, but might thereby, as upon plain ground without flay pass unto the Wall, now opened and overthrown with their continual battery, and with two great Pieces (which they had planted upon a high Mount which they had newly cast up on the right hand the Bulwark *Savours*) they began to play upon the Castle, and at the first shot, shot into the Loupe where *Franciscus Castilian* Spanish Knight, *Joannes Bernandus Gordinus* a Spanish Knight, were there slain with a small shot. The same day *Franciscus Aquilatus* a Spaniard, one of the Garrison-Souldiers, perwaded by fear and hope (in dangers two evil Counsellors) fled out of the Town *St. Michael* to the Enemy; perwading the Turks Colonels to give a fresh Assault, assuring them that they should without doubt win the Town, because there was but 400 Souldiers left alive in the Castle, and as he said, almost all the labour and wounds, all the rest being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and seeing fair breaches both in the Walls of the new City and of the Castle of *St. Michael*, wide enough for Carts to go through, they determined with all their Forces to assault both places at once, and to prove if there were yet so much strength left in those Holds, as again to repulse them; so the 7th day of *August* at one instant they assaulted the new City at the Castle Bulwark, and the Castle *St. Michael* at the breach, with such a multitude, that all the Earth seemed to be covered with men round about. The thundering of the great Ordnance, the noise of the small shot, with the clattering of Armor, and noise of Trumpets, Drums, and other War-like Instruments, with the cry of men on both sides was so confused and great, as if Heaven and Earth should have been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the City *Malta* heard, and saw the Heavens obscured with smoke, fearing that the Turks (as at the Castle *St. Eimo*) would never give over the Assault until they had won both the Town and the Castle; presently all the Garrison-Horsemen issued out of the City, and to avert the Turks from the Assault, set upon those Turks which lay at *Aqua Maria*; who all surprised with sudden fear, fled, the Christian Horsemens hardly pursuing them with bloody Execution, and they in their flight piously crying out upon their Fellows for help. Whereby it came to pass, that they which were assailing the City and Castle, to rescue their discomfited Fellows, were glad to give over the Assault; so with great slaughter foiled on both sides by the Christians, they returned to their Trenches, when they had lost about fifteen hundred at the Assault, beside them

*Aquilatus fled to the Turks.*

*The Turks at one instant assault the new City and the Castle St. Michael.*

*The Garrison-Souldiers of Malta, falling upon the Turks to give over the assault at St. Michael.*

which were slain in the chafe by the Horsemen of *Melina*. Of the Defendants of both places were slain above an hundred, and almost as many wounded. This fight endured about five hours. *Pascala* delivered of so great a danger, that day and certain others, caused publique Prayers to be made, and went himself with the multitude of the Citizens to the Church, to give Thanks to Almighty God for that Victory.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Garcia* the Vice-Roy was advertised from *Melina*, that certain Ships led with Men, Victual, and other provision necessary for the Wars, were coming from *Constantinople* to *Melina*; wherefore he forthwith sent *Alamira* and *Gildandrada* two Noble-men, with five Gallies to meet them; who being come within thirty miles of *Melina*, met with no such Ships, but only one Frigate and a Galliot; the Frigate they took, but the Galliot escaped to the Enemies Fleet at *Melina*.

*Melissaphis* the Turks General now thinking no man so strong which might not with continual labour and watching be wearied and overcome, resolved not to give unto the besieged any time of rest, but commanded his Souldiers again to assault the breach at the Castle of *St. Michael's*, where they were by the valour of the Defendants, with no small slaughter quickly repulsed; neither did the Baffa give to many assaults, for the hope he had to win the places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant General, and to satisfy *Solyman's* pleasure, who had expressly commanded, either to win that Island, or there all to lose their lives. He also sent a Galliot in haft with Letters to *Solyman*; wherein he shewed him the state of the Fleet, with what difficulties the Army was distressed, what small hope there was of winning the places besieged, how well the Christians were provided, with many other such things.

In the mean time those two Gallies of *Melina* (which we have before spoken of) departing from *Melina*, came to *Syracusa*, where they stayed a day. The next day after, in going out of the Haven, they met with one of *Melina* in a small Boat coming from *Pascala* fore wounded; he being demanded how he was hurt; told them, That landing by his Boat and one Companion, he was requested by two *Sicilians* which dwelt there, to rest there that night; which they doing, about midnight five Turks brake into the house upon them, killed his Companion, carried away the *Sicilians*; and he wounded as he was, hardly escaped by the benefit of the night; moreover he said, That the *Sicilians* had told the Turks, that two Gallies were come into that Port, with Souldiers and other Warlike Provision bound for *Melina*. Whereby the Knights perceived, that their coming would be discovered unto the Enemy, and that it was a most dangerous thing, or rather impossible to get into the Haven of *Melina*, as they had before purposed; nevertheless, to conduct *Salazar* with his little Boat, they kept on their course. But as they were sailing, the two Gallies were come one Galliot going before them, who seeing the Gallies coming after them, made with all speed to *Melina*; and were no doubt those Gallies, from whence those five Turks came, which had done those things which the wounded *Melissaphis* reported. For all that, these Gallies kept on their course as far as *Pascala*, from whence they certified the Vice-Roy by Letters, all that had happened, and not daring to go to Sea, the South-wind blowing with a stiff gale against them, they returned back again to *Syracusa*, expecting

there farther direction from the Vice-Roy. For which cause, they forthwith sent one of the Knights to him to *Melina*; by whom they received answer, That they should go on farther, but to stay for the coming of the whole Fleet, ready in short time to pass over to *Melina*. But *Salazar* brought by the Gallies to *Pascala*, resolved with his little Boat to go on; and although the day he departed thence, the Air was troubled with great Wind, Thunder and Rain, yet the day following, proving more calm, he in short time arrived in the Island of *Melina*; and came in safety to the City *Melina*; and there disguised himself in Turkish Apparel, and taking with him one Companion, who could also speak the Turkish Language, by night got into the Enemies Camp; where diligently marking all things, they perceived that there was in all the Turks Army of Land-Souldiers scarce 14000, and of them many wounded and sick; and that there was but an unresistible and feeble multitude, for that the course of Wars had (as commonly it doth) consumed their best Souldiers.

When they had thus viewed the Camp, they returned again to the City; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Pacius* a Spaniard, a venturesome and valiant man, went to a certain place near unto the Watch-Tower of *Melina*; which when they had curiously viewed, *Pacius* was there left, that observing the signs from the Island of *Gazala*, and the City of *Melina*, he might give knowledge of all things to the Vice-Roy at his approach, as he was by *Salazar* instructed. As for *Salazar* himself, he in his little Boat (which at his coming into the Isle he had there left) happily returned to *Melina*, and there declared unto the Vice-Roy all that he had seen; constantly affirming amongst other things, That the Turks Army was but weak, lame, and disunited; both of Men and Munition, far unable to encounter with 10000 Christians. Above which time also, one of the two Frigates which were before sent to *Melina*, returned with another Spaniard, and a Fugitive from the Turks Camp; and four Gallies before gone from *Melina*, were also come in with fourteen Turks taken about the Island of *Melina*, who all confirmed the fame that was by *Salazar* reported; Which was, That the Turks Army was with often assaults wonderfully weakened, both in number and strength; so that they could not with stripes be enforced to the assault, for which the Baffa had with his own hands slain divers of them; and that which more increased their fear, they saw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof. Besides that, they saw the Christians with invincible courage to defend their strong places, and not to spend one shot in vain: Wherefore they were fiery, and repented that they ever took in hand that Expedition; they desired such a War, thinking as much as they could from the Assault, and as they might, stealing quite away, which many of them did, specially such as before abjured the Christian Faith. For which cause diligent Watch and Ward was kept, and Commandment given by the great Baffa, that they should resolve with themselves either to win the Town, or then all to lay up their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had so commanded, whom to gainstay, was in it self death. These and such like persuasions, caused the Vice-Roy somewhat the sooner to think of the bringing forth of his Fleet; the besieged in the mean time did what men might for defence of the place and themselves. There was in the Castle one *Franciscus Ginara* Captain of the Vanguard, a noble and valiant

valiant Gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot from the Town Wall, which the Enemy had with their great Ordnance beaten down caused a Curtain to be drawn 50 foot long, and five foot thick, with Flankers at both ends, which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great help to the besieged. The Enemy in the mean time began a Mine under the corner of the Town-Ditch, where *Bonimgagna* a Spaniard and a most valiant Knight had the Charge; which the besieged perceiving, by a countermine defeated the same. It happened in the mean time, that a Fugitive was swimming to the Town, he was taken by the Enemy, which much grieved the besieged, defious to have understood something of the state of the Enemies Camp, and of their purposes. Now when the former Mine had taken to evil success, the work of the Turks assailed the Castle of *St. Michael*, and part with Gunpowder thought to have blown up the Castle-Bulwark; but by the carefulness and courage of the Defendants, all their Attempts were disappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places slain, and certain bags of Powder taken from them in the Mine. With these and other such difficulties, *Melissaphis* and *Pied* the Turks Generals disappointed of their hope, consulted with the other great Captains of the Army, Whether they should there still continue that desperate Siege, or depart? Where most were clear of opinion, That it was best betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Baffa said, He would there stay, until the Galliot which he had before sent to *Constantinople*, were returned with answer from *Solyman*, and in the mean time both by force and policy to seek after Victory; which thing he often did, than stood with the broken estate of his Army, or of the besieged; neither resting himself nor suffering others to take rest; for one while he battered the Walls, another while he wrought Mines or else made Bridges; sometime he cast up Mounds, and then again filled the Ditches; and all which doing he used such industry, that whatever he took in hand, was in short time brought to such perfection as might have carried a stronger place, had not the valour of the Defendants far exceeded all his strong and politic devices.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-Master, and Governor of the Castle *St. Michael*, was by night viewing the ruins of the Wall, he was struck in the head with a small stone, and slain; leaving behind him to his Fellows, the great desire of himself; for why, he was a man of many good parts (wherewith he had many times stood the Defendants in great heat) worthily beloved. In whose stead the Great Master sent one of the Colonels that was with himself, a most expert and resolute Captain, to take charge of *St. Michael's* Castle; who by his valiant care and providence so well discharged the charge committed unto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, so often they were with loss repulsed.

The two Gallies with the Galliot, described by the Gallies of *Melina* (as we have before said) told *Pied Baffa* the Admiral, that the Christian Fleet was ready to come forth; wherefore he fearing the sudden coming thereof, caused seveny Gallies to be in readiness; besides such unresistible others lay in the Haven *Mazra Mount* unresistible, as wanting both Men and other Equipages; for that was spent in making Bridges, Mines, and other such things necessary for the Siege; as for the Men, they were part with sickness,

and part with often assaults consumed. Wherefore *Pied* for certain days kept himself by day in the Port Major near the shore, and by night pur forth to Sea, expecting the coming of the Fleet. But after long looking, when he saw no man appear, he again landed his Souldiers; and because at Land the Baffa began to waste Powder, of every thirty Barrels of Powder in every Gally, he took out twenty, and of some twenty five, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the Walls of both Towns, especially with those great Pieces which they call *Basilisks*, whose shot of two hundred pound weight was seven hands about; whereby the Walls of the Castle of *St. Michael* were beaten flat. And at the same time, the Baffa at the Castle *St. Angelo*, had with continual battery so shaken the Castle that it was almost fallen quite down. These breaches thus made, when the Turks faw both Towns barred of Walls and other Defendants, and laid to open, that nothing seemed now to let them to look upon their Enemies, they made no longer stay, but the 18th day of *August* (the Sun being now at the highest) with all their Power fiercely assaulted both the Towns. Thrice they were repulsed, and still came on with greater slaughter, they were glad humbly to give over the assault, and again to retire to their Trenches. In this most cruel fight (which endured five hours) the invincible courage of the Great Master notably appeared, who stood with a Pike in his hand, and dreadful to behold, was still valiantly fighting in the face of the Breach; whose presence encouraged not the Souldiers only, but even Boys and Women, to fight; for it is, that men are more moved, with example, than with words. And of the great number of the Turks, part stood still in the Town-Ditch, and to save themselves from the floor of the Castle-Bulwark, had with wonderful celerity cast up a defence of Earth, Fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpose to approach and to undermine the Walls, and had therefore inclosed the space of fifteen Elms; which when the besieged perceived, they bent certain Pieces of Artillery upon it, and flew many of them, and with fire consumed what was left. The next day the assault was at the same places by the Enemy renewed, who by reason of his number of Souldiers might easily fend fresh men in stead of them which were wounded or weary; and first, after their wonted manner they battered both the Towns all that day until night; afterwards the Moun arising, about midnight with a horrible cry they began a most terrible assault, which at the first much troubled the Christians, who yet still mindful of their wonted valour, did so much with their Weapons and Fire-Works, that the Enemy evil intreated, was glad after three hours fight to retire to his Trenches. The same day a Mine was by the Defendants perceived, at the Castle-Bulwark, wherein a hundred Turks there found, were almost all slain, and the Mine destroyed. Yet for all this did not the Enemy rest at all, but the next day seven times assaulted the same Breaches, using now no Weapons only, but Fire-Works also; wherewith *Bonimgagna* had his face so burnt, that he lost one of his eyes. At the same time also, the Turks at a place called *The Spur*, laboured mightily to have gotten into the Castle; where *Garcia* a Knight of an invincible courage, got up upon the Rampter, and with a Pike courageously thrust them down that were climbing up,

The Turks were defeated in the Christian camp.

Salazar a Spaniard a Spy received the Turkish camp.

The Turks at once of the Towns of St. Angelo and St. Michael, and were at such places repulsed.

Melissaphis sent a Galliot to Solyman.

Robles Governor of the Castle of St. Michael, slain.

Another assault.



and farther to promote them to greater places of Honour; as for the rest, he would reward every one of them according to their desert, either with Money or Preference. *Valetta* thinking all these things to be by Gods appointment disconcerted unto him by such means, as they had from time to time been; first gave thanks unto Almighty God; and after that, with all diligence prepared such things as he thought most necessary for the repulsing of the Enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great Ordnance battered the new City, and the Shipping in the Haven, in such sort that one of the great Ships was there sunk.

The Vice-Roy arrived at Malta, and landed his Forces.

In the morning *Gazias* the Vice-Roy with his Fleet arrived at the Island of *Malta*, and there quickly and quietly landed his Forces, and whilst his Gallies watered at *Gandou*, went forward with the Army about half a mile, intrusting with the General and Colonels, what he thought needful to be done, commanding all Proclamations and Commands to be made in the name of the King of *Spain*, until they came to the Great Master, and then in all things to obey him as their Sovereign; and charged *Alcimus Cornia* the General, in all his actions to follow the counsel of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards *Malta*. About noon he retired to his Gallies, and failing Eastward, came with all his Fleet within the sight of the City of *Malta*, about three miles distant from the South shore. They of the City upon sight of the Fleet, in token of joy discharged all the great Artillery, which was answered from the Fleet, by discharging all their great Ordnance twice. After that, he returned to take into his Gallies the Duke of *Urbino* Companies, which were come to *Malta*, and certain Bands of Spaniards at *Syracuse*, and so forthwith to return to *Malta*, to attend the departing of the Turks Fleet, being now evil appointed, and already as good as half overthrown.

The Turks, who (as is before said) had purposed to prove their last Fortune upon the Town of *St. Michael*, had now certain days before the coming of the Fleet, begun to rusk up their Baggage; but as soon as they heard that the Fleet was come, and the Army landed, there suddenly arose a wonderful tumultuous confusion amongst them, some cried, Arm, arm, and otherwise as fast to be gone; and being generally all afraid, every one according to his disposition, took himself to his Weapons or his heels; the greatest number thrust together into their Trenches as near as they could unto the great Ordnance; and so burning the Engins and Fortifications, with all the speed they could imbarke their great Ordnance and Baggage. Which they in the Town of *St. Angelo* perceiving, not expecting the Commandment of the Great Master in so sudden an opportunity, consequently filled out to *Burmula*, where certainly the Turks kept a huge great Piece of Ordnance; who now having no mind to fight, besook themselves to flight, and so forth the Piece; which they of the Town presently drew within their Walls; and if the new-come Forces had that day charged the Enemy as they did formerly run to their Gallies, happily they as they either found an occasion of Victory, or at leastwise taken from them the greatest part of their Artillery. But it may be, that they followed the old Military saying, That unto the flying Enemy a man should make a Bridge of Silver. Besides that, they thinking it not convenient to depart from the provision and things

which they had brought for the relief of the besieged; which for the roughness of the way and want of Horses were hardly carried, would not provoke the Enemy with any Skirmish; whereby it came to pass, that the Turks without imbarke their great Ordnance their Baggage, and most part of their Army. The 11th of September, whilst the Turks Fleet was brought out of the Haven *Marza-Moset*, a Fugitive of *Gema* came in haft to the Great Master, and told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward *Malta*, to meet with the Christians upon the Way. Which thing the Great Master hearing, presently sent a sufficient number of good Soldiers to the Castle *St. Elmo* there to set up one of the Engins of the sacred Order; who coming thither, found there four and twenty great Pieces, some for battery, some for the field, which they could not in so great haft remove thence.

The Turks Fleet departing out of the Haven *Marza-Moset* to the Port of *St. Paul*, there landed seven thousand men, with *Mulapha* their General, who was fully informed, That the Christians were not above three thousand strong; and from thence encouraged with the small number of the Enemies (as they supposed) they marched directly toward *Malta*. The Christians also marching orderly and ready to give battle, held on their way to meet them; and at the rising of an hill both Armies meeting together, they gave a great shout, and withall the storm broke the battle, where some few were at the first slain on both sides. But the Christians still growing upon them both in number and strength, the Turks finding themselves overcharged, fled, the Christians pursuing them and killing them until they came to their Gallies; where in striving who should get in first, about four hundred of them were drowned in the Sea, besides eighteen hundred slain in the battle at land; and had the Christian Soldiers well known the Country, they had slain them every Mothers Son.

The Turks thus driven to their Gallies, lay there in the Haven all the next day, and most part of the night following, but little before day, upon the shooting off of a great Piece, the sign of their departure, they all hoisted Sail for *Gazias*, leaving the Island of *Malta* fore impoverished and wasted. In this Siege the Turks lost about four and twenty thousand, whereof most part were of their best Soldiers; and of the Christians were slain about five thousand, besides two hundred and forty Knights of the Order; Men of divers Nations, but all worthy eternal Fame, whose dead Bodies the Great Master caused to be honourably buried. The Turks in their battery during the Siege, spent as is accounted, threecore and eighteen thousand great shot.

If a man do well consider the difficulties and dangers the besieged passed through in this five months Siege, the manifold labours and perils they endured in so many and so terrible assaults, the small Relief to them sent in so great distress, with the desperate obstinacy of so puissant an Enemy; he shall hardly find any place there many years more mightily impugned, or with greater valour and resolution defended. The late besieged, and now Victorious Prince, honourably acquitted of so great an Enemy, first commanded Publick Prayers with Thanksgiving to be made unto the Giver of all Victory; after that, he rewarded the Valiant, commended the rest, and gave thanks to all, he charitably relieved the sick and wounded, bewailed the spoil of the Island, and carefully provided for the repairing of the Breaches and Places battered; and yet in all this doing, diligently inquired after the Enemies

The Turks fought the Siege.

The Turks concerning the manner of the Siege of Malta.

The Turks depart from Malta.

The Turks depart from the Great Master.

Course and purpose, and was not in any thing remiss or secure, as in Victory most Men are. But because, so great harms could not without great helps in short time be repaired, and the return of the proud Enemy, not without cause the next year feared; he by Letters to divers great Princes, and especially to the Grand Priors of the Order, in divers Countreys, requested help; amongst whom *George Grand Prior of Germany* and Founder whom *George Grand Prior of Germany* was one of the Castle of *Saint Elmo*, was one of the chiefest. The Copy of which Letters, because they briefly contain what we have before in this History at large written, I have thought good here to set down, that the fame may in such order be read, as it was by the Great Master himself reported.

Brother *Valetta*, Master of the Hospital of *Jerusalem*, to the Reverend and Religious our well beloved Brother in *Christ* *George of Hohenheim*, called *Bombast*, Prior of our Priory in *Almaine*, Greeting.

Although we doubt not but that by the Letters and Relation of many, you already understand the coming of the Turks to invade these Islands; or rather utterly to subvert our Society; and the happy and heavenly Victory by us obtained of it; yet if the same thing shall by our Letters also be brought unto you, we have thought the same will be unto you a thing much more pleasing. For seeing that we are certainly persuaded, that you in this no less happy than glorious success, will give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, and that the fruit of this good shall be of all redound unto you, for the honour which you bear in our Order, we have willingly determined to participate this our joy with you, and plainly and openly to profess, that we attribute this so notable and wonderful Victory to our Lord *Christ Jesus*, the greatest King of all Kings, and Author of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly do, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an Epistole) but briefly and in few words. Sultan *Solyman* the most mortal Enemy of the Christian, and especially of our Society, not contented to have spoiled us of the most famous Island of the Rhodes, the Castle of *Tripolis*, and almost whatsoever we had else commanded a great and strong Fleet to be made ready against us; which departing from *Constantinople* the one and twentieth day of March, arrived there the eighteenth day of May. Which Fleet consisted of almost two hundred and fifty Gallies, Gallies, and other Ships. The number of the Enemies that bear Arms, according to the truth, was about forty thousand more or less: General of the Land Forces, was *Mulapha Baffa*, and of the Fleet, *Pial Baffa* was Admiral; who having first a few days in landing their Forces, viewing the places, picking their Tent, and setting things in order (as the manner of War is) they began first to assault the Castle of *Saint Elmo* (situate in the mouth of the Haven) with great Force and most furious Battery. Which when they had many days done without intermission, and had opened a great part of the Wall, and with all kind of Weapons assaulted the Breach; yet was it by the Valour and Prowess of our Knights, and other worthy Soldiers, kept and defended by the space of thirty days, until the great loss and slaughter of the Enemy; although the Castle itself, in the Judgment of many, seemed not possible to be so few days defended against so great a Force. At length the four and twentieth day of June, when our Men could no longer endure the multitude and

fury of the Enemy, environed and shut up both by Sea and Land, and destitute of all help, the Castle was taken by the Turks; the rest of our Men which were left, being all slain. Of which Victory they being proud, began to besiege the Castle and Town of *Saint Michael*, and the new City, especially at the Castle and Port of *Bulwarks*; and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillery and Warlike Engins; they began to batter places at once to batter and beat down the Walls. Which Siege, the dreadful Army of the Turks by Sea and Land, made to be most fearful and terrible, with such huge great Ordnance, as the like for biggness and force was in no place to be seen, day and night thundering out their Iron and Stone Shot, Fire and even hands about; whereunto the thick Walls, but even the very Mountains themselves might have been beaten down and overthrown; by fury whereof, the Walls in many places were so battered, that Men might easily have entered as on plain ground. Where, when the barbarous Enemies had with wonderful Force and hidden Outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, so often as they with great Slaughter and Dishonour repulsed and beaten back, many of their Men slain or wounded. Their Generals, as well as Sea as Land, after that they had in so many places, with all their Forces in almost four months Siege and Assault, with exceeding fury vainly attempted the Breaches, and left the greatest part of their old Soldiers, especially Winter now coming on, wherein all Wars by reason of Nations ought to cease; thought of nothing else but of departing, or rather of flight; which the coming of *Gazias* of Toledo, Viceroy of *Sicilia*, and Admiral of the King of *Spain* his Fleet, with ten thousand select Soldiers (amongst whom were at the least two hundred and fourteen of our Knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen, which only with a Christian Zeal, voluntarily met together for deers parts of the World to help and relieve us) caused them to hasten. So soon as they (summarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turks Fleet, and the Victory by us (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It shall be your part to consider and conjecture, in what state our Order and this Island now standeth, unto what estate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieved by the help and aid of our Brethren, especially such as you are, as we well hope, and assuredly believe we shall, our State will quickly take end. Fare you well. From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The Great Master thus delivered of so great a Siege, and bountifully relieved by the Christian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; speedily repaired the Breaches and places battered, and with new Fortifications strengthened those places as he had by the late passed dangers perceived to be most subject to the Enemies Force.

After the return of the Turks Fleet to *Constantinople*, *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with the Governor of the Island of *Cbio* his Tributary; as well for that he had during the late Siege of *Malta*, had intelligence with the Great Master, and revealed unto him many of the Turks Designs; as also for detaining of two years Tribute, which was yearly ten thousand Ducats; and had also neglected to send his wanted Presents to the great Baffes, who therefore the more incensed the Tyrant; commanded *Pial Baffa* his Admiral to make ready his Fleet, and by Force or Policy to take that fruitful and pleasant Island wholly into his own hand. Who without delay, with a Fleet of eighty Gallies the fifteenth day of April in the year 1566, being then Easter day, arrived



arrived at *Chios*. The chief Men of the Island upon sight of the Fleet, forthwith sent Embassadors to the Baffa with Presents, courteously offering unto him the Haven, and whatsoever else he should require. *Pial* with great kindness accepted their offer, and prettily possessed himself of the Haven in three places; and afterward landing, sent for the Governor of the City and twelve of the chief Citizens to come unto him, as if he had some special matter to confer with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for *Malta* or *Italy*. Who having a little conferred together, went to him with great fear; and that not without cause; for as soon as they were come before him, he commanded them to be laid hold upon and cast into Prison; which done, the Soldiers forthwith took the Town Hall, and without resistance pulling down the Towns Ensign, (wherein was the Picture of Saint George with a red Cross) instead thereof set up one of the Turks; the like whereof was done with great rejoicing of the Turks through the whole Island. After that, they rifled the Churches, and again consecrated them after their Mahometan manner. The Governor of the City, and the Senators, with their Families, the Baffa sent in five Ships to *Constantinople*; as for the Vulgar People, they were at choice, either there to tarry still, or depart, as best stood with their liking. And so the Baffa, when he had there placed a new Governor, one of the Turks, with a strong Garrison, and set up the Mahometan Superstition in that most fertile Island, departed thence for *Italy*; where falling along the Coast of *Apulia*, he did exceedingly much harm in burning and destroying the Country Villages, and carrying away of the poor People into Captivity; and so returned.

At this time the Kingdom of *Hungary* was most miserably rent in pieces by the Lieutenants and Captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *John* the Vayvod of *Transylvania* *Solyman*, Valfai; who grieved with the harms done unto him by the Emperor's Captains, whereof himself was the cause, and vainly hoping to have obtained at *Solyman* Hands the greatest part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as had sometime King *John*; ceased not continually to sollicit him to come himself in Person to make a full Conquest of the Reliques of *Hungary*, yet holden by the Emperor and some of the Hungarian Nobility; and flattering himself in that vain hope, called himself the King of *Hungary*; and increasing his strength by Letters unto the Nobility and Burgesses of the Cities of *Hungary*, summoned them, as if it had been by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they should all the ninth of *March* meet together at *Thorda*, to determine with him of Matters concerning their common good. Which thing as soon as *Lazarus Szendi* the Emperor's Lieutenant understood, he forthwith by other Letters commanded the heads of the Vayvods; persuading the Hungarians not to listen to Charms of the Vayvod and the Turk, tending to their destruction, but rather to yield their Obedience to *Maximilian* the Christian Emperor, whose purpose was by the aid of the Christian Princes, to protect and preserve them in Peace. And hereby it came to pass, that the remainders of this poor Kingdom, divided into Factions, and diversly carried, according to their Affection, some to the one side, some to the other, began afresh to work one another's confusion, which fitly served the Turks to increase more and more upon them; Who at the same time surprised the Town of *Ainazib* (the Captain whereof, with certain of the Garrison Sould-

iers being gone about their business to *Agria*) and put to the Sword all them that they found in the Town. They thought also to have taken the strong Town of *Sigeth*, but were by the valiant Count *Nicolaus Serinus* Governor thereof, courageously encountered, and after four hours hard Fight overthrown and put to Flight. Not long after, they ranged up and down the Country, and set in Boogies as far as *Yula* and *Radi*, and did the Country People much harm. For which cause, *Maximilian* the Emperor about the later end of *May* brake up the Assembly of the Empire then holden at *Augusta*, and began carefully to provide things needful for the War; appointing his Captains for the raising of such forces in *Germany*, as were but a little before granted unto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late Assembly; but went himself to *Vienna*. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreme Age was with a mighty Army set forward from *Constantinople*, and marching through *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was come directly to *Belgrade*; where *John* the Vayvod of *Transylvania* met him, and kissing his Hand, had commended himself and all his state unto his Protection. At which time *Szendi* the Emperor's Lieutenant laid hard Siege to the Town of *Hufib* in the Borders of *Transylvania*. The Baffa of *Buda* at the same time on the other side, by commandment of *Solyman*, with eight thousand Turks and five and twenty Pieces of great Ordnance besieging *Palotta* (a strong Town about eight miles from *Rab*) had with continual Famine by the space of eight days brought the place into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Twinger*. But hearing of the approach of *George* Count of *Helfenstein*, sent by the Emperor with certain Companies of Germans to relieve the same, he rose in such haste from the Siege, that he left certain of his great Ordnance and a great part of his Baggage behind him, and retired towards *Alba Regalis*. The Count having relieved the Town, caused the Breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new Supply strengthened the old Garrison. This was a most lamentable War at once begun in divers places of *Hungary*. After that, the Count of *Helfenstein*, strengthened by the coming of the Count *Salma* with certain Companies from *Rab*, departed from *Palotta*, and came to *Vesprimium* a City about two miles off, then holden by the Turks; which City he took by force the last of *June*, and left a Turk alive thereon, because that they a few days before had cruelly slain certain Christians whom they had taken Prisoners. So leaving strong Garrisons both in *Vesprimium* and *Palotta*, they returned to *Rab*. Shortly after, the Count *Salma* laid Siege to *Tatta* a strong Town, otherwise called *Doria*, betwixt *Rab* and *Comara*, which at length he took by Assault the eight and twentieth day of *July*, and slew all the Turks; except six, which flying into one of the Towers of the Castle, yielded upon composition; amongst whom was the late Governor of *Vesprimium*, and the Governor of this place, with the Baffa of *Buda* his high Kintman, who were all presently sent Prisoners to *Vienna*. So the Count following the Course of his Victory (the error of his former good Fortune running before him into the Turks' strongest Holds) was his way to have besieged the Town near to *Palotta*; when the Turks there in Garrison upon the first sight of his Army, left all and fled out at the farther side of the Town to *Strigomium*. After whose example other of the Turks Garrisons in *Witbo*, *Tschukien*, and *Sambak*, Castles thereabouts,

Great  
Army.

The good  
fidelity of  
the Empe-  
ror's cap-  
tains.

thereabouts, set fire on that they could not carry, and followed their Fellows to *Strigomium* also. The Emperor understanding of the good success of his Captains, caused publique Prayers with thanksgiving to Almighty God to be made through all the Churches thereabouts.

Count *Serinus* Governor of the strong Town of *Sigeth* and the Country thereabout, certainly advertised of the coming of *Solyman*, four Captains *Alapianus* and *Nicolaus Cabach*, two of his Captains, with a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, to lie in wait for the Forerunners of the Turks Army; who drawing near unto the place where these Turks lay, not far from *Quique Ecclispe*, suddenly in the shutting in of the next day set upon them, doubting no such matter and put them in such fear, that they disorderly fled, some one way, some another, and were most of them slain or wounded by the Hungarians in their Flight. *Hali Beg* one of the Turks great Sanzacks and Leader of that Company, great wounded, and seeking to save himself by Flight in the Marshes, there perished; his Son and many other notable Men amongst the Turks, were there taken and carried Prisoners to *Sigeth*. The Spoil the Hungarians there took was exceeding great; for besides Plate and Coin, whereof they found good store, they took eight Camels, five Mules, three score Horses, and six Carts laden with all manner of Spoil, and many Garments of great price; wherein the Gentlemen attired, returned to *Sigeth* in great Bravery, with two fair red Ensigns of the Enemies.

*Maximilian* the Emperor long before advertised of *Solyman* purpose for the conquest of the remainder of *Hungary*; to withstand so mighty an Enemy, had beside the Forces raised in his own Dominions, procured great Aid both of the States of the Empire and other Christian Princes, which about this time met together at *Rab*. First there repaired thither four Legions of German Footmen, and upwards of twenty thousand Horsemen, with four thousand Hungarians; the Duke of *Savoy* sent thither four hundred Argoletiers; and many noble Gentlemen out of divers parts of *Europe* repaired thither, to serve the Emperor in those Wars, of their own Charge; especially the Knights of *Malta*; and out of *Italy*, *Proffer Columna* and *Angelus Castus*; out of *France*, *Gust* the Grand Prior, *Brissack*, and *Landack*, who but a little before were going to *Malta*, of purpose to have fought there if the Turks Fleet had come thither again, as it was reported it would; but understanding that it came not, returned directly into *Hungary*, with certain other Knights of the Order. Many also of the Princes and free Cities of *Italy* declared their good Will towards the Emperor in this War; some sending him Men, as did *Cosmus Medici* Duke of *Florence*, who sent thither of his own Charge three thousand Footmen, some Money, as *Matteo* Duke of *Lucia*. Thither came also *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara* with a gallant Company of noble Gentlemen, and other his Followers. Besides which Land Forces, the Emperor had also provided upon the River of *Danubius* twelve Gallies, and thirty other Ships for Burthen, so made, as that the Men could not be hurt with the Turks Arrows; wherein were embarked three thousand Souldiers, most part Italians, under the Conduct of *Philippus Flacinus* a German and one of the Knights of *Malta*, who was afterward received into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

*Solyman* coming to the River *Drauvus*, commanded a Bridge to be made over that great River, and the deep Fens on the farther side of the River towards *Sigeth*, for the transporting of his great Army; a Work of such difficulty, that being thrice unfortunately begun, it was again given over, as a thing almost impossible. Wherewith *Solyman* was so moved, that in his rage he began to hang up the Baffa that had the charge of that work, if he did not wish as much speed as was possible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the Work was again begun, all the Boats that were to be found in the River taken up, and Timber for the purpose brought from far, for the making of that Bridge. In this Work were employed not the Vulgar People only, of the Country which was Tributary to the Turks, but the Gentlemen themselves also, were by the imperious Turk (now commanding for his Life) enforced to lay their Fingers to work day and night without ceasing, until the Bridge (which before was thought scarce possible to have been made) was by the restless industry and labour of such a multitude of Men, in the space of ten days brought to perfection. Wherein the severity the barbarous Tyrant used towards his Subjects, is worth noting; whereby he extorted from them more than is almost possible for Men to perform; so that it is not to be marvelled, that he had so good success in whatsoever he took in hand. Over this Bridge (a mile in length) passed *Solyman*, and encamped at a place called *Mubatchez*, where he stayed certain days, until his Army was all come over. The last of *July*, seventy thousand Turks (the Vanguard of *Solyman*'s Army) came before *Sigeth*, and encamped within a mile of the Town; after whom shortly after followed a hundred thousand more out of *Solyman* Camp; of whom many in approaching the Town, were slain with great Shot out of the Castle; the rest for all that encamped themselves as near unto the Town as they could, and began the Siege.

The Town of *Sigeth* is strongly situate in a Marsh on the North side of *Drauvus* upon the Frontiers of *Dalmatia*, commanding all the Country round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a strong Bulwark against the Turks, for entering farther into the Country that way toward *Stria*. In this Town was Governor *Nicolaus Serinus*, commonly called the Count, a valiant Man, and a mortal Enemy of the Turks, with a Garrison of two thousand three hundred good Souldiers, who facing the huge Army of the Turks, called together into the Castle, the Captains of the Garrison, and the chief of the Citizens; where standing in the midst of them, he spake unto them as followeth:

You see (said he) how we are on every side beset with our Enemies, wherein thus he comforteth their chief hope; but let us be thereof little afraid or discouraged; for that Victory dependeth not on a confused Multitude of heartless Men, but on the Power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleasure many times overthrown the mighty Armies of the Proud; and will not in the midst of thy dangers now forsake us, if we putting our Trust and Confidence in him, do what becometh valiant and courageous Men. Besides that, our just Cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our own valour, and the help of our Friends, who I assure my self will not fail us at our need, counterbalance their confused Multitude, fought together by their imperious Commanders.



Commanders out of far Countries, and whatsoever else the proud Tyrant hath brought with him into the Field. Wherefore let us all as becometh valiant Men, for the truth of our Religion, and for the honour of our Prince and Country, live and die together: knowing whatsoever befalls, there is a Life to us; before our dying Flame, I beseech a most abundant dose of Joy and Felicity. As for my self, I am resolved, and so I hope are you also, that as I am a Christian, and free born, so will I (by the Grace of God) in the same Faith and Freedom end my days. Neither shall the proud Turk, so long as I am able to hold up this hand, have ever power to command over me, or the ground whereon I stand.

This said, he first took himself a solemn Oath to perform what he had promised, and perfwaded the rest to take the like; which done, every Man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman came into the camp at Sigeth.

The fifth of August Solyman encamped within a mile of the Town, and the next day after came himself into the Camp, at whose coming the great Ordnance and small Shot so thundered out of the Turks Camp, as if Heaven and Earth should have gone together, the Turks after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla*, and the Christians answering them with the Name of Jesus. The seventh of August the Turks cast up a great Mount, and thereon planted certain great Pieces of Ordnance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new Town in three places, and with incredible Labor cast up a Mount in the midst of the Marsh, as it were in the Town Ditch, from whence they the next day with certain Pieces of great Artillery day and night battered the inner Castle of the Town without any intermission, and did great harm both to the Castle and the Defendants. The Count perceiving the new City to be now so laid open with the fury of the Turks Battery, as that it was not possible to be defended, caused his Soldiers to set it all on fire, and to retire into the old. The tenth of August the Turks furiously battered the old Town in three places, and brought their Ordnance into the new Town; and with Timber, Earth and Rubbish made a Bridge, the more commodiously to go over the Marsh. For the speedier accomplishment whereof, all the Turks were compelled to lay to their Hands, and to carry Wood, Faggots, Earth, and such like things without cease. There might a Man have seen all the Fields full of Camels, Horses, and of the Turks themselves, like Emets, carrying Wood, Earth, Stones, or one thing or other to fill up the Marsh; so was there with wonderful Labour two plain ways made through the deep Fen, from the Town to the Castle; where the Janizaries, defended from the great Shot and Sacks of Wood and such like things, did with the Multitude of their small Shot so overwhelm the Defendants, that they could not against those places without most manifest danger themselves upon the Walls. So that what by their vigilant Industry, and the fury of the great Artillery, the Turks (though not without great loss) by force entered the old Town the nineteenth of August, using in their Victory such celerity, that they flew many of the most valiant Defendants before they were able to recover the safeguard of the Castle. Both the Towns thus lost, and so many worthy Men slain, not without cause brought great heaviness upon the rest which were in the Castle with the Count. The Turks possessed

of the old Town, the next day planted their Battery against the Castle in four places, and with Faggots, Rubbish, and Earth, made two plain ways unto it, still filling up the Marsh; and having with continual Battery made it asailable, the nine and twentieth day of August they began fiercely to assail the Castle; but when they had lost many of their Men, and done what they could, they were enforced with shame to retire. In this Assault, amongst many other of their best Soldiers, was lost one of their great Balleasts also.

Whilst these things were in doing, Solyman fast spent with years, and distempred with his long travel, fell sick of a Loosness in his Belly, and for the better recovery of his Health, retired himself (the Siege yet continuing) to *Guinea Ecceffa* a City near to *Sigeth*, where shortly after he died of the bloody Flux the fourth day of September, in the Year of our Lord 1566, when he had lived seventy six years, and thereof reigned forty six. He was of stature tall, of Feature slender, long Necked, his Colour pale and wan, his Nose long and hooked, of Nature amicitious and bountiful, most faithful of his Word and Promise, than were for most part the Mahometan Kings his Progenitors, wanting nothing worthy of so great an Empire, but that wherein all happiness is contained, Faith in Christ Jesus. *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa (who commanded all in Solyman's absence) fearing the dissolution of the Janizaries, and lest some tumult should arise in the Camp, if his death should be known, caused it by all means, and to be sure of them that were of others best able to make certain report thereof, caused his Physicians and Apothecaries to be secretly strangled, and by a trusty Messenger, sent in Post, certified Solyman (Solyman only Son, and his Father in Law, then living in *Magnesia*) of the death of his Father, willing him in haste to repair to *Constantinople*, to take possession of the Empire; and that done, to march with him to come to the Army in *Hungary*. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Janizaries began to mistrust the matter; which *Muhamet* Bassa quickly perceiving, caused the dead Body of Solyman in his wound Apparel to be brought into his Tent sitting upright in his Head-Litter, as if he had been sick of the Gout, his wonted disease, and so showing him to the Janizaries, both deceived and contented them, and so went forward with the Siege.

The Janizaries having in the last Assault lost the great number of their Fellows, began now to undertake the greatest Bulwark of the Castle, from which the Defendants with their great Ordnance did most annoy them; wherein they used such diligence, that the fifth of September they with Gunpowder and other light-matter provided for that purpose, had set all the Bulwark on a light fire; and by that means possessed thereof, with all their force assailed the Bulwark next unto the Castle Gate, from whence they with great slaughter twice repulsed by the Count. But the raging Fire still increasing, he was enforced with those which were yet left alive, to retire into the inner Castle, wherein were but two great Pieces, and fourteen others of small force. Thus the Turks still prevailing, and taking one place after another, the seventh of September they furiously assaulted the little Castle, wherein they cast such abundance of Fire, that in short time it caught hold on the Buildings, and set all on fire. The Count thus assailed by the Enemy without, and work distressed with the Fire within, which still increasing, left no place for him in safety to retire unto, went

Solyman died of the bloody Flux.

Muhamet Bassa conceived the death of Solyman.

The left speech of Count Salmas to his Soldiers.

Serinus salms.

Serinus his head set to Count Salmas.

The Bassa's helping Letter to Count Salmas.

The little Castle set on fire.

went into his Chamber, where putting on a rich new Suit of Apparel, came presently out again with his Sword and Target in his hand; and finding his Soldiers with cheerful Countenance and their Weapons in their hands, attending his coming, spake unto them these few his last words: *The hard Fortune of this sinful Kingdom hath together with our own overtaken us; but let us, noble Hearts, with patience endure what is to us by God ordained. You know what we have before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we have accordingly performed, and now let us with like resolution perform this last. The place you see is no longer to be kept, the devouring Fire groweth so full upon us, and we in number are but few; wherefore let us as becometh valiant Men break out into the utter Castle, there to die in the midst of our Enemies, to live afterwards with God for ever; I will be the first that will go on, follow you me like Men.* This said, with his Sword and Target in his hand, without any other Armor, calling thrice upon the Name of Jesus, he issued out at the Castle Gate, with the rest following him; where valiantly fighting with the Janizaries upon the Bridge, and having slain some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his Body with small Ships, and at last struck in the Head with an unlucky blow, fell down dead; the Turk for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the Soldiers in flying back again into the Castle, were all slain by the Turks, except some few, whom some of the Janizaries in the fond of their Valour, by putting their Caps upon their Heads, saved from the fury of the rest. In this Siege, the Turks (as they themselves reported) lost seven thousand Janizaries, and twenty voluntary Men; whereas they enrolled in their Muster-Books, and three of their great Balleasts. *Serinus* his Head was presently cut off, and the next day (with the Heads of the other slain Christians) set upon a Pole, for all the Army to gaze upon. After that it was taken down, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mufapha* the Bassa of *Buda* his Kinsman, who by two Country Men, first it wrapped in a red Scarf covered with a fair linen Cloth, to Count *Salmas* in the Emperors Camp at *Rab*, with this taunting Letter thus directed.

*Muhamet Bassa to Eccius Salmas, Greeting.*

*I*N token of my love, behold, here I send thee the Head of a most valiant and valiant Captain thy Friend, the remainder of his Body I have benevolently buried, as becometh such a Man. *Sigeth* hideth thee farwell for ever.

The death of this noble and valiant Captain was much lamented of all the Christian Army, and his Head with many tears by his Son *Balthazar* honourably buried amongst his Ancestors in *Tschacanoura*, his own Castle. Solyman at his coming with this mighty Army into *Hungary*, had purposed before his return, if he had not been by death prevented, to have conquered both the remainder of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to have again attempted the winning of *Vienna*. For the accomplishing of which his Designs, he at his first coming sent *Parthous* Bassa, with forty thousand Turks to help the half of the *Vayvod*, to besiege the strong Town of *Gyula*, situate upon the Lake *Zerkad* in the Confines of *Transylvania*, not far from whence *Suendi* had but in August before overthrown the

Tatars, called in by Solyman for the aid of the *Vayvod*, and slain of them ten thousand. And at the same time he sent *Mufapha* Bassa of *Buda*, and *Caramanie*, with a great Power to *Alba Regale*; who joining with the Bassa of *Buda*, should keep the Emperor *Maximilian* busy, whilst he in the mean time besieged *Sigeth*, as is before said. *Parthous* Bassa coming to *Gyula*, and laying hard Siege to the Town, was still notably repulsed by *Nicholaus Kerefcsen*, Governor of the Town; inasmuch that in a fally he had certain Pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the Defendants, and the rest cloied. But this brave Captain, not to have been constrained by the Bassa could do, was at last perfwaded by his Kinsman *George Behem* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certain Castles, for revolting from the Emperor to deliver up for a great sum of Money to the *Vayvod*) the Town to the Bassa; which he did, remaining beside his Reward, That the Soldiers should with Bag and Baggage in safety depart; all which was frankly granted; who were not gone past a mile out of the Town, but they were set upon by the Turks, and all slain except some few which crept into the Reeds growing in the Marsh fast by, and so escaped. The Traitor himself expecting his Reward, was carried in Bonds to *Constantinople*; where afterward, upon complaint made how hardly he had used certain Turks whom he had sometime taken Prisoners, he was by the commandment of Solyman, who succeeded Solyman, thrust into an *Execution* truck full of Nails with the Points inward, with this inscription upon it, *Here receive the Reward of thy Avarice and Treason*. *Gyula* then sold for Gold, if thou be not faithful to *Maximilian* thy Lord, neither wilt thou be no more; and so the Hoghead cloied fast up, he was therein rolled up and down until he therein miserably died.

The Emperors Camp then lying at *Rab* and the Bassa of *Buda* and *Bosna* with thirty thousand Turks not far off at *Alba Regale*, and many hot skirmishes passing between them; it fortuned that the fifth of September the Turks in hope to have done some great piece of service upon the Christians, came forth of the Camp in great number, and by chance light upon a few Foragers of the Army, of whom they flew some; the rest flying, raised an Alarm in the Camp; whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turks, flew divers of them; in which pursuit *George Thurgier* declaring the Governor of *Alba Regale*, a Man in great account, and very inward with Solyman whilst he lived, fiercely pursued him in the midst of the flying Enemies, and never left him until he had taken him Prisoner; and at his return presenting him to the Emperor, was for that good service Knighted, and rewarded with a Chain of Gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at *Constantinople*, That he alone with his own power was able to vanquish the German King (by which name the Turks commonly term the Emperor;) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the Emperor, still urging him as it were to say something for himself, the Turk answered him in these few words following: *Such is the chance of War, thou seest me now a Prisoner, and able to do nothing.*

All these troubles, with many more like in short time to have ensued, were by the death of

Solyman

The Turks did the Town.

Nicholaus Kerefcsen, Governor of the Town; inasmuch that in a fally he had certain Pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the Defendants, and the rest cloied. But this brave Captain, not to have been constrained by the Bassa could do, was at last perfwaded by his Kinsman George Behem (from whom Suendi had a little before taken certain Castles, for revolting from the Emperor to deliver up for a great sum of Money to the Vayvod) the Town to the Bassa; which he did, remaining beside his Reward, That the Soldiers should with Bag and Baggage in safety depart; all which was frankly granted; who were not gone past a mile out of the Town, but they were set upon by the Turks, and all slain except some few which crept into the Reeds growing in the Marsh fast by, and so escaped. The Traitor himself expecting his Reward, was carried in Bonds to Constantinople; where afterward, upon complaint made how hardly he had used certain Turks whom he had sometime taken Prisoners, he was by the commandment of Solyman, who succeeded Solyman, thrust into an Execution truck full of Nails with the Points inward, with this inscription upon it, Here receive the Reward of thy Avarice and Treason. Gyula then sold for Gold, if thou be not faithful to Maximilian thy Lord, neither wilt thou be no more; and so the Hoghead cloied fast up, he was therein rolled up and down until he therein miserably died.

The Governor of Alba Regale slain.

The Turks did the Town.

Solyman within a while after well appeased. *Muhamet* Bassa after he had repaired the Breaches and placed a Turk Governor of *Sigeth*, with a strong Garrison for the defence of the place and commanding of the Country, called back the dispersed Forces, and rising with the Army, retired toward *Belgrade*, carrying *Solyman's* dead

Body all the way sitting upright in his Horf-litter carried by Mules, giving it out that he was sick of the Gout; which thing the Janizaries easily believed, knowing that he had been many years so carried; yet still withing his preference, as always unto them fortunate, although that he were able for to do nothing.

The Turks Army returned with the Body of Solyman to Belgrade.

Christian Princes of the same time with Solyman.	Emperors of Germany	Charles the Fifth.	1519. 39.
		Ferdinand.	1558. 7.
		Maximilian the Second.	1565. 12.
	Of England	Henry the Eighth.	1509. 38.
		Edward the Sixth.	1546. 6.
		Queen Mary.	1553. 6.
	Of France	Queen Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
		Francis the First.	1514. 32.
		Henry the Second.	1547. 12.
		Charles the Second.	1559. 11.
	Of Scotland	Charles the Ninth.	1560. 14.
		James the Fifth.	1514. 29.
	Bishops of Rome.	Queen Mary.	1543.
		Leo the X.	1513. 8.
		Hadrian the VI.	1522. 1.
		Clement the VII.	1523. 10.
		Paulus the III.	1534. 15.
		Julius the III.	1550. 5.
		Marcellus the II.	1555. 22 days.
		Paulus the IV.	1555. 4.
		Pius the IV.	1560. 5.
		Pius the V.	1566. 6.



*Disimilis patri, Selymus fillis the Throne  
Corripit, et dira concutit arma manu.  
Forsus cum Venetis frangit (quid fœdera prœsumit)  
Armatusque manu Cypria regna rapit.  
Intravit tumidum numerosis clafibus Æguor,  
McAupatias nobilitaret aquas.*

*Unlike his Father, Selymus fills the Throne  
Breathing where ere he march'd, Destruction;  
His sacred League with Venice barely brakes,  
And (arm'd with power) the Syrian kingdoms takes;  
With a stupendous Fleet covers the Sea,  
To be a Wife to his Infamy.*

*Moldavum fœda multavit morte Dynasten:  
Et magni fines prorogant imperij.  
Obruît Hispanos multa vi: Punica regna  
Detruit, et regnorum adiicit illa suis.  
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque sepultas,  
Extremum properat precipitare diem.*

*And to his Throne to add Moldavia  
Their noble Vayvod butcherly do's slay:  
And when the Spanish powers were overthrow'd,  
They, and the Tunis Scepters were his own:  
But spent with wine, with women, and with play  
Th'offenunate Prince spur'd on his fœdall day.*

# The LIFE of SELYMUS, The Second of that NAME, Fifth Emperor of the Turks.

Selymus  
fifted  
Emper of  
the Turke:  
In the Year  
1566.

Selymus, the only Son of Selyman, then left alive, by Letters from *Muhamet Bassa* understanding of the death of his Father, halted from *Cutai*, a City of *Gulatia* not far from *Anagra*, towards *Constantinople*; and coming to *Scutary*, was from thence by *Bohanger Bassa* of the Court, conducted over the Strait to *Constantinople*; where by him and *Scander Bassa* (Selymus his Son in law, and then Selymans Vicegerent) he was conveyed into the Imperial Palace the three and twentieth of September, in the year 1566. and there possessed of his Fathers Seat, was by the Janizaries there present, saluted Emperor. He was about the age of forty two years when he began to Reign, a man of an unconfinde and hasty disposition, wholly given to wantonness and excess; so that he never went to Wars himself, but performed them altogether by his Lieutenants, contrary to the charge of Selymus his Grandfather, given by him to his Father Selyman, whereof he was never unmindful. The next day he came abroad, and shewed himself in his Majesty; and in the Temple of *Sophia*, after the manner of the Turkish Superstition, caused solemn Prayers and Sacrifices to be made for his Father; which done, he gave unto the Janizaries a Larges of 100000 Sultanes, with promise to augment their Wages. And all things being now in readiness for his intended Journey, he with a goodly Retinue set forward from *Constantinople* the seven and twentieth of September; and the twentieth of October a little from *Belgrade* met the Army coming from *Siege*, gallantly marching under their Ensigns, with the dead Body of Selyman, whom the Soldiers generally supposed to have been yet living, but troubled with the Gour, to have kept his Horse-litter, as his manner was to travel. Selymus alighting, came in his Mourning Attire to the Horse-litter, looked upon the dead Body of his Father, killed it, and wept over it, as did all the other great Basses also. And that the death of Selyman might then be made known to all men, the Ensigns were presently for fall, and trailed upon the ground; a dead March sounded, and heavy silence commanded to be kept through all the Camp. Shortly after, Selymus was with the great applause of the whole Army proclaimed Emperor, his Ensigns advanced, and every one of the great Commanders of the Army, in their degree admitted to kiss his hand. So marching forward, he came again to *Constantinople* the two and twentieth of November, thinking to have entered his Palace (which they commonly call *The Seraglio*) he was by the discontented Janizaries; but now come from the Wars,

prohibited so to do; they with great Insolency demanding of him a greater Donative, together with the confirmation both of their ancient and new Privileges, before they would suffer him to enter. Against which their great presumption, the Visier Basses, together with the Aga, opposing themselves, and seeking by all means to appease them, were by them foully entreated, and well rapped about the Ears with the flocks of their Callivars; but especially the two great Basses, *Muhamet* and *Parau*, as the chief Authors that their Lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which so sudden and unexpected a Mutiny of his best Soldiers, Selymus not a little troubled, and calling unto him the Aga (or Captain of the Janizaries) demanded of him the cause thereof; who with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him, 'That it was for many. Which by Selymus now promised unto them, together with the confirmation of their Liberties; and the Aga with fair words and heavy countenance most earnestly intreating them, not to blemish the ancient Reputation of their wonted Loyalty with so foul a disorder, nor to oppose the life of him their loving Captain, unto the heavy displeasure of their angry Sultan; and farther assuring them that he would not fail them in the least of his promises, but content them to the full of their desires; the Mutiny was at length appeased, the insolent Janizaries again quieted, and Selymus into the Seraglio received. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chief of the Visier Basses, for certain days after went not out of his Palace, neither came (as he was wont) into the *Draums*, but kept himself close, for fear of some greater mischief from thence. This Tumult thus overpassed, and all again well quieted, Selymus with all Royal Solemnity buried his Father in a Chappel, which he after the manner of the Mahometan Kings, had in his life time most stately built, with a Colledge and an Hospital. Where fast by his side is to be seen the Tomb of *Roxelana* his best beloved Wife, and of certain others his murdered Children; and by him hangeth his Scimitar, in which time he died in Wars; an Honour not otherwise granted to the Mahometan Princes. The Reveres assing of the Country about *Siege*, of late won from the Christians, at the time of his death, were given to the Maintenance of his Hales by him built of devotion; which for the Magnificence thereof, exceed all the rest before built by the Mahometan Kings and Emperors, except those which were the Buildings of *Muhamet* the Great, and *Bojanet* the Second. 'It was by many thought, that Selymus was in good time by death cut off,

Selymans  
buried.

as purposing that year to have wintred in Hungary, and the year following to have done great matters against the Christians both by Sea and Land.

1567. The great Army of the Turks that drew off of Hungary by the death of Selymus, in some part affwaged, but altogether appeared not the endless Troubles of that unfortunate Kingdom. Maximilian the Emperor on the one side, and John the Vayvod of Transylvania with the Turks Captains on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had sworn the destruction thereof. The Vayvod desiring to recover the strong Castle of Tokay, in the frontiers of Hungary, first late; by taken from him by Swendi the Emperors Lieutenant, laid hard siege to it, and had brought it to great extremity, although it was nobly defended by Janos Raimond, the Captain thereof, when suddenly News was brought unto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his Country to have aided him against the Emperor) did with all sollicitly after their barbarous manner, burn and destroy his Country; before them, making havock of all things, so that the Country-people were glad in defence of themselves, to take up Arms against them. Whereupon he forthwith left the Siege, and went to Aid his distressed Subjects against the Tartars, with whom he had many an hot Skirmish; and after much bloodshed, at last overcame them, and with much ado rid himself of the said Guefts. Now in the mean time Swendi strengthened with new Supplies sent unto him from the Emperor, had taken the Castle of Zackmar in the Borders of Transylvania, and with like good Fortune had the Castle of Mungatz yielded unto him, and after that besieged the Town of Hufib; so that the Vayvod was glad to crave Aid of the Turkish Emperor Selymus, under whose Protection he was; who presently commanded Parias one of his chief Baffas, and then his greatest Lieutenant in Romania, to go with his Forces into Transylvania, to relieve them. But hearing that Embassadors were coming from Maximilian the Emperor, he called him back again, until he had heard the effect of that Embassage. At which time also the Baffa of Buda enclining unto Peace, sent Presents to the Emperor, requesting him to remove certain Hungarian Captains from off the Frontiers, lest happily they should interrupt the Treaty of Peace, then on both sides purposed; promising for his part, to punish with death all such Turks as should make any further Invasion, or raise any new Troubles. He writ Letters also to Count Salma, That he could not but marvel, to what end Maximilian the Emperor was about to treat with his Lord and Master of Peace, whilst Swendi in the mean time was raging in Transylvania; then under the Turks Protection; which if he proceeded still to do, Selymus would thereof take occasion (as he said) to turn all his Forces that way; wherefore he requested him to perswade the Emperor to take some more easie course in that behalf, promising also, that he would for his part effectually gravel with his Master, to have better liking of Peace than of Wars, willing him also to do the like. Which things as soon as the Emperor understood, he commanded Swendi to give over the Siege of Hufib, and to keep himself quiet until he might by his Embassadors understand what the Great Turk purposed, and how he was affected towards Peace.

Now indeed these two great Princes, Maximilian and Selymus (although they notably differed the nature of their minds) were both of them heart desirous of Peace, and that for divers great and

urgent considerations. Maximilian for want of money saw it was not possible for him to fend into the field such an Army the next year as he had the year before. And Selymus, beside his other Troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great and dangerous Rebellion in the farthest part of his Dominions in Arabia Felix; where the people rising up in Arms, and having slain the Baffas and Sanzacks their Governors, were ready to have cast off the Turkish Obedience; neither was he but of fear of the Persians, ready (as was reported) to make War upon him. For which causes he wished rather for Peace with the Emperor Maximilian, than Wars; and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to fend an Army of any puissance into Hungary, for want of many necessary Provisions for the maintenance thereof. In a Country so much impoverished by reason of his late Wars; wherein no Victuals were to be found for the relief of such a multitude of men as he was to fend, if he would do any good there. And truth it was (as the Turks themselves afterward reported) that Maximilian with his late Power he had in field, the last year, might have easily recovered the greatest part of that Kingdom before lost; but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether inclining to Peace; and by Count Salma advertised from the Baffa of Buda, That if he would send Embassadors to Constantinople, with the Kibitbe woe to be there paid for his Journey, a Peace upon reasonable conditions might be easily obtained; he resolved upon that point. And to certain Messengers being sent up and down to Constantinople to the same effect, it was concluded, That if the Emperor would send Embassadors to Constantinople, with the Kibitbe yet behind, and a large Commission for the Treaty of Peace, Selymus should give him his life conduct, with liberty at their pleasure, to return to his Country of Peace or War. Which agreed upon, and fully promised on both sides, Selymus let at liberty the Lord Albert de Vais, who, six years lieger in Constantinople, first for the Emperor Ferdinand, and after for Maximilian, had now been bravely imprisoned in his own house by the space of 22 months, in such fort that neither he nor any of his household could go abroad, Watch and Ward being kept both day and night about his House, and his Windows also boarded up, to the end that he should not so much as look out into the City, or any whither else more than the Court of his House only. So the Emperor Maximilian now resolved to send Embassadors to Constantinople with the Tribute money and divers other rich Gifts and Presents, as well, to the Great Turk himself, as to the Vicer. Baffas his Counsellors; and conferring with his wisest men to be most fit, with Wisdom and Honour to bring this so weighty a matter about, having to do with so barbarous, covetous, and mighty a people, made choice of the Lord Anthonius Varanini, of Agria (of his Council for the Kingdom of Hungary) a Prelate of great Estimation, who being a man of 63 years, old, beside his great Learning, had the experience of 27 Embassies at wherein he always so discreetly bare himself, as well contented his Prince, and purchased unto himself the Reputation of a most grave and wise man; and about ten years before this Embassage, being sent by the Emperor Ferdinand Embassador to Selymus, and now by Maximilian, to Selymus at Constantinople, returning with good Success, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Bishop of Agria, unto which so honourable a Personage, having

Maximilian  
as the  
Emperor sent  
the Embas-  
sadors to  
Selymus.

the charge of this so weighty a Matter, the Emperor the more to ennoble this Embassage, as also to purchase the greater Credit to his Embassador, joyed unto him a most honourable Baron, called the Lord Christopher Tufenbach of Stria, one of his Counsellors also for the Wars; who with full Instructions both taking their leave of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Freiburgh) departed, and being attended upon with a great and honourable Retinue, set forward the first of July, 1567. and so came to Comara a strong Town in Hungary, not past a League from the Turks Frontiers. In which place the Embassadors stayed until the seventh of July; and in the mean time gave knowledge of their coming unto the Governor of Strigomium, demanding for their security in the Enemies Country, to be met and received by some of his Garrison; which granted, they took their Barks brought from Vienna and Poffonium, sufficient for their greatness to have carried them down the River to Belgrade, with Horse and Wagon, and their whole Furniture; and to entering upon the Turks Dominion about a League or little more from Comara, being so far waisted by the Souldiers and Gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a Chief called Decram (sent by the Baffa of Buda) in certain Gallies armed with Turkish Souldiers. To whom the Embassador at his landing delivered them to understand, that they were all fully to conduct both him and all his to the Baffa of Buda; which they answered to him ready to accomplish; and so courteously invited by the Embassadors, they came aboard their Bark, and there dined together. Here they that were went with them, leaving them in the hands of the Turks, having Licence to depart, returned to Comara; and they that day after five Leagues sailing arrived at Strigomium, where they were by the Governor of the City denied landing; for which so dishonourable a part he was afterward sharply rebuked by the Baffa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night upon the water, certain Turkish Minstrels, to do them Honour, and to get a Large, with their barbarous bawling Instruments played them up many a homely fit of mirth; and divers others with sundry sorts of vaulting and tumbling, and sometime leaping one upon another's shoulders, and sometimes doing their Tricks on the Earth, all the Evening shewed them great sport and pastime. From Strigomium they with five Leagues sailing came to Buda, leaving behind them the Castle of Vicerade, two Leagues distant from Strigomium. In this City of Buda lieth the great Baffa by whom all Hungary, with the Provinces thereto belonging (in Turkish Power) is governed. This City, sometime the Royal Seat of the Hungarian Kings, is situate upon a little Hill on the South side of Danubius, having in the South point thereof a Castle, much higher than the City, and of a most brave Prospect; in which Castle lieth a Captain with a Garrison of five hundred Souldiers (as the Turks say) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether so many; it is the left of his Head to stir out of his Charge; and beside, he hath Commission to deny the Baffa himself Entrance, unless he come very slightly accompanied; so jealous are the Turks of that Castle, as if the State of Hungary depended thereon. Herein standeth the Kings Palace, which taketh up most part of the place, greatly beautified by Marbries, and shewing outwardly to have been a very stately thing; for there are in it both large Halls and fair Gal-

The Embas-  
sadors  
came to  
Buda.

leries and Chambers built in most Royal manner; where amongst other Rooms, the Embassadors found a decayed Library full of Pictures and Latin Titles of Books; all which things when they present themselves to the Eyes of the Christian beholders, offer a just consideration of noble and reverend Antiquity, and wishall strike into their hearts a certain compaction joy for many great Kings all waisted and brought to nothing. The next morning the Embassadors went to speak with the Baffa; whose House was reasonable fair (considering their gulf and custom, not much delighting in the beauty of their private buildings) situate upon the River side at the bottom of the Hill whereon the City standeth. Unto this Baffa the Embassadors presented two great gilt Cups, a Clock all curiously wrought in Gold, and a thousand Dollars; which Present the Baffa received in his Divano (being a large Hall) where he fate with his Counsellors, Officers, and other Turks in their places and order; some on his right hand, and some on his left, all richly attired in Garments of Silk of divers colours and fashions, reaching down to their Ankles after their manner; their Heads covered with their passing white and well made Turbans; in which Assembly nothing being then to be seen but goodly order and grave silence, they seemed to the strange beholders for many Counsellors of exceeding gravity and Reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embassadors had Audience, were many Seats covered with Turkey-Carpets; the rest of the Room being all vacant. The Baffa in a place more apparent than the rest, sitting in great Majesty; before whom was set two little Chairs on which (after he had stood up a while and embraced the Embassadors) he caused them both to sit down. Whole Speech delivered in the Italian Tongue, after they had discharged themselves of the Emperors Letters and Greetings, was to this common benefit of their Subjects, (in Hungary) requested him to continue in his good purpose, and dealing for Peace; and further, to give safe Conduct unto them his Embassadors with their Retinue, until they were come unto the Turks Court, where they were to entreat and conclude a Peace, to the ending of all Troubles, and the Privilege Benefit of their Subjects in general. Which Speech with cheerful and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embassadors Followers were admitted to kiss the Baffas hand, accounted no small Favour amongst those Barbarians. The Interpreter of these things was a Jew of Padua, who declared all that was spoken, in the Turkish Language unto the Baffa, and in the Italian unto the Embassadors. And although (if it had been their pleasure) they might have told their mind each to other in the Croatian Tongue without an Interpreter; yet the Baffa standing more upon his Reputation, and for some other respects beside, would have the matter propounded and likewise answered in the Turkish. In which sort they also conferred continually afterward with the Baffas at Constantinople, unless it were in some particular and private talk of small Importance, or else in some point beside the matter; for then the Interpreter spake in the Croatian or Slavonian Tongue, which is familiar to most of the Turks, but especially to the men of War. Before this Hall where the Embassadors were entertained by the Baffa, in the base Court stood all the Janizaries in goodly Array, and his Slaves with their red Zarcus on their Heads, and other Souldiers with high and

long Plumes of Feathers standing upright; all which made a beautiful shew, and gave all great grace to the Basses Court. These men sit not one foot in their standings, and if the Constitution do last four hours long, so long are they to continue standing without moving. The Embassadors having stayed two days at *Buda*, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with them his Chieftain (the Steward or Governor of his House) a man of great Reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus (the same that came to meet them at *Comara*) with a sufficient Guard and certain Janizaries, sent for their more safe travelling, and to provide for them from place to place, all things necessary for their Diet, as also for their Horses, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they embarked on the tenth day of the afore said month, towed up the Turks Gallies, which helped by the swiftness of the River, carried them down in eight days to *Belgrade*, where they arrived the eighteenth of *July*. So having staid at *Belgrade*, and there leaving their Boats, and taking their Coaches, they set forward by Land the twentieth of the said month, and with great pains travelling through *Rascia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, and passing a part of the great Mountain *Scardus*, and after that, the Mountain *Rhodope*, to by the way of *Philippolis* and *Hadrinople*, the two and twentieth of *August* gathered fast upon *Constantinople*; where many of the Spahies and Chiaus of the Court, with a number of the Janizaries and other Soldiers, for their greater Honour came to meet them: a great way without the City. By whom the Embassadors honourably mounted on Horseback, were by them conducted to their Lodging appointed for them about the middle of the City; where the Lord *Altera de la* the Emperor's Embassador Liager (not long before Emperor's Embassador Liager) having long looked for their coming, now most joyfully received them. It was then *Friday* the Turks Sabbath, and a day of them above all other days in the week regarded, and about ten of the Clock two hours before Noon; at which time the Embassadors were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to hear the Ceremonies of his Religion, in the Moschey of his Father *Solyman* (as his manner was sometime to do) passed along before the Gate where the Embassadors lay, with the whole Train of his Court; and peradventure somewhat more than ordinary, to shew the Magnificence of his Power and State, to the end that the Embassadors (above the former opinion by them conceived) might hold him in the Reputation of a most puissant and mighty Monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to give them a regard, or so much as to cast his eye aside upon them, although they were strangers, and but even then arrived; but with a Countenance as if he had known not so much as any thing of their coming, held on his way as it lay. But *Mahomet* the chief Vicer Bassa, with the other Basses and great Courtiers, in most gracious manner as they passed by cast their eyes upon them; all the courtiers they could then shew them. Six days after, being the eight and twentieth of *August*, the Embassadors all three went to visit and salute *Mahomet* (or as the Turks call him *Mahomet*) the chief Vicer Bassa, as the manner was, presenting him from the Emperor, with four Cups of Silver all gilt, of most fair and curious Workmanship; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the other two being not so high by a span, but having in them two thousand *Turks* of Gold; besides which, they gave him also a Clock, being a most curious piece of Work, and all over

double gilt. After which Greetings and Presents delivered, besides the contents of his Majesties Letters, they declared unto him in general points, the cause of their coming, and the mind of the Emperor well disposed to a Peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both Parties; and lastly turning over the blame of the late Wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, sweetened thereby the fower of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa likewise for his part to seek for goods words, but answered them in Turkish by the mouth of *El-brain* the chief Dragoman, who drew his mind to them in Latin or Italian, according as the Embassadors had before uttered theirs, which Parle so ended, certain of the chief of the Embassadors Followers were admitted into the *Divano* to kiss the proud Basses hand. The same day the Embassadors also saluted *Pertau* the second Bassa, and *Ferat* the third in Order and Authority. To *Pertau* they presented two Cups of Silver all gilt, beside a Clock of the same making with the afore named, and two thousand Dollars; and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to visit the other three Basses, *Achmet*, *Fial*, and *Mahomet*, presenting very one of them with two fair Cups and a thousand Dollars. These were the six Vicer Basses to *Selymus*, then lying at Court with him, men that for Wealth and Authority went before all other in the Turkish Empire; as in the course of this History may appear. And so having visited them in general, the Embassadors to fix their Affairs on foot, the fourteenth of *September* closed with *Mahomet*, to whom the ordering of *El-kait*-matters was especially committed. Yet after this first Conference, because it was necessary before so weighty Affairs were broached, first to do the Turk Reverence, and to deliver the Presents, with the Emperors Letters to him written; for some few days there was not any Point at all of the Embassadors business handled.

*Selymus* not long after the Embassadors were arrived, went out for his disport and pleasure on hunting; so that in the mean time, after the Presents were given to the Basses, matters stood still altogether unadvanced, until the 21 of *September*; and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his Disport) it was appointed that the Embassadors should have Audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice of their Followers, of those that should attend upon them, which were not in all above twelve persons; for they to whom this Charge was committed, said it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great Train should come before so great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them above that number: whereupon they appointed but six a piece to attend them; and five of fifteen Cups of Silver and gilt, being most of fifteen Cups of Silver and gilt, being most of twelve to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the rest that came after in order with the rest of the Presents; which was two exceeding precious Clocks, like in bigness to them before given to the Basses, but far above them in value; and 45000 Dollars for the Tribute, behind and yet unpaid. The greatest of those Cups was six Spans and a half, and the least two spans in height; some of them being double those Spans, after the High-Dutch manner. The Embassadors (whose coming a great multitude of Janizaries attended below at the Gate of their Lodging; besides made of the Spahies and Chiaus, and others of good fort (which were come

to honour them with their Presence to the Palace) putting themselves in readiness betimes in the Morning, and taking Horse set forward toward the Court. The form they were that did bear the Presence in their hands, and people of the City in every Street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they passed; and verily there had been feldom times seen the like Embassage in those parts; for besides the Fame that was blown abroad in every quarter, That they were Men sent from one of the greatest Princes in Chriftendom; the diversity of their Attire (so few as they were) more of the Christian Emperor to them, than any thing beside, did represent the Majesty which they carried; and that they gazed upon his Embassadors and their Train, the people conceiving thereby, that he was Lord and Ruler over many Provinces and Countries. For they that were *Hungarians* belonging to the Bishop of *Agria* (the chief Embassador) being attired in long and fober Garments of very fine Purple-Cloth, having their Shooes pieced over the soles with Iron-Plates, and half their Heads shaven, seemed to differ from them but little; but on the other side, the High-Dutch attired in black, with their Velvet Caps, and short Cloaks laid with Silver Lace, and long Breaches little less than Rutter-wife, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, appeared very strange and uncouth to the Turkish people; so accompanied in this honourable wife, the Embassadors entered the first Gate of the Great Turks Palace. This Gate is built of Marble in most sumptuous manner, and of a stately piece, with certain words of their Language in the front thereof engraven and gilt in Marble. So passing through the base Court, which hath on the right side very fair Gardens, and on the left, divers Buildings serving for other Offices, with a little Moschey, they came to the second Gate, where all such as come in riding, must of necessity alight; here so soon as they were entered in at this second Gate, they came into a very large Square Court, with Buildings and Galleries round about it, the Kitchens standing on the right hand, with other Lodgings for such as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewise Rooms deputed to like Services. There are moreover many Halls and other Rooms for resort, where they sit in Council, handling and executing the Publick Affairs either of the Court or of the Empire, with other matters, where the Basses and other Officers assemble together. Entering in at this second Gate, in one part of the Court, which seem'd rather some large Street, they saw the whole Company of the Solahs set in a goodly rank, which are Archers keeping always near unto the Person of the Great Turk and serving as his Footmen when he rideth; they use high Plumes of Feathers, which are set bolt upright over their Foreheads. In another place there stood the Capitani in like Array, with black Staves of Indian Cane in their hands; they are the Porters and Wardens of the Gates of the Palace, not much differing in their Attire from the Janizaries; who stood in rank likewise in another quarter. And beside all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, those Knights of the Court which accompanied the Embassadors thither, with other great Ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their several Companies. And among the rest, the *Murshachas*, Men of all Nations and all Religions (for their Valour the only free men which live at their own liberty in the Turkish Empire) stood there, apparelled in Damask Velvet and Cloth of Gold, and Garments of Silk of sundry kinds and colours; their Pomp

was great, and the greater; for the Turbans that they wore upon their Heads, being as white as whiteness it self, made a most swift and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In brief, wher they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noise or rumor; they made the Embassadors and the rest of their Followers there present, eye-witnesses both of their Obedience, and of the great State and Royalty of the *Othman* Court. Passing through them, the Embassadors were led into the Hall, where the Basses and other great Men of the Court were all ready to give them Entertainment; they of their Train being at the same time brought into a Room that stood apart under one of the afore said Lodgings all hung with Turkey-Carpets. Soon after (as their use and manner is) they brought in their Dinner, covering the ground with Table-Cloths of a great length spread upon Carpers, and afterward fastening upon them a marvelous number of wooden spoons, with so great store of Bread, as if they had been to feed 300 persons; then they set out Meat in order, which was served in 44 great Platters of Earth, full of Rice-pottage of three or four kinds, differing one from another, some of them seasoned with Honey, and of the colour of Honey; some with four Milk, and white of colour; and some with Sugar; they had Fricases also, which were made of like Bacon; and Mutton beside, or rather a dainty and toothsome morsel of an old foddren Ewe. The Table (if there had any such been) thus furnished, the Guests without any Ceremony of washing, face down on the ground (for Stools there were none) and fell to their Victual, and drank out of great earthen Dishes, Water prepared with Sugar, which kind of Drink they call *Zerbet*. But lo! having made a short repast, they were no sooner risen up, but certain young Men, who were called *Giamagani*, with others that stood round about them, snatched it hastily up as their Fees, and like greedy Harpies ravished it down in a moment. The Embassadors in the mean time dined in the Hall with the Basses. And after dinner certain of the Capitazies were sent for, and twelve of the Embassadors Followers, before appointed to do the Great Sultan Reverence; by whom (their Presents being already conveyed away) they were removed out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an under Room, from whence there was an ascent into the Hall, where the Basses were staying for the Embassadors; who soon after came forth, and for their ease sat them down upon the Benches, whilst the Basses went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of Dinner, and was removed in all his Royalty, into one of his Chambers, expecting the coming of the Embassadors. All things now in readiness, and the Embassadors sent for, they set forward with their Train, and came to the third Gate, which leadeth into the Privy-Palace of the Turkish Emperor, where none but himself, his Eunuchs, and the young Pages his Minions, being in the Eunuchs custody, have continual abiding; into which inward part of the Palace none entrench but the Capitazies (who have the keeping of this third Gate) and the Cesigniers (that serve in the Turks Meat) with the Basses and some few other great Men; and that only when they have occasion so to do by reason of some great business, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entered in at this Gate, which is of a Stately and Royal Building, the Capitazies whom they were conducted suddenly caused them to stay, and set them one from another about

The Emperor's Embassadors honourably received by the Turks at Constantinople.

Presents given by the Emperor's Embassadors to the great Bass.

A lovely Feast given to the Embassadors Followers in the Turkish Court.

The first Gate of the Great Turkey Palace.

The second Gate.

Presents sent unto Selymus by the Emperor.

The Emperor's Embassadors conducted by the Turks into the Court.

The third Gate.

long Plumes of Feathers standing upright; all which made a beautiful show, and gave all grace to the Basses Court. These men stir not One foot in their standings, so long are they to continue standing without moving. The Embassadors having stayed two days at *Buda*, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with his Chieftain (the Steward or Governor of his House) a man of great Reputation, and *Besim* the Chiaus (the same that came to meet them at *Comera*) with a sufficient Guard and certain Janizaries, sent for their more safe travelling, and to provide for them from place to place, all things necessary for their Diet, as also for their Horses, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they embarked the tenth day of the aforesaid month, towed up the Turks Gallies, which holpen by the swifts of the River, carried them down in eight days of *July*, where they arrived the eighteenth of *July*. So having staid at *Belgrade*, and there leaving their Boats, and taking their Coaches, they set forward by Land the twentieth of the said month, and with great pains travelling through *Rafcia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, and passing a part of the great Mountain *Scardus*, and after that, the Mountain *Rhodope*, by the way of *Patria*, the Mountain *Hedrimople*, the two and twentieth of *August* gathered fast upon *Constantinople*; where many of the Spahies and Chiaus of the Court, with a number of the Janizaries and other Soldiers, for their greater Honour came to meet them: a great way without the City. By whom the Embassadors honourably mounted on Horseback, were by them conducted to their Lodging appointed for them about the middle of the City, where the Lord *Albert de Vau* the Emperors Embassador Lierge (not long before enlarged) having long looked for their coming, now most joyfully received them. It was then *Friday* the Turks Sabbath, and a day of them above all other days in the week regarded, and about ten of the Clock two hours before Noon; at which time the Embassadors were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymas* going to hear the Ceremonies of his Religion, in the Mosky of his Father *Selymas* (as his manner was sometime to do) passed along before the Gate where the Embassadors lay, with the whole Train of his Court; and peradventure somewhat more than ordinary, to shew the Magnificence of his Power and State, to the end that the Embassadors (above the former opinion by them conceived) might hold him in the Reputation of a most puissant and mighty Monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to give them a regard, or so much as to cast his eye aside upon them, although they were strangers, and but even then arrived; but with a Countenance as if he had known not so much as any thing of their coming, held on his way as it lay. But *Mubame* the chief Visier Bassa, with the other Basses and great Courtiers, in most gracious manner as they passed by cast their eyes upon them; all the courtiers they could then shew them. Six days after, being the eight and twentieth of *August*, the Embassadors all three went to visit and salute *Mubame* (or as the Turks call him *Mubame*) the chief Visier Bassa, as the manner was, presenting him from the Emperor, with four Cups of Silver all gilt, of most fair and curious Workmanship, of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the other two being not so high by a span, but having in them two thousand Ducats of Gold; besides which, they gave him also a Clock, being a most curious piece of Work, and all over

double gilt. After which Greetings and Presents delivered, besides the contents of his Majesties Letters, they declared unto him in general points, the cause of their coming, and the mind of the Emperor well disposed to a Peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both Parties; and lastly turning over the blame of the late Wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, sweetened thereby the fower of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa likewise for his part to seek for goods words, but answered them in Turkish by the mouth of *Hibram* the chief Dragoman, who delivered his mind to them in Latin or Italian, according as the Embassadors had before uttered theirs; which Parle he ended, certain of the chief Basses, *Achmet*, *Pial*, and *Mubame*, presenting every one of them with two fair Cups and a thousand Dollars. These were the six Visier Basses to *Selymas*, then lying at Court with him, men that for Wealth and Authority went before all other in the Turkish Empire, as in the course of this History may appear. And so having visited them in general, the Embassadors to set their Affairs on foot, the fourth of *September* dined with *Mubame*, to whom the ordering of Estate-matters was especially committed. Yet after this first Conference, because it was necessary before so weighty Affairs were broached, first to do the Turk Reverence, and to deliver the Presents, with the Emperors Letters to him written; for some few days there was no Point at all of the Embassadors business handled.

*Selymas* not long after the Embassadors were arrived, went out for his disport and pleasure on hunting; so that in the mean time, after the Presents were given to the Basses, matters stood still altogether unadvanced, until the 21 of *September*; and that day (*Selymas* being now returned from his Disport) it was appointed that the Embassadors should have Audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their Followers, of those that should attend upon them, which were not in all above twelve persons; for they to whom this Charge was committed, said it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great Train should come before so great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them above that number; whereupon they appointed but six a piece to attend them, and of fifteen Cups of Silver and gilt, being most curiously and cunningly engraven, one of the fairest among the rest was given to each of those twelve to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the rest that came after in order with the rest of the Presents; which was two exceeding precious Clocks, like in bigness to them before given to the Basses, but far more them in value; and 45000 Dollars for the Tribute behind and yet unpaid. The greatest of these Cups was six Spans and a half, and the least two Spans in height; some of them being double Cups, after the High-Dutch manner. The Embassadors (whose coming a great multitude of Janizaries attended below at the Gate of their Lodging; besides made of the Spahies and Chiaus, and others of good fort (which were com-

to honour them with their Presence to the Palace) putting themselves in readines betimes in the Morning, and taking Horse set forward toward the Court. The foremost were they that did bear the Present in their hands, the people of the City in every Street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they passed; and verily there had been feldoms times seen the like Emphange in those parts; for besides the Fame that was blown abroad in every quarter, That they were Men sent from one of the greatest Princes in Christendom; the diversity of their Attire (so few as they were) more than any thing beside, did represent the Majesty of the Christian Emperor to them that gazed upon his Embassadors and their Train, the people conceiving thereby, that he was Lord and Ruler over many Provinces and Countries. For they that were *Hungarians* belonging to the Bishop of *Agria* (the chief Embassador) being attired in long and fober Garments of very fine Purple-Cloth, having their Shoes pieced over the soles with Iron-Plates, and half their Heads shaven, seemed to differ from them but little; but on the other side, the High-Dutch, the Attire in black, with their Velvet Caps, and their Cloaks laid with Silver Lace, and long Breaches little less than Rutter-wire, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, appeared very strange and uncouth to the Turkish people; so accompanied in this honourable wife, the Embassadors entered the first Gate of the Great Turks Palace. This Gate is built of Marble in most sumptuous manner, and of a flame bright with certain words of their Language in the front thereof engraven and gilt in Marble. So passing through the safe Court, which hath on the right side very fair Gardens, and on the left, divers Buildings serving for other Offices, with a little Mosky, they came to the second Gate, where all such as come in riding, must of necessity alight; here so soon as they were entered in at this second Gate, they came into a very large Square Court, with Buildings and Galleries round about it, the Kitchens standing on the right hand, with other Lodgings for such as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewise Rooms deputed to like Services. There are moreover many Halls and other Rooms for resort, where they sit in Council, handling and executing the Publick Affairs either of the Court or of the Empire, with others, where the Basses and other Officers assemble together. Entering in at this second Gate, in one part of the Court, which seem'd rather some large Street, they saw the whole Company of the Solahs set in a goodly rank, which are Archers keeping always near unto the Person of the Great Turk and serving as his Footmen when he rideth; they use high Plumes of feathers, which are bolt upright over their Foreheads. In another place stood the Capizai in like Array, with black Staves of Indian Cane in their hands; they are the Porters and Wardens of the Gates of the Palace; not much differing in their Attire from the Janizaries; who stood in rank likewise in another quarter. And beside all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, those Knights of the Court, which accompanied the Embassadors thither, with other great Ones also of like degree, were Marshallled all in their several Companies. And among the rest, the Musliarches, Men of all Nations and all Religions (for their Valour the only free men which live at their own liberty in the Turkish Empire) stood there, apparelled in Damask Velvet and Cloth of Gold, and Garments of Silk of sundry kinds and colours; their Pomp

was great, and the greater, for the Turbans that they wore upon their Heads, being as white as whiteness itself, made a most brave and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In brief, whether they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noise or rumor; they made the Embassadors and the rest of their Followers there present, eyewitnesses both of their Obedience, and of the great State and Royalty of the Ottoman Court. Passing through them, the Embassadors were led into the Hall, where the Basses and other great Men of the Court were all ready to give them Entertainment; they of their Train being at the same time brought in, and stood apart under one of the aforesaid Lodgings all hung with Turkey-Carpets. Soon after (as their use and manner is) they brought in their Dinner, covering the ground with Table-Cloths of a great length spread upon Carpets, and afterward fastening upon them a marvelous number of wooden Spoons, with so great store of Bread, as if they had been to feed 200 persons; then they set on Meat in order, which was served in 42 great Plates of Earth, full of Rice-pottage of three or four kinds, differing one from another, some of them seasoned with Honey, and of the colour of Honey; some with four Milk, and white of colour; and some with Sugar; they had Fritters also, which were made of like Batter; and Mutton beside, or rather a dainty and toothsome morsel of an old fiddens Ewe. The Table (if there had any such been) thus furnished, the Guests without any Ceremony of washing, fate down on the ground (for Stools there were none) and fell to their Victual, and drank out of great earthen Dishes, Water prepared with Sugar, which kind of Drink they call *Zerbet*. But so having made a short repast, they were no longer risen up, but certain young Men whom they call *Giamasars*, with others that stood round about them, snatch it hastily up as their Fees, and like greedy Harpies ravened it down in a moment. The Embassadors in the mean time dined in the Hall with the Basses. And after dinner certain of the Capizais were sent for, and twelve of the Embassadors Followers, before appointed to do the Great Sultan Reverence; by whom (their Presents being already conveyed away) they were removed out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an under Room, from whence there was an ascent into the Hall, where the Basses were staying for the Embassadors, who soon after came forth, and for their ease fat them down upon the Benches, whilst the Basses went in to *Selymas*, who before this time had made an end of Dinner, and was removed in all his Royalty, into one of his Chambers, expecting the coming of the Embassadors. All things now in readines, and the Embassadors sent for, they set forward with their Train, and came to the third Gate, which leadeth into the Privy-Palace of the Turkish Emperor, where none but himself, his Eunuchs, and the young Pages his Minions, being in the Eunuchs custody, have continual abiding; in which lower part of the Palace none entred but the Capizai Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third Gate) and the Cesigniers (that serve in the Turks Meat) with the Basses and some few other great Men; and that only when they have occasion so to do by reason of some great business, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entered in at this Gate, which is of a Stately and Royal Building, the Capizai by whom they were conducted suddenly caused them to stay, and for them one from another about

The Emperors Embassadors honourably received by the Turks at Constantinople.

A hand given to the Embassadors by the Turks court.

The first Gate of the Great Turkey Palace.

The second Gate.

Presents given by the Emperors Embassadors to the great Bassa.

Presents sent unto Selymas by the Emperors.

The Emperors Embassadors honourably conducted by the Turks into the Court.

The third Gate.



five Paces, in a little Room, which nevertheless was paffing-delicate, all curiously painted over with divers Colours, and flood between the Gate and the most inner Lodgings. On both sides of which Room, where all things else were white and in a deep Silence, certain little Birds only were heard to warble out their sweet Notes, and to flicker up and down the green Trees of the Gardens (which all along cast a pleasant shadow from them) as if they alone had obtained Licence to make a noise. Selymus himself was in great Majesty fit in an under Chamber, parted only with a Wall from the Room wherein the Embassadors Followers attended, whereinto he might look through a little Window, the Portal of his said Chamber standing in counterpoint with the third Gate above mentioned. The Embassadors entering in, were led single, and one after another, to make their Reverence unto the Great Turk. And in the mean time certain of the Capitaz with the Prefents in their hands fetching a compass about before the Window, muttered them in his sight. All this while not the least found in the World being raised, but a sacred Silence kept in every corner, as if men had been going to visit the holiest place in Jerusalem. Yet for all that, the Embassadors Followers placed one from another (as is aforesaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was so near, looking fill when they should have been led on forwards all together; howbeit they were for in one after another, neither did they that were so set out, return again into the Room, but were generally done their Reverence, were all (except the Embassadors, that fill staid in the Chamber) by one and one sent out another way into the Court; neither could he that came after, see his Fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his Reverence; but suddenly as the former was let out, the next was advanced forward to the door, where *Yman* the Capitaz-Bassa and the Odda-Bassa, taking him by both Arms and by the Neck, the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, and so leading him apace, by the way softly felt his wrists with their hands, lest peradventure he might have some short Weapon in his sleeve. Yet were they not all thus gazed, as *Marc*, *Antonio Pigafetta* (the Reporter of this Negotiation) faith of himself and some others also. Howbeit this hath been, and yet is the manner of giving of Access unto the Person of the Great Turk, ever since that *Anwarat* the Fifth was after the battle of *Caffera* murdered by one of the Emperors Followers; men, who admitted to his Presence, in revenge of the wrong done unto his Master, with a short Poniard that he had closely hidden about him, so stabbed him in the Belly, that he presently died. And thus like men rather carried to prison by Sergeants, than to the Presence of so mighty a Monarch, they were presented unto his Majesty: he sitting upon a Pallat, which the Turks call *Adahis*, used by them in their Chambers to sleep and to feed upon, covered with Carpets of Silk, as was the whole floor of the Chamber. This Chamber it self being not very great, was but dark, altogether without Windows, excepting that one whereof we have before spoken, and having the Walls painted and set out in most flesh and lively Colours by great cunning, and with a most delicate Grace; yet use they neither Pictures nor the Image of any thing in their painting. The six Vifier Bassas before mentioned, were standing at the left hand as they entered in the Chamber door, one by another in one side of the Chamber, and the Embassadors on the right hand on the other side standing likewise, and uncovered: The Dragomans were in another part of the Chamber, near the place where the Sultan sat

gorgeously attired in a Robe of Cloth of Gold all embroidered with Jewels; when as the Embassadors Followers by one and one brought before him, (as is aforesaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turk standing on his right hand, with his Reverence taking up the Hand of the Great Turk, gave it them in their hands to kiss. Selymus himself all this while sitting like an Image without moving, and with a great State and Majesty keeping his countenance, dained not to give them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again, never turning their backs towards him, but going fill backwards until they were out of his Presence. So after they had all thus made their Reverence, and were departed out of the Chamber, the Embassadors delivered unto Selymus the Emperors Letters, and briefly declared unto him their Message; whom he answering in four words, as, That they were to confer with the Bassas; presently they were dismissed. And so coming out of the two inner Gates, they mounted on Horseback, and took the way leading towards their Lodging, being at their return accompanied with the whole order of the Janizaries, with their Aga and other Captains; among whom were certain of their Religious Men called *Hagi* (which use to follow the Janizaries) who continually turning about, and in their going, singing or rather howling out certain Palms and Prayers for the Welfare of their Great Sultan; gave the Embassadors and their Followers occasion to wonder, that they either left not for weariness, or fell not down like Noddies for giddiness. All these were sent, the more honourably to accompany the Embassadors to their Lodging; and beside these, many more on Horseback than attended them at their coming forth; in regard whereof, the Embassadors when they were come to their Lodging, to require their greedy courtiers, frankly distributed amongst them above four thousand Dollars, and yet well contented them.

The Embassadors after this Entertainment at Court, had divers times Conference with the great Bassas concerning Peace, as Selymus had commanded; wherein by reason of the Turks unreasonable Demands (as their manner is at their first meetings) nothing could be as then concluded; so that Selymus himself being shortly after to depart for *Hadiamople*, where he was to continue for some months (but rather as it was thought for that they could not come to a Point of great Conference) the Treaty for Peace was intermitted, until such time as a Messenger dispatched in Post, might return unto the Turks Court, with some resolute Answer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the Reign of the late Emperor *Ferdinand*, that the Turk his Subjects in Hungary paid all their Taxes and Tributes unto their old Lords and Masters, abiding and living in the Emperors Jurisdiction, as did the Subjects *Ferdinand*, to their Lords that dwelt in the Turks Dominion and Territories; now in this Treaty for Peace, the Turks (amongst other their unreasonable Requests) demanded to have these Subjects freed, and yet the Subjects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accustomed. Which was it was a request nothing indifferent, for it was no less prejudicial and hurtful unto the Emperor his Subjects in Hungary; for which cause the Embassadors would not by any means consent thereto, before they knew the Emperors farther Pleasure concerning the same. Whereupon they dispatched one *Sig. Olsendorf* a Gentleman of *Altmark*, very skilful in the Turkish Language and in such like affairs, by reason that as well about this business

business as at divers times before about other the like, he had been employed from *Vienno* into the Emperors Service. So Selymus shortly after, viz. the twentieth of October, departing from *Constantinople*, in great Magnificence passed by the Gate where the Embassadors lay, with his whole Court in Arms, and in the same order that is usually kept when he goeth to War, or take any great Journey. After whose departure, the Embassadors having sufficiently viewed the City of *Constantinople*, and then at good leisure, to pass the time and to see the Countries they had so often both heard and read of, together with the Ports and Havens on both sides that narrow Sea which divideth Europe from Asia, embarking themselves, and crossing the mouth of the Haven betwixt *Constantinople* and *Pera*, passed all along the Coast on Europe side, unto the Euxine or Black-Sea, and to back again by the other side of that Straight Sea; curiously noting the great ruins of the ancient Cities of *Bithynia*, with some others amongst the *Asian* shore, together with the pleasant situation they in former times had, whilst they yet flourished in their glory, but now for most part (or rather for altogether) laid in the Dust and brought to nought; and so returned again to *Constantinople*. But whilst they thus decided the time, and lay long expecting the return, as well of their own Messenger unto the Emperor, as of Selymus himself, they were advertised in all haste to repair unto him to *Hadiamople*, whether the aforesaid Messenger was now come with full Instructions of all things concerning the Treaty for Peace. For which cause, they with great speed making themselves ready, and taking their leave of the great Admiral, then lay Selymus his forward the first of January, in the year 1568, and so after nine days travel, at length arrived at *Hadiamople*, about an hundred fifty three Italian miles distant from *Constantinople*. Here they stayed until the Peace was concluded, which was the seventeenth of February; the chief Capitulations whereof were, That either of those great Princes should fill hold what they had got each from the other in the late Wars: That the Emperor should yearly pay thirty thousand Ducats to the Turkish Sultan, as a Tribute for Hungary, the Tribute to begin in the beginning of January last past this year 1568. That the Subjects of the Turk should pay nothing to the Subjects of the Emperor, neither the Emperor any thing to the Turks, but to be both of them free from any more. And that upon these Conditions there should be a firm and sure Peace betwixt these two great Monarchs for eight years next following; wherein the *Payvod* of *Transylvania* was (as the Turks Tributary) to be also comprehended. Nevertheless, all things at this time thus agreed upon, the Turks after their subtil manner finding sundry Cavitations, and raising many doubts about the aforesaid Capitulations, did what they might to have in some sort altered what they had before agreed upon, to the benefiting of themselves and the hurt of the Christians; and so with many other unreasonable Demands stayed the departure of the Embassadors until the twentieth of March following. At which time, having their Dispatch, and taking their leave of the Great Turk and the Bassas, accompanied with *Hidram-Beg* (Selymus his Embassador unto the Emperor) they by Land returned towards *Vienno*, where they arrived with the joyful News of Peace the tenth of May, arrived, being there two days

after at the Court most honourably received. And five days after, Audience was given unto the Turks Embassador, who well heard and better rewarded, shortly after returned with a full conclusion of Peace from the Emperor, to *Constantinople*.

But whilst this Peace was thus in concluding, and the Embassadors yet resident at *Hadiamople*, the sixteenth of February came an honourable Embassage from *Shack Tamaz* the Persian King, unto the Great Sultan Selymus, to treat a Peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the same, being before agreed upon the Controversies, for which they afterwards fell to open War. Which Embassage for that it is so truly thus not plainly set down in a Letter sent from *Eretrum* (a City then in the Confinnes of the Turkish Dominions towards the Persian) written by a *Chiaus* to *Muhamed* Chief of the Vifier Bassas; which *Chiaus* was of purpose sent from *Constantinople*, to meet the said Persian Embassador: I thought it not amiss for the better understanding thereof, to set down the effect of the same Letter as it was translated out of the Turkish into the Italian by the Emperors Embassadors Interpreter.

The effect of the Letter written to *Muhamed Bassa*, the Chief Vifier, by a *Chiaus* sent of purpose to meet the Persian Embassador.

After due Salutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make known unto your Lordship. Now at this present (to wit in the beginning of the month Giama Sulacchi) is in good health arrived the Embassador of Persia, the King's Chief Counselor, called \* Schach Kuli Soltan, attended with a hundred and twenty Gentlemen, with Schach Kuli Soltan on their Heads; and well furnished with his three Elephants led in Mien bands. Besides whom he was accompanied also with two hundred Knights all apparelled in Clab of Gold, with four hundred Persian Merchants, in all above four hundred Persons; with a thousand nine hundred Reas, Camels, Mules, and Horses, five couple of Drums, every couple being placed upon a several Camel, five Nears, three Trumpets, five Flutes, and other Instruments, in all about thirty Musicians, playing upon these Instruments: There were also two Quarters of or Chaunters of the *discram*, one Organist, one playing upon a Turkish Instrument like a Lute, two Players upon *Soghar*, with two other Musicians, eight in all. There were also four Bandumens serving in the Embassadors own Chamber. Who when he was with all this Magnificent Pomp came within one day's journey of *Eretrum*, the \* Sayms and \* Sayms Sables assembling themselves together in the number of eight thousand Men, went to meet him; and among whom were an hundred and more, all apparelled in Clab of Gold and Satin, two thousand the Spahs, Men with gilt Morions on their Heads; in which having their bravery well marching forward, the Persian Embassador amazed to see so great Majesty and Pomp, said that all the Army of *Constantinople* was after as come to meet him; and so being come unto the City, the left flank all the Instruments to be played upon, even out of the town, sounding until night. The next morning, the Persian Embassador received the Bassa with all the Lords, Towns and Officers; who being come, he entertained them to Village. *Hidram-Beg* (Selymus his Embassador unto the Emperor) going to the Banquet, came another Salutation of the King, who brought unto the same Embassador a gilt Turban, and a rich Crown wrought with Gold, which

The Embassadors brought into Selymus, with the manner of the Entertainment of them and their Followers.

Interpretor Di. Marc, Anconio Pigafetta, Ca. 5.

1568.

The chief capitulations whereon a Peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor and Selymus.

The principal Point wherein the Embassadors differed from the Turks, is in the Treaty of Peace.

which he caused him to put on by the way. By this Embassador the Persian King hath sent all the Armour of Sultan Bajazet, with all his Camels and other Wealth. The causes of the long stay of this Embassador were especially two; the one for that the Persian King had to be made two Pavilions of one Piece, the Curtains being interlaced with Gold, and the Supporters interlaced with the same; and the other this, he sent two Books of Histories, and two Pearls, which in weight weighed ten Mycali; one Ballas as big as a little Pearl; fourfcore and two times an hundred & twenty of Stuff, amounting to fourfcore and two fims of Aspers, and forty Falcans; all which the Persian King hath sent unto the Great Sultan, as to the only Monarch and Patron of the World. This Schach Culi is the next in Authority the King, and so was in the time of great King Hymael. The two Persian times are the Kings chief Sultans and Courtiers, and therefore sit themselves forth with all the Pomp they can. Yet notwithstanding all their Bravery, being come to Erzurum within the view of our Army, the Persians were amazed to behold the goodly order of the Othomans. One part of these Persians returned again into Persia. And if it please God, at the coming of my Ambassador unto you, your Lordship shall understand of the Condition and State these two Princes and Sultans are. They have each of them yearly fix Taxmans; which maketh after the computation of the Othomans, six thousand Aspers. Your Lordship after this account may judge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this Embassador, was for that in Syrtan the people were up in Rebellion, wherein many of them were slain; to the appeasing of which Sedition, the Schach Culi was sent, and new at last is come. From Erzurum in the beginning of the month of \* Giuma Salaccir, in the year of the Prophet Mahomet, 975.

This Persian Embassador was with the greatest Pomp that might be entertained by the Turks at his first coming to *Hadrassano*, all the brave Courtiers with the Janizaries and other Soldiers of the Court going forth in most seemly order to meet him. Who now entered the City, and came before the house where the Emperors Embassadors then lay, and seeing certain of their Retinue before the door, asked of *Ismam* the Capitai Bafia, what people they were; who told them that they were the Followers of one of the greatest Princes of the Christians, namely the Emperor, who was desirous to make Peace with the Great Sultan his Master. Whereunto the Embassador replied, That he would willingly salute them; which *Ismam* hearing, straight way turned his Horse towards the place where they stood. Now the Emperors Embassador being secret within a Lattice, and seeing him come towards them, went forth and stood upon the Door-threshold, and so with signs and words saluted one another. Among the others the Persian Embassador said unto the Emperors, That he would gladly talk with him, if it might please the Grand Seigneur; *Hebrahim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors Embassadors, being Interpreter. So having courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but never after came together. Two days after, the Persian Embassadors (according to the manner of those barbarous Nations, who with empty hands salute not one another) by his Chocai or Steward of his Household, presented all the Vifier Baffes with divers rich Gifts and Presents every one of them according to their degrees and places; and the day after went himself to visit them; where by the way fell out a strange matter, like

enough to have cost him his life. For a *Giamoglan* (as the Embassador was saying) who was the chief of the Vifier Baffes for the first) meeting him, shot at him with an Harquebush, with purpose to have slain him; but as God would, missed him, and hurt but one of his chief Followers in the Arm. Wherewith the Embassador not a little dismayed, as supposing himself to have been betrayed, turning his Horse, was about to have gone to his Lodging; but the great Bafia in the mean time having knowledge thereof, presently sent out men to Guard him, and to excoise himself of the Fact. Wherof the Embassador being assured, held on his way. In the mean space, the Fellow who shot the Harquebush, being apprehended, was brought before the Embassador and the Bafia; who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the Embassador? he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause, but for that the Embassador was an Heretic, and sent that on a Heretical King, and an Enemy to their Religion; and therefore that it was not convenient he should come to intreat of Peace with his Lord; adding further, that he was not worthy of any Peace. Which the Bafia hearing, adjudged the desperate Villain the next day to be drawn at an Horse-tail through the City, and then to have his right Hand cut off, and afterwards his Head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Persian Embassador the 22th of the same month went to deliver the Presents sent from his Master unto the Grand Seigneur, and to kiss his Hand; sending first before him the Presents upon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Persia, and the other ten his own. The Kings Present was an Alcoran, with the Austrie of *Alit*, as they hold. For this is their Custom, to present one such Alcoran unto the always to persons to whom they send their Embassadors. It was covered with Gold, and garnished with most precious Stones. He presented also a Book of Histories, covered as the other; he gave also a Box, wherein was a very fair precious Stone called *Ballas*, and two Pearls of a wonderful greatness, with two Purples of an handfull long, full of Jewels. Besides these, he presented also eight *Finnari* or Porcellaine Dishes (which we call *Cine-Dishes*) made of most pure Earth, kept above fifty years buried under the ground, to the end so to be fined and purified, which (as some say) will melt and dissolve if any Poison be put into them. He gave also two most stately Pavilions, twenty great Carpets of silk, and many other lesser of Silver the Persians call *Tefich*, things not used among the Christians. He gave also nine very fair Carpets of Camels hair, nine Saddles fit with Stones after the Persian fashion, seven Staves of Silver, seven Scimiters with red Scabbars, seven Bows with Arrows and Quivers, all wrought with Gold and precious Stones; he presented also the finest Laven-Carpets called *Tefich*, made of the finest Laven, and so large, that seven Men could scarcely carry one of them. All the Falcons were the Embassadors gave unto the Great Turk in his own Name; were also these; An Alcoran, a Pavillion fair and large, certain Scimiters, Bows and Arrows richly garnished, with certain Carpets of Silk, and Camels hair. After which Presents he delivered, and Reverence done unto the Great Sultan by the Embassador, and thirty of his Followers all in Cloth of Gold, he returned to his Lodging, very honourably accompanied, as well by the Turks as them of his own Retinue. First, besides many others

The Persian Embassador in going to visit Mahomet the Vifier Bafia, is in danger to have been slain.

The Vifier Bafia sent first by the Persian King unto Selymus.

As becomable all-fortunes.

there were a great Company of the Spahies and Chiaufes, and other Courtiers, mounted upon goodly Horses well furnished and in decent order; here might a Man have seen flocks of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, Damask, and other kinds of Silk. After these, there followed about three hundred Persian Horsemen, apparelled after their manner, some with Gowns made of divers little pieces of Taffata of sundry Colours, representing the Pictures of Men, Women, Horses, and other Beasts; and some of them embroidered with Flowers and Fruits of sundry sorts; some had also Gowns of Cloth of Gold, but not so fair as the Turks; and some of Velvet, but very few of Cloth; for that the Persians have no great plenty either of Velvet or yet of Cloth, except such as they have from the Portugals that travel unto those Eastern Countries; yet of Silk and Wool it appeareth they have great plenty, most part of their Gowns being of Wool quilted with Bombast. After these followed a large number of Persian Footmen, adventurers all Servants; after whom came the Turkish Horsemen; and last of all came a Horse of the Embassadors led by a Persian; after which Horse followed two hundred Janizaries; and in the Rearward of all came the Embassador alone, gorgeously attired both himself and his Horse. He himself was invested with crimson Velvet, mingled with some other Colours; his Saddle and Bridle were all bedecked with Jewels; the Caparison of his Horse, was all embroidered with Turquoises and other precious Stones; the Horn upon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call *Metevencia*) was altogether wrought with Gold, and set with precious Stones; in brief, upon every part of his Body he hung Jewels of great price. After the Embassador, followed about an hundred and forty Persian Horsemen, and others of the Courtiers, followed as before, some well, some ill, according to their Ability. Now although the Persians (as is to be thought) shewed all their Pomp, yet they made nothing so fair a show as did the Turks; neither are they so fair Men of complexion, being for the most part of a swart and brown Colour, and rather little Men than otherwise, not much unlike to the Spaniards. The Embassador being departed, the Presents were all brought and shewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary Charges five hundred Ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great, and their Beasts many. These Expenses bestowed upon the Embassadors, do presently begin as soon as any of them enter into his Dominions; and end, so soon as the business for which they come is finished. But long it was not, but that this Embassador having concluded a Peace between the two great Princes, *Tamag* and *Selymus*, and dispatched such matters as he came for, returned home again into Persia. The Venetians also now at this same time, by their Embassadors fought to renew the League they had made with the great Turk, now expired; which as it was easily obtained, so was it of small advantage. *Selymus* the next year quarrelling with them, even then began new Wars, to the great hurt and disturbance of that State, as shall forthwith appear.

1569.

*Selymus* now at Peace with all the World (a thing of the Turks not much desired) began to think of Works of Charity; and purposing to build a magnificent Temple at *Hadrassano* for his own Sepulture, with a Monastery, a College, and an Alms-House (as had his Father and other his Ancestors before him at *Praga* and in other places, led thereunto with a vain and superstitious Devotion) was troubled with nothing more, than

how to endow the same with Lands and Revenues sufficient for the maintenance of so great a Charge; for that the Mahometan Kings are by their Superstition prohibited to convert any Lands or Possessions to such holy uses, other than such as they have with their own Sword won from the Enemies of their Religion, which they may (as they are persuaded) as a most acceptable Sacrifice, offer to their great Prophet; which Devilish persuasion, ferveth as a Spur to prick forward every of those ambitious Princes to add something to their Empire. This his devout purpose once known, excited not the fearfulness of many ripe Heads, desiring none one thing, some another, as they thought best fitted his humor. But amongst many things to him presented, none pleased him so well, as the Plot laid for the taking of the rich Island of Cyprus from the Venetians; a Conquest of it self sufficient, both for the eternizing of his Name, and performance of his own charitable Works intended; with a large view plain for the supplying of whatsoever wanted in his Fathers like devout Works at *Constantinople*. But that which moved him most of all, was the glory of such a Conquest, which as his Flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equal with any his Predecessors; who in the beginning of their Reign, had usually done or attempted some notable thing against the Christians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Baffes, to be considered without whole Advice and Counsel, the Turkish Emperors seldom or never take any great Wars in hand. Amongst these grave Counsellors, *Mahomet* the chief Vifier Bafia, a Man of greatest Authority (unto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had so quietly obtained the Empire) and a secret Friend unto the Venetians, seemed much to miller of that motion; persuading *Selymus* not to yield therein, to the bringing of his danger and uncertainty of the expedition, that his Father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him strictly, that the League with the Venetians should be religiously kept; and that he could not with his Honour without just cause so quickly break the League, which he himself had but a little before most solemnly confirmed. But *Musapha* the second Bafia, sometimes *Selymus* his Tutor, and therefore of him much honoured, with *Pial* Bafia the Admiral (both envying at the great honour of the Vifier Bafia) so mightily impugned that he had before said, and so importuned *Selymus* with the shew both of Honour and Profit attending that action, as also with the easiness thereof (a great part of the Venetian Arsenal being but a little before burnt, and their Forces much weakened) that he rejected the Counsel of *Mahomet*, calling him in his Choler, Christian (which among the Mahometans is a Word of no small disgrace;) and yielding wholly to the persuasion of *Musapha* and *Pial*, presently caused preparation to be made both by Sea and Land, for the performance of that his resolution. Which was not so covertly carried in the Turks Court, but that it was discovered by *Mr. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embassador; and not without cause suspected by the Venetian Merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut short in their Traffick, looking big upon them, as Men suddenly changed, and evil intreating them with hard speeches, the undoubted signs of greater troubles to ensue. The Venetian Embassador now out of doubt of the Turks purpose for the invasion of Cyprus, came unto *Mahomet* the chief Bafia, and earnestly besought him to leave the League, and putting him in mind of the Fidelity of the Venetian State towards the Turkish Emperor;

Mahomet Bafia did send Selymus from the invading of Cyprus.

Emperor; requesting him that *Selymus* might make too much haste to begin that War, which would fit all Europe on a broil; but rather by the Embassadors first to declare his mind to the Senate, for that it might hardly come to pass, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parties without War. Which the politick Embassador requested not of the Bassa for any hope he had to avert the War, for which the Turk had now all things in a readines, but only by such an hope of composition, to hinder the Turks endeavours, and to win time, until that the State (being fully certified of all these matters) might make ready their Fleet and Forces, and so in Arms be ready to answer their armed Foes; Neither did he ever leave the Bassa, until he had by his means procured, That one *Cubates* should be sent Embassador to Venice, to prove the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliver the Island, or adventure to have it taken from them by Force. These things, and such like as were then done at Constantinople, being by Letters sent in Post from the Embassador, made known at Venice, brought a general heaviness upon the City; for why, that understanding and provident State, warned by their former harms, of all others most dread the Turks Forces. *Cubates* the Embassador accompanied with *Alofius Barbarus* the Embassadors Son, and *Bonuricus* his Secretary, departing from Constantinople, came by long journeys to Rhodes, where *Eugenius* the Senate sent from Venice to meet him, was ready to receive him, who being taken into his Gally, brought him to Venice.

In the mean time the Senators sitting oftentimes in Council, were divided in opinions concerning the chief matter they consulted upon; some there were, that thought it not good to wage War against such an invincible Enemy; that to trust upon a vain and hope, rather to commit all unto the hazard of such Fortune as was unto them in that War by the Enemy pronounced; they alledged, That they had always unfortunately taken up Arms against the Turks, and that therefore they should sit before their Eyes, what harms they had suffered, and how that beside the losses already furnished, they had always in the winding up of the Wars lost something more; that it were better to depart with Cyprus, so that they might quietly enjoy the rest, rather than enter into Arms: Time they said, would at length give them some one fit occasion or other to recover that they had lost, and to restore their State unto their former Honour; which for the present, was above their power to maintain; To put their trust in their Confederates (they said) was but to deceive themselves; they should remember how often even final causes of false fulsom, or hope of profit, or fear of harm, had utterly frustrated and broken in funder the most solemn Capitulations of the strongest Leagues; how often destruction had come thence from whence aid was always to have been hoped for, they needed not to seek farther for examples, than from their own Domestical Affairs. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Island was by force of Arms to be defended; saying, That nothing could be more dishonourable, than without fight to make any notable part of their Signiory; neither any thing more commendable, than to prove all things for defence of their Honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no assured League could be made (as they said) hold themselves content with this yielding up of the Island, but by intreating of them and giving them way, become more insolent; and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would also

seek after *Greece* and *Corycia*, and so yielding them one thing after another, spoil themselves of all together; ambitious and greedy Princes (they said) grew more bold and insolent by other Mens fear; and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger; that hard beginnings had oftentimes merry endings; that the Favour and good Will of that infatiable and greedy Nation, was not to be gained but with so great loss and charge as that such a costly Peace would be much more hurtful than War is itself, beside that, it much concerned other Christian Princes to have the Venetian State preserved, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the uttermost of their power give them aid. The matter thus debated to and fro, it was in the end resolved upon, to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, and by plain force to withstand the Turk.

So when *Cubates* the Turks Embassador came to Venice, neither did any Man of Council meet him, neither was any Honour done unto him; or so much as common Courtesies shewed unto him; but being afterward admitted into the Senate House with his two Interpreters only, he delivered *Selymus* his Letters, inclosed in a little Bag wrought with Silk and Gold; and so whilst the same Letters were in breaking up, and translating out of the Turkish Language into Italian, delivered also his Message by word of mouth, as followeth:

What great account the mighty Sultan my dread Sovereign hath always made of your most honourable City Friendship, is therein right well declared; That in the very entrance of himself into his Empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new Conditions: renewed his League with you; which he hath on his part always kept most faithfully and unviolently; worthily giving the like kindness; not to be shewed on your behalf, but the like care of keeping your Faith inviolable in you; who by harboring of Pyrates in your Havens, and murdering of his Subjects, have oftentimes broken the League. Which injuries, although they were by War to have been revenged; yet hath he, so mightily a Monarch, hitherto been always more mindful of your Honour and Friendship, than of his own Majesty and Profit. But forasmuch as there is no end of these injuries and Wrongs, and thus it is now come to that point, That longer to forbear, might be imputed unto him rather for Cowardice than Courtesy, as also that it much more concerned your State than him, and that therefore you ought no less than to be desirous, that all causes of unkindness might be cut off, and order taken, that in so great and mutual goodwill, there should be no falling out by new quarrels: daily arising the only remedy thereof is, if you shall deliver unto him the Island of Cyprus, the cause of all these grievances. Now it behooveth you for your great Wisdom, to make small reckoning of so small a matter in comparison of the Favour of so great a Prince; which if you willingly of your selves yield unto him, you shall right wisely provide for your Affairs, and have him so great a Monarch always your Friend and Confederate; whereas if you shall these your selves estimate, and not to yield to him so small a request, his purpose is by strong hand not only to take from you the Island, the cause of the War, but also to prosecute you with most cruel War both by Sea and Land. And therefore I take God to witness, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortal a War, to be imputed unto your selves, as the worthy reward of your unwillingness and breach of Faith.

Which said, he in the name of *Mahomet* the Viceroy Bassa told the Senators. That he was right sorry that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor

Emperor *Selymus* and them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wisely consider of all things, yet he could not for the good Will he bare unto them, but admonish them of such things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholesome; and therefore did most instantly request them, and withal advise them, not to enter into Arms against so mighty a Prince, neither willingly to plunge themselves into such dangers, as they could hardly or never find the way out of; for that their strength was nothing answerable unto his, and that the event of that War would be unto them deadly; and therefore he took God and the love he bare unto them to witness, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harms, and advised them for their good. Giving them further to understand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out most cruel Threats against their State; which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his Court at Constantinople.

*Selymus* his Letters answerable to his Embassadors Speech, was also full of false-furnished grievances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike manner entered into the Frontiers of his Empire in *Dalmatia*, and there had done great harm; that they had put to death certain Turkish Pyrates, whom they had taken alive; that their Island of Cyprus was an Harbor for the Pyrates of the West; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable Countries, and furnished his Subjects travelling that way for Devotion unto the Temple of *Mecca*, or otherwise about their Affairs. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hindrance of Traffique removed, he required them to yield unto him the Island of Cyprus; which if they refused to do, he would by force of Arms take it from them; and by force of strong hand cause them to do that which they might, the better have done frankly and of their own accord; and further to make them understand how far the Turks did excel all other Men in Martial prowess. As for the League before made betwixt his Father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not because he had any liking thereunto, but because he had as then set down with himself, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embassadors errand before his coming, having now read his Letters, gave him such answer as they had before resolved upon; which was, That the Venetians had at all times inviolably kept their Leagues with the Ottoman Emperors, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to have augmented their Dominions in; That they could without any danger to themselves, have destroyed the Turks Fleet both at the *Rhodes* and *Maha*, and other places also; but that they more regarded their Honour; and always thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to perform their Faith once given, and in all their actions to be like themselves. And therefore had diffembled and put up many grievous and bitter indignities, lest they might be thought to have first broken the League; That they had never passed their own Bounds, or invaded the Turks; only to have taken order, that no Pyrates should at their pleasure roam up and down the Seas. Now whereas all Duties being on their part sincerely and most religiously kept, *Selymus* complained himself to be wronged, whereas he himself had done the wrong, and had contrary to the League, denounced War against them, expecting nothing

less; fithence that they could not by the power of the League, they would by force of Arms defend that Kingdom, which they by ancient usage had lawfully right possessed, delivered unto them by their Ancestors. That God, in whose help they trusted, would weigh in indifferent Balance, all Mens Words and Deeds; whom they took to witness, that they were the Authors of Peace, and *Selymus* the cause of War; and that the same God would be now present unto their just complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take revenge on them; which satisfying their Faith and Promise given, and violating the sacred League, had enforced them to take up most just and necessary Arms, which they would with the same Courage mannaage, that they had taken them in hand.

With this answer the Embassador departed, let out by a secret Postern, for fear of the People; who having got knowledge of the matter, were in great number assembled at the Court Gate, muttering among themselves, that it were well done to rend in pieces that accursed Turk, the Messenger of his faithless Master. Which outrage it was thought they would in their fury have performed, had not such as by the commandment of the Magistrates guarded him, better assured him of his safety, than either regard of Duty or the Law of Nations; he by the way, as he went full of burning anger, beseeching by his *Alms* to be of that to give an indignity revenged. This answer of the Senate unto the Turks Embassador concerning War, was of some well liked and highly commended, as full of Honour and Valour. Others deemed it too sharp, thinking nothing that was said or done to the further incensing of the Turkish Emperor; being of opinion, that they might have of him obtained a more indifferent Peace by Courtesy, than by Rigor. As for the decreed War, they utterly disliked, forasmuch as all Wars were woful, but especially those that were to be maintained against them that are too strong for us. In such diversity of opinions it appeared, That the Senate should of that so honourable a Decree reap such commendation, as the Event thereof should afford (than which nothing is more unreasonable); if things fell out well, then it was wisely and worthily done; if otherwise, than was it like to be reputed a foolish, rash, and woful resolution.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angry Turk, the more careful were the Venetians of their State; wherefore they forthwith sent Messengers with Letters unto the Governors of Cyprus; charging them with all carefulness and diligence to make themselves ready to withstand that Turk, and to raise what power they were able in the Island, not omitting any thing that might concern the good of the State; and at the same time made choice of their most valiant and expert Captains both by Sea and Land, unto whom they committed the defence of their dispersed Signiory, with the leading of their Forces. *Eleronimus Zanius* was appointed Admiral, *Lucas Michael* was sent into Crete, *Franciscus Barbarus* into *Dalmatia*, *Sebastianus Venerius* into *Cyprus*, all Men of great Honour, Experience and Valour. Other meaner Captains were also sent with less charge unto the aforesaid places, as *Eugenius Singlicus* a noble Gentleman with a thousand Footmen into Cyprus, who had also the leading of all the Horsemen in the Island; after whom Count *Martinengus* promised to follow with two thousand Footmen more. The strong Cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, Armor, Ordnance, and Victual provided, and whatsoever else they thought needful for defence

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Embassador  
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Venice.

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of their State. And forasmuch as they well knew they had to do with too mighty an Enemy, they by their Embassadors sent for that purpose, earnestly solicited most of the Christian Princes to join with them in League, and to give them aid against the common Enemy, who as he was too strong for any one of them, so was he not able to stand against their united Forces. But the Emperor Maximilian excused himself by the League he had not long before made with the Turk for eight years, which he said he might not break; yet he had before his Eyes a most pregnant example, the small reckoning of the Turk's match with the League, which he without any just cause had broken with the Venetians. The like excusals used also Charles the French King, and Sigismund King of Poland; who both seemed to be very sorry for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turk, but could not help them, for that they were in League with the Turkish Emperor. Nevertheless the French did them the Courtesy, to offer himself to be a Mediator, if they so pleased betwixt them and Selymus. The young King of Portugal Don Sebastian pretended also for his excuse the great Plague which had but a little before raged in his Kingdom, and much diminished his People; as also that he was to maintain Wars by Sea against the Turks in the East-Indies, to the no less benefit of the Christian Common-wealth, than if he should aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Only First Prince then Pope, and Philip King of Spain, with certain of the Princes of Italy, namely Philibert Duke of Savoy, Guido Ubaldo Duke of Urbino, Cosmus Medici Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, promised them aid, which they afterward most honourably performed.

Selymus of himself angry with the Venetians, and firm in his resolution for the Conquest of Cyprus, was upon the report of these Embassadors bad entertainment at Venice, further enraged; he deemed the Majesty of the Turkish Emperor contemned, and himself in the person of his Embassador disgraced: seeing that they whom he had thought would have yielded unto any thing, rather than the League should have been broken, had sent him such a short answer, and so contemptuously used his Embassador, unto whom they had not intended so much common Courtesy. It did not a little move him, that the Venetians had in their Letters sent by his Embassador, omitted the glorious Titles usually given the Turkish Emperors; wherefore in some part to satisfy his angry mood, he caused Marcus Antonius Barbarus the Venetian Embassador, and all the Christian Merchants of the West throughout his Empire, to be clapt up in prison, and their Ships laid under an arrest. And for the delecting thereof, as the Stage whereon the bloody Tragedy following was as it were acted; as also how it came first into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them so long possessed (although it be in some part before declared) until it was now by Selymus the great Turk, against all right injuriously demanded, and at length by strong hand by him wrested from them. This Island lieth in the farthest part of the Cilician Sea; it hath

on the East Syria, on the West Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Egypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called *Caramania*. It is worthily accounted amongst the greatest Islands of the Mediterranean, containing in circuit four hundred and twenty seven miles, and is in length (after the description of Strabo) an hundred and twenty five miles, and in breadth not above sixty five. It aboundeth with Corn, Wine, Oyl, Cotton-wool, Saffron, Honey, Rosin, Turpentine, Sugar-Canes, and whatsoever else is needful for the sustentation of Man, whereof it sends forth great abundance to other Countries, of whom it craveth no help again. It was in ancient time called *Aradus*, that is to say, *Blessed*. The People therein generally lived so at ease and pleasure, that thereof the Island was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there especially worshipped, and thereof call'd *Cypris*. *Marcellinus* to shew the Fertility thereof, saith, That *Cypris* aboundeth with such plenty of all things, that without the help of any Foreign Country, it is of it self able to build a tall Ship from the Keel to the top Sail, and so put it to Sea furnished of all things needful. And *Strabo* *Rufus* writing thereof, saith, *Cypris famula divitum, pampertem populi Romani, ut occuparetur sollicitavit, ita ut juxta ejus insula avarius magis quam injustus assensit*, scil. Cyprus famous for Wealth, allured the Poverty of the People of Rome to lay hold upon it, so that we have rather covetously than justly got the rule thereof. In the heart of the Island standeth *Nicosia*, sometime the Regal and late Metropolitane City thereof. And in the East end thereof *Famagusta*, sometime called *Tamassus*, a famous rich City, the chief and only Port of all that most pleasant Island. Other fair Cities there be also, as *Paphos*, *Amathus* (now called *Limisso*) and *Cyrene*. This Island of it self long time maintained the Majesty of a Kingdom, as then when *Richard the First*, King of England, passing that way with his Fleet for the recovery of the Holy Land, then distressed in the Holy Land about the year 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his People by force of Tempest there cast on Shore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly slain or taken Prisoners; which barbarous violence King *Richard* took in so evil part, that he there by force landed his Army, and refted not until he had taken *Isaac* the King Prisoner, and subdued the Island. The King he sent to Chains of Silver to *Tripoli*, there to be kept in close Prison; the Kingdom he kept a while in his own hand, which not long after he gave, or as some say, exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of *Jerusalem*, for which cause the Kings of England for a certain time afterwards were honoured with the Title of the Kings of *Jerusalem*. This Kingdom by many descents came at length to *Jamus* Son of King *Peter*, who in the year 1259, was married to a Sultan of Egypt, and by her afterwards for the ransom of an hundred and fifteen thousand Sultanins was set at liberty and restored to his Kingdom, paying unto the Sultan and his Successors a yearly Tribute of forty thousand Crowns. This *Jamus* left a Son called *John*, who after the death of his Father married the Daughter of the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*; after whose death he married one *Helen* of the most noble House of the *Palatini* in *Cyprus*; by whom he had one only Daughter called *Carlotta*; but by another Woman a base Son called *James*. This King *John* was a Man of no Courage, altogether given to pleasure, and according to the manner of his effeminate education, shewed himself in all things more like a Woman than a Man; which *Helen* his Wife, a Woman of a great Spirit, quickly perceiving, took upon her the Sovereignty and

The de-  
script of  
Cyprus.

King Ri-  
chard in  
England.

How the  
Kingdom  
of Cyprus  
came to the  
Venetians.

and whole Government of the Realm, gracing and dignifying them the pleased, and promoting to the Ecclesiastical Dignities such as she best liked abolishing the Latin Ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greeks, and took forth further order as pleased her self in matters of State concerning both Peace and War; her Husband in the mean time regarding nothing but his vain pleasure; whereby it came to pass that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the Queens Friends. Now did Queen her self was much ruled by the Council of her self, and the Nobles by her Daughter; so that the People would commonly say, The Daughter rule the Nurse, the Nurse the Queen, and the Queen the King. The Nobility affamed and weary of this manner of Government, by general consent of the People, sent for *John* the King of Portugal Cousin-German (whom some call the King of Portugal) to whom they gave *Carlotta* the Kings Daughter in marriage, with full power to supply that want of Government which was in King *John* his Father in Law. He taking the Authority into his Hands, quickly reformed the disordered Kingdom, as well in matters concerning Religion, as civil Policy. The Latin Ceremonies were again restored, and the Government of the Daughter, the Nurse, and the Queen, brought to an end. But the mischievous Queen doubting the Continuance of the young King, perswaded her Mother, as she tendered her own Life, to poison the King. Which thing the wretched Woman (by the consent of the Queen Mother, as was reported) in short time performed, and so brought that noble Prince, well worthy longer life, unto his untimely end; whereby the Government was again restored unto the Greek Queen, who in the name of her weak Husband commanded again at her pleasure. But above all, the Nurse and her Daughter insulted upon the young King, which he not well brooking, grievously complained thereof to *James* her base Brother, requiring his help for redress thereof; who not long after slew the Nurses Daughter, not so much in revenge of the wrong by her done unto his Sister, as to prepare a way for himself for the obtaining of the Kingdom; grieving inwardly, that she or her Husband should be preferred before himself. Which thing *Helen* the Queen quickly perceiving, perswaded the King her Husband to cause his base Son to enter into the orders of Priesthood, and so to become a Churchman, thereby to cut off all his hope of aspiring unto the Kingdom; which the King at her instance did, and made him Archbishop of *Nicosia*. In the mean time *Carlotta* by the perswasion of her Mother and the Nobility of the Country, married *Lewis* Son to the Duke of *Savoy*; who being for that purpose sent forth, came with all speed to Cyprus. For appearing the Queen-Mother and the old Nurse (desiring nothing more, than to revenge the death of the Nurses Daughter upon *Jamus* now Archbishop) desired first how to thrust him out of all his spiritual Promotions, which were great, and afterward quite banish him the Kingdom. Hereupon the Queen wrote Letters against him to the Pope, to have him degraded, for that he being a Man base born, with his hands imbrued with innocent Blood, was unworthy of holy Orders. Which Letters by chance came to *James* his hands; who jarred therewith, accompanied with a number of his Friends and Favorites, suddenly entred the Court, slew such of his Enemies as he found there, divided their Goods amongst his Followers, and as King possessed himself of the Regal City. In this Brail the Greek Queen *Helen* died, and shortly after her Husband also. All things being thus

in an hurry and out of order, certain of the Nobility for redress thereof, sent for *Lewis* the Husband of *Carlotta*, as far from him to whom that Kingdom in the right of his Wife most justly belonged; who upon his arrival was of all sorts of Men joyfully received and welcomed as their King. *James* the Usurper understanding before of the coming of *Lewis*, and perceiving the inclination of the People towards him, fled with divers of his Friends to *Alexandria* to crave aid of the Egyptian Sultan; in whose Court he found such favour, as that he was by the Sultans commandment Royally apparelled, and honoured with the Title of the King of *Cyprus*, which he promised for ever to hold of the Sultans of *Egypt* as their Vassal and Tributary. At which time the Sultan aid by his Embassadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Isle, who by all means fought to have pacified the Sultan, declaring unto him his rightful Title, yet offering to pay unto him the wonted Tribute, and to allow unto *James* a yearly Pension billie, and to allow unto *James* his life. But all in vain, for *Jamus* still presented in the Sultans Court, and wisely following his own suit, at last concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a King, than to confirm a King) and receiving of him a great Army, returned into *Cyprus*; where in short time he so distressed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forsake the Island, with his Wife, and to return into his Country; leaving the Government of *Cyprus* again to *Jamus*; who now by the support of the Egyptian Sultan possessed thereof, yet lived not without care of *Carlotta* and her Husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cypriots wonderfully affected. Wherefore for the more assurance of his Estate, he thought it best to join in League and Friendship with the Venetians, whom he knew he to be of great power at Sea, and of all other best to cross whatsoever *Lewis* should in the right of his Wife attempt against him, which League he afterwards made, and the better to confirm the same, took to Wife *Catharine Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of *Venice*, being before adopted to the Senate, and ever after their reputed Daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Jamus* died in the year 1470, leaving the Queen great with Child, who in due time was delivered of a fair Son, unto whom with the Mother the Venetian State became Tutor, as their adoptive Fathers, and in their behalf took upon them the Government of the Realm. This Child shortly after died also, not without some suspicion of Poison, after whose death great Troubles arose in the Kingdom, inasmuch that *Andrew Cornelius* the Queens Uncle, a most grave Counsellor, and Governor of the Realm under the Queen, was by the Conspiracy of certain Noblemen slain, and all the Island ready to revolt from the Queen. For appearing of which Troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to send their Admirals with their Gallies into *Cyprus*, to take order in the matter, and to aid the Queen; who at length perswaded by *George Cornelius* her Brother, whilst it was yet in her power, as a loving Daughter to yield up the Kingdom unto her adoptive Fathers, which she did, both of her Counsel and Power, could not long hold so far from her Friends, before she fled with the great Turk, and on the other with the mighty Sultan of *Egypt*. She I say thus perswaded by her Brother, came to *Venice*, where she was with the greatest Honour that could be devised, received by the Duke and whole State at Sea in their great and goodly Ship the *Bacchanale*, and so with all Royal Triumph brought through the midst of the City unto the place





with small Shot, Arrows, and Stones, overwhelmed the Defendants, as if it had been a shower of Hail: so to have driven them from off the Wall and Rampiers. In few days, not only all the Curtains betwixt three of the Bulwarks, was by the fury of the great Ordnance beaten down, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead Bodies of the assailants and defendants. For although the Christians fought at great disadvantage, both for the number of Men, and indifference of the place; yet desperation joined with extreme necessity, of all other the greatest Weapon, gave them such courage, as with Shot, Stones, Timber, and such like, to keep down their Enemies, and defend their Walls: and oftentimes to make great slaughter of them, with their Artillery and murdering Pieces, bent upon them as at a certain mark, who the thicker they stood the greater was their harm. They also oftentimes dismounted many of the great Pieces, and made them unserviceable; and with Feather-beds and Sacks of Cotton-wool, made up their Breaches: which the Turks laboured again to burn with Pitch-barrels, and Earthen-pots full of Wild-fire. After long fight the Turks entering the Ditch, made themselves two ways to the Walls, which they fortified on both sides with Fagots and Earth; in such fort, as that they were safe from the loops of the Bulwarks which flanked the Ditch. All this quickly performed, they presently set up scaling Ladders; others filled the Ditches with Rubbish, Wood, Fagots, and Earth: and others in the mean time with Mattocks and Leavers were digging down the Foundations of the Bulwarks *Confiance* and *Poderastera*, taking name of them that had the chief charge in the building thereof. The Christians right valiantly endured the first Assault of the Enemy, and thruck down dead into the Ditch many of the Turks, and climbing up the Ladders; and had in short time slain more than they were themselves in number, and enforced the rest to give over the Assault. These things were done in the beginning of the Siege, whilst yet both parties were strong; in which had confided a great number of Soldiers were loit and most of the Canoniers slain. After this Assault, both parties for a while bided themselves and spent the time in their ingenious devices; wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much cunninger in devising of means to take Cities, than were those Christians in defending the same.

Now had the Venetians in the first motions of these Wars, prayed aid of divers Christian Princes, from most part of whom they received but cold comfort, as is before declared; yet now at length (though somewhat late) they had drawn into the consideration of this War, the Pope and the King of Spain; by whose example some other Princes had moved, put to also their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter most concerned, had in good time put their Fleet to Sea; but knowing themselves too weak to encounter the Turks, they lay still upon the Coast of *Dalmatia*, about *Zadera*, expecting the coming of the Spanish Admiral with his Gallies. Two Months (wherein much might have been done) were now past in this expedition, and yet no news of his coming; so that what the speed and industry of the Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniard, marred. Besides that, the Plague began to arise in the Fleet, lying so long in one place; which at length grew so hot, that many of the Gallies had neither Mariner nor Soldier left in them; neither did this Mortality cease, until there were twenty thousand dead thereof; amongst whom were many

Noble Gentlemen of great account; which might have done their Country good service, had they been in time employed.

Summer now almost half spent, and the Plague well ceased, the Venetian Admiral weary of expecting the coming of *Spain* the Spanish Admiral; gathering together his Fleet which he had before dispersed to avoid the infection, sailed to *Coryra*, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian Commanders, who there staid for him, having but a little before taken from the Turks *Ceftria*, now called *Suputo*, a Town upon the Sea Coast over against *Coryra*. The whole Fleet of the Venetians being assembled together, was an hundred and seventeen Sail, amongst which were twelve great Galeasses; but all too weak to give Battle to the Turks, as being themselves stronger in Shipping than in Men. Nevertheless, the Admiral forry and weary to see the Spoil of the Venetian Town, and moved with the distress of the besieged in *Nicozia*, rather than for any hope he had with that strength to do any good against the Turks Fleet, departed from *Coryra* towards *Crete*, and the twelfth of August landed at *Suda*, a Port of that Island. In the latter end of this month, *Columinus* the Popes Admiral, and *Aurica* Admiral for the King of Spain, arrived there also, whom the Venetian Admiral welcomed with great joy and triumph. The whole Fleet of the Confederate Princes now at length met together, consisted of an hundred ninety-two Gallies, and twelve Galeasses; beside *Viduales* and other small Vessels, laden with Munition and other necessary provision for the Fleet. Of these Gallies the Pope had for twelve, the King of Spain forty-two, the rest with the Galeasses were the Venetians. In this Fleet were embarked thirteen thousand six hundred three score Soldiers; of whom the Pope furnished ten thousand, the King of Spain three thousand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thousand six hundred and sixty. These three great Commanders entering into counsel, what course to take in their proceedings in this War, after long discourse too and fro, at length by the persuasion of *Zaninus* the Venetian Admiral, resolved to go directly for *Cyprus*, and to give the Turks Battle, in hope thereby to raise them from the Siege of *Nicozia*. About the middle of September, this great Fleet, furnished with all things needful for such an expedition, loosed from *Crete*, and with a fair gale of Wind set forward for *Cyprus*; in all their Course keeping such order, as if they should presently have met with the Enemy. In the midst of these troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of *Venice*, leaving the rest of the care of that War to *Aloysius Moceninus*, who succeeded him in the *Redemption*.

Whilst the Christians thus slowly proceed in their too weighty Affairs, *Musapha* in the mean time laid hard Siege to *Nicozia*; and dividing his Army into four parts, assaulted four of the Bulwarks of the City, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the Siege. The Assault was both long and terrible; Fury, and the very sight of the warlike General, who was there a present witness, and beholder of every mans forwardness or cowardice (a matter of great moment) besides their natural fierceness, carried the Turks headlong without any peril or danger. And on the other side, the greatness of the danger, the fear to lose both life and liberty, with the hope of relief, encouraged the Defendants to dare any thing; so that the Turks could not approach the Walls, or mount the scaling Ladders, but they were presently slain, or together with the Ladders thrown to the ground. Many

The Venetian Fleet flies off from the coast of Coryra.

The Christians fall out of the city upon the Turks.

The Christian Fleet presses forward toward Cyprus.

Scouts sent out of the city, take by the Turks and executed.

Letters sent into the City.

Musapha Bassa in vain persuades them of Nicozia to yield.

Many of the Turks were there slain, but especially such as were most forward; and of the Defendants were also more lost than stood with the safety of so small a number; and forasmuch as few or none escaped out of that fight un wounded, the poor Defendants were brought unto a small number. Many skillful men were of opinion, that the City might have been that day taken, if the assault had by the Bassa been longer maintained, by bringing still on fresh men; but such was his loss, as that he was glad for that time to give over the assault, and so with dishonour to retire.

After this Assault, it was by some of the Captains thought good, that they should (whilst they were yet of some reasonable strength in the City) fall forth upon the Enemy; so to make shew, that they had yet some good hope in themselves, and withal by so sudden an eruption to perform something upon the secure Enemy. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Governor in no case liked, as both by such a dangerous piece of Service to diminish the number of the Defendants, and so to give the Enemy an easier means to take the City. Yet seeing all the Captains generally of another mind, he yielded unto their desire. So in the hottest time of the day, when as the Turks least thought that the Christians would have fallen out, certain Italian Companies under the Conduct of *Cesar Plovianus* of *Vincenza*, and *Albertus Scotus*, issued out by the Gate that leadeth to *Ramagusa*, and upon the sudden brake into the Enemies Trenches; where they found the Turks some playing, some sleeping, but fearing nothing less than that the Christians, whom they daily braved, durst to have adventured to come forth. At the first entrance the Italians prevailed, and brought a great fear upon that quarter of the Turks Army, and slew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the Alarm, came running in on every side, the Italians oppressed with the multitude, were glad to retire; in which retreat divers of them were slain, and amongst them their two Leaders *Cesar* and *Albertus*; so that this fall served to no other purpose than to weaken the Defendants themselves, and to cause the Turks to keep better Watch and Ward against such sudden Eruptions.

All hope of long defending the City now almost lost, and that the Defendants could hardly stand upon the Walls, or shew their Heads without present danger; they for want of better Counsel, rather than for any hope of good Success, sent out certain Scouts, Men skillful of the Ways and Passages of the Country (whom they had for great Reward induced to undertake the matter) to crave Aid of the Country-people, that were in great multitude fled into the safety of the Mountains; and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their Relief, their Wives and Children, whom they had before sent into the Enemies hand, or perished with hunger; but these Messengers were by the vigilant Enemy intercepted, and in the sight of the besieged tortured to death.

About the same time divers Letters were forth with Arrows into the City, to persuade the besieged Christians yield themselves; for that in so doing they should find the Bassa a mild and merciful Conqueror; whereas otherwise if they should by wilful holding out delay his Victory, they were fure to endure whatsoever could be endured or suffered. But when *Musapha* had thus in vain with hope and fear tried the minds of the Defendants, he called forth to *Rasley*

certain Soldiers that were standing upon the Bulwark called *Confiance*, of whom some were by the content of the Governor sent forth unto him; unto whom *Musapha* by his Interpreter complained, That no answer was given unto his Letters; he set forth unto them the Glory, Power, and Greatness of the Turkish Empire; and debased the strength of the Venetians; then he persuaded them to yield, propounding unto them the misery that would fall upon them if the City should by force be taken; which he threatened would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to undertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none so much as themselves, whether the City were given up, by Composition, or else won by strong hand; he shewed unto them the profit that should arise unto them by yielding of it up, and offered to them large Entertainment, if they would serve him; and to conclude, told them, that they should never afterwards find at his Hands so great Grace as was at that instant offered them. The crafty Bassa did what he might to hasten the winning of the City, both for that he doubted the coming of the Christian Fleet, and that his great Army was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grievous Diseases, arising from the immoderate heat and drought in that hot a Country. But the Soldiers thinking any thing more assured than the Turkish Faith, answered him. That they did not as yet doubt their own strength, and that they were ready to endure any thing that could happen, rather than to prefer the uncertain Friendship of an unknown Prince, before the gracious Favour of such worthy Princes as they had for good experience of.

This Answer cut off all the Bassas hope for taking of the City by Composition; wherewith being both grieved and enraged, he commanded all things to be made ready for the Assault; and the more to encourage his Soldiers, promised unto them great Rewards and Honours that should first or second mount the Walls. After that, he gave a general assault unto the City, with all his Power; wherein both he as a most worthy Captain, and his Soldiers, fought most fiercely. You have to do (said he) with the small and late remainders of your Enemies; which are scarce able to stand or hold their Weapons in their Hands, rather than with Enemies indeed; shall you not then easily overcome them, being both few and feeble, that have vanquished them when they were many and lusty? The end of your Labours is at hand, your great Rewards approach; only play you the men, and faint not in this Assault; the Spoil of this rich City shall be the worthy reward of your Labours, the fruit of all your Travel consisteth in this one moment. Whilst he thus incourageth some, and reproveh others, they mindful of his Promises, and these of the disgrace, altogether with their thick thor suffer no Man to stand in safety upon the Walls, and out of their Forts also with their great Ordnance greatly annoyed the Defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruins of the Wall, and in other places by Scaling-Ladders to have entered the City. Which terrible Assault was by the onset Enemy maintained, not for some few hours, but for divers days together without any intermission, fresh men still coming in instead of them that were wounded or slain. Yet did the Defendants valiantly endure all that Storm, and in such weak case as they were, worthily performed what was possible for so few to do; yet still in hope (the poor comfort of men in misery)

Musapha encourages his Soldiers.

Nicozia still holds. Its assault is repulsed by the Turks.



military) that Relief might come by the approach of the Christian Fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this Point, that the Turks were in great hope to have gained the Walls, and *Musapha* himself probably guessed, That the Christians were now weary of the long Assault, and fore weakened with Wounds and other infinite Misfortunes, and so took in a City so hardly distressed, and was in that his opinion also confirmed by certain Fugitive Christians; he nevertheless upon the sudden caused a Retreat to be founded, and so retiring into his Trenches, lay still all the next day without any thing doing. The Defendants thinking that he had given over the Assault, because of some hardy distress, and the Relief, became the more careless of the Enemy, and upon the vain hope of such Aid, with less diligence repaired their Breaches, and provided for the repulsing of their Enemies. But the Bassa in the mean time had chosen out of his whole Army about 200 of his best Captains and Soldiers, all Men of approved valour and agility of Body, whom the next day after, he sent early in the Morning, to make proof if they could with Scaling-Ladders secretly and without any noise for us, get into the four Bulwarks which he had before fore shaken with his great Ordnance. These resolute Men leading the way, got first up, after whom followed divers others, and so took the aforesaid Bulwarks; when presently after, other Companies of their Fellows which stood ready for the purpose, coming on forward, did with their Scaling-Ladders in divers places recover the top of the Walls; for now the matter was not done by secret surprise, but by open force. In every one of these Bulwarks were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept Watch and Ward; these Men part asleep, as fearing no such danger, and part lying lazily upon the ground, were there surprised on the sudden and slain; other-forme of them awaked with the strange and uncouth noise, betook not themselves lustily to their Weapons, but forsaking their stations leapt down out of the Bulwarks at such places as were next unto them, some for fear ran unawares into the midst of their Enemies. Upon this Alarm some of the Christian Captains came speedily to the Walls with their Companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whilst he in vain cried out to such fearful Soldiers as he met, that they should not so cowardly fly, and sayest others that were flying, was himself, forth through with a small flock and slain. Other Captains in other places likewise laboured in vain to have flaid the flying Soldiers, whose Perfwasions, Requests, and Authority in so general a fear, nothing at that time prevailed.

Nicofia taken by the Turks.

The Defendants thus beaten from the Walls and Bulwarks, gathered themselves into the Market place, but the Citizens hesitating to their own Houses, there stood in the Entrances of the same, fearfully expecting the destruction of the Country, together were their own. In the mean time the Governor of *Aleppo* with his Regiment scoured the Walls of the City round about, as he had in charge from the General; and without respect put to Sword all that he met armed or unarmed. At the Bulwark called *Barbarus*, is furnished him to light upon a Company of Italians, who for a while fought desperately, but were in the end overthrown and slain. When he had thus cleared the Walls, and left such Companies as he thought good in places convenient for the keeping of them, he came down into the more open places of the City; and seeing them that were gathered together into

the Market place to have cast themselves into a Ring, and to fight as Men: altogether desperate, he caused certain murdering Pieces to be bent upon them; which they perceiving, laid down their Weapons, and yielded themselves unto the mercy of the Enemy. By and by all the Gates of the City were strongly guarded by the Enemy, to the intent that no Man should go in or out. *Dandulus* the Governor, and *Costantinus* the Bishop of *Pythos*, with the rest of the Nobility, and better sort of the Citizens, had got themselves into the Town-Hall, and there stood upon their Guard; unto whom *Musapha* sent word, that he would take them all to mercy, if they would without further resistance yield themselves. But while Messengers run to and fro, the Turks violently brake in upon them, and there slew them every man. After the death of these Noblemen, the cruel Enemy spared none; and having slain such as they found abroad in the Streets, brake into the Houses, where they made havock of all things; young Babes were violently taken out of the Arms of their Mothers; Virgins were shamefully ravished, and honest Matrons before their Husbands faces despitely abused, Churches were spoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead Bodies; the Streets were in all places stained with blood, for in the City was slain that day fourteen thousand eight hundred three score and six persons. Neither was there any end of the spoil, until the greedy Enemy had carried away all the Wealth that long Peace had heaped up. It is reported, that the Prey there taken, amounted to twenty hundred thousand millions of Ducats; 200 of the most goodly and beautiful Youths were chosen out of purpose to be sent to *Constantinople* for a Present for *Selymus*. In the City were taken also 250 Pieces of great Ordnance; whereof some were by the Enemy carried away, and the rest left for the Prisoners of the Turks. Thus the famous City of *Nicofia*, sometime the Regal Seat of the Kings of *Cyprus*, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September, in the year, 1570. in whose Power it still remaineth.

*Musapha* having as he thought best disposed of all things in *Nicofia*, with the very terror of his name, rather than by any force, brought most part of the rest of the Towns in the Island under his Obedience; and by fair intreaty and promise of good usage, brought back again unto their wonted dwellings the rude Country-people, who upon the coming of the Turks were fled with all they had into the Mountains; them as Men, not to be feared, he commanded to till and sow their Land as they were wont. The City of *Cyrene* is strongly situated, not far from the Sea, and was then well furnished of all things needful for the enduring of a long Siege. Hither the Bassa sent one of the Sanzacks to Summon the City, more to prove the courage of the Defendants, than for any hope he had to have the City delivered unto him. But *Alphonfus Palatinus* then Governor of the City, terrified with the loss of *Nicofia*, no sooner saw the Enemy, but that without any further deliberation or force used against him, he delivered up the Town unto the Sanzack's commanding only in reward of his cowardice. That he might in safety depart from thence with all his Garrison-Soldiers; which was easily granted, and the City surrendered.

Not long after, *Musapha* leaving a thousand Horsemen, and three thousand Foot in Garrison in *Nicofia*, marched with the rest of his Army to besiege *Famagusta*. And the more to terrify them

Musapha's relief his Siege.

Agreeing to the Siege.

The Turks at the relief of Famagusta, doubting the coming of the Christian Fleet, which then lay at *Crete*, sent out six Gallies to discover the doings of the Christians; who returning with certain Prisoners taken in the Island of *Crete*, declared unto the Bassas what they had learned concerning the Christian Fleet, and that it was already upon the way to *Cyprus*.

Upon which intelligence the Bassas put their Fleet into the order of Battle, and far forwards towards *Limisso* to have met with the Christians; who with a prosperous Wind were coming before the Island of *Caprathos* and the *Rhodes*; but there understanding by their Espials, that *Nicofia* was lost, and that the Turks were come to besiege *Famagusta*; they called a Council of all the chief Commanders in the Fleet, to consult what were best to do in so dangerous a case.

*Columanus* the Pope's Admiral, and then chief Commander in the Fleet, with *Zaninus* the Venetian Admiral, were of opinion, That they were best to hold on their course for *Cyprus*, and to relieve *Famagusta*; for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late Victory, were for desire of prey, for most part gone ashore into the Island, and so left their Fleet but slenderly manned.

But that they alleged, That the Venetian Senate had expressly decreed, That they should give the Turks Battle.

But *donus* the Spanish Admiral thinking it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficulty and danger, was quite of another mind, saying, That he could not but marvel, how the Venetian Senators sitting at their ease in Counsel, could before they knew their own strength, and power of the Enemy, the nature of the Country, and purpose of their Forces, determine what to do for Martial Men to do; unto whose actions no certain rule could be prescribed.

All the Shoars (he said) were kept with the Enemies Garrisons; so that what need favour they should have, they could neither come by Water or Wood, or put into any Harbor.

Beides that, the Enemy would give them Battle at his own pleasure, and not at theirs; for that they were not of so much power, as to enforce him to fight: And that if the Senate, which used to do all things warily, and with great advice, did but see the weakness of their Gallies, wanting both Souldiers and Mariners, they would be of another mind.

He alleged further, That they were to wage War in the Enemy's Country, where there was no Port to receive their Fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate City, nor King to friend; whereas the time of the year grew every day worse and worse, when as they had neither Harbour to put into, neither were able to abide the Sea.

And now that *Nicofia* was lost, there was no reason longer for them to flay, the Enemy so strongly possessed the Island with his great Army, as that there was no any hope to do any good against him.

And that to keep him from Victual, and so to distress him, was not possible, lying in a most fertile Island, and in the midst of his own Dominions; whereas they, who were to be still relieved from far, should sooner feel the want than the Enemy. He was victualled (as he said) when he came from home, but for three months, in hope to have made a short dispatch, and had now two thousand miles home. He said moreover, that he had express commandment from the King, to return to *Messina* before Winter, and that therefore so soon as the month was out he would depart.

The Venetian Admiral desiring nothing more, than by Battle at Sea to overthrow the Turks, and so to relieve the distressed *Cypriots*, urged the Spanish Admiral to proceed in the Voyage; saying, That so great aid was not sent from the Pope and the King, only for the relief of *Nicofia*, but to deliver the whole Island from the danger of the Turk.

Of the same opinion with the Spanish Admiral were divers other great Captains in the Fleet; namely *Sforza*, who said, That nothing was to be done, as might rashly exopte unto casualty or power of the Enemy, the publick Fortune and Majesty of the Christian Commonwealth, which was in that Fleet greatly hazarded: That longer stay might bring further danger; that in that Fleet consisted the whole welfare of the Commonwealth, wherein more might be lost, if any mishap should chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieving of *Famagusta*.

The great Commanders thus differing in opinions, the Council was in a heat dissolved, and nothing concluded. Upon which so foul a disagreement the Fleet began now to return back again, but so, that it was not now as before, one, upon the first dissent, but three Fleets, every Admiral by himself drawing after him his Fleet.

*Auria* the Spanish Admiral, who first returned, after he had been two days wonderfully with Tempest tossed at Sea, came at last to *Caprathos*, and departing thence, with much ado arrived with his Fleet in the Island of *Crete*; from whence he by a Messenger sent of purpose, requested leave of the Pope's Admiral, that he might with his good will presently return home. Whereunto *Columanus* answered, That he would give him no such leave; but rather charged him, in the duty he ought to the good of the Christian Commonwealth, not to depart, but to keep company with the rest of the Fleet until they were past *Zacynthus*, that so with their united Forces they might more safely pass by the Enemies's Countries; whereas otherwise, if any thing should by his hasty departure fall out otherwise than well, it should be imputed to the dishonour of him that had forsaken his Friends, and not of them that were so by him

Eccc

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The chief of the Fleet returneth to the commandment of the Venetian Admiral.

The chief of the Fleet returneth to the commandment of the Venetian Admiral.

forfeaken. But unto this *Auria* answered, That the welfare of the Kingdoms of *Sicilie* and *Naples* consisted in the safety of this Fleet; and that therefore having haft home, he could not stay to keep company with their heavy Gallies and other Ships of burthen, which must oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended to his departure; yet he secretly sought (as it was deemed) to find an occasion whereby to withdraw himself (being as he accounted the better Man at Sea) from the command of *Columinus*, whereunto he was full free against his will subjected.

Zanlus the Venetian Admiral, differing of his Office, and out in bonds to Venice.

After they had thus a while spent the time with reasoning the matter to and fro, *Auria* of himself without further leave hoisted Sail, and so at length came to *Mylina* in *Sicily*; neither did *Columinus* and *Zanlus* stay in those Quarters long after him, but having endured much trouble at Sea, arrived at last, *Columinus* in *Italy*, and *Zanlus* at *Corycia*. Thus this mighty Fleet, which had all this Summer filled the Mediterranean with all the Countries thereabout, with the expectation of some great matter, was by the discord of the Generals dissolved, having done nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thousands of right valiant Men lost their lives, being dead of divers proceeding of change of Diet, and of unseasonableness of the Weather in that hot Climate; amongst whom was the valiant Count *Hieronymus Martinengus*, sent by the Senate with three thousand Soldiers for the defence of *Famagusta*; who also most of them perished in that Voyage. The Venetian Fleet was no sooner arrived at *Corycia*, but *Augustinus Barbadias* was sent from the Senate to discharge *Zanlus* the Admiral of his Office, and to send him Prisoner to *Venice*; in whose room he placed *Sebastianus Venerius* Governour of that Island.

A desperate Fall of a woman.

The Turks Baffles at Sea certainly advertised of the departure of the Christian Fleet, were not a little proud thereof, as by the confession of their Enemies, their Betters. Yet forasmuch as the Seas began then to grow rough, and no Enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpose to keep the Seas with so great a Fleet, and therefore resolved to leave *Musapha* with his Army in *Cyprus*, the next year to make an end of his Conquest; to happily begun; and seven Gallies at Sea before *Famagusta*, that no relief should that way be brought into the City, and so to depart themselves with the rest of the Fleet to Winter in more safer Harbours; *Pial* with the greater part of the Fleet to *Constantinople*, and *Haly* with the rest to the *Rhodes*. And because they would for their greater credit prepare for worthy Prefect for their great Lord and Master *Selymus*, they fringed a great Gallion of *Adonatus* the chief Baffes, and two other tall Ships, with the richest of the Spoil of *Nicosia*, and the choice of the Prisoners taken. But when they were now ready to hoist Sail and depart, as they were carrying out of the Gallion, certain Barrels of Gunpowder which *Musapha* the General had commanded for his better provision to be landed, a noble Gentlewoman Captive in the Gallion, wishing rather to die with honour, than to live dishonoured, secretly fired the Powder; by force whereof the said Gallion with the other two Ships, were suddenly rent in pieces; and all that was therein blown up into the Air. Of all that were in those three Vessels, none escaped with life but the Master of the Gallion, and two Christian Captives, but there perished together with the rich Spoil. But the Baffes following their former resolution, departed from

*Cyprus*, and afterwards in safety arrived at *Constantinople*; where both then and all the Winter following, such preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next year purposed some far greater matter than the Conquest of *Cyprus*.

Whilst *Sebastianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admiral) yet lay at *Corycia*, the rude Accorantian people, more famous for nothing than for their Theft and want of all things; by trusty Messengers promised to deliver into his power the strong Castle of *Chymra*, kept by a Garrison of three hundred Turks, if he himself with a few Gallies and a convenient number of Footmen, would come into the Bay of *Ambra*; offering him good Hostages for the better assurance of their promise. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a Company of Horsemen, three thousand Footmen, and certain Gallies; who were no sooner landed, but that presently a thousand of those rude Mountain people came unto them; with which power taking the Hill, and repelling the Turks Garrison coming to the relief of the Castle, he so discouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they let themselves down with Ropes into the Valley below; but being deceived, were there all either taken or slain. And so a very short time was that strong Castle taken by the Admiral, and a strong Garrison of Christians put into it in stead of the Turks.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmiral, a Man of great Courage, landed with twenty four Gallies in *Peloponnus* near the Bay of *Maine*, and there upon the suddain both by Sea and Land besieged a strong Castle, which the Turks but two years before had built to trouble the Christians passing that way. Which Castle he took in five hours, and put to the Sword five hundred Turks which lay there in Garrison; and razing it down to the ground, carried away with him four and twenty great Pieces of Artillery into the Island of *Zacynthus*.

At such time as *Musapha* before lay at the Siege of *Famagusta*, *Brigadinus* Governour of the Town, and *Helenius* a most expert Captain, from out of the high places of the City beholding the great Army of the Turks (which covered the ground almost as far as they could see), with the cunning manner of their Fortification, were therewith much moved; and therefore thought it good betime to give the Senate knowledge thereof, and in so great a danger to crave their aid. And that their request might be of more weight, and have the better hearing, they intricated *Hieronymus Ragazinus* Bishop of the City, a reverend and devout Man, to take upon him that charge; unto whom they joyntly *Nicholas Donatus* a noble Gentleman of *Cyprus*. The Bishop at the first was very unwilling to go, as loath in so great danger to leave his Flock; but at length overcome with the entreaty of the Governor, and Tears of the besieged, suffered himself to be entreated; and embarked in a Gally about the going down of the Sun, loading out of the Haven, and hoisting Sail, with a fair gale of Wind passed through the Turks Fleet, which then lay at Anchor before the City; and by the coming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of sight. After four days failing he came to *Crete*, and so at last to *Venice*; where, as he had before unto the Admiral, so there unto the Senate he declared the dangerous estate of the City, the strength of the Enemy, the weakness of the Defendants against so great a multitude, and the want of many things needful for the holding out of the Siege; and to

Quirinus taken a Gally of the Turks in Peloponnus.

The strong Castle of Chymra taken by Venerius.

Quirinus a valiant Gentleman.

1571.

to be brief, that except they sent speedily relief, the City could not be kept. *Zanlus* at that time Admiral, careful for the besieged, caused four tall Ships to be laden with all manner of Victual and a great quantity of Gunpowder, and put into them seven hundred select Soldiers, all which he sent from *Crete* to the relief of the City *Famagusta*; appointing *Mattheus Quirinus* with twelve of the best Gallies in all the Fleet, to conduct the same thither. This *Quirinus* was a most valiant and expert Captain, meanly descended, but by service grown to be a Man both of great reputation and wealth; and therefore *Zanlus* at his departure to *Venice* although he knew the matter required haste, yet presuming upon his wisdom, and carefulness, left it to his discretion, when and how to perform that piece of service. *Quirinus* (not without cause) doubting to let forward, the Seas as then full of the Turks Gallies, staid until Winter was well spent, and then setting forward the seventeenth of January, kept aloof from the Ships, which with a prosperous Wind came directly before *Famagusta*; in hope that the Turks Gallies which lay in the mouth of the Haven, might be drawn farther into the Sea, in hope of some good Booty, by himself staying with his Gallies in place convenient out of sight. Neither had the event deceived his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the fame; for the Turks upon the dawning of the day despoiling the Ships, made hastily toward them; but *Quirinus* not able longer to stay himself, and before desirous to fight with them, flew himself too soon in the open Sea, before the Enemy was come near the Ships; whom as the Turks had seen, and that there was no hope to withstand him, they raised their Oars, and with all speed retired. But *Quirinus* following faster upon them, they were glad for safeguard of their lives, with all the power they could to run three of their Gallies aground, and to run to shoar themselves; which three Gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great Ordnance beat all to pieces, and fore gale the other four. The Haven thus cleared, he returned again unto the Ships, and brought them with the supply in safety to *Famagusta*; upon whose arrival was great rejoicing both amongst the Garrison Soldiers and the Citizens; for the Turks thought nothing less, than that the Christian Gallies durst at that time of the year have put into those dangerous Seas; which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth again with his Gallies, and roaming up and down at his pleasure, took two of the Enemies Ships richly laden, coming to the Camp; with which Booty he enriched his Soldiers; and further incited by occasion, landed his Men in divers places along the Sea Coast in *Pamphilia*, and there did great harm. So having filled the Country with the terror and fame of his Name, he returned again to *Famagusta*; where he notably encouraged the Garrison Soldiers, persuading them to remember their wonted Valour; and filling them with hope that the Christian Fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Summer, to deliver them from their Enemies, and to raise the Siege. So having in twenty days dispatched that he came for, and done what good service else he could, he departed from *Famagusta*, and within five days after arrived at *Crete*.

Nicholas Ragazinus Bishop of Cyprus, sent by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this last supply sent to *Famagusta*; and so the harms done by *Quirinus*; whereupon he was so highly displeased, that he commanded the Governor of *Cibis* his Head to be struck off, and the Governor of the *Rhodes* to be disgraced, whose charge it was to have kept those Seas, so that

nothing should have been conveyed into *Famagusta*. Neither spared he *Pial* Baffa, but deprived him of his Admiralty, and placed *Parvus* Baffa Admiral in his stead; for that he had not the year before discomfited the Christian Fleet at the Island of *Crete*, as it was supposed he might have done.

From the beginning of this War, the Venetians, with *Pius* Quirinus, then Pope, who greatly favoured their cause, had most earnestly from time to time solicited *Philip* King of Spain, to enter with them into the participation and fellowship of this War; which their request standing indeed with the good of his State, he seemed easily to yield unto; and therefore sent *Auria*, his Admiral the last year, with his Fleet to aid them, but with such success as is before declared. As for to join with them in perpetual League and Confederation (as it was termed) against the common Enemy, that he referred unto the discrete consideration of the two Cardinals, *Granvella* and *Pace*, and *Jo. Zunica* his Embassador, sent for that purpose to *Rome*; promising to perform whatsoever they should on his behalf agree upon or consent unto. At the same time, and for the same purpose lay also *Swianus* the Venetian Embassador at *Rome*; unto whom the Pope joyntly Cardinal *Morone*, *Albrandinus*, and *Rufinus*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as Men indifferent to both parties, to moderate and compose such differences and difficulties: as should arise betwixt the aforesaid Commissioners for the King and the Venetians, concerning the intended League. But these grave Men, sent from so great Princes about so great a matter, (as well there could not be a greater) were no sooner met together as they began in consultation, but that forthwith they began to jar upon the Capitulations of the League. Necessary it was: thought that a League should be agreed upon against so puissant and dangerous an Enemy, but to find the way how the same might be concluded to the contentment of all parties, seemed a matter almost impossible. Oftentimes these Commissioners far, but the oftener the farther off, if one difficulty were by the discretion of some appeased, in stead thereof at the next meeting arose three others. The chief command of the Army to be raised, the proportion of the Forces, the manner of the War, with many other like circumstances incident to so great Actions, made great differences among them; but most of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spanish Commissioners seeking to turn the greatest part thereof upon the Venetians, and the Venetians upon them; which was done with such earnestness and study of every Man towards his own part, as if they had all thers met for the bettering of the particular State from which they were sent, rather than for the Common good; For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keep the Frontiers of his large Dominions in Italy, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *yea* and of Spain itself, with strong Garrisons for fear of the Turk; now that the War was risen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof translated far off into other Mens Territories; enjoyed now in his own an unwonted quietness, to the great content of his Subjects and easing of his own Charge in maintaining of so many Garrisons as before; whereof many were now thought needless. Besides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raised such great Sums of Money upon his Church, as was thought by many, sufficient to discharge the charge of the War: For which causes he cared not for entering in any further League with the Venetians, but

as it were in courtesy to fend them a yearly Aid, to maintain a defensive lingering War, and so to keep the Turks bated upon the Venetian, a far off from his own Territories. But the Venetians, in whose Dominions the fierce Enemy daily raged, as well in *Dalmatia* as in *Cyprus*, were even for the same reasons moved to hasten and shorten the War, that the Spaniard was to prosecute it; for beside the nearness of the danger, and the infinite calamities by them sustained, their yearly revenues arising for most part of their Customs, were greatly impaired; and their Traffick (the maintenance of their State) almost quite cut off; which caused them more earnestly to confederate themselves with the Spaniard. But hard it was to join in one State so far distant, differing in respect of their particular profit, and almost by nature contrary. Thus was all the last year, and a great part of this also, spent by the aforeaid Commissioners in turbulent and fruitless Conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the League; which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themselves too weak for so mighty an Enemy as was *Selymus*, and yet not other certain strength from their Friends to rest upon. But whilst they stood thus doubtful of the League with *Spain*, and quite out of hope of any attornment with *Selymus*; upon the sudden when they least expected, it was by good Fortune laid as it were in their Laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before most earnestly desired) join in League with the Pope and the King of *Spain*, or else fall to agreement with *Selymus*; and that by this means.

*Muhamet* the chief *Bassa*, a secret friend unto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honoured, had no great liking of the prosperous success of *Mulapha* in *Cyprus*, and therefore devised night and day, how to cross the rising of him, the Competitor of his Honour; and with all to help the Venetians, unto whom he was much beholden. He by secret Messengers had before oftentimes founded the mind of the Venetian Embassador, and put him in hope, that if suit were made unto *Selymus* for Peace, it would undoubtedly be granted; and further promised, to be himself a helper and intercessor for the same. But finding the Embassador to cast many perils, and to give small credit unto their talk, who had before by trusting them deceived him; he did not so give over the matter, but referring the further tempering with him unto a more fit time, for the present he took opportunity to enter into discourse with *Selymus* himself concerning the Venetians, and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long altercation they had had with the Spaniards concerning the League, and now destitute of all hope and aid, would now happily of their own accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiving him not unwilling to hear so of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleasure what he would have done therein; cunningly by the way of good Counsel persuading him unto that which he most wished himself to be done. Immediately after, he secretly advertised *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embassador, That there was great hope of Peace, and that therefore the Senate should under the colour of exchanging of Prisoners, and redemption of Merchants Goods, send some fit Men to *Constantinople*, with whom he would in secret confer of all such matters as might farther the pacification. This unexpected news from the Embassador brought to *Venice*, was well heard of the Senate; for they thought it much to con-

cern their State, to have a way opened whereby upon tolerable conditions to make Peace with the mighty Tyrant, if that the League betwixt them and the King of *Spain* could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Jacobus Ragacinius* to go about the matter to *Constantinople*. This *Ragacinius* was a Man of great spirit and dexterity of Wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deep judgment in the managing thereof; and withal exceeding rich, and of so good carriage of himself, as that he was therefore famous; all which things were thought of great moment to win the favour of that covetous and barbarous Nation. The Senate, although they had not yet made proof that he was fit for the matter, yet doubted not, but that upon the report of the sending of this notable Man, Men would thereof diversely divine, every Man according to his own fantasy; and that many of the wiser fort would indeed surmise, as the truth was, that he was sent for to entreat of Peace, although the exchange of Prisoners, and redemption of Merchants Goods, were the only things were openly pretended; and the Senate, although they thought it not amiss to have it so understood, because such a suspicion was like enough to stir up both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of such conditions of the desired League, as they had before rejected; yet left the hope of the League (which they for many causes thought good to cherish) thereby cut off, might cause the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Christian Princes, of the sending of *Ragacinius*; yet of purpose concealing the secret drift of his going. *Ragacinius* thoroughly instructed by the Senate, was in a Gally conducted to *Ragafium*; which *Cassan-Beg* (the great *Bassa* *Muhamet* Son, Governor of *Liburnia*) understanding, met him upon the Frontiers, and told him, That he was sent by his Father, both to meet him and give conduct him; which the Martial Man, contrary to the manner of the Turks, courteously performed, honourably entertaining him, and afterward sending him with a safe Convey into he was out of all danger. *Ragacinius* coming to *Constantinople*, was there by night secretly received into the City, and at first brought unto a little bafe Inn, and a Guard set over him that he should speak with no Man. But after three days he was removed to a much better place, and appointed with some kinds of dainty Dishes of sundry kinds of Meats. The effect of his Message was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embassador, to entreat of Peace. At length having access to the great *Bassa* *Muhamet*, after he had delivered unto him (as he had in charge) his Message concerning the exchange of Prisoners and Merchants Goods; *Muhamet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senate concerning a pacification to be made? Whereunto he answered, That he had, but that he must first speak with the Embassador, without whose Advice and Counsel he was not of himself to do any thing. At that first encounter, the *Bassa* to terrify the Messenger, declared unto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks Horsemen and Footmen, which no Nation (as he vainly boasted) was able by force or policy to withstand: Also his great and invincible Fleet at Sea, with whom all the power of the Christians joyned together, was not able to encounter; and much other such like strength and wealth of his; And that the Venetians were now no more able to withstand *Selymus*, than they were in times past to resist his Father and his Ancestors. Yet he discoursed of this matter

The Venetians find an Embassador to entreat with him of Peace.

*Ragacinius* the Venetian Embassador cometh to *Constantinople*.

The conference betwixt *Muhamet* the great *Bassa*, and *Ragacinius*.

in such sort, as not thereby to cut off the hope of the pacification; but said, That the Venetians should best have provided for the safety of their State, if at the first they had lifted unto him, friendly and faithfully advising them not to have entered into Arms, in which doing they showed more courage than power; and that yet, as the case now stood, and that *Selymus* was in most assured hope, in short time to become Lord and Master of the whole Island, it should be to their great good, to prefer the favour and good will of the Turks before War, and by the voluntary yielding up of *Cyprus*, gain unto themselves perpetual Peace and Tranquillity. As for the file itself, it was not now worth the hazard of many lives, being delicate of the inhabitants, which were almost all either slain or fled, the Cattel driven away, the Towns ranlackt and burnt, and the whole Country, of late most pleasant and beautiful, now so spoiled and unpeopled; that it could not of long time yield unto him that should have it, any profit or commodity. *Ragacinius* being a cool and advised Man, and withal perceiving that the *Bassa* was not to be contradicted in his talk, so tempered his answer, as that he shewed no token of fear, neither let any word fall that might offend his ears, saying, That he was right glad that he had found so much favour in his sight, as to have access and leave to talk with so great a Prince, who for wisdom and gravity excelled all the rest of the Princes of the great Emperors Court; who so far as he might with his Loyalty towards his Sovereign, had always most graciously favoured the Venetian State; who also not ignorant of the uncertainty of worldly things, knew of all others best, that on both sides were both Men and Arms, and that most mighty Princes had oftentimes with small forces been overthrowen, the event of things never deceiving Men more than in matters of War; no power upon Earth being sure, which could not within some bounds contain the strength of it self; and that therefore he was in good hope, that he so worthy a Man knowing best what belonged both to Peace and War, would devise some such course as might sort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkish Empire; in which doing he should find sufficient matter for his eternal praise and glory, if by his discreet wisdom a pacification might be made. Such talk having passed at their first meeting, *Ragacinius* had leave to speak with the Embassador, who then lay at *Pera* under his keeping. In passing over to *Pera*, *Ragacinius* might see a Fleet of Turkish Gallies encountering one with another in manner of a Fight at Sea, which the Turks had of purpose provided to shew unto him as a strange sight. Whereat *Ragacinius* smiling, said unto the Turks that were present with him, That it was a pretty Childlike Sport for him that had never seen the like before; but not to the Venetians, who were accustomed with their matters in earnest; as the Turks should well know whenever they had a mind to make proof what they were able to do at Sea. *Ragacinius* coming to the Embassador, had conference with him at large, and resolved with him what to do in his negotiation. And so returning to *Muhamet*, easily dispatched with him for the exchange of Prisoners and Merchants Goods; but then they came to talk of the stipulations of a pacification to be made, at the first they were so far off, as if they would never have met; but after much and often Conference, sometime the one yielding, and sometime the other, the matter was brought to some conformity, so that there was no such great difference be-

twixt them; but that they were like enough to have agreed. First the Pope, and Philip the King of *Spain*, advertised of the sending of *Ragacinius* to *Constantinople*, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treaty of Peace, what colour soever the Senate pretended to cover the same. And therefore doubting left the Turkish Emperor having once made Peace with the Venetians, should turn his great Forces already prepared, upon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that Peace, now with all speed to hasten the League, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to *Venice*, who admitted unto the Senate, declared at large how matters had passed at *Rome* concerning the League; and afterwards, what profit might arise of such a League concluded, and what harms might ensue of the same, neglected. And to hasten the matter, for as it were before their Eyes, how much it concerned the Common good, but them especially, to have the same with speed confirmed. As for to give any trust unto the Turks, was (as he said) not becoming to their deep wisdom and judgment, seeing they so often had been by them rather deceived than vanquished. In conclusion, he requested them, That for his Holiness sake, moderating in some part their hard demands, they would with speed joyn with him and the King in a most firm and Christian League. Although this Speech of *Columnius* had much moved the minds of the Venetians, so that many inclined to the League, yet were there many doubtful thereof, and could not be resolved whether it were better to embrace Peace with the Turk, or the League with the Pope and the King. Peace pleased them, neither did the League displease them; it seemed a matter most difficult, whether to resolve upon. They were fearful of the League either received, or rejected; The hope of Victory, the inconsistency of the Turks, their own strength at Sea, the large promises of the Christian Princes, the certain hope of the League, and uncertainty of the Peace, persuaded them to embrace the League. On the other side, the bad success of the year before, their Forces shaken, and almost spent in *Cyprus*, the suspected and doubtful faith of their Confederates, with the uncertainty of the success, induced them to prefer the hoped Peace before the League. So the Venetians in suspense betwixt both, gave the Embassador daily more doubtful Answers than other; neither by promise binding themselves, neither by Express denial cutting off the hope of the League, by Examples and Arguments rather telling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themselves thought. Sometime they alledged such things as might make a Man believe, that they were willing to joyn in League, and by and by again they would seem neither to reject nor accept of the same. In which doubtfulness many days passed. At length the matter being propounded in the Senate, there found not one like disposition of minds that it had among the manner sort; for some of the Senators inclined to the League, whose reasons were grounded not upon profit only, but upon credit and honour also, which they wished to be chiefly regarded; declaring also, what great security, honour and glory, should redound unto them, by entering into such a honourable League. But the remembrance of former losses, the strength of the Turk, possessing a great part of the World, compared unto their own, the terror of the Enemies Name, the fear of the evil success, the small hope of prevailing, induced others to like better of Peace,

The Pope and Philip the King of Spain, advertised of the sending of *Ragacinius* to *Constantinople*, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treaty of Peace, what colour soever the Senate pretended to cover the same. And therefore doubting left the Turkish Emperor having once made Peace with the Venetians, should turn his great Forces already prepared, upon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that Peace, now with all speed to hasten the League, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to *Venice*, who admitted unto the Senate, declared at large how matters had passed at *Rome* concerning the League; and afterwards, what profit might arise of such a League concluded, and what harms might ensue of the same, neglected.

whole

whole opinion was also confirmed by this, That the Confederation with those Christians, was of no more affurance or continuance than the Turks Peace; Beside that, they alleged, That Leagues were therefore of less affurance, for that Confederations and Amities were seldom or never sincerely and faithfully kept, on both sides, every Man commonly serving his own turn without care of other Men. They also set it as were before their Eies what great occasions, even small suspicions might give Princes to break their Leagues, what strange effects the fear of the loss of Goods, or some part of their Territory might work. After this so weighty a matter had been thus with great contention thoroughly debated on both sides in the Senate, it was at last put by voices; and so by the consent of the greater part, the League was as more honourable received, and the Turks Peace rejected; and a Decree of the Pope to that effect made. *Ragaximus* by secret Letters form the Senate understanding of all these matters, began to deal more warily with *Mahamet* the great Baffa in matter concerning the pacification, and more hardly to yield to his demands; and propounding many difficulties of purpose defied; requested him, That he might by his good leave return to *Venice*, that he might be able himself to judge, and so to return to him again with more certain instructions; assuring him, that the Senate would upon knowledge of the conditions of the Peace do and devise many things for the furtherance of the same; which could not so well be done by Letters, as if he were there himself present to resolve them upon every particular. This his request obtained, he with great speed got him out of *Constantinople*; but was scarcely got out of the Gates when report of the League which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the King of *Spain*, was brought unto the Court, and had in short time filled the City; which made all the way as he travelled more troublesome, and frustrated that also which was before concluded concerning the exchange of Prisoners and Merchants Goods. *Ragaximus* being come to *Venice*, declared at large in the Senate the drift and purpose of the Turk, and what conference he had had with the great Baffa, and in what forwardness the Peace was; for which his discreet carriage of the matter, his wisdom was highly by the whole Senate commended, and he himself afterward honourably rewarded.

In the mean time the Commissioners at *Rome* after long consultation concluded a League, which they would have to be perpetual, as well for invasive as defensive Wars against the Turks; and was by solemn Oath confirmed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Venetian Senate the 24<sup>th</sup> of *Spain*, and day of *May*, in the year 1571. For the execution of which League, it was agreed upon, That the Sea and Land Forces should consist of two hundred Gallies, an hundred Ships, fifty thousand Footmen, and four thousand five hundred Horsemen; with a proportionate quantity of great Artillery, Victuals, and other things necessary, to be every year ready in *March*, or at farthest in *April*, to meet together at such a place in the *Ea*, as should be unto them for that purpose appointed; to be employed as the Admirals saw cause, and as the present state of things should require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the King of *Spain* should defray the one half and the other half to be divided into three equal parts; whereof the Venetians should bear two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it should be too heavy for him,

then that remained by him undischarged, to be divided into five parts; whereof the King was to discharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they took order also for the provision of Victuals, to be at a reasonable price taken up in any the Confederate Dominions, where the Army or Fleet should chance to stay; yet so, that it should be at the King of *Spain* his discretion; out of his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, first to take his provision for the victualling of *Gulietta*, *Malta*, and his own Navy. It was also agreed, That if the King of *Spain* had no common War, invade *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, or *Tunis*, that then the Venetians should of their own charge, aid him with fifty Gallies well appointed; as also, That the King should in like manner and with like forces aid them as oft as they should by the King be invaded. But if it should fortune the Roman Territory to be invaded, that then the aforesaid Princes should be bound with all their Forces, to the uttermost of their power, to defend those places, and the person of the Pope. And that in managing of the Confederate War, the three Admirals should confer together of all matters, and whatsoever the greater part should agree upon, to be as reputed as agreed upon by them all: That *Don John of Austria*, Charles the Fifth his natural Son, and Brother to the King, should have the chief command of the Forces both at Sea and Land; but not to display his own Ensign, but the common Ensign of the Confederates; Also, that the places as should be gained from the Turk by the Confederate Army, should be divided amongst the Confederate Princes, excepting *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and *Tripoli*, which should remain only to the King of *Spain*: That all controversies arising amongst the Generals should be decided by the Pope, unto whom the Venetians should lend twelve Gallies, furnished of all things saving Men and Victuals, which the Pope should of his own charge supply: Which Gallies at the end of the War he should again deliver, in such case as they then were: That an honourable place should be left for *Maximilian* the Emperor, the French King, the King of *Polonia*, and the King of *Portugal* to enter into this League, whom with the rest of the Christian Princes, it should be seem the Pope to stir up in so good a Quarrel; and that it should not be lawful for any the aforesaid Confederate Princes to treat of Peace, or enter into League, without the knowledge and consent of the other Confederates. And for the order proceeding of all things it was agreed, That ever in Autumn the Confederate Princes should by their Embassadors at *Rome* consult of the next years Wars, and according as the time and occasions should require, to determine whether their Forces were to be encreased or diminished. This League thus at length with much ado concluded, was not long after in *June* with great Pomp and Triumph openly proclaimed in *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Spain*; to the great joy of the greatest part of Christendom.

Whilst these things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turk, thought it the good to make proof, if they might by any means stir up *Tamas* the Persian King to take up Arms against him; who as he was a Prince of great power, so did he exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Persians and them about matters of their vain Superstition, as for the manifold injuries he had oftentimes sustained. There was one *Vincenzo* Alexander, one of the Secretaries for the State, who having escaped out of Prison at *Constantinople*, was but

but a little before come to *Venice*, a wary wife Man, and of great experience, who for his dexterity of Wit, and skillfulness in the Turkish Language, was thought of all others most fit to take in hand so great a matter. He having received Letters and Instructions for the Senate, and furnished with all things necessary, travelling through *Germany*, *Polonia*, and the Forests of *Moscow*, in Turkish attire, came to *Moncastrum*, a Port Town upon the fide of the Euxine or Black-Sea, at the mouth of the great River *Boriphemes*; where he embarked himself for *Trapezand*, but was by a contrary Wind driven to *Sinope*, a City of great Traffick; from whence he travelled rough and broken Ways to *Erzurum*, leaving his left hand, because he would not fall upon any part of the Turks Army (which was then marching towards *Cyprus* through all those Countries) nevertheless he fell upon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himself, being taken for a Turk, and by blind and troublesome Ways, through Rocks and Forests, arrived at length at *Erzurum*, a strong City of the Turks, then upon the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions towards the Georgians. His Journey of *Alexander* was not kept so secret, but that it was vented at *Constantinople* by a Spy, who under the colour of friendship, haunting the Venetian Embassadors House at *Pera*, had got certain knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into *Persia*. Whereupon certain Curriers were sent out with all speed to beset the three straight Passages into *Persia*, whereby it was supposed he must of necessity pass; with certain Notes all of the favour of his win, of his *Selymus*, and other matters, whereby he was best to be known. But he in so dangerous a Country doubting all things, and fearing such a matter, leaving his Company behind him, with incredible celerity posted from *Erzurum* to *Tauris*, and was a great way gone before the Turks Curriers came into those Quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durst, but could not overtake him. *Alexander* coming to *Tauris*, understood that the Court lay at *Casbin*, about twelve days Journey further up into the Country; coming thither the fourteenth of *August* of this year 1571, he chanced to meet with certain English Merchants, with whom he had before been acquainted; by whose help he not only got to speak with *Ayder Tamas* the Kings third Son, but learned of them all the Manners and Fashions of the Persian Court, and how to bear himself therein. The Persians by reason of the intolerable Heat do most of their Business at that time of the year by night. Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Ayder*, declared unto him the cause of his coming; and the next night admitted unto the speech of his aged Father, delivered his Letters of Credence, and in the name of the Senate declared unto him; with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkish Emperor was about to take away *Cyprus* from the Venetians, with what greediness and pride he had set upon the Christians, and that discharged of that War, he would of all likelihood set upon the Persians; having the self same Quarrel unto the Persians that he had unto the Venetians, that is, An arrogant and insatiable desire of Sovereignty; a sufficient cause for the greedy Turk to repute every King the richer that he was, the more his Enemy. After that, setting forth to the full the Prowels of the Christians, the wonderful preparation they had made both at Sea and Land, and how he himself King with all his power, invaded the Turk, now altogether bated in the Wars of *Cyprus*; and to recover again such parts

of his Kingdom as *Solyman* the Father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Wars he said were more happily managed abroad than at home; That since he alone (the Christian Arms all then at quiet) had withstood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his most prosperous success, the Christian Princes now joining with him. That he was much unkind of his former losses and wrongs, if he thought he enjoyed an assured Peace; which he thought should be to nothing else but a deferring of War unto more cruel times; and that the Turk if he should overrun *Cyprus*, would forthwith turn his victorious Arms upon him. The end of one War was (as he said) but the beginning of another; and that the Turkish Empire could never stay in one state; and that he would observe not the Turks Words, but his Deeds; and how that the Ottoman Emperors according to the opportunity of the times, used by turns, sometime force, sometime deceit, as best served their purposes: That no Princes had at all times by dissembled Peace and uncertain Leagues more eluded him, until they had oppressed others. He wished also, that at length his cunning dealing might appear unto the World; and that Princes would think, that being combined together, they might more easily overcome the Turk, than being separated, defend their own: That in former times sometime will, sometime force, was wanting to them to unite their Forces; And that therefore they should now combine themselves for their Common good against the common Enemy: That it concerned no less the Persians than the Christians, to have the power of the Turk abated. And that this taking up of Arms, should be for the good of the Persian King howsoever things should fall out; if well, he should then recover what he had before lost, with much more than was the Turks; if otherwise, yet by voluntary entering into Arms to countenance himself, and to give the Turks occasion to think that he feared him nor; which was (as he said) the only way to preserve their common safety, which would be unto all the Confederate Princes easie enough, if they themselves made it not more difficult than the power of the Enemy. The Speech of the Embassador was willingly heard; whereunto the King answered, That he would consider thereupon what he had to do, and in the mean while, a fair House was appointed for the Embassador and his Followers, and bountiful allowance appointed of the Kings charge. He was also many times importunately flattered by the Noblemen, whom he first requested to be mediators to the King, to take that honourable War in hand. The King had at that time a Son called *Ismail*, a Man of a great Spirit, whom he then kept in durance, for that he with too much infolency made Roads into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, to the disturbance of the League his Father had before made with the late Turkish Emperor *Solyman*; unto him *Alexander* having access, was of him courteously heard; who fretting and languishing for very grief of revenge upon the Turks, wished, that either the King his Father had his mind, or he himself the power of a King; and said, That if ever it were his good Fortune to obtain the Kingdom, he would indeed show what he then in mind thought. But of him more shall be said hereafter. Whilst this matter went more slowly forward in the Persian Court than the Embassadors would have had it, news was brought unto the Court, of the great Victory which the Christians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at Sea; upon which

The first  
reference  
is to the  
League  
with the  
Pope and  
the King.

A person  
at League  
concluded  
between  
the Pope,  
the King  
of Spain,  
and the  
Venetian  
Senate.

The proper  
pointing  
of the charge  
of the League  
to the King  
of Spain,  
and the  
other  
Princes of  
the League.

Alexander  
the Venetian  
Embassador  
had audience  
with the  
Persian  
King.

The League  
was proclaimed  
in Rome, Venice,  
and Spain.

The Venetians  
the more to  
intangle the  
Turk, thought  
it the good to  
make proof,  
if they might  
by any means  
stir up Tamas  
the Persian King  
to take up  
Arms against  
him.

which occasion the Ambassador solicited *Tamur* more earnestly than before, to make him partaker of the Victory of the Christians, by entering into Confederation with them, and by taking up of Arms, rather than to hold uncertain friendship with the Turks in their miseries, by whom he had been so often wronged. This he said was the only time for the Persian King to recover his former Glory, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long stay; and that if he suffered to fit an opportunity to slip away, he should afterwards in vain wish for the same, when it were too late. This so wholesome Counsel was well heard, but prevailed nothing to stir up the aged King; who then troubled with Rebellion in *Media*, or weary of the former Wars he had had with the Turk, and glad of such Peace as he had then with him; answered the Ambassador, That forasmuch as the Christian Princes had made a perpetual League amongst themselves, he would for two years expect the event, and afterward as occasion served, so to resolve upon Peace and War. This improvident resolution of the King, brought afterward unprofitable and too late repentance unto the whole Persian Kingdom; when as within a few years after, all the calamities which the Senate had by their Ambassador (as true Prophets) foretold, redounded unto the great shaking thereof, The Cyprian War once ended, and Peace concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the Son of *Selymus*, succeeding his Father in the Turkish Empire, invading the Persian King, took from him the great Country of *Media*, now called *Silvan*, with a great part of *Armenia* the Great, and the regal City of *Tauris*, as shall be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Persian, who now refused to take up Arms, or join in League with the Christian Princes, repented that he had not before hearkened unto the wholesome Counsel of the Venetians; and taught by his own harms, wished in vain, that the Christian Princes would again take up Arms and join with him against the Turk.

*Mustapha* the great Baffa and General of the Turks Army, furnished with all things that could be defired for maintenance of his Siege; and Soldiers in great number daily repairing unto him out of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, the *Leifer Asia*, and the Territories thereabout, beside great Supplies brought unto him by *Haly Baffa* from *Constantinople*. In somuch, that it was thought he had in his Army two hundred thousand Men; began now that Winter was past, in the later end of *April*, to draw nearer unto *Famagusta*, and with incredible labour to cast up his Trenches and Mounts against the City, of such height, that the Defendants from the highest places of the City could scarcely see the points of the Turks Spears, or tops of their Tents, as they lay encamped; which was no great matter for the Baffa to perform, having in his Camp forty thousand Pioneers always ready at his command.

The City of *Famagusta* is situate in the East end of the Island, in a plain and low ground between two Promontories, the one called *St. Andrew's Head*, and the other the Head of *Greacia*. It is in circuit two miles, and in form four-square; but that the side toward the East, longer and more winding than the rest, doth much deform the exact figure of a Quadrant: It is almost on two parts beaten upon with the Sea, the other parts toward the Land are defended with a Ditch not above fifteen Foot broad, a Stone-wall, and certain Bulwarks and Parapets. Upon the Gate that leadeth to *Amathus* standeth a fix cornered Tower; other Towers stand out also in the Wall,

every of them scarce able to contain fix Pieces of Artillery. It hath a Haven opening toward the South-East, defended from the injury of the Weather by two great Rocks, betwixt which the Sea cometh in by a narrow Passage about forty Paces over, but after opening wider giving a convenient Harbor to Ships, whereof it cannot contain any great number, and was now shut up with a strong Chain. Near unto the Haven standeth an old Cattle with four Towers, after the ancient manner of building. There was in the City one strong Bulwark, built after the manner of the Fortification of our time, with Palliades, Curtains, Calemets, and such like, in such manner, as that it seemed almost impregnable. All which, although they did much defend the strong and well fortified City, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak long to hold out against the great power of the Turk; but what wanted by reason of the situation and weak fortification, that the Governor and other noble Captains supplied in best force they might, with a strong Garrison of most valiant Soldiers, the surest defence of strong places. There was in the City two thousand and five hundred Italians, two hundred Albanian Horsemen, before entertained by the Governor; and of the Cypriots themselves were mustered two thousand and five hundred more, all Men resolutely set down to spend their Lives in defence of their Country.

*Mustapha* with wonderful celerity having brought to perfection his Fortifications, planted his Battery of sixty four great Pieces, amongst which were four great Basilisks of exceeding bigness, wherewith he continually without intermission battered the Walls of the City in five places, but especially that part of the Wall that was between the Haven and the Gate that leadeth to *Amathus*. And with great Morter-pieces cast up high Stones, which from high falling into the City, with their weight brake down the Houses they light upon, and fell oftentimes through their Vauls, even in the bottom of their Cellars, to the great terror of the besieged. The Walls in divers places fore shaken, and the Houses beaten down, he began to assault the City; which the Defendants (their Forces yet whole) valiantly repulsed, and not only defended their Walls and drove the Turks from the Breaches, but furiously failed out upon them, and with waving chain and wounded many wonderfully, killed their Fortifications, and abated their Courage; neither did the Enemy with greater fury maintain the battery or assault, than did the Christians the defence of the City, still sending their deadly Shot into the thickest of that great Multitude; in somuch that in few days the Baffa had lost thirty thousand of his Men; and the Captains themselves wondering at the Valour of the Defendants, as if they had not now considered, such Christians as they had before so oftentimes overthrow, but with some other strange people, began to despair of the winning of the City. The Turks thus doubting, and almost at a stand, the Christians in the mean time made up their Breaches with Earth, Baskets, Wool-bags, and such like, not sparing their very Beds and Bed-clothes, Chests, Carpets, and whatsoever else might serve to fill up the Breach. Among many wonders they feared, the greatest was, the want of Powder, which with continual shooting began greatly to be diminished; wherefore to relieve some part thereof against all extremities, they thought it best whilst yet some force was left, to use the same more sparingly, and to shoot more seldom. But the Turks still drawing nearer and nearer the City,

The number of the Defendants of Famagusta.

Famagusta assaulted and miserably destroyed by the Christians.

Famagusta again assaulted by the Turks.

Bragadinus encouraged the defendants.

and casting up Mounts higher than the Walls of the City, with Earth and Faggots filled up the Ditch; which done, they of the broken Stones made Walls on either side, to save themselves from the flanking Shot of the Christians; then giving a fresh Assault, they used not only their Shot, and other misfire Weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the Breach hand to hand. Which manner of fight (as if it had been so agreed upon) they every day maintained for the space of six hours. And although the Turks by reason of their multitude were divided into many parts, and fresh Men still succeeded them that were weary; yet such was the Courage of the Defendants, that every Man resolved to have the places of most danger, and from thence with courageous hand repulsed the Turks with exceeding great slaughter. But for all that, the furious Enemy maintaining the Assault, not only by day, but by often Alarms in the night also, kept the Christians continually in doubtful suspense and readines, as if they should have received a present Assault; and as soon as it was day, with fresh Men that had slept their fill, desperately assailed the Christians almost spent and meager for lack of sleep and rest. Force not prevailing, the restless Enemy leaving nothing unattempted, by a quaint device was like to have taken one of the Gates of the City: There was growing in the Island great plenty of a kind of Wood much of the nature of a Firre or Pitch-Tree, easie to be set on fire, but hardly to be quenched, but differing in this, that in burning it gave forth such a noisome smell, as was not by any Man well to be endured; of this kind of Wood the Turks brought a wonderful quantity to one of the Gates called *Limsina*, which once set on fire, could not be by the Defendants by any means be quenched, although they cast whole Pipes and Turns of Water at once into it, but most terribly burning close unto the Gate by the space of four days, with the vehemency of the heat, and loathsomeness of the smell, so troubled the Defendants, that scarce any of them could endure to stand upon the Wall, but forsaking the same, were ever and anon like to have given the Enemy leave to enter.

*Bragadinus* the Governor, more careful of the common safety than of his own danger, ceased not still to be going about from one place to another, telling the *Islands*. That now was given the firstest occasion they could desire, for them to test their Valour, and to gain great Honour of their barbarous Enemies; that it would be to their eternal Glory, if by their only means without any other help, the City so far off from the relief of the Christians might be defended: This (he said) was the only time wherein it stood them most upon to play the Men, for if they could keep that little was left, the rest of the Island would be easily recovered: And although the Turks Army exceeded far in number, yet did they excel them in Prowess and Valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handful of Men, had oftentimes prevailed against most infinite multitudes; now all the cities of the World, as well Friends as Foes to be fixed upon them, so that if they held out against so great a power, both their Enemies would admire their Valour, and all Christendom extol their invincible Courage and Prowess; and that they themselves should thereby reap both great Profit and honour: neither that any thing could be alleged, why they should not be compared with the worthy Knights of *Malta*; who to their eternal Fame had delivered themselves out of the mouth of the

Turk, and left unto the World a most fair example for Men valiantly to stand in to good a Quarrel upon their own defence: *Nicolas* (he said) was lost rather by the Cowardice of the Defendants, than by the Valour of the Enemy. He also praised the fidelity, and courage of the Gracians, who for any fear or danger could never be removed from the Venetians, or induced to submit themselves unto the Turks Government; and perwaded them, with the same resolution to defend their own City, that they saw in the Venetian Soldiers, fighting for them, and for their own honour to strive with the Italians, in defence of their State, their Country, their Wives, and Children, against the Tyranny of the Turks; forasmuch as it would in short time come, and set them free from all danger. The Senate also in like manner had sent Letters to *Famagusta*, willing them to be of good cheer, and yet a while to hold out the Siege, and that they should be in short time relieved. *Balenius* also General of the Garrison Soldiers, himself in Arms was present at every Skirmish, carefully foreseeing what was in every place and at all times to be done; and by encouraging of his Soldiers, and adventuring of his Person, shewed himself to be both a worthy Commander; and valiant Soldier. Neither did the Soldiers alone, but even the Women also what they might, striving above the power of the strength both of their minds and bodies; some bringing Meat, some Weapons unto the Defendants, and others Stones, Beds, Chests, and such like, to make up the Breaches. But Victuals beginning now to wax scant, eight thousand of the vulgar sort of People were turned out of the City, who all in safety were suffered to pass through the midst of the Turks Army, to seek their living in the Country.

This whilst open force prevailed not according to the Turks desire, they began in four places to undermine the City, in hope to have found entrance; but the Defendants doubting such a matter, by diligent listening, and great Vessels full of Water near unto the Walls, and Drums laid upon the ground, by the moving thereof discovered their Works, and with Countermine frustrated those of the Enemy; yet in so great a stir and hurly-burly all things were not possibly to be discovered; whereby it came to pass, that whilst the Defendants were altogether busied in defending the Walls, a Mine not perceived was suddenly blown up near unto the Tower standing upon the Haven, by force whereof a great part of the Wall thereabout was in a moment with a most horrible noise overthrow. With the fall thereof the Turks thinking the City as good as taken, with an horrible shout and outcry mounted the Wall, and in the Breach set up their Ensigns. Count *Peter*, who had the charge for that part of the Wall, being not now able to defend the same, so suddenly overthrow; which *Nisfor Martinengus* quickly perceiving, came speedily from his own Station, to repulse the Enemy now ready to have entered. The Fight became there most fierce and terrible, on the one side hope, on the other desperation, enraged their minds; the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themselves but a little they should forthwith win the City; and the Defendants propounding nothing unto themselves but shameful death and torture, fought as Men altogether desperate. The Turks trusted to their multitude; and the Christians to their valour: In the mean time *Andrew Bragadinus* with certain great Pieces apointed, out of the Cattle flew a number of the Turks as they were coming to the Breach. *Balenius*

Balenius a valiant Captain.

The Turks to undermine the City.

The Breaches notwithstanding defended.



lemin hearing of the danger, came in haste with a Company of courageous Soldiers, to relieve them that were fighting at the Beach, and cheering up his Followers, thrust himself with the foremost into the face of the Beach; and there not only appointed what was to be done, and with cheerful countenance encouraged his Soldiers, but with his own hand having slain many, took one of the Turks Ensigns, when as he had before slain the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the Ditch. With this sight, witness of others encouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable Battle, as Men fighting for their last hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leaving behind them four thousand Carcases of their slain Fellows in the Town-ditch, with fourteen of their Ensigns, which were brought into the City. Neither was this Victory gained without some loss of the Christians; about a hundred were slain, among whom were *Robertus Malvestrius*, *David Nocius*, *Celsus Fero*, *Evasmus Firmus*, all Captains.

For all this, they in the City took small rest, the Turks great Shot still thundring in amongst them; and in such furious sort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of *June*) were numbered above five thousand great Shot, shot into the City. With which continual battery, one of the round Bulwarks of the Town was so shaken, as that a part of the Front thereof was fallen down into the Ditch; and another part floor leaning ready to fall, in such sort that it was not longer to be defended; which the Christians perceiving, presently undermined the same Bulwark, and in the Mine placed certain Barrels of Gunpowder. The Turks coming to assault the place they had so fore battered, the Defendants after some small resistance, fainted themselves to retire for fear, so to draw the Enemy the faster on; who was no sooner come to the place desired, but that fire being put to the Mine, blew up the Bulwark to great grief amongst the Turks. But by the ready firing of the Mine, there perished also about an hundred of the Christians, overtaken in their own device, amongst whom were also some of great account.

The Turks inflamed with their losses, were more enraged with the speeches and persuasions of *Musiapha* their General; who most earnestly exhorted them, with one consent to assail their Enemies, now driven into a Corner of the Island, spoiled of all their Country, trusting more unto the strength of the place, than of themselves; entreating for nothing more, than with their lives to depart thence. But what place (said he) is there impregnable for the Turks? *Nicifusa*, *Zigeth*, and such other strong Towns won, what are they but the monuments and testimonies of the cowardice of the Christians, and the proofs of the Turks? This day (said he) will confirm your former Labours and Victories; which you before undertook for Honour, but here you shall have Honour mixt with pain sufficient to make you all rich. The Turks encouraged with this speech of their General, as Men forgetful of all dangers, began a more terrible Siege than ever before; and having with incredible labour made three great

Mines, and blowing them up, overthrew a great part with the Wall of the Castle, the notable defence of the Haven; which done, they with all their force, oftentimes assailed the City, as if it should have been their last labour; neither ceased they to do day or night. At which time also that part of the City which is beaten upon with the Sea, was assaulted by them in the Gallies also.

The poor Christians spent with deadly wounds, continual labour, perpetual watching both night and day; and now brought to small number, hardly withstood the furious Enemy, assailing them in so many places at once, and held out that *Tempest* rather with courage than strength. In the mean time the Enemies Army encamped daily, the Turks in hope of the spoil they had at *Nicifusa*, continually repairing out of the Countries round about, unto the Camp. The Christian Captains seeing their Men with continual *Alas* for spent, in such sort, that how many fewer they seemed to be, there was not above three hundred found Men left; but seven Barrels of Powder remaining, want of all things daily encresing, hope of Aid (if decreasing, and the Venetians (their only comfort) so far from them; the Captains (I say) themselves began to quail in courage; and the rather, for that such relief as was sent from *Venice*, could not possibly be brought unto them, but that at *Crete*, the Turks Gallies still lying before *Famagusta*, so that nothing could in safety be brought thither. This fear of the Captains themselves could not long be hid, or dissembled, but that it was by the Citizens perceived; who having neither power to hold out the Siege, neither place left to sit upon, overcome with necessity, came flocking to the Governor, craving of him aid and comfort, and with abundance of tears besought him in this common desperation to take compassion on them, their Wives, and Children, who were daily exposed to well deserved of the Venetian State. Their Walls (they said) were beaten down, their Bulwarks overthrow, the few Soldiers that remained, spent with wounds, watching, and famine; the Enemies strength, encresing daily, so that they must needs in short time all perish with the Sword, if the City were by force taken; wherefore they besought him, that yielding to necessity, which no power was ever able to withstand, he would at the time they were served, provide for the safety of so faithful and kind a People, and not to refuse any conditions, how hard soever.

The requests and tears of the Citizens of *Famagusta*, with the due consideration of the desperate state of the City, moved *Bragadinus* to compassion, who comforting them in best sort he could, persuaded them to be of good cheer, for that he had care both of them and their State, and would so provide for them, as that they should never repent themselves of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the Venetian State. He in the mean time considering the greatness of the danger which presently hung over all their heads, propounded the matter in a general Council called together for the same purpose; wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to yield; only *Balemus* at the best dissenting, as doubtful of the Turks Faith; but afterwards yielding unto the opinion of the rest. An Herald being sent unto the Turks, that they were to have certain days to parley in, and Holdings on both sides given, during which time not much as a Dart was thrown, or an Arrow shot from either side. After a few days parley the conditions were agreed upon, whereupon the City should be

be yielded into the power of the Bassa, which were these: First, That the Inhabitants of the City yet alive, should in safety enjoy their Lives, Liberty, and Goods, with the free exercise of the Christian Religion; That the Governor with the rest of the Captains and Soldiers might in safety depart with Bag and Baggage, and their departure to take with them five great Pieces of Ordnance, and three Horfes, which sooner it should please them to make choice of, and that the Turks should safely conduct them into *Crete*, finding them both Victual and Shipping. All which things were with more kindness promised, than with fidelity performed. Yet all these matters agreed upon, and conceived into writing; as also by solemn Oath on both sides confirmed; the Governor sending a Messenger before, requested that he might have leave to come to see the Bassa, and to deliver unto him the Keys of the City. Leave being granted, *Bragadinus* the Governor, *Balemus*, *Andreas Bragadinus*, *Laurentius Theopulus* Earl of *Paphos*, *Jo. Antonius Quirinus*, *Alysius Martinusque*, with a great sort of other Captains came into the Camp; but before they entered into the Bassa's Pavilion, they were commanded to deliver their Weapons, which they all did. At the first meeting, *Musiapha* entertained them courteously, and with many glorious words, as if he had been in admiration, extolled their worthy valour and courage; saying, that he was glad now to know them by face; whose valiant minds he had before known by their most valiant deeds. Now prowess and valour seemed not only in safety, but also honoured of the Enemy. When after a long discourse the safe Bassa revolved upon the mischief and misery he had before the whole process upon; complaining that certain of his Men taken at the Siege, had been afterward against all reason and order slain. Which the Governor, contrary to his Oath and Promise, caused them all to be slain. At which time *Bragadinus* and *Theopulus* were oftentimes commanded to lay down their Heads, to have had them struck off; yet was this execution deferred, and their lives reserved, not to save them, but with more exquisite punishment and torture to satisfy the barbarous Cruelty of the faithless and unmerciful Tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* having his Ears before cut off in despite, was brought forth to be wounded at, and tortured with the most extreme kind of Torture that Tyranny it self could have devised; for dispoiled of Jewels and Attire, and a Bashir laid upon his Shoulders filled with Earth, he was enforced oftentimes to carry the same, to repair the Rampiers that were overthrow; and ever as he passed by, the proud Bassa insulting upon him to fall down and to kiss the ground at his feet; and so battered with the Turks Fists, and purned as a Dog with their Feet, was in great derision and despite asked, Whether he hoped that Christ his God would come to help him or not? Which indignity of it self bitter and miserable, the dignity of the Man made much more miserable; whose comely and stately Countenance, with his long and reverend Beard, even in that extreme misery added unto him a certain Majesty and Grace. In this so foul a sight of verue rotten under foot, the poor Christians could neither well stay their ears, nor their eyes, for fear of the displeasure of the Turks. But the foremost Bassa, not only forgetful of all Humanity, but enraged rather with extreme Cruelty, caused that noble

and worthy *Bragadinus* to be fet in a Chair, and his Skin to be flain off from him quick; a punishment unworthy of him that suffered it, but most worthy him that inflicted the same. Yet in so great and horrible a Torture he was not heard to let fall any word not befitting a faithful Christian and the honour of his Country; only he called upon God for mercy, and detested the Turks peridious Treachery, and so breathed out his life. But the Tyrant, worthy of eternal Infamy, not satisfied with the Torture of the living Man, caused the Head to be cut off from the dead Body, and upon the point of a Spear to be set up on a high place for all Men to look of upon. His Skin also stuffed with Chaff, he caused to be hanged up at the Yards-arm, and so to be carried about; not for thus a Trophy of his Victory, as a Testimony of his peridious and Turkish Cruelty. Two days after, Count *Theopulus* after he had been most shamefully entreated, full of the marks of the Turks Cruelty, was (to make an end withal) shamefully hanged in the Market-place. With what Cruelty the Bassa had tyrannized upon the Nobility, with the same he also raged upon the meaner sort of the Citizens, of whom some he slew, some he chained in the Gallies, and carried away the rest into Bondage. Three hundred Christians, some Soldiers, some Citizens, which came forth with the Governor to see the Turks Camp, were there also all slain. *Nesfor Nestor Martinusque* a famous Captain escaped the Tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Bassa's Eunuchs, who by the help of a Greek Fiferman got to *Lepis*, and from thence to *Crete*, and so forth afterwards to *Venice*, where he faithfully reported *Alysius Martinus* the fate, the whole process of the War with the loss of the City; and that in the space of threecore and ten days there was above a hundred and forty thousand great Shot discharged against the City. Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as escaped out of this so general a slaughter, banished their Country; and in misery, dispersed without hope of return, led afterward a miserable and vagrant life, though some of them even at this day (as I have been credibly informed) are by the Venetian State right well maintained. The Country people and Artificers were generally by the Turks spared, for the peopling of the Country. This was the fatal ruin of *Cyprus*, one of the most fruitful and beautiful Islands of the Mediterranean; the loss whereof, not without cause, grieved many Christian Princes, as sometime a Kingdom of it self, but now a Province of the Turkish Empire, ruins, or by the evil agreement of Christian Princes, or by the cause thereof, I know not; neither if I did, durst I to say.

Whilst *Musiapha* yet lay at the Siege of *Famagusta*, the other two great Bassas, *Parau* and *Haly*, the one the Admiral, and the other General of the Soldiers (appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the Sea, that no relief should be sent by the Venetians to *Famagusta*), and further as occasion served to infect their Dominions about the middle of *May* arrived in *Euboea* with two hundred and thirty Gallies; whether *Ulanas*, Vice-roy of *Algeria*, with divers other ripe, Turks notable Pyrates, returned unto them with their Gallies; With this Fleet departing from *Euboea*, and falling alongst the Coast of *Assia*, *Ionis*, *Caria*, and so directly toward the *Rhodes*, they were met with thirty Gallies more of the Turks adventures. After that, having left certain Gallies for to lie before *Famagusta*, they directed their Course for the Coast of *Crete*, and the 13 of *June* put into with the Bay of *Amphipolis*, now called *Suda*, and there landed 12000 Men.



Alexander  
Farnese  
Prince of  
Parma

quisimus (Don John his chief Counsellor; without whom he willingly did nothing, and without a Man of great valour and experience) speaking first, said, That the Enemies strength was necessarily to be known, before they committed all to the fortune of a Battel; and that therefore delay was to be used, lest imprudent haste overthrow all. Matters of War that were to be decided by the Sword, were (as he said) with great and found advice, to be admitted, for that the errors of Battel, whereby all was lost in hazard, were not to be again amended. He highly commended the advice of *Scipio Africanus*, who counselled great Commanders, not to fight with the Enemy but upon some great advantage, or else thereunto forced by necessity. But as things now stood, what opportunity could be mislaid, or advantage taken; the Enemy keeping himself close within the Bay of *Corinth*, and no apparent means how to draw him out from thence? Whether that he for his part was of so great spirit, as within the Harbor in place of disadvantage, without hope, to set upon an Enemy in common estimation stronger than himself; for what dishonour should they incur, if having received some notable loss, they should be enforced with shame to give over the enterprise begun? And to besiege *Orizus*, *Durrachium*, or *Castellum Novum*, frontier Towns of the Turks, so to draw them out to Battel; what were they other than to feed a certain fear and distrust in themselves, and to discourage the minds of the Souldiers? For as well the Enemy, as the common Souldier, would forthwith deem such a poor attempt to proceed of a meer fear, as to make a vain shew of something doing, when as they durst not encounter the Enemy in his full strength. As for the other reason drawn from necessity, what necessity had they, so desperately to fight upon the Enemy, who upon the approach of Winter must needs in short time lay up his Gallies; and being already in safe Harbor, would never be drawn to the hazard of a Battel, especially like hope, like strength, and like danger appearing on both sides? Wherefore, it were best (in his opinion) only to make a great shew of their Forces, so to terrify the barbarous Enemy, but in no case to hazard the hope of the whole Christian Commonwealth, upon the fortune of a Battel. He farther also propounded unto them, the uncertain events of things, the common chance of War, the strength of the Enemy, as well by Sea as by Land; with whom they themselves were not (as he said) indeed comparable; then, what an infinite heap of miseries was like to overwhelm the Christian Commonwealth; and that they should in any thing misadvise, and that therefore, safe advice was in this case to be preferred before that which was attended upon with greater danger.

On the other side, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were far of another opinion. Wherefore *Venerius* and *Barbadiuc* not only vehemently perswaded, but most instantly requested the General and the rest of the great Commanders, that so soon as opportunity forced, they would commit the matter to the trial of a Battel, and not to make that Council, which their courageous minds might make most glorious and fortunate, by declining of Battel to become dishonourable or frustrate. If desire of honour (said they) move us not, shall neither these things move us. The loss of so great and chargeable a preparation, the spoiling of our Frontiers, and the holocausty of our Enemies, which we increase by delay. We defend our selves and ours, we invade not

them; we go not about to drive the Turk out of his Empire; but that we our selves be not by him driven out of our own Countreies. Wherefore we ought so much the more readily & speedily to think of Battel, by how much the necessity of him is greater that repulseth a danger, than of him that offereeth the same. What are our Weapons blunt, or our hands benumbed? Shall the Turks so often provoke us, and we still be unrevenged? Shall we always shew our Weapons, and never fight? One fortunate Battel is able to blot out the infamy of former time, and to fill us with the hope of future happiness; if nothing else, let the very indignity of the matter fit us up to Battel. Add what doubt is there, but that the Enemy dwelling with pride, will come forth with his Fleet, and give us Battel? Think you that a small difference will ensue to our honour and reputation, if contented with a vain brag, having not once skirmished with the Enemy, or so much as seen him, we shall return home, to the general shame of all Christendom? See how many tedious inconveniences will ensue, if we shall take this course. This manner of proceeding will fill all Mens minds with despair; the people will murmur. That they are to no purpose oppressed with exactions and tributes. The confederate Princes (careful of this War) will say, that they have in vain wearied themselves with often embassages and care thereof: The proud Enemy will account our departure, or declining of Battel, for a manifest Victory. The next year we may look for him again with a greater and a stronger Fleet, which will not only make a more heavy War, but destroy and bear down all before it; as which one, we may assure us that the Christians shall be like the preparation, if we shall now delay to fight? What labour is to be taken; what cost to be bestowed, to set forth again so great a Fleet? Unto these causes which impose upon us a necessity and force to fight, is adjoined not only a singular regard of our honour, but a most notable opportunity also offered; we never had a greater Fleet, nor better furnished with Men, Munition; and all things else to be required for the gaining of a notable Victory; and who knoweth not, that the Christian Gallies are far stronger than the Turks? Besides that, the greatest part of their best Souldiers are in hope of prey gon into *Cyprus*, who there seeking after the spoil, and forgetful of the Enemy, without controulment glit themselves with the pleasures of that rich Island; whereby their Fleet is so much the weaker. All which things, as they promise but the Prince, so do they propound unto us Honour, Glory, Fame, and most honourable Rewards; and open unto us the way both for the defence of the present, and recovery of that hath been before lost. What then stand we still looking for? Or why do we not in Gods Name joyne that Battel, which is unto us, not only necessary, but profitable also?

Thus much said, they began to entreat and beseech the General, and the rest, not long to suffer the Christian Commonwealth to receive loss upon loss, but to repose their only hope in the good success of one worthy Battel, and never to look for the like opportunity, if they let slip the present. This matter of so great consequence, thus thoroughly debated amongst the greatest Commanders, they thought it good to hear also the opinions of other notable Captains, of no less experience than themselves, in the Fleet; and so the whole assembly would conclude any thing. Amongst the rest, *Antonius Cornus*, and *Gabriel Sordello*, both Spaniards, and for their great wisdom and valour

Cornus, Sordello and Selymus the Second, were placed about a mile before the middle of each Wing, and the other two before the middle Battel, so far distant one from another, as that with equal facility they answered the whole breadth

The confederate put their Fleet in order of Battel.

See Gallies off.

valour had in general reputation of all Mens being demanded their opinions, with most substantial reasons, declared the necessity of giving Battel, and that it was not so dangerous, as to be therefore flunured or delayed; forasmuch as that violent Enemy was far easier to be dealt with, all at Sea than by Land; where he must fight without his high multitude of Men, the Turks chief hope, and only means whereby they have obtained so many Victories against the Christians. And so concluded their opinions, with an effectual perswasion to set forward to *Corcyra*, and without delay as occasion served to give the Enemy Battel. Which their opinion being generally well liked, was shortly after by the General and the rest approved, and a resolution set down for the giving of Battel; which was no sooner known, but there was general rejoicing through the Army, every Man cheerfully preparing himself to lay down his life in the publick defence of the Christian Commonwealth, and that with such an earnest desire of Battel, that every day seemed now nothing all, but a delay of a most assured Victory.

Yet before they should come into the fight of the Enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the Fleet into the Sea, and there to martial the same, in such sort, as if they should even then presently have joyned Battel; to the intent, that by such orderly disposing of their Fleet, and by appointing unto every Man his place he was to keep, they might to acquaint them with the order of the Battel, as that they should, when time forced of themselves without further direction, martial themselves, and so more readily enter into Battel. The next day the Admirals brought forth their Fleets into the open Sea; in the right Wing (which consisted of three and fifty Gallies) was *Auria* placed; in the left Wing was *Augustinus Barbadiuc* with the like number of Gallies also; And in the middle Battel stood the General with twenty Gallies. On the right hand of the General stood *Columinus*, and on the left *Venerius*, his Associates. Thus with equal front the Fleet set forward, as if they should even presently have joyned Battel. Betwixt the Wings and the middle Battel, was left no more space but for three Gallies to row; In the Rearward behind the General, followed *Requisimus*, the great Commander of *Castile*, with his Gallies; after *Columinus* followed the Admiral Gally of *Genoa*, wherein was *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, and behind *Venerius* came the Admiral Gally of *Savoy*, and in her the Prince of *Urbino*; in the space betwixt the middle Battel and the left Wing, was placed *Paulus Fardanus*; and betwixt the middle Battel and the right Wing, was *Petrus Juslinianus* with the Gallies of *Malta*; Upon the left Wing attended *Antonius Camalis* and *Quirinus* on the right. About half a mile behind all the rest, followed *Alvarus Baciarius* Marquis of *Sanoracy* and Admiral of the Neapolitan Fleet, with thirty Gallies; a Man of great experience in matters at Sea; and now placed, to be at all times ready to relieve this or that part of the Fleet, as the fortune of the Battel, or impression of the Enemy should require. The Christians had reposed great hope in six Galeasses, which furnished with great stores of Ordnance and certain select Companies of most resolute Souldiers, seemed rather like Castles than Ships. These Galeasses conducted by *Franciscus Dada* a most expert Captain, were placed about a mile before the Fleet; two of them before the right Wing, and the other two before the middle Battel; so far distant one from another, as that with equal facility they answered the whole breadth

of the front of the Fleet, which was almost the space of five miles, and served the same in stead of most strong Bulwarks. The Gallies throughout the Fleet kept not close together, but such a convenient distance one from another, as might serve for them at liberty to discharge their Ordnance when time should require. In the Wings, as also in the main Battel, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian Gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equality of the danger they should have move care to relieve one another, than if they had parted apart. *Joannes Cardinus*, a most valiant Captain, with eight Gallies of *Sicily* and two Gallions, was appointed to go miles before the Fleet to defy what he might, of the Enemies doings, and in his return to join the one half of his Gallies to the one Wing, and the other half to the other.

In this sort they departed from *Adriana*, with purpose to seek out the Enemy; and not long after came to *Passo*, where, of a small broil at the first, was like to have risen a great mischief; for the next day, whilst Don John staid there to take a view of the Venetian Gallies, and how they were furnished both of Men and Munition, he finding them but weakly manned, for supplying of that want, appointed four thousand Spaniards, and a thousand Italians to be put aboard into the Venetian Gallies, where most need was.

Amongst these Souldiers, was one Company under the command of *Mutius Tortosa* their Captain, a Man of an unquiet and furious Nature; who going aboard the Gally of *Andreas Celer* Gally, and after the first shot begun, so that in a trice they were altogether by the Ears, as well the Souldiers as the Captains; of all which stir, *Mutius* was the only author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, sent the Captain of his own Gally to appease the tumult, who thrusting himself into the midst of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury cruelly entreated, and divers of them that came with him shrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himself also of an hot nature) taking as done in disgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedingly moved; to the terror of others, caused *Mutius* and his Ensign-bearer to be hanged up at the Yards-arm of the same Gally, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The General also taking this execution in evil part, full of choler and indignation, grievously complained, That he himself as General, was therein not a little wronged; and that it became every Commander, to know what belonged to his place, and not to encroach upon his betters; so should the conditions of the League be the better kept, if every Commander could keep himself within the bounds of his own Authority. *Venerius* he said, (whose authority was inferior unto his) could not of right without his command determine any thing against *Mutius* a Spanish Captain; And that therein his honour was impaired; for which if he had not a publick and honourable amends, wronged, and by force of Arms to redress his wrong, and the League better looked, to carry away with him the Kings Gallies. Neither would there some, who favouring Don John's quarrel, and angry with the Venetians, laid fire upon the Coals on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* sent word unto the General, That he should do well to moderate his anger, and at leisure to advise himself, and better to understand the matter; so should he plainly see, that there was never more just or wholesome execution done upon any, than upon those mutinous

The Christians Fleet departed from Adriana, to give the Turks Battel.

Mutius Tortosa a Spaniard, laid a blazing in the Fleet at Passo.

Tortosa and his Antient hangings.

Disturbance wrought by Don John and Venerius thus the Spaniards admiral.

tinuous persons : But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, should attempt any more violent course than flood with the common quiet, it were not to be marvelled if he afterward repented. He (as he said) was also in Arms, and ready to flem himself a Man. The matter was grown to that heat, that it was not only not far from the breaking off of the League; but even at the point to have fell on a brawl, and to have put the whole Fleet in danger; had not the Venetian Admiral, against this Tempest opposed himself; he with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of the General, and to appease his anger; telling him, That the common Enemy would hardly be withstood by them all, being at unity and concord amongst themselves; but if unto the foreign danger were also joyned domestical Difcord, then were the Christian Common-wealth undone. But if he would moderate his anger, and more regard the honour and credit of the Venetian Admiral, than the punishment of a felicitous Man, even they which were unto him Friends, and Enemies unto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and staynedness; yea, that howsoever the matter was done, it could not be now undone. But whatsoever *Venerius* had done, was in his opinion justly done: That it was always so accounted and observed, that when many Princes joyned their Forces together in matters that concerned the common managing of the War, nothing was to be done, without the command of the General; but in matters belonging to the private Government of every Mans Regiment, every General had power of life and death over them that were under his command; which to be so, was as he said hereby to be understood. King *Philip* was King of many Kingdoms, and that he might long to be, he heartily wished now at a time, that he had committed any capital Crime worthy death in the Kingdom of *Naples*, should the judgment of that crime be of right to be referred unto the King himself, as the chief Sovereign? Or unto the Governor of *Mallain*, where the offender was born? Or rather to the civil Magistrate of *Naples*, in whose jurisdiction the fault was committed, and so of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Martin* might rightly seem to have been justly punished by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spanish Captain, had yet raised a Mutiny in a Venetian Gally, which was under the command of the Venetian Admiral? Beside that, the discipline of War sometime required a severe and exemplary kind of punishment: For which cause it was both notably and truly said of *Clarence*, that a General ought to be more feared of his Soldiers, than the Enemy; and that amongst the ancient Romans it had been the custom, even for private Men with more severe punishment to restrain the factious Citizen, than the most cruel Enemy: That the fact was not so much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it: That it was the duty of Commanders to withstand the madness of the mutinous. The author of sedition and tumult he said had suffered but condign punishment to his fact; who if he had escaped unpunished, would have been the more disordered; but now by his exemplary punishment, would deter others from the like infolency. Besides that, the external danger was such, as ought to reconcile them, were they never so much Enemies: That such Men as they were, should above all things regard what might profit or hurt the common cause; in contemplation whereof all private injuries were to be remitted; and the rather, for

that the honour and dishonour of the good or bad success of such an important action, should redound unto themselves, but especially unto the General. His own duty he had as he said discharged, in dealing so plainly and faithfully with him, and could no more, but pray unto God, with meritorious eye to behold the troubled Christian Common-wealth in such a most dangerous time.

Thus was the mutiny at *Paxo* by the great labour of *Columinus* hardly appeased: Nevertheless *Don John* could not afterwards, endure to participate unto *Venerius* his Counsels, or so much as to come in his company; all was done by *Barbadiensis* the Venetian Provveditor. This *Barbadiensis* was not inferior to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but far beyond him in discretion; a tall and goodly personage, well coloured, his beard grizly, though not for age, for why he was not above fifty years old: Beside that, in his eyes and countenance appeared a vivacity or liveliness of spirit; in his very gate and comely motion of his body, he carried a certain grace and majesty: His talk and speech was always calm and temperate, his counsel grave and sound; so that he was both greatly honoured and beloved of all Men. His chief endeavor also was, to further the hope of atonement betwixt, the Spaniards and the Venetians, so well begun by *Columinus*. And so all things brought unto some reasonable terms, they departed from *Paxo*, and came to *Coryra*; the spoil whereof well declared the Enemies late being there. From thence they departed to *Cephalonia*; where they by Letters from *Pan Constantinus*, Governor of *Zacynthus*, were advertised, That the Turks Fleet of three hundred Gallies, that three and thirty Sail, of one sort and other, lay in the Gulf of *Cornith*, now called the Gulf of *Lepanto*. Whereupon they shortly after removed, with purpose to have gone to *Petelia*, an Haven opposite over against the Islands (or rather Rocks) called *Eubodades*, but now *Corsu-lares*, and so to the Bay of *Cornith*, to draw the Enemy forth to Battle; but staied with contrary Winds, they put back again into the Valley of *Alexandria*, another Port in the Island of *Cephalonia*; from whence they afterward departed to the Islands *Corsu-lares*, where by the way they understood by Letters out of *Crete*, that *Emanagula* was lost; with which bad news they were no whit discouraged, but rather enflamed with the desire of revenge. From the Islands they went to *Galanga*, a good Harbor, where they staied one night, purposing the next day to have gone to the mouth of the Gulf of *Lepanto*, there to dare the Turks to battle.

The Turks Baffes *Pertau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good safety within the Gulf, hearing of the approach of the Christian Fleet, began to consult with the rest of their most expert Captains, Whether to give the Christians Battle, or to keep themselves still within their safe Harbor; upon which doubt they were amongst themselves of divers opinions. Amongst the rest *Chiroche* a Man of great years and authority, and withal a most noble Captain, exhorted the Baffes, in no case, when no need was, upon a vain glory, to adventure all to the fortune of an uncertain Battle: it was (as he said) the part of wife and worthy Commanders, to moderate with reason their happy fortunes, for that thereunto were incident many accidents, whereby their former felicity might be destroyed; they had ready run along the Frontiers of his Countries, and were with much honour and great spoil in safety returned, having increased the Turkish Empire with many strong

Don John  
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The Chris-  
tian Fleet  
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Pertau  
Bassa  
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Chiroche  
diswaides  
the Baffes  
from gi-  
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christians.

strong Towns of the Enemies; the Island of *Cyprus* was with wonderful good fortune brought under the Turks obedience, the Enemies great provision at Sea frustrated in such sort, as that having lost divers of their Gallies, they were never yet able to draw their Swords; they had with their Fleet at their pleasure roamed up and down the Adriatick, and displayed their victorious Ensigns almost unto the very City of *Venice*. What could they then devise or wish for more honourable or glorious, than with the safety of their Fleet, yet without any loss at all, to have performed to great matters? Now these three general Commanders of the Enemies Fleet to be at discord amongst themselves, as that they were ready to fall in funder of themselves; who now upon the approach of Winter, and for want of Victual, must needs in few days return home with their Fleet, never after to meet again with the like strength at Sea; and therefore to what purpose were it, by force of Arms and uncertain Battle, with danger to seek for the sovereignty and command of the Sea, which would forthwith of it self without any danger fall unto them. Neither should they by the doubtful Victory so much encroach their Honour, as by the uncertain event of a Battle blench the fame, if any thing should fall out otherwise than well. And that therefore they should do well to take heed, that in seeking to augment their former Victories, they hazarded not their Honour already gained; but wisely delay the War, and keep themselves in safety within their Fleet within the Gulf, and not to go out at the Enemies pleasure, but when they should see good themselves, at such time as the Enemy was not so well provided; so should they (as he said) without any great labour or danger attain to the full of their own desires.

*Pertau* Bassa was of opinion, That the Christians should not offer him Battle; but in his opinion the Christians had also of him, and in this question, for giving or not giving of Battle, seemed neither to approve nor dislike that *Chiroche* had so gravely spoken, but as a Man indifferent and loath to incur any blame, shewed himself ready either to stay or to set forward, as should be thought best by the greatest part. But *Haly* Bassa, a Man of an hotter spirit, and the great Champion of the Turks, could not endure to hear of any delay, but of present Battle. The pleasure of *Selymus*, the hope of Victory, the remembrance of the displeasure *Pial* Bassa had the last year incurred, for not giving the Christians Battle, ended him now in no case to refuse Battle, but forthwith to go out of the Gulf, and to accept thereof, if it were offered. In which his opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracossa* a famous Pyrat, and of great account amongst the Turks; who in a swift Galliot taking view of the Christian Fleet, had reported it to be much less than indeed it was; deceived as was afterward thought, by not taking full view thereof, by reason of his posting haffe; or else blinded by the Island, which lying behind the Fleet, suffered him not perfectly to descry the same. Upon which report there was great rejoicing amongst the Turks, who now after their accustomed manner dreamed of nothing but Victory and Spoil. So that *Haly*, vainly persuaded that his Fleet was both the greater and stronger, would now needs fight, in hope that the Christians upon first sight of the Turks Fleet would either retire and save themselves by shameful flight; or else in adventuring Battle at so great odds, by their foolish hardiness, receive a notable overthrow. This opinion of

the Bassa was also not a little confirmed by the persuasion of *Callensis*, *Barbarulla* his Son, *Ulusala*, and *Chaw-Beg*, Governor of *Smyrna*, all Men of great mark and experience, especially in matters at Sea. And although *Pertau* the chief Bassa stood wavering as a Man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Governor of *Alexandria*, with *Caracossa* Governor of *Silicia*, and *Mechmet* Governor of *Euboea*, Men of no less worth than the other, upon better consideration, were of a quite contrary mind, for not giving the Christians Battle; yet such was the authority of *Haly*, or rather his opportunity, forced to his own Destiny, that his opinion prevailed; so that now out they needs must, and fight. Albeit that two other Espials sent out after *Caracossa*, and having more perfectly viewed the Fleet, returning with speed, told the Basses, as truth was, That the Christians very strong and well appointed, were coming with Ensigns displayed of purpose to fight; and that their Fleet was in number much greater than was before supposed. With which news so far contrary to their expectation, the Basses were exceedingly troubled; and demanding whether the former Gallies were all Venetians or not; and being answered, that they were intermixt, some Venetians, some Spanish, and of the other Western Countries; they began to doubt the world, and became exceeding pensive. Nevertheless knowing themselves to be of all things well furnished, having now victualled in the Bay of *Cornith*, and already taken in twelve thousand Janizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the Garrisons of *Aetolia*, *Acarnania*, *Peloponnesus*, and the other Countries thereof, all resolute Men, and four thousand other common Soldiers, and that they could not now with their honour shrink back, they held it still for the best, to hold on their former resolution for the giving of the Christians Battle. Yet before their setting forward, together the Captains and chief Commanders of the Fleet, *Pertau* the more to encourage them, spake unto them as followeth.

We are to fight (said he) Fellows in Arms, with *Pertau* that kind of Men whom our Ancestors have driven hence out of *Euboea*, the Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponnesus, and Tripolis, and we our selves but yesterday out of the famous Island of *Cyprus*; whose Cities and strong Towns, in number infinite, our Emperor hath, as rewards of his Wars, given unto us; and now he is vanquished as well by Sea as by Land, and shall it then now repent you, that you in the War, embred in the Christian Blood, have sunk or taken many of their Ships and Gallies? That you have carried away great and rich Spoils? That you have taken whole Islands and Cities at the first assault? That we have by proof shewed unto the World what force is in the Turk to subdue strong Cities and Towns? And what little power is in the Christians to defend the same? What direction brought us to Victory before, the same shall also at this present give us the like. Not to speak of that, that we far exceed them both in number of Men and Gallies, this is more to be reckoned of; that we excel them in Valour and Prowess; for you being old expert Soldiers, from your infancy trained up in the Wars, hardened in infinite Battle, and full of courage and strength, shall fight against weak, fresh-water, and unexperienced Soldiers; who entertained for pay (the wages of all Nations) know nothing belonging to the Wars; or forcibly pressed out of Cities, serve not because they would, but because they must neither will nor chuse. But not to speak more of the manner of the Christian Soldiers, who are nothing else than the perpetual exercise of your remembrance and prowess; and to come re-

The Tur-  
kies  
refuse to  
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Battle.

the Tur-  
kies  
refuse to  
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to him, under whose fortune and conduct they serve. What should I say? Should I compare either of us (who have spent our Lives in Victories and Triumphs) who born and brought up amongst Arms, have with our right hands gained unto our selves Honour and Fame) with the feeble and half months Captain, who never saw Battle, but the? Who in a glorious matter never showed proof of himself, why should he be accounted of in a greater? who in so weighty a cause deemed a Tutor and such a one, as indeed beareth the Name of a General, more for his honour, than for any worth in himself. Besides, amongst the Enemies is such diffidence, that every Man regards his own private, (forgetting himself, contemptible, and is compassed. Whence with us (such comfort, that it cannot be denied, how the Soldiers in general should more trust their Commanders, or the Commanders their Soldiers. What things were by the discipline of War or carefulness of a General to be prepared, all those you have abundantly and plentifully in readiness; only this last warlike labour remains; which once dispatched, our Enemies shall be discomfited even in that wherein their greatest confidence rests. They shall be dispossessed of their Honour and Traffic at Sea; and that once finished, which is alone the glory of the Sea, there shall be no hope left for the Christians, whether by Sea or Land; and (that we have always wished) Italy, fair Italy (wherein these matters are plotted against us) shall be in our hand and power; wherefore let us with (such courage) all our Enemies, as becometh most victorious Conquerors, Men so many times conquered; And so set forward, as if you saw our Emperor himself encouraging you, and giving you the signal of Battle's his bounty, and the present victory, expecting all felicity and bliss.

The Turks  
Fleet com-  
mited out  
of the Gulf  
of Lepanto.  
The Islands  
Echinades,  
at Corza-  
res.

This comfortable Speech with great gravity delivered by the Bassa, fo encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind seemed to desire nothing more than Battle; for they still possessed with the first report of *Caracenia*, and encouraged by the Bassa's Speech, were in good hope to have fought the Battle upon great advantage, and therefore thought upon nothing but present Victory. Whereupon setting forward with great cheerfulness, they came out of the Gulf, and shaped their Course for the Islands *Echinades*, about midway betwixt *Lepanto* and *Parmas*, before little Islands, or rather obscure Rocks, scarcely appearing in the Sea, but new to be made famous throughout the World, by a most notable Battle that ever was fought in those Seas.

The Christians also coming fill on towards the Enemy, the seventh of October in the afternoon underfoot by their Espials, that the Turks Fleet was coming, and even now at hand; whereupon the General commanded the great Ensign of the Confederates (the appointed signal of Battle) to be forthwith displayed, and a great warning Piece to be shot off out of his Admiral Gally. And himself glittering all in bright Armour, with Cardona Admiral of Sicily, and Soro his Secretary, in a long Boat went to all the Squadrons of the Fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerful countenance to follow their Leaders, and to play the Men remembering, that they that day carried in their hands the Wealth, Honour, Glory, and Liberty of their Countries, yea and the very Religion of their Forefathers; and that that day's Victory would bring unto them and theirs perpetual Felicity; whereas otherwise, if they should as Cowards suffer themselves to be overcome and vanquished, it would be unto them the beginning of all manner of most woful calamities. To which

and other like his Speeches, the Captains and Soldiers (before of themselves cheerful enough) in every place where he came gave forth applause with the joyful cry of Victory, Victory, so often and so cheerful in all places resounded, as it was taken as a lucky abatement of the glorious Victory shortly after ensuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right Wing, and *Barbacus* in the left (for the Fleet kept the same order that they had appointed before at *Missina*) ceased not by all comfortable Speeches to encourage their Followers; shewing unto them. That now the time was come that he long wished for, wherein they not oppressed with multitude, might at length shew their true Valour against the false and faithless Enemies; who being indeed nothing else but base and contemptible Slaves born to bondage, and having lost their own liberty, came to impugn the liberty of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their persons; and that therefore, if ever, they would now show themselves valiant and courageous, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be seen, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruel Enemy, and to make their rejoicing for the Conquest of *Cyprus* broke, before they had well tasted the pleasure thereof. At which time also, the Captains generally throughout the Fleet, with cheerful countenances and courageous speech encouraged their Soldiers; leaving nothing unfaid that might hearten them on; or undone, that might further the Victory.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themselves (although it was fallen out much contrary to their expectation, to see the Christians, who they before thought durst not have shewed themselves, now ready to dare them Battle) but encouraged with their former Victories, and furthered with a fair gale of Wind, came on proudly with their Fleet orderly and gallantly, after their wonted manner of form of a Crescent or half Moon, their fortunate Ensign; nevertheless in their coming on they were much troubled with the brightness of the Sun, which then shining full in their faces, with his bright beams fo dazzled their eyes, that they could not well see how to their most advantage to direct their Gallies. In this Fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty Gallies, fifty Gallies, and many Brigantines and small Vessels; all which in a far off shewed like a thick Wood, but coming near hand, presented (as we said) the form of a Crescent. The middle Battle in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the great Bassias *Haly* and *Parvus*, attended upon with *Agem* Master of the Turks Arsenal, *Adapha* Zelly the Treasurer, *Achmar* Bay, with *Makomet* his younger Brother, the Sons of *Haly*, *Achmar* Agay Governor of *Tzaburina*, *Affli* Caga Governor of *Calipolia*, *Caracenia*, *Calates* the Son of *Barbarus*, *Makomet* Governor of *Mitylene*, *Dely* Solyman Gider Captain of *Chios*, *Caf* Sambrus Governor of the *Rhodes*; *Provi* Agay Captain of *Nauplium*; *Giaper* Zelly President of *Calabra*; *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeni*, and many others, whose barbarous Names I purposely omit; all Men of great account and place, and for their experience at Sea the chief strength of the Turkish Empire. The right Wing was by the appointment of the Bassias commanded by *Makomet* Bay with fifty six Gallies; with whom were also many worthy Captains; and in the left Wing was *Ulualei* the old Arch-Pyrate, but now the Vice-Roy of *Algiers*; with ninety five Gallies; accompanied with *Caraculo* and *Araby* his two sons, with a multitude of Pyrates. Men of his own profession,

The great  
and un-  
like Battle  
between  
the Turks  
and the  
Christians,  
commonly  
called the  
Battle of  
Lepanto.

A terrible  
onset.

The number  
and order  
of the  
Turks fleet.

A dreadful  
and doubt-  
ful fight  
between the  
two Admi-  
ral Gallies.

profession, but most valiant and expert Souldiers. In the Rearward came *Adonates* *Dragute*, with thirty Gallies, and divers other small Vessels. Now was the day well spent, when both the Fleets were ready to give Battle; the Enemy fill coming on almost in same fame order that the Christians did; for their middle Battle came directly against our middle Battle, and their Wings against ours. So the signal of Battle on both sides given by the shooting off of certain great Pieces. The Turks after their manner coming on with an hideous cry, first light upon the six Galeasses, which lying at Anchor almost a mile before the Fleet, as most strong Bulwarks, out of their Fore-Castles poured out their murdering Shot upon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their passing by fo plagued them, by discharging their whole Broad-sides, first the one, and afterwards the other upon them, that having received great loss, and divers of their Gallies sunk, they were enforced to break their order, and to fall further off. Which fo much the more troubled the Turks, for that they had before supposed, those great Carts and unferviceable Ships (as they accounted of them) to have carried little or no great Ordnance upon their sides, after the manner of their Gallies; for the use of the Galeasses was not unto the Turks known, until now that they had received from them a most notable harm; which as it was the beginning of their misery, so was it unto the Christians of greatest importance for the gaining of the Victory. At which time also the Wind, which all that day had much favoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his own Battle) come about to the West, and with a pleasant Gale in the time of the fight carried the smoke of the great Ordnance upon the Turks, to their no small disadvantage. Yet, for all this loss and disorder in their Fleet, the fierce Enemy with wonderful pertinacity passing by these Galeasses, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their disordered Squadrons, and with all their force assailed the Christian Fleet. The Trumpets, Drums, and other Instruments of War had scarcely well sounded, when all shook with confused cries, flames of Fire, thundering of Artillery, and other noise of the Mariners and Seamen; wherewith many were fo astonished as if they had been both deaf and blind, having upon the sudden almost lost the eye both of their hearing and hearing. At which very instant a Man might have seen the whole flowers as it were of Arrows and Darts mixt with the deadly Shot, flying from the one Fleet to the other; the Masts broken, the Sail-yards trucked down, the Tackles rent, and all confounded with horror and fear. *Haly* beholding the Admiral Gally (which was easy to be known by the Flag) and using the surpassing cheerfulness of his Mariners and Rowers, ran upon her with such violence as if he would have presently flamed her; but being with like force encountered by the Admiral, they met together with such violence, that both their Beaks were with the Feaze broken off, and fo fell into the Sea. There began a most cruel fight betwixt these two great Commanders, who had before drawn unto them the strongest Gallies in their Fleets, and the choicest Men in their Armies. In the Admiral Gally of the Christians were four hundred select Men pickt out of the whole Army, most of them Captains and Antients, Men of approved Valour; who not only valiantly repelled the furious Enemies, but with greater courage enforced them to think back, and pressing hard upon them, entered the Gally even to the main Mast; where the Enemy strengthened

with new supply, fought courageously, repulsed the Spaniards, and cleared again their Gally. Many were there wounded on both sides, and many slain. *Don Juan* seeing his Men give way, sent in new supply; wherewith the Christians encouraged, befriended themselves more lustily than before, and hardly charge the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The Battle was like unto the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; thrice the Turks were even driven unto the main Mast, and thrice strengthened with new supplies, which they with great slaughter repulsed the Christians back again.

*Venerius* perceiving the danger of the General, was about to have assailed the Poup of *Haly* his Gally, fo to have endangered her, being set upon both before and abaft; but in coming thither he was encountered by *Parvus* the other Bassa, who with a Company of Gallies opposed himself against him, and that with such celerity, that having made them as if he would have charged him abroad, he by and by set upon his side. Which unexpected manner of fight fo suddenly fashioned, at the first much troubled the Christians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themselves. *Venerius* (upon whose Valour the Venetian State rested) gallantly armed, not only encouraged his Men, one while with entreating, another while with threatening, was himself in the midst of them fighting, whose great Honour much moved the minds of his Soldiers; but his severend years more, to see him (being above seventy seven years old) to perform all the parts of a brave youthful Commander, in the very face of the greatest danger. The fierce Enemy having slain many of the Christians, pressed on more furiously, and fighting close together, entered the Prow of *Venerius* his Gally now bared of Defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valour opposed the Venetians; who had there no doubt been overcome, had not *Joannes*, *Laurentius*, and *Catherinus* *Malipetra*, two valiant Captains, and lying not far off, speedily come to their relief. By whose coming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; fo that they which a little before fiercely assailed the Venetian Gallies, were now glad to defend their own; fo for a space the fight stood indifferently, but in process of the Battle, those two worthy Captains, whilst they also perform the parts of most resolute Soldiers, were both slain; shot through with small shot. The fall of these notable Men did rather enrage than discourage the minds of their Soldiers; fo that blinded as it were with fury, and suddenly become other Men, they desperately pressed in upon the Turks; fo that whilst they on the one side kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly clungeth them on the other's terror of the Battle was turned from them that were even at the point to have been vanquished, upon the Victors; and our Men after great slaughter of the Turks, took two of their Gallies; *Parvus* the Bassa in a long Boat escaped the danger, and fo got him out of the Battle. Not far off thence, *Columinus* the Popes Admiral, as a valiant Chieftain hardly assailed other of the Turks Gallies, and made amongst them great slaughter; one singled from the rest, he took, and disordered the other. *Lignius* the Admiral of *Genoa* with like courage thrust himself into the thickest of the Enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an Enemy fell about the Prince of *Parma*, *Ruvers*, *Urfimus*, *Cornes*, and *Tullianus*; who for their present honour, and future fame, fought most courageously.

*Venerius*  
coming to  
the relief of  
Don John  
is encoun-  
tered by  
*Parvus*  
Bassa.

*Venerius*  
in danger.

*Laurentius*  
and  
*Malipetra*  
 slain.

The right wing of the Turkish Fleet, consisting of the *Chiroche* and *Sirock*, by the *Galeaffs*.

Atterrible fight betwixt *Chiroche* and *Barbadiuc*.

The death of *Barbadiuc*.

Ciconia hardly hit, and in danger to have been lost, is relieved.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirock* (of some called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right Wing with great confidence came forward against the left Wing of the Christian Fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the *Galeaffs*, was forced out of them miserably beaten with many of his Men slain, and the Ordinance having done with many of his Gallies sunk and torn, few of the huge and deadly *Shock* falling in vain into the Sea, by reason of the thick standing of the Turks Gallies; where also divers of the Enemies were burnt with Pots of Wild-fire cast into their Gallies out of the tops of the *Galeaffs*. *Chiroche* to avoid the danger of the *Galeaffs*, and the Main the dangerous Shelf bewixt him and the Main (which the River *Archielus* running between the Borders of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, and there falling into the Sea, maketh) sent a great part of his Gallies under the conduct of one *Alis* a notable Renegade of *Genoa*, to cast about aloof upon the right hand, and so to come upon the back of *Barbadiuc* the Leader of the left Wing of the Christian Fleet. Which he perceiving, forthwith turned his Gallies, and with their Prows received the first onset. The great Ordinance fired on both sides discharged, divers of the Gallies grappled fast together, in such fort, as that they encountered one another not with their mislived Weapons, only (as with their small Shot, Arrows, and Darts) but with their drawn Swords foot to foot. Amongst the rest, the fight of two of the Christian Gallies was most notable: in the one was *Barbadiuc* himself, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, upon whom the six of the Enemies Gallies, and upon *Barbadiuc* five; who although they were on every side distressed with a most doubtful and dangerous fight, yet did they most valiantly with worthy resolution endure the same. In the fury of this Battle, *Barbadiuc* encouraging his Soldiers, and fighting himself even there where most danger was, was hit in his left Eye with an Arrow, and so struck into the Brain almost through the Head; wherewith falling presently down, he was taken up for dead; howbeit he died not thereof until three days after. The supposed death of this worthy Man much troubled the Christians, and both the Armies felt his fall (such force there is in the valour of one worthy Man) for the Turks now as Conquerors lustily bordered the Gally, troubled with the loss of the Captain; and the Gallies as Men discouraged gave way; the Gally that was doubtfully been lost, had not *Fredericus Nanius* and *Selymus Porcia* with their Gallies speedily come to her relief; by whose coming in, such an alteration was made, as that the Gally before half taken, was not only cleared, but divers of the Turks Gallies also boarded, and some of them taken, not without the great slaughter of the Turks. In this so hard and mortal conflict, *Selymus* was grievously wounded in the thigh and in his right side. It is reported of *Barbadiuc*, That lying that evening at the point of death, the Battle then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the Victory; and being told that the Christians had got it, and that the Turks Fleet was most part taken, and the rest sunk or burnt; he with his eyes cast up to Heaven, gave unto God immortal thanks therefor, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to live in Bliss for ever.

Ciconia in the mean time hardly beset with six of the Enemies Gallies, (as we have before said) was himself fore burnt with Wild-fire and hurt in the face; and having endured a long and terrible fight, was now even at the point to have been lost; when suddenly relief coming in,

he was now contrary to all hope faved, and therewith so much encouraged, that with his weary and wounded Shoulders, as Men from death revived, he afresh charged the Enemy, and took one of his principal Gallies with one of the Turks fairest Ensigns, which in the Venetian Armory is yet there to be seen; of his worthy valour, his honest wounds in his face and the fore part of his Body, were most certain and undoubted witnesses.

Not far off, in the fame Wing *Joannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant Gentleman, did with his great *Shor* exceeding great harm amongst the Turks Gallies; which *Chiroche* perceiving, and therewith enraged, ran so fiercely upon the side of *Contarenus* his Gally, that with his Beak he had well nigh flemmed her, and presently grappling fast with her, was like to have boarded her; who nevertheless the Christians notably repulsed, with greater slaughter than was thought possible for so small a number to have made; neither did the Enemies fall unrevenged, but all imbrued with the Blood of the Christians. Seldom hath been seen a more cruel fight, or more resolute Captains to encounter hand to hand. But after the Battle had of long time stood doubtful, the hope of the Christians increased upon two causes, for which the courage of the Enemy quailed; First for that many of the Turks being slain or wounded, they were brought to a small number. Then for that both parties saw *Chiroche* himself slain; from which time the Enemy, as well destitute of a Leader to conduct them, as of fresh supplies to relieve them, began to be cut down right, or taken. Which their danger was the more increased, because the Gally bulged with the great *Shor*, was now leaky, and in danger to sink; wherefore the Turks in that Wing overcome with despair, began to think rather how to save themselves by flight than by fight, resolving in so doing more than in the narrowness of the Main. But as they were turning about toward the *Shor*, they were prevented by the Christians; who entering the Gally, and having slain or driven overboard almost all that were left, took *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but half dead; and seeing small hope of his life, with fresh wounds made an end of him.

Divers and doubtful was the whole face of the Battle, as fortune offered unto every Man his Enemy, fo he fought; according as every Mans disposition put into him courage or fear, or as he met with more or fewer Enemies, so was there and there sometime Victory, and sometime loss. Many fights were in sundry places seen mingled together; some Gallies whilens they run to them others, are themselves by others flemmed; some, which you would think were flying away, being by fortune upon the victorious Gally; other, suddenly take them; other, some, as if they had been of neither part, row up and down betwixt the Battels. The chance of War in one place lieth up the vanquished, and in another overthroweth the victorious; all was full of terror, error, sorrow, and confusion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Christians at length began to appear much fatter than both courage and strength; and the Turks seemed now rather to defend themselves, than to assail their Enemies.

*Bacianus* in the Reward intently marked all the whole fight, and ever as need required, sent in present aid, without respect whether they were the Popes Gallies, the King of *Spain*, or the Venetians, that were distressed. In this

A hard fight betwixt *Jo. Contarenus* and *Chiroche*.

*Chiroche* slain, and his Gally taken.

A hard and doubtful battle.

A terrible fight betwixt *Haly Bassa* and *Don John*.

*Haly Bassa* slain.

The Turks hindered by the Christian Fleet.

Caracota slain the first day of the battle.

long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks seeing the Christians Generals Gally hardly charged on the Prow by *Haly Bassa*, to be almost bared of Defendants in the Poup, all the Soldiers having their hands full before, were about to have boarded her aback, and to that purpose were fetching a compass about her; which *Bacianus* quickly perceiving, glittering in bright Armor came speedily in with certain Gallies, and by opposing of himself against them, staid their course. In all the Battle was not seen a more cruel fight; for having discharged many volleys of Shot, and Arrows and Darts without number, they grappled at length together, and came to the Sword, where with the formid, *Bacianus* not only with his words, but with his presence and valour wonderfully encouraged his Soldiers, having received in his Target of proof two small Shot. Many were on both sides slain. The Spaniards attempting sundry times to have entered the Turks Gallies, were with great loss repulsed; but not giving it to over, neither giving the Enemy leave to breathe, or to much give Pertinacity, and the Spaniards having overthrown and slain their Enemies, enjoyed their Gallies.

Now had *Don John* with like courage and strength, but with doubtful Victory, fought three hours and more with *Haly Bassa*; when after so dreadful and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts given and received, our Men began to faint, and brought to the uttermost of their devotion, were in danger to have been overcome, had not *Don John* beakened himself to his only and last refuge. He had (as is before said) reserved under the Hatches four hundred of his best and fittest Soldiers, for their Valour chosen out of the whole Army against all the events of so long and dangerous a Battle; these Men attentively attending every becke of *Don John*, upon sign given, as was before appointed, suddenly flung out, and with a terrible cry and desperate onset assailed the Enemy, before almost spent with labour and wounds. This fresh and unexpected company so suddenly grown up, first astounded, and afterwards confounded, and with a great slaughter vanquished the Turks and possessed the Gally. The *Bassa* deadly wounded in the head with a shot, and all imbrued with blood, was taken, and as a joyful spectacle brought to *Don John*; who seeing him ready to breathe, he commanded him to be ready to his Armor, and his head struck off. Which presently fell upon the point of Spear, he for a space held up aloft with his own hand, as a trophy of his Victory, as also with the sight thereof to strike a terror in the minds of the other Turks, who in the other Gallies fast by fought yet right valiantly; neither was he therein deceived; for the Turks beholding the known countenance of the first of their late General, and a Flag of the Cross set up in the top of his Gally, and the noise of the Christians, crying Victory, running through the Army; were therein so discouraged, that confounded with fear they turned their Gallies and with might and main made toward the Land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Camalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late slaughter of the Turks, perceiving, with their Gallies hardly pursued the flying Enemy, and sunk and took six of their Gallies. *Persius* his Son by the slaying of the rest got time to run his Gally on ground, and so forsaking her, faved himself and his Men by running ashore; did himself also divers others run themselves aground and forsake their Gallies, which presently became a Prey unto the

Christians. In this hot conflict *Caracota* the famous Pyrat (who abjuring the Christian Religion had turned Turk, and of long time done exceedingly much mischief upon the Coast of the Christian Countries) valiantly fighting, was slain by *Buzaccharinus* of *Padua*, by whose death many were delivered of a great fear.

*Haly Bassa* had brought forth with him his two Sons *Adamus* and *Mahomet*, the one twenty three years old, and the other thirteen, the Nephews of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his Sister married to *Haly*; their Father had placed in a great Gally, with a strong guard of the Janizaries; who seeing the discomfiture of the main Battle, with the danger now drawing near unto themselves, were exceedingly afraid, and therefore to save themselves, thought it best with all speed to make toward the Main. But in so doing they were prevented by *Rosquinius* the great Commander, who with his furious Spaniards boarding the Turks, already dismayed and running away, slew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruel execution done, took the Gally; and that which pleased him more, the two Sons of *Haly* both alive; in the fast chained in the Gally, had as Slaves long served in great misery, now perceiving the Christians to prevail, brake off their Gyves, took one another, and with such Weapons as first came to hand lustily laid about them, and nobly furthered the Victory.

Notwithstanding all this good success, the fortune of the Battle stood yet doubtful in the right Wing. There stood in either Battle two of the most noble Chieftains one against another; or the Christian part *John Andreas Aris* the Spanish Admiral; and for the Turks *Ulucales*; both most valiant and expert Commanders, well known the one to the other, for that they had of long used the same Seas, equal for their military discipline, as also for their noble acts, but far unequal for number of their Gallies; for the Turks had of one sort and other almost twice so many. *Aris*, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the Battle warily decline the danger, and not hazard his Gallies, wherein his chief Honour would be also endangered; or else afraid lest left the Enemy, who far exceeded him in number of Gallies, should extend his Wing at large, and enclose the Christian Fleet behind; upon the signal of Battle given, shrunk farther off from the rest of the Battle; but whether upon policy, that it might be at his choice either to fight, if the rest of the Army prevailed, or to retire if they should be overcome; or that he upon martial policy declined the force of too strong an Enemy; divers Men diversly glossed; but what the cause was indeed, the world could not surely tell. However the matter stood, it seemed his purpose was by policy to contravert what he wanted in strength. This his falling off seemed unto the Turks most strange, to whom his quick departure seemed as the first in manner of a flight. Neither was *Aris* content with that space he had first separated himself from the Army; but the second time fell off further, and there staying and hovering aloof off, seemed to await some good opportunity to take the Enemy at some advantage; having in the mean time one of the *Galeaffs* of *Pisa* lying before him, as it were in stead of a Bulwark, which with often shot much troubled the Enemy. *Ulucales* also extending his Wing, took such a firm place that he seemed able to have compassed in and enclosed *Aris*; yet offered not Battle, but rather lay as expecting if any advantage should be given him

The death of *John Andreas Aris* slain the third day of the battle.







tries further off was like rejoicing and signs of joy, as with us here in England.

This is that notable Battel, commonly called the Battel of Lepanto, fought near the Island Curzolari, the seventh day of October, in the year 1571. the like whereof was never fought at Sea again: the Turk, wherein he lost his chief strength at Sea, with most of his best Sea Captains; and might thereby well perceive what he and his Successors were to fear, if the Christian Princes at unity amongst themselves, all discord set apart, should in zeal of their Religion join their invincible forces against them.

In the midst of all this joy, generally conceived of the late Victory, one of the Prisoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loss of Cyprus (for that Selymus had therein lost his Fleet, his best Men of War, which great loss the loss of Cyprus was a fit Comparison shewed it not to be so, saying, That the Battel lost, was unto Selymus as if a Man should have his Beard, which would be long grow again; but that the loss of Cyprus was unto the Venetians, as the loss of an Arm, which once cut off, could never be again recovered. Declaring thereby the great inequality of the loss.

The rich Spoil taken from the Enemy in this most glorious Victory, was thus divided amongst the Princes Confederate. Unto the Pope were allotted nineteen Gallies, two Gallies, nine great Pieces of Ordnance, two and forty lesser Pieces, and fourscore and one Prisoners. Unto the King of Spain eight and fifty Gallies and an half, six Gallies and an half, eight and fifty great Pieces and an half, eight great murdering Pieces, and a thousand seven hundred and thirteen Prisoners. Unto the Venetians were assigned for their share, nine and thirty Gallies and an half, four Gallies and an half, nine and thirty great Pieces and an half, five great murdering Pieces and an half, fourscore and six lesser Pieces, and a thousand one hundred three score and one Prisoners. The rest were bestowed upon such other Princes as had given aid, or otherwise well deserved in that service.

The joy conceived of this Victory was not so great amongst the Christians, but that the sorrow thereof was amongst the Turks far greater. Selymus himself was then at Hadramople, where eight days after the Battel, news was brought unto him, That his Fleet was overthrow and almost all taken or sunk by the Christians. Which so soon as he heard, he was fricken with exceeding grief; and overcame with melancholy, would not that that day suffer any Man to speak with him. And the rumor of the overthrow still encreasing, had in short time filled all places with fear, tears, mourning, and heaviness; some bewailing their Parents, some their Children, some their Husbands, some their Friends or Kinsmen, there lost. But that which most grieved the Turkish Emperor, was the loss of so many skillful and expert Captains, of so many skillful Masters and notable Souldiers, who brought up to any their lives at Sea, were not thought inferior to any then living; besides the perpetual ignominy and unwonted disgrace, thereby inflicted unto him and his posterity for ever. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about to have commanded all the Christians in his Dominions (in number infinite) to be put to death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they weary of the Turkish Tyranny, should be detestful of innovation, should with Weapons put into their hands, rise up against him, and take part with the other Christians his Enemies. But

whilst the other Bassas (as Men disdain with the cruelty of the command) stood, all silent, Muhamed Bassa, for his former defects in great favour with the Tyrant, thought it good to make proof if his fury might by reasonable persuasion be mitigated, and some better course taken, both for the honour of Selymus himself, and the common good of the State; yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannical Government, openly to speak any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilful Emperor, he durst not aptly contradict him; but lest him, as it were to his opinion and pleasure, by little and little to draw from himself, and so before he were aware, to lead him into his own device, and by delay moderate the rigor of his former fury. To which purpose, he cunningly set upon him in this sort.

Your anger (said he) most magnificent and invincible Emperor, against the Christians, is most just; as also in this my desire exceedeth all others, That they should endure and suffer such punishment as they have so justly deserved. Yet it behoveth us so to justify our wrath, as Men better regarding their own good, than the desire of revenge. And forasmuch as I am a reluctant for your many and undeserved favours, in all my Loyalty bounden unto your Highness above others; I reckon it in part my duty, so much the more frankly to deliver my opinion, such as it is, in matters of so great importance. Neither will I attempt my Speech in any respect to the comforting of your grievous mind; for how can it be that you, whose Progenitors, have always heretofore shewn your most liberal and courageous mind, concerning all the chances of Fortune, should not for ever after shew your self to be rather dreaded of all Men, than dreadful of any? Let others, whose Kingdoms built upon uncertainty, are subject to the revolution of time, and chance of Fortune, yield unto their evil hap: As for you, whose Empire is founded by the mighty hand of the most High God, and compassed about with an impregnable defence, and are your self by the power of God appointed King and Commander of Nations and People in number infinite; Fortune may well a little prick you, but never overthrow you. As for this late mischance, if it must needs so fall out, as proceeding from some immutable and eternal cause; must it be therefore always fixt and permanent? Only those miseries and mischiefs which the cowardice or foolishness of men bring upon themselves, have their firm and certain calamities; other common events coming from other causes, have all their common and sudden chances; but how this late mishap at Sea may be amended, and your former Glory there again recovered, is hereafter to be considered. Now for the present (in mine opinion) this one thing, as of all others most necessary, is to be provided, That the weak and worst fortified places of your Empire, most subject to danger, may be presently strengthened with strong Garrisons; and that the very present repair to the Imperial City, you clear up the minds of your heavy and dismayed Subjects; which done, what shall let, but that you may at your pleasure be revenged to the full of the Christians? For there is no cause why we should fear the Christians, fix hundred times and more before overthrow; but our Enemies and we are the same Men, we have been for many Ages, we bear the same minds, the same bodies, the same strength, the same weapons, wherewith we have gotten infinite Victories, both of them and others. And although such be the state of Islam, as that he cannot otherwise but sometime or other taste of the worst Turk; yet I think this present misfortune to be rather imposed unto some fatal cause to us unknown, than to the Valour of the Christians. Besides that, we may well enough oppose one overthrow against our

the Christians Fleet dissolved.

so many and infinite Victories; yes, we are to give immortal thanks unto Almighty God, that we have by force of Arms subdued the rich and famous Island of Cyprus, and that your high designs have in this point, far exceeded your heart's desire. And lastly, in mine opinion to judge, whether this late unfortunate Battel shall more hurt us, or the Christians; for besides that the multitude of the Turks hath no feeling of so small a loss, they will not at Men discouraged, give themselves to mourning and vain lamentations, but with greater courage and fury come forth again unto Battel, and revenge this loss with the infinite calamities of the Christians; who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner grow more fierce to excess; pleasure, carelessness, and ease, unto their own further confusion. Thus have I in brief faithfully declared mine opinion; yet with that submissive Loyalty, as that whatsoever should proceed from the mouth of your Imperial Majesty, shall be of me deemed most wisely and magnificently considered.

The Bassa was in such grace and authority with Selymus, that his opinion in Council prevailed, and the Tyrants wrath by his persuasion was well asswaged. But by the coming of Ulucates to Court, the remainder of his former grief and melancholy was fully quieted; who after he had excused himself of the late overthrow, and declared what he had himself done in the Battel, and in testimony thereof, presented him with one of the Ensigns of the Knights of Malta; told him also, how that he had left the Christian Fleet fore and torn, as that it could not possibly be made serviceable to the gainst the next year; which news was both of Selymus and the rest gladly heard. In the mean time Selymus placed this Ulucates in the head of Haly Bassa that was slain; and straitly commanded the great Officers which had the charge of his Navy, to build new shipping night and day; and further enjoyed every Governor out of his Province he had to have in readiness one or two Gallies; or two against the new Spring, as well for the defence of his own Dominions, as to revenge the loss he had so lately sustained; wherunto also many of his great Men put to their helping hands, and cheerfully furthered his desire. New supplies of Souldiers were also presently raised; and put into his frontier Towns, great store of new Ordnance cast, Weapons and Armour provided, and whatsoever else the necessity of the present time required. So with the Turks blood reason and industry, rather than with the Christians, who (as some note) rather wanted discretion how to use the Victory, than Valour to gain the fame; which whether it chanced for that prosperity begeth negligence, or that Men joying in their present Bliss, regard little the time to come, I leave it to the judgment of the wiser to determine.

After this so memorable a Victory, the three great Commanders of the Fleet sat in Council to consider, what further course they were best to take. But forasmuch as Winter began now to approach, and that they could not do much until their Fleet were new furnished and manned, they all resolved for that time to dissolve the Fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of April, to meet together again at Corcyra. Whereupon Don John and Columbus returned to Messina, where they in safety arrived in November; and departing thence, and taking their leave the one of the others arrived, Don John at Naples, and Columbus at Rome, where they were in both places with great joy and triumph received.

The Venetians for all that grieved with the loss of Cyprus, gave not so over, but repairing their Navy with 30 Gallies, whereto were embarked 6000 Souldiers, won a Castle in Epirus called Mar-

garita; and also recovered the Town of Suppote, which the Turks had that Summer before taken from them; but now hearing of this overthrow, had it upon the approach of the Venetian Fleet, again forsaken. The Gallies also of Crete conducted by Canalis, intercepted many of the Turks Vessels laden with Captives and the Spoils of Famagusta, as they were passing thence to Constantinople.

Although upon the late obtained Victory, a certain reconciliation had been made betwixt Don John and Venice, yet of the former diffidence remained an inward heart-burning of one of them against the other; for which cause the Spaniards requested the Venetians to appoint another Admiral in his place. Venice was now indeed a Man of great years, and his strength far spent; yet for that in his aged Body refted great wisdom and courage, and that they thought him for his great defects worthy all Honour, they were wonderful loath, and unwilling therein to gratify the Spaniard; for why, they well knew there was no other cause of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had stood against them upon the Honour of the Venetians; and further, They liked not that the Spaniard should so presumptuously prescribe unto them, whom they should place or displace, in or out of their honourable Offices. Nevertheless, not forgetting what commodity came by concord, and what evils of discord, and that they might not again to mighty an Enemy well spare the help of the Spaniard, they resolved to make choice of someone; who succeeding Venice, might with one consent manage the War, as together with Don John and Columbus. There was then one Jacobus Fulcarinus their chief Governour in Dalmatia, who but a little before had notably fortified Fadara and the other frontier Towns, and for the space of fourteen months had notably repressed the furious incursions of the Turks; of him then absent and not delinquent of the place (as of a Man of worthy choice for their Admiral) General by Sea against the Turk; which most honourable place he received not with all the solemn ceremonies thereto belonging at Venice, as the manner was, but at Fadara; from whence he in the Admiral Gally sent for that purpose by Aloysius Grimanus his successor in Fadara, failed over to Corcyra; where he found the old Admiral Venice, with no less care providing for all things, than if he should himself have still continued the War. Of which great care Fulcarinus at his coming eased him, by taking it wholly upon himself.

Whilst Fulcarinus thus lay making his preparation against the next Spring at Corcyra, Sara Marinengas, who had the charge of the Adriatick (by the Council of Venice, who was now returned to Venice) upon the suddain landed his Men, and besieged Caffra Novum, a strong Town of the Turks in the Borders of Ispria; where as his first coming he took the Suburb, and had in short time brought the Town to great extremity. But in the height of his hope to have won the Town, hearing that the Beglerbey of Grace was with great power coming thither, he was glad to raise his Siege, and with all speed to get him again to Sea. The Turks in like manner, to distress the strong Town of Caffra, holden by the Venetians in the Borders of Dalmatia, built a great and strong Fort upon the passage from the Sea to the Town, whereto they placed great store both of Men and Artillery; in hope by keeping them of the Town from all relief by Sea, at length to gain the Town which he had many times in vain attempted by force; for by Land it was already environed with the cruel Enemy, possessing the Country round about it. Jacobus Superantius the great Provider, then

Suppote again recovered by the Venetians.

Caffra Novum in Venice by the Venetians.

lying at *Coryca* with the Admiral, understanding how *Catara* a Town of no small importance, was thus both by Sea and Land by the Enemy distressed; with twenty Gallies manned with the most choice Souldiers could be picked out of the whole Fleet, took upon him the rick of the Fort, and relieving of the Town. *Superantius* with this fleet Company, and certain other Gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the Bay of *Catara*, and there dividing his Fleet, left the one part thereof at Anchor before the Fort, and with the other himself cautiously passed by the Fort, further into the Bay; at whom the Turks out of the Fort made divers shots, but (by reason it was dark) to small purpose.

By passing by, *Superantius* took such view as he could of the Fort, and by and began on that side to batter the same; as did also the other Gallies on the other side; and withal, landed their Men on both sides, who upon signal given, ran resolutely to the Fort, and by plain force entering the same, prevailed upon the fearful Turks, and put them to the Sword every Mothers Son; so that of all that great Garrison, was not one left alive to carry news of the slaughter. This Fort was in length five hundred Paces, but not strong towards Land, from whence no fear was doubted. In it was taken seventeen great Pieces of Ordnance, with much fair Armor, and great abundance of Victuals; and seven Gallies which lay at Anchor under the Fort. *Catara* thus relieved, *Superantius* with Victory returned again to *Coryca*.

*Superantius* the Venetian Admiral with all things in readiness, having long lien at *Coryca*, expecting the coming of the Confederates, as was before appointed; sent *Superantius* the Provinder with five and twenty Gallies to *Misina*, to hasten the coming of *Don John*, and to attend upon him by the way. But coming thither, and thinking to have found a great Fleet and a strong power in good forwardness to have set forward, he found such small preparation, as well shewed the Spaniards small care for suppressing of the Turk, and that they would not be very forward in the service intended. Which filling him with grief and indignation, caused him to complain unto himself, of their unfaithfulness, and to bewail the state of his Country, with the whole Christian Commonwealth; for *Don John* had before solemnly promised unto the Venetian Embassadors, that all things should be in readiness against the appointed time; but now a great part of Summer was past, when scarce some few Companies, and about fifty Gallies were met together at *Misina*; and when *Auris* would come with the rest, no Man could tell. So that the careful Provinder stood now no less in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

*Selymus*, after the great overthrow he had received at the Islands *Coronarias*, for fear he should be driven quite out of the Sea, was above all things careful for the renewing of his Navy; and having barely new built, and newly repaired two hundred Gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Uluazles*; with express charge, That by how much things had fallen out worke the last year, he should with so much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to go out of the bounds of the Archipelago, nor to adventure Batel but upon advantage, or at least upon an even hand.

This *Uluazles* (otherwise called *Cordoba*) was an Italian born in *Calabria*, who in his youth taken at Sea by the Turks, and chained in the Gally, and afterwards renouncing his Faith, by many degrees grew unto the highest preferments among the Turks, and so became an exceeding Plague as well to his own Country as all other of the Christians

bordering upon the Mediterranean. He now Admiral for the Turk, after the manner of the proud Barbarians, threatened with Fire and Sword to be revenged upon the Venetians; which known at *Venice*, much troubled them, as well acquainted with the fury of the old Arch-Pyrate. Beside that, *Ant. Barbarus* their Embassador, all the time of this War kept in safe custody at *Constantinople*, had by Letters certified them, what a great Fleet, and what a strong Army *Selymus* had provided against them; and that he himself told 250 sail of Gallies when they set forward from *Constantinople*, beside some other that were to meet with them at *Calipso*; and that therefore they should beware themselves encountered with the Turks Fleet but upon equal strength. It was also at the same time commonly reported, That King *Philip* chief of the Confederates, careless of the Wars against the Turk in the East, was about to turn his Forces upon the Kingdom of *Tunes* or *Algiers*, nearer unto him; as indeed he did the year following. The Venetians intangled with so many difficulties, were even at their wits end, and day by day the Senate sat from the rising of the Sun to the setting of the same, consulting how all these mischiefs were to be remedied. But for as much as the greatest danger was to be feared from the Turks Fleet, as then hovering even over their heads; they by Letters commanded *Falscarinus* their Admiral, That whether the Confederates came unto him or not, he should forthwith take his Course towards the East, and there according to the Enemies designs, and his own discretion and valour, to do what he should think best to be done for the common good of his Country; and not to refuse to join with the Enemy in Batel, if he saw any good hope of Victory. Neither ceased they at the same time, both by their Embassadors and Letters, earnestly to call both upon the Pope and the King, to hasten their Forces to encounter the Enemy before he should come out of his own Seas; and to shew the terror of the War home to his own doors, rather than to receive it at their own. The like Message was also done to *Don John*, putting him in mind what his place, what the time, and what the danger of the time required; entreating him (if it were possible) of himself to add something unto that which the necessity of so important a cause required. Who nevertheless, for all the Messengers and Letters to him sent (which were many) went still on his idle folly, delaying from day to day; telling, That he would be by and by come, and that the Spaniards would always be so good as their word. Which was so far from this thought, that afterwards finding one excuse after another, he not only staid his coming, but called back again *Requisinus* also, whom he had sent before with twenty Gallies to *Coryca*.

Now were two months (nearly for the Wars) vainly spent; when *Superantius* grew so to see time to no purpose slip away, and leaving left the rest of the Summer should to as small effect in like manner pass also, with great instance importuned him to hasten his journey. Then at length *Don John* answered, That the Venetians requested but reason, neither that he withstood for any thing more, than to satisfy their desires; but that a greater care hindered the less, which was first to be prevented: He was advertised (as he said) that the French King, depending the flourishing of *Constantinople*, had assembled a great Fleet at *Roset*, with purpose intended to invade *Spain*, now that the King was buied in these Wars against the Turks; and that therefore they must pardon him if he put off the regard of *Spain* before others, being expressly commanded from the King, not to depart from *Misina* until he had other commandment from him. But whether

*Uluazles*  
a Renegade  
Christian  
and now  
the Turks  
Admiral.

*Superantius*  
sent by  
Don John.

whether this excuse by *France* proceeded of a true fear or otherwise, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French King understanding thereof by the Venetians, was therewith (as reason was) exceedingly offended; protesting, that he was ever so far from that purpose of hindering any the Confederate Princes in that their Religious War, that if the troubles of his own Country would have permitted, he would gladly have given them aid therein. Many there were also that thought, *Envy* the ancient Enemy of *Virtue* and *Faith*, to have had a great power in his delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would have the joyce of the Victory well topped off, if they should joyn with the Venetians; or grieve if the same should by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* weary of discourses and long expectation, and almost out of hope of any help in time from the Spaniard, how untowardly forever things went, thought better yet warily to moderate his grief than to lie in dangerous a time to give any occasion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet spake he not faultingly or flatteringly of the matter, but with a certain modest gravity declared, That he had thought Heaven would sooner have fallen, than that *Don John* would not at the appointed time have come to *Coryca*. And withal besought him, and wished him to beware that he brought not the common State into some great danger; if they had to do with such an Enemy as might be delayed with, then he could easily abide delay; but now for that the War and the Enemy was such, as wherein or with whom never any General had delayed without loss, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? Or what other Fleet did he expect? If they should divide their Forces, then were they all too weak, but united together, strong enough to defend the common cause. The nearer the Enemy came, the more haste were they to make to joyn with the Venetian Fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honourable or glorious, than for him a noble young Gentleman royally descended, of whom the World had conceived a great hope, that he would in Martial Honour exceed the glory of his most famous Ancestors, again to vanquish the proud Turk, the greatest and most mighty Monarch of the World; to fight the Batel of the Highest, to assure the Christian Commonwealth against a puissant an Enemy, and to purchase unto himself immortal Glory and Renown? As for the French, there was no such thing to be feared as was pretended, who with such slender preparation, not worth the name of a Fleet, was not so unadvised as to set upon a Kingdom of such strength and power as *Spain*. Furthermore he said, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the King himself, to have the Turks repelled; whole Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicilia*, and *Spain*, were no less than their Territory, exposed to danger by *Spain*. The good success of their Affairs in the East would open the way to the Conquest of *Africa*; but if the Turk should prevail, then were they to despair, not of *Africa*, but of all *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and of *Spain* it self. The time (he said) and necessity of the Wars, with the extremity of the danger of the whole Christian Commonwealth, required that he should with all his power and speed possible, take upon him the defence of the common cause, or to say more truly of the Christian Commonwealth, then so dangerously impugned. These reasons drawn from the common good and the truth it self, much moved the General; but the Kings pleasure was to be preferred before all reasons or dangers that could be alleged. But hearing afterwards, what resolute command the Venetian Senate had sent unto their Admiral, he

became exceeding careful; for he feared left if the Admiral should without his help fight the Batel and gain the Victory, he would convert all the glory thereof unto himself; but if he should chance to be overthrow, he would turn to his utter reproach and perpetual infamy; that in necessary a time he had withdrawn himself from the common cause. Wherefore as a Man perplexed, and in doubt what to do, he stood for a while as one at his wits end; yet at last, he upon deliberation resolved to take a middle Course, and so neither without the command of the King (by whose presence and order all was to be done) to depart with the Fleet from *Misina*; neither altogether to frustrate the Confederates of the expected aid. And to that purpose sent two and twenty Gallies under the conduct of one *Lilly* of *Andrada* (a noble Gentleman, to the Venetian Admiral at *Coryca*; with whom went also *Calumninus* with the Popes Fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Pio Boncompagni*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his stead; who upon the same conditions with his predecessor, had entered into the League, and liking very well of *Calumninus*, kept him still for his Admiral.

Long had *Falscarinus* expected the coming of the Confederates, and albeit that the year was far spent (*August* being then come) and no such aid sent as he had expected; yet desiring to do something worth the remembrance, and beseeching their honour, he earnestly perswaded *Calumninus* and *Lilly* to set forward with him toward the East, and with their united Forces to give the Enemy Batel; telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they should go not only to the glory of the present Batel, but to the great honour and advancement of the whole Christian Commonwealth. After that, he extenuated the power of the Enemy; saying, That he could not but marvel, from whence such a number of Gallies was reported, could so suddenly come to the East, or whereunto so great confidence and boldness was grown upon them, so lately overthrow and put to flight; The Enemies Fleet (he said) was the year before overcome and dispersed, the Captains and Mariners slain; and that therefore it was not credible, that so many Gallies could with such celerity be built, and such a number of Mariners and Masters as was needful, in so short time provided; that the provision of the Enemy was by flying Fame made far greater than indeed it was; or possibly could be; for why, they might easily guess what the Enemy was able to do, by the Christians themselves, who could not without much ado and great labour build their Fleets, and train up their Mariners and Masters; and that therefore letting Fame file, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadful than they are; he was verily perswaded, that the Enemy was glided to life most unskillful and ignorant as well Mariners, as unskillful Souldiers; who suddenly taken up in the inland Countries, and put into the Gallies, knew not so much as the very names of the Ropes and Tacklings, and other Equipage; and then these Gallies which they had were like enough to be but weak, as of them which were the last year rent and builed, and now again botched up; or in haste built of green Timber, could not be nimble or greatly serviceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, the valiant Men to set forward against the Enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the last years Victory had opened unto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it should so fall out, as good hope there was, they should thereby take from the proud Enemy both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recover his strength at Sea; so that they in the meantime

the French  
Lilly of  
Andrada,  
with 22  
Gallies.

H h h h without

*Don John*  
in whether  
he had  
sent aid  
to the  
Venetians  
or not.

without fear, might at their pleasure take the rich Islands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turks declining Batel, should retire themselves into the Hellespont, then might they with Fire and Sword spoil all the Frontiers of their Dominion on this side the Straits, and open a way unto the Christians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columinus* and *Lilly* perfwaded by the Admiral; neither did they thereunto give their consent, until it was decreed, That they should not in any case joyn Batel with the Enemy, but with their Gallies and Galeaffes first placed in the front of the Batel, in whom consisted the greatest hope of the Victory. So letting forward toward the Enemy, and come to *Commestina*, Letters were brought unto them from *Don John*, certifying them, That he was now by Letters from the King commanded to come towards the East, and to joyn his Forces with the Confederates; but yet that for certain days he could not come, until he were better provided of all things necessary; and that therefore they should in the mean time carefully look unto all things, promising so soon as he possibly could to come unto them. Upon these Letters, *Columinus* and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the coming of the General; yet so far as he had not expressly written any thing concerning their staying, and *Fufcarinus* urged them forwards, on they went, with their Fleet divided into three Bataels.

The number and order of the Christian Fleet.

The whole Fleet consisted of 155 Gallies, six Galeaffes, and twenty tall Ships; in the right Wing was *Superantius*; in the left Wing *Columinus*; and in the middle Batel, *Columinus*, *Fufcarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the Rearward followed *Quirinus*. Before each Batel went two of the Galeaffes full in readiness for present Batel. In this order they came first to *Zacynthus* (commonly called *Zante*) and fo to *Cerigo*; the next day after to *Colepharia* (commonly called *Dragonaria*) over against *Cerigo*. Here *Angelus Sirtius* a valiant Gentleman, General before to discover the Enemy, and what strength he was of, returning unto the Fleet, declared unto the Admiral, That the Turks Fleet, consisting of 160 Gallies, sixty Gallions, and four great Ships, lay about *Malvoesia*, in the entrance of the Bay called *Sinus Argolicus*, upon the Borders of *Peloponnesus*, about fifty miles off from the Christian Fleet. Shortly after, the same Fleet was again discovered making for *Malta*; whereupon the Christians, before resolved to fight wheresoever they should meet the Enemy, forthwith put themselves in order of Batel, and to win their Galeaffes in the front, made with what speed they could toward him. These two Fleets were thought for many respects almost equal; the Enemy was in number more, but inferior in strength. The Christian Fleet by reason of the heaviness of the Galeaffes, made but small way; and the Enemy afraid of the great force of Ordnance the Galeaffes carried, durst not come near them.

The Christian Fleet by reason of the heaviness of the Galeaffes, made but small way; and the Enemy afraid of the great force of Ordnance the Galeaffes carried, durst not come near them.

rather nimble than they, but ours more firm and forward. Look wherein each exceeded the other, therewith they endeavoured to help themselves and annoy the Enemy. The Christians fearing to be circumvented by the multitude of their Enemies, opposed their Ships and Galeaffes before them as a most sure forreile; and the Turk, by how much he had had the worse success the year before, was so much the more careful, to beware how he endangered himself within the reach of the Galeaffes. The Christians desired nothing more than to fight and to come to handy Blows; but the Turk, who thought it sufficient for the present not to be overcome, sometime made away as fast as he could, and by and by stayed again, if happily he might have taken the Gallies separated

The Turk's wary disposition.

from the Galeaffes; never seeming willing to adventure further than reason and discretion would. The Enemy seeing the Christian Fleet coming fill on, and ready to give Batel, first seemed as if he would have done the like, but afterwards turned his Course upon the right hand, and kept aloof along the Coast of *Malta*. At which time the Christians, although they were very desirous to have followed them, yet the Turks, with their nimble Fleet were quickly too far gone for the Christian Fleet to overtake them, especially with their heavy Ships. That day almost spent as it were in the chase of the Enemy, towards the going down of the Sun, the Enemy put into the current of the Sea betwixt *Cerigo* and the Harts Island, in breadth about ten miles, and there dividing their Fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expediting the coming of the Christians, with the Prows of their Gallies turned, as if upon the confidence of the place, which they had filled overthwart, they had purposed nothing more than to fight. Yet both Fleets seemed resolved; the one not to fight without the Galeaffes, and the other not to come near thole not Ships, from whom they had but the year before received so great harm. And although the Enemy, as was afterwards known, purposed nothing less than to fight, but upon great advantage; yet fearing by open fight to dishonour his Lord and Majesty, and by granting as it were of Victory, to encrease the Fame of the Christians, the crafty Pyrat made a great shew of that he least indeed purposed. For pretending a great desire to fight, he indeed deluded the Christians hope; who although the Wind had failed them, yet in hope the Enemy would abide them Batel, with much labour and rowing came to near him, that the great Shot began to file too and fro on both sides; when the matter should have come to be tried by dint of Sword, then plainly appeared what the Enemy had indeed purposed; for still keeping the Prows of his Gallies upon the Christians, he by little and little shrank back; and beside that the shadow of the night began then to approach, he caused all his great Ordnance, charged only with Powder, to be shot off, and so in the thick of the smoke retired upon; colouring his subtil departure also, by certain lights left in their Cook-houses, making them think the whole Fleet had still there stayed. By this means the Turks with great celerity escaped, being also helped in this, that the Christians blinded by the heaviness of the Galeaffes, could not but fair and softly pursue them; for these Galeaffes, as they are Vessels of great service, so are they also heavy and unwieldy, and not fit for chase. The departure of the Enemy at length known, the Christians also unwilling to fight by night, returned to *Cerigo*. Two days after, the Turks stayed in the Bay of *Tenarus* (now called *Metapone*), and the Christians as *Cerigo*; contented in that, that the Enemy was the cause that the Batel was not fought, and reckoning his weary Christians desirous of nothing more than to joyn in Batel with the Enemy, in their former order set forward from *Cerigo*, and falling all the night, were in the break of the day detected from Land by the Turks; whereupon *Ulucalies* by shooting off of certain warning Pieces commanded all his Men to go aboard, and to put themselves in readiness for Batel. And now the Christians were not far off, when as the Turks (left declining of Batel might reprove them of fear) came out of the Haven, with their Fleet divided into three Bataels; whereof the left Wing was extended a great

Ulucalies meaning nothing but to draw the Christians into a close fight, and by granting as it were of victory, to encrease the fame of the Christians.

The Turks' policy.

The Christians' fleet divided into three Bataels.

way into the Sea, the right Wing still keeping near unto the Main, and in the middle Batel was *Ulucalies* himself; who came all on faster than the Tide drove them, staying their Course oftentimes of purpose, to have drawn the Gallies of the Christians from the Galeaffes and Ships. *Ulucalies* seeing his Fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the Galeaffes, commanded both the Wings of his Fleet (having in each of them fourscore Gallies) to fetch a great compass about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloof off from the Galeaffes, and so to assail the Wings of the Christians on the sides or behind; in hope so to have disordered their Batel, and without danger to have drawn the Gallies from the Galeaffes and the other heavy Ships. Which their intent the Christians perceiving, in their Wings turned about their Gallies also, in manner of the new Moon, their main Batel still facing the middle Batel of the Turks. The Wings of the Turks Fleet thus far separated from the middle Batel, seemed to present unto the Christians a great advantage; which *Fufcarinus* (intensive to all the offers of good Fortune) quickly perceiving, and calling unto *Columinus* and *Lilly*, and shewing them the Enemies main Batel at hand, and the Wings gone a great way off, requested and persuaded them, That not staying the heavy Gallies and Galeaffes, but with him upon the suddain assail the Enemies middle Batel, nor delirious of the Wings; not doubting but so to overthrow the Enemies greatest strength there, before the Wings could, now they were so far gone, joyn themselves to the Batel again. What could (as he said) have hapned more wisely, than to have their Batel divided?

So that they might at more advantage fight against every part thereof, now separated, and against all the parts at once. If they had thought themselves not only equal, but too strong for the whole Enemies Fleet united, should they not the better overcome them apart and dispersed? The opportunity, as he said, was but short, and therefore to be forthwith resolved upon. If they would take the present occasion of Victory then offered, and as resolute Men charge their Enemies, little fearing any such thing, they should by their celerity and valour, teach the Turks what the Christian discipline of War and power was able to do; but if they would therein use delay, they should ere long in vain with for the like occasion they had let slip, when as their Batel was again strengthened with the Wings. This the Admirals Speech was of most that heard it joyfully received, and his Counsel well liked; and that with such a general cheerfulness of the Soldiers, as shewed in them no want of courage to have given the Enemy present Batel. But *Columinus* and *Lilly* being of the same mind they had been always, said it were dangerous so to do, for fear of drawing the whole three Bataels of the Enemy at once upon them, against which they should be too weak, without the help of the Galeaffes and heavy Ships; and therefore said flatly, That without those Vessels so much feared of their Enemies, they would not in any case hazard the fortune of a Batel. But whether *Columinus* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they thought, or were so charged by *Don John* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his absence, many doubted. The Wings of the Christians in turning about to confront the Wings of the Enemy, were a little disordered; which the Turks perceiving, and taking the present opportunity, with fifteen of their Gallies were about to have charged the trailing Gallies, which *Superantius* perceiving, to stay their Course, went out coura-

geously against them with four Gallies, and made with them a great fight; in the heat whereof, *Superantius* feeling forty more of the Enemies Gallies coming towards him, and doubting to be enclosed, with all speed sent for relief, which came presently in, namely twenty Gallies, with two of the Galeaffes; which forthwith sent their thundering Shot so thick and furiously amongst their Enemies, that in a little time eighteen of their Gallies were by them all rent and torn; and the Turks therewith dismayed, were glad in such halt to return, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* having at that fight but one of his Gallies shot through, returned again into his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would have been the event of the whole Batel, if the opinion of *Fufcarinus* had prevailed. Both the Fleets falling again into their order, although the Christians could not so fall follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they near them, that oftentimes they changed Bullers, as well with their small Shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many signs gathered, that neither the Turks would abide present Batel, neither the Christians longer delay, if by their Enemies they might. The Christians had agreed (as is before said) not to joyn in Batel without their Galeaffes and tall Ships; which *Ulucalies* well understood, both by his suggestion and his own Effays, as also by their manner of falling. And he himself, although he had no great desire to fight, yet to be the better able to frustrate the endeavors of the Christians (who with great labour drew with them the Galeaffes and other heavy Ships) sent his chargeable great Ships to *Malvoesia*, there to be unrigged; whereby he discharged himself of a great burthen, and made himself able at his own choice and pleasure, to leave or take, to fight or not, and to use such Soldiers and other necessities as were in the same great Ships, supplied the wants of his whole Fleet. By which policy the matter was brought to that pass, that if the Christians would needs draw the Enemy to Batel, they must of necessity forsake their Galeaffes, their most assured strength; or if they would not leave them; then they could not by any means enforce the ready Enemy to fight. The day now declining, the Enemy supposing himself to have done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Christians, and encouraging of his own People, in feemly order, as one not afraid, failed with his Fleet to *Corona*. The Christians in like manner retiring themselves to *Cerigo*.

Whilst things thus went, *Don John* by a Frigate sent of purpose, gave knowledge to the Fleet, that he was come to *Cerigo*, sharply blaming the great Commander for their departure, and that they staid not for his coming; and further commanded them as their General, all other things thence apart, forthwith to meet him at *Zacynthus*, there to resolve of all matters. *Columinus* wholly devoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the favour of *Don John* before the rest, hearing his Message, was in such halt to have returned, that he would have perfwaded *Fufcarinus* to have left the heavy Vessels and other weak Gallies at *Cerigo*, and with 100 of the best Gallies with all speed to have returned to the General. Of which opinion was also *Lilly*. But *Fufcarinus* more careful than the rest, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yield to that perfwasion; for that in so doing, they should (as he said) leave the Ships and Galeaffes, the chief part of their strength, in danger to be spoiled by the Enemy; whom they now kept at a Bay without the help of their General; and should, as he well hoped,

John Don sent of purpose, gave knowledge to the Fleet, that he was come to Cerigo, sharply blaming the great Commander for their departure, and that they staid not for his coming; and further commanded them as their General, all other things thence apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to resolve of all matters.

by often provoking of him, at one time or other draw him to batell, and have over him a notable Victory. And therefore requested them for the love of God, and the Zeal they bare unto the Common-good of all Christendom, not to depart farther off, nor to suffer the Enemy to escape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leave the Islands of the Venetians subject to the fury of the Enemy; whereas the General might at his pleasure and without danger come unto them, they lying betwixt the Enemy and him. But *Columinus* and *Lilly* resolutely let down, hap what hap should, to do what *Don John* had commanded, would not listen to the reasonable persuasions of the Venetian Admiral, but told him flatly. That if he would not in that they had said yield unto them, and with their Gallies presently return to *Zacynthus*, as the General had commanded. Whilst they were yet thus discouraging, news was brought, that the Enemy was come with his Fleet into the Fret of *Cerigo*; which caused them with all one consent to resolve in such order to pass by the Enemy, as if they should have given him present Battell; whereas before, they were deterred by the persuasion of *Euforinus* to have gone to *Cressy*, and there leaving the Ships and Galeaffes in safety, to have afterwards returned to the General. In such order the Christians passed by the Enemies Fleet, which lay still in the Fret of the Sea without moving, standing as it were rather upon the guard of themselves, than resolved for Battell. In three days failing they came to *Zacynthus*, where they found not *Don John*, but two of his Gallies, and commandment, that they should leave their heavy Ships, and with their Gallies come to *Cephalonia*, where they should not fail to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieved, and muttered through the whole Fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themselves upon their Wealth, were too proud, and in comparison of themselves, regarded neither the conditions of the League, neither any other Mans credit, but trod all Men under foot; and would now use the Venetians, nor as their Friends and Confederates, but as their Slaves and Vassals, feeding them in the mean time but with vain hope. Yet forasmuch as the time and necessity required, they were content to be overruled; and so leaving the Ships and Galeaffes at *Zacynthus*, went with the rest of the Fleet to *Cephalonia*; whether *Don John* was not yet come, but had sent word thither, That if they had any desire to joyne their Forces with his, they should yet come further back unto him in *Corse*. This Message (which they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians; who reader to suspect every mischief, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complain, That the Spaniards could very well tell the Venetians what they had to do, and forget in the mean time, what was on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to say, and yet to be said, that now they had more to do with those their daily-lying Friends and Confederates, than with their Enemies; for with their Enemies they were to fight but in time of Battell, but with them they were to wrestle at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they said) drawn from the fight of their Enemies, when as they might have been overthrowen; nor to the intent that with their united Forces they might more easily fight against them, or under the conduct of *Don John* gain the Victory; but rather lest any thing should have been done which might be to the honour or profit of the Venetians, and that time which was to have been bestowed in the managing

of the War, spent in lingring and delaying, and vain going forward and backward to no purpose. One only way there was (as they said) to have dispatched with the Turk, which was, by bringing him in another notable Battell, and so to have utterly broken his strength at Sea; which Courfe the Confederates made no less difficult by their backwardness and delays, than the Enemy by declining of Battell; That they had long ago by many secret signs probably conjectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder and cross other Mens doings, than to do any thing of themselves: That their endeavours were to illustrate those great hopes which promised unto the Christian Common-wealth, the greatest Felicity and Happines, together with immortal Glory; and, That the Turks of late discouraged with the fortunate proceedings of the Christians, might again rejoice at their mishaps.

The Venetians, notwithstanding all these their murmuring Speeches, loath to fall off from the Spaniard, kept still on with the rest until they came to *Don John* at *Cerigo*, who then lay with 7 Gallies, and 18 Ships at *Splia*, in the uttermost end of the Island. At their first meeting, *Don John* shewed himself not a little offended, that they had not with more duty before attended his coming; and they again not a little complained of his long lay, with many other of their grievances, which were tedious here to rehearse. The Fleet now all with much ado at length met together, which consisted of two hundred Gallies, nine Galeaffes, and thirty six tall Ships; It was by general consent agreed, That they should again let forward toward the Enemy. They were not yet under Sall, when two of their Epiahs brought them news, that the Enemies Fleet (weakly furnished both of Mariners and of Soldiers) was come to *Nauparium*; which filled them all with good hope, that the Turks Fleet so evil provided, might in that place upon the suddain be easily oppressed, and the rather, if they came upon them unexpected. Wherefore, because they would not be defied, they kept not their Courfe on right forth, but failing by night, kept aloof upon the right hand; and having passed *Zacynthus*, came with great silence unto the *Strypades*, where they lay at Anchor all that day. In the evening they loosed thence, so calling their Courfe, that the more to terrifie the Enemy, they might before day fall upon him; and be seen in the mouth of the Haven where he lay, before there could be any report made of their coming thither. But this Courfe so well for, the time was so evil cast, that it was fair day long before they could come to the appointed place; where the Turks out of their watch Towers discovered a far off the coming of the Christian Fleet, gave warning thereof unto their Fellows; whereupon an Alarm was presently raised in the Town, and all Men in Arms ran headlong to the Walls and to the Haven. But the Turks out of hope with their evil rigged Fleet to be able to withstand the Christians, and not daring to try that weak Harbor, and all now in a great hurly burly, ran confused hand over head, Soules and Mariners aboard; and whilst they had yet time, got them in half out of that Harbor, and as they chased by their Enemies, got them into safe Harbor at *Modon*, a strong Town of *Peloponnesus*, about six miles off. *Columinus* was sent before the rest of the Fleet to have purified them; but they were got so far before him, that they had recovered the Harbor before he could overtake any of them.

The Christian Fleet coming before the Harbor, and leaving a space as it were of purpose for the Enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the

The Christian Fleet altogether at *Cerigo*, as they lay forward against the Enemy.

The disposition of the Bay of *Modon*.

the Town, during the Turks Battell. But when they had so lien almost all that day, and no Man durst come out; and now towards the evening certain signs of Tempest appeared, the Christians fearing to be by force of Weather driven on ground, put farther off again to Sea. Then at length *Euforinus* sent out certain light Gallies to follow in the tail of the Fleet, when the Confederates suddainly laying their Courfe, and turning their Prows upon them, drove them headlong again into the Harbor; and afterwards retired themselves with the whole Fleet into the Islands *Omus*, now called *Sapientia*, right opposite against *Modon*. The next day wanting fresh Water, they removed unto the Bay of *Adiffia*, thence they were to pass to the River *Pamissus*, where they allere into the Sea; where in passing by *Carme*, they were oftentimes shot at out of the Town; and landing their Men to Horsemen, sent for that purpose by *Uluzalen*. There was Water daily bought with the Lives of many there slain on both sides; in the end, the Christians prevailing, watered, and so again returned unto the *Omus* from whence they came.

*Metakhe* or *Modon* (for it is by both Names known) standeth almost in an Island stretching far into the Sea, where towards the West runneth out a long point of the Land a great way into the Sea; in the uttermost part thereof, standeth a great round Tower. The Town it self, is on the one side enclosed with the Sea, and toward the Land so strongly fortified, as that it seemeth almost impregnable: Towards the South cometh in a fair Bay about three miles wide, safe from all Winds except the Northerly Wind only; and shut up by a little Island in the mouth of the Bay, maketh a safe and quiet Harbor, with two entrances thereunto on either side of the Island. Within this Bay lay the Turks Fleet, with the Sterns of their Gallies toward the Land, and their Prows towards the Sea. At the Southerly coming in of the Bay standeth an Hill, which the Inhabitants call *Adon*. On the top whereof, the Enemy had placed six great Pieces of Ordnance, wherewith to keep the Christians from entering that way. So had they also upon the point of the Main, which (as we said) runneth out from the Town, and upon *St. Bernardi* Rock, planted other great Pieces of Ordnance to defend that passage also. The Christians coming unto the mouth of the Bay, there lay with their Fleet divided into four parts, but yet doubtful what to do; for beside that the entrances of the Bay were but narrow, they were also far more dangerous to be entered, by reason of the great Ordnance planted upon them. Nevertheless, the Venetian Admiral in hope of good success, and loath to let the fearful Enemy so to escape out of their hands, would fain have persuaded the General with his whole Fleet to have entered the Bay; and that in the Harbor to have oppressed the Enemy; which he shewed to be no hard matter to do, for that the Enemy was too weak in strength, and could not be from Land relieved. In which doing, they should indeed overthrow but one Fleet; but in the overthrowing of that one, cut in sunder all the Sinews of the Turkish Empire by Sea; and raising a Tumult in the Bay, and filling all with a general fear, should undoubtedly be the first open step the Enemy to flight: Which these, who should be, but they carrying about with them the terror of the Victory, they should with their victorious Fleet, take from the Turk all the Islands of the *Argens*? That truly and wisely it was said of *Thomaspollus*, That whoever had the command of the Sea, must needs also prevail in the rest, and at length carry away the Victory by Land also. It was (as he said) the

part of good Chieftains, not to be wanting unto themselves when occasion was offered; besides that, they were the fame Turks, whom they had but the year before vanquished; and what had that one year either taken from them, or given unto the Turks? Or what should they fear if Pieces of Ordnance mounted upon a Hill, who if they should undertake the Battell, were not to fear the great store of Ordnance in 260 of the Enemies Gallies and Gallions? I my self (said he) will be the Guide and Leader, in whatsoever shall seem most difficult and dangerous; and will in person my self be the first that shall enter the Harbor, and adventure the first danger. Great Victories (the said) were not to be gained but with great adventures; and that therefore the matter were to be halted, before more aid should be sent unto the Turks. Wherefore they should be resolute Men attempt that, the Turks thought the Christians durst not to have attempted; and with the same courage break into the Bay, wherewith they had but the year before broken the strength of the same Enemy; and by the power of God, carry away another notable triumph of the vanquished Turks; who overcome in a second Battell at Sea, must needs depart with all their maritime Territories. With evil liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admiral heard; and *Don John* the General, deeming both the time and place unfit for the attempting of so great an exploit; re-ferried on the one side, the strength of the Enemy, the disadvantage of the place, the difficulty of the Battell, with the manifold and great attempts received by the overthrow and rash attempts of their Enemies: That the Enemies strength was not to be so much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reason; and that many in seeking to encrease their former glory, had in so doing overthrowen the fame: That the Christians in entering and adventuring the Harbor, should on the one side be beaten with the Artillery from the Hill; and on the other, with the Artillery out of the Castle of *Modon*; and that it was not like that *Uluzalen* should if need were, lack aid from Land, who but the other day had sent great Troops of Horsemen to have kept the Christians from watering; That a matter of so great importance, was (by *Euforinus* his leave) not rashly to be taken in hand upon an heat and haughtiness of Stomack, but upon a grave and mature deliberation; for if they should in a place of so great disadvantage, hazard the fortune of a general Battell, it should seem that either he knew not that kind of fight, and force of the Enemy, or else would make the Bay of *Modon* more famous by the overthrow of the Christians, than was the *Curzulari* by the slaughter of the Turks. Then what a shame would it be, if they which were about to oppress the Enemies Fleet, should themselves be overthrowen; and that in their own device? He had rather (as he said) preserve his own Fleet, than to take 600 of the Enemies Gallies; and to account the fame for a greater honour. Which he determined not, for that he would not have any thing done; but that unripe occasions should not be too much hastned, and as it were thrust headlong forward; whereas time would give opportunity for the overthrow of the Turks Fleet; so that they ran not blindly on headlong; and that in future time, the Venetians would be joyous that they had so moderated their desires.

The Christians (the said) had sufficiently prevailed, if those things should fall out well, which were warily and advisedly considered and resolved upon.

The matter thus on both sides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the Fleet into the Port of *Nauparium*. This proceeding, as it diversly moved

*Don John* stands for the Fleet, as the Capitaine, who is a faithful to meet him.

*Don John* commands the Fleet, as a faithful to meet him.

moved the Spaniards and the Venetians, so brought it forth divers Speeches, every Man speaking in favour of his own Nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That he had most providently resolved, for that how dear the Council of the Venetian Admiral would have cost if it had been followed, the thing it self (as he said) shewed, by the extreme danger thereof preferred, not in the doubtful opinion of Men, but laid open before their Eyes. The Venetians on the other side more desirous of Batrel, the nearer they had seen the opportunity to have revealed, and the Enemy more impatiently they endured, so assured a Victory to have been let slip out of their hands; and thereof spake accordingly.

The Castle of Modon was besieged by the Christians.

The Christians lying at *Navarinum*, consulted of many things what they were best to take in hand; and resolving at last, by Sea and Land to besiege the Castle of *Modon*, which kept the passage into the Bay, and defended the Turkish Fleet; they returned again to their land, and landed 7000 of their best Souldiers, to besiege the Castle. And at the same time, appointed the Gallies with certain Gallies to batter it also from Sea; which the more commodiously to do, they joyned two of their greatest Gallies together side to side, which they made fast with Masts and strong Ropes, and so boarded them clean over, whereon as on a Platform, they placed their Gabions all afront, filled with Earth, and great Ordnance likewise, to have battered the Castle. But when this Engine (in manner of a floating Fort) should have performed the service for which it was devised, it proved unserviceable, after it had with much ado been brought thither, being ready to sink with the weight of the great Ordnance and other things wherewith it was overcharged. For which cause, and for that they understood a great number of Horsemen to be come into the Town, they gave over the Siege vainly begun, and put again with their Fleet to Sea. It returned at the same time, that a tall Ship of *Venice* departing from *Zacynthus*, and coming along the Coast of *Peloponnesus* with provision for the Fleet, was descried by the Enemy; who thinking to do the Christians a great dishonour, if they could almost in the sight of their Fleet surprishe her, they sent out certain light Gallies to have taken her; *Ulucaire* in the mean time with the rest of his Fleet, lying in the very mouth of the Bay, ready to come out, if the Christian Fleet should once stir to relieve her. Which the Christians perceiving, and well hoping that if the Enemy would be drawn to batel, fell out *Columinus* with his Gallies to rescue the Ships; and others also which lying aloft, might get in betwixt the Turks Gallies and the Bay: *Don John* and the Venetian Admiral, lying ready to have given Batel, if *Ulucaire* should have come forth; but the Christians coming on with a small Gale, the Enemy being afraid, by shooting off of certain warning Pieces within the Bay, in time called back the Gallies that were already gon out of the Bay; who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the Nephew of *Barbarossa*, a most famous Captain amongst the Turks, who as one of great courage, and desirous of honour, staid a little without the Bay, with greater courage than discretion, expecting who should assail him. Him the Marquis *St. Cruce* set upon, and had with him a great and terrible fight; but in the end the Marquis prevailing, slew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honour carried away the Gally. So the dishonour which *Ulucaire* would have done the Christians, fell upon himself, having in his own fight lost one of his best Captains with his Gally.

Mahomet slain.

The next day, because the year should not pass without something done, nor the hope of so great

a preparation come to nothing, the Christians determined to besiege the Castle of *Navarinum* (which was in ancient time called *Pylus*) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the native place of old *Negus*. The City of *Navarinum* standeth upon a rising ground, stretching fowmeth into the Sea; whereinto it hath a large prospect, and a fair large Haven, but subject to the North-wind. It is defended with a point of the Main, running with a compass into the Sea, whereon standeth an old Castle. Some fent before to view the situation of the place, brought word back, that the Castle might in three days be won. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander of Parma*, Prince of *Parma*, whom the Venetians furnished with Munition and Victual. He landing with 2000 Italians, 1000 Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelve great Pieces to batter the Castle. And albeit that the Battery was planned so far off, as that it did the Enemy no great harm; yet happily the enterprise had taken effect, if by taking the straight and troublesome passages through a rough and thick Forest, the City had been kept from relief; but forasmuch as those passages were left free, the Enemy cunningly opposed policy against force, for falling out of the City, they gave the Christians an hot skirmish; and in the mean time whilst the Christians were so busied, by a Port toward the Forest on the other side of the City, received in great number both of Horse and Foot. The report of this new come aid caused the Prince to raise his Siege, and to go again aboard. And now rested all the hope of the gaining of the Town in the strength of the Fleet; and that not small, for that the Turks not relieved with Victuals by Land, were by the Confederates kept from them also by Sea; for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great mischiefs, the Plague, and Famine. For no provision had there been made, as it is thing not to be feared; and that little being spent that was in the Town, they were enforced to seek for Victuals further off, which coming but sparingly, as in time of Dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the Souldiers that lay about in the Country Villages, wanting Victuals no less than they in the City. And the more Men the *Boglerberg* of *Grace* brought down for defence of the Sea Town, so much the more the wanes of all things daily increased: So that the Men died of want, but that in short time all would be brought to extreme penury. What a death the Mortality had made, the want of Men in their Gallies well declared; for many of the Gallies for lack of Mariners and Souldiers were sent away into *Euboea*, or left at *Malvasia*, or carried away to *Constantinople*. Those who staid in the Bay of *Modon*, were scarce 100 Gallies, and 40 Gallies; and they so slenderly manned, that the greatest Gallies had scarcely an hundred and twenty Men left in them, and they so meager and lack of victuals, that the Gallies scarcely hold up their Weapons. The Christians understanding of these things, were in good hope, that by continuing the Siege, they should without danger gain a notable Victory; for which cause *Fulcarinus* perswaded the Spaniards (of whose confidence he doubted) to hold it out, as Men of resolution; shewing them, that in the event of this action rested for them for ever to be feared or contemned of the Turks; who except they should be changed into Fishes or into Birds, could (as he said) without a notable overthrow escape their hands out of the Bay. But unto this his hope and counsel, the event was not correspondent; for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediousness of the Siege, or for want of Victuals, or for the approach of Winter, or else moved with

The Prince of Parma was slain by the Spaniards.

The weakness of the Turkish Fleet.

some other reason, began to think of the matter diversly; and at the first a report was raised, That the Christians giving over the Siege, would shortly return home; and the reason was, for that they wanted Bisket, and had scarcely Victuals left for fifteen days, which was to be referred for their long journey home: besides that, The approach of Winter did call them from the action; and that having done what they might, they could never draw the Enemy forth to batel; and that therefore having sufficiently and as far as was possible already discharged their duties, they were now able to regard their safety, and to foresee that their Fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was reposed, were now not too far endangered. At the first these Speeches were divulged by the common Souldiers and Mariners of small credit or reputation; but afterwards by more, and they also Men of better place and fort: Yea *Don John* himself, whether it were to some other purpose, or that he so spake in good earnest, began to lay the fault upon others, why that he, so lately come from *Atyna*, should in so short time want Victuals and all things necessary.

The Venetians marvellously grieved at the Spaniards.

With these unexpected reports, and so far different from the confederation, the Venetian Admiral with the rest of the Venetian Commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieved above measure; for it seemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the most fertile and plentiful Country of *Sicilia*, in all Ages the most fruitful and abundant Granary and Storehouse of *Italy*, both in Peace and War, could so soon want Victuals. He could not therefore but be troubled, and therefore he requested the *Leagu* which ought by the Capitulations of the *Leagu* to have come loaded with Bisket, Victuals, and other warlike and necessary Provision, y become empty? Or but to have brought so much as might but suffice for a month only? If this were done without the knowledge of *Don John*, where was then the care of a General? If he winking therat, where was his zeal to the confederation, or to what purpose came he to *Cyprus*? Was it to avert the Christian Fleet, having once or twice met with the Enemy from doing any good upon him? Could it come into any Mans head (besides that in doing he was therein to extinguish the glory of a most certain Victory, like to work the Turks confusion) by the infamy of a voluntary return to encrease the glory and renown of his Enemy, and bring a perpetual ignominy and disgrace unto the honour of the Christians? Verily the Spaniards, therein to themselves not so willing to have the power of the Turks abated, as the strength of the Venetians not increased.

The Venetian Admiral perceived that the Spaniards in no wise returned from the Enemy.

These things *Fulcarinus* and the Venetians sometimes fretted at amongst themselves; and otherwhiles the Admiral himself expostulated the same with *Don John* and *Columinus*; and in the preference of the greatest Counsellors shewed, not only how profitable, but also how necessary performance was in all Marital Affairs; that there was an old and usual matter for Men in befieging of their Enemies, to suffer many difficulties; if they should, having perfected nothing, return with the Fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was again the next year to be renewed? And what could this delay be else, but a propagation of their further calamities? That therefore it much concerned the Christian Common-wealth, although they had not all things in abundance, yet resolutely and with patience to endure the scarcity of Victuals. If want of Bisket were feared, the General might easily remedy that matter, by speedily sending for those Ships which lay laden with Victuals and good store at *Tarentum*; which thing might in short time be performed. In the mean time he pro-

posed to supply the Spaniards wants with part of his own store; and that he had rather his Men should live with Roots, than to let the Enemies Fleet come up, so to escape his hands: That the desire to protect the honour of the Christians, would overcome all difficulties. Beside that, the matter would be but short, if it were done at once, in one continued Course; if they went undoubtedly by them performed, if they gave not over the thing they had so well begun, until they had accomplished it. They (as he said) might in good safety lie with their Fleet in the Ports of *Navarinum*, *Spartia*, and *Capraria*; whereas the Enemy, lying flux up in the Bay of *Modon*, should have but a bad and dangerous Winter Harbour; and *October* being now begun, should in short time be in danger to perish with blustering Storms and rage of the Sea, familiar unto that time of the year; or else enforced with the extremity of the Weather, and with want, to adventure into the open Sea, and with their weak Forces to joyn Batel. What should therefore let, why they should not for 10 or 15 days continue the Siege, as best befitted the honour of themselves, the valour of their Souldiers, and worthiness of the Christian Name? What a terror it would be unto the Enemy, to see the Christians ready to endure all extremities and wants, to gain the Victory over the Turks? Again, what dishonour and discredit would it be unto themselves, if they should suffer the Enemy (shut up and not daring to fight) to escape; especially, when as they might fittingly end the War? The Senate of *Venice*, he said, most rested upon the valour and courage of *Don John*, and therefore he requested him not to deceive the great hope they had of him conceived; for how much should he himself blemish his own honour, if when he had before relieved the afflicted state of the Common-wealth, he should now, when it was most of all to be helped, forsake the same? Which should not be much unlike, as if a Man should with great labour purchase great store of precious Pearls, and upon an humorous passion cast them all into the Sea: That Men generally hold a great opinion of him the General, an honourable remembrance of his Victory, and regard of his Valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honourable should they be, by the second vanquishing and subduing the most mighty Monarch of the World; and that if the action well begun, should be effectually prosecuted by the goodness of God, the direction of the Commanders, and the resolution of the Souldiers, in short time the Christians should carry the Victory from the Turks, and make him their General, equal not only with the great Champions of the present time, but even with the most famous Commanders of all former Ages. Whereunto *Don John* replied, That the action then in hand no less concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians; and that he had in his life desired nothing more, than to stand the Christian Common-wealth in stead: That he pointed at the same mark with *Fulcarinus*, and in zeal to do good unto the Christian Common-wealth, gave place to no Man; but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to say it; lesser things (he said) were to be overpassed, to reserve themselves for the performance of greater; and therefore marvelled that *Fulcarinus* alone could not see things most manifest before his eyes, who otherwise could with his piercing wit see through the deepest matters; could he think by any other means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their Fleet whole? that it were ever the manner of the greatest and most worthy Commanders, rather to flum the present dangers, than to encrease their Territories.

Don John replied upon the Venetian side.



That nothing was so well purposed, which might not be of some wrongfully suspected; but his faithful meaning to be pure and without spot; and albeit that the opportunity served not for him to shew it; yet was his desire and endeavour nothing less: And that *Fulcrinus* should do well more intensively to consider, what the cause, the matter, and the time required: That the manner of War at Land and at Sea, were much different, and that although Wars of both forts were to give place unto the most unseasonable time of the year, unfit for any kind of War; yet might Men at Land, better endure the Winter Storms in their Tents and Cabins, than at Sea in their Gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wisdom, nor valour help not; but that (except it be so provided and foreseen, that the seasonable time of the year, and commodious for sailing, may be taken) all must together perish by Shipwreck. What, would he have them to arrive above their power with the Winter Storms, and Famine, the greatest extremities of nature? Besides that, he was verily perwaded, that the Turks enjoying the commodities of a good Harbor, and of a rich City, would therein safely Winter; the Country of *Peloponnesus* relieving them with all necessities; when as the Christians in the mean time, except they in time returned home, should lie exposed to the rage of the Sea, standing as it were in a continual Watch, not having away their Weapons in the depth of Winter and dead time of the year, which in reason ought to give rest to all Men. And that therefore every Man ought for the present to bear his own grievances, and not by the harms of his Friends and Confederates, to seek his own avail. And that he bearing himself upon the inward integrity of his good will toward the Venetians, would this day, howsoever *Fulcrinus* should undertake, that if the Kings Fleet should by long staying there, it should not be less concern the Venetians, than the King himself; and taking God to witness, would solemnly promise, Nothing to be unto him more leifer or religious, than to be preft so soon as the time of the year would give leave, and by his endeavour to make all Men to know, that he had no less care of the Venetian State, than of the Kings Affairs: neither desired any thing more, than to be accounted, and indeed to be a most constant upholder of that most Christian League; and that beyond all expectation, even in the judgment of the Venetians themselves; but for the present they must pardon him, if he gave place unto the necessity of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their Vittuals, that would not be any help, but the destruction of both the Fleets; for so they should both sooner feel the want; wherefore it were much better to preserve the Fleet, which they might use in the next years Wars, than willfully to cast away the same by Famine, and the rage of the Sea. In brief, what an indignity should the Christians sustain, if they themselves should by the same means be overthrown, whereby they had thought to have overthrown others?

Now the Spaniards were so resolutely set down for their departure, that not only without the consent of the Venetians, but even without their pri- vacy, their departure was resolved upon, and secret commandment given unto the Masters of the Gallies, with all the haste that might be, to depart thence to *Messina*. Which the Venetian Admiral understanding, and therewith troubled as with an unexpected matter, came aboard the General, and greatly complained of his purpose for to fuddain a departure, requesting him a while to stay, until the two Gallies made fast together in the Harbour of *Naxos* (as is before said) with the Ordnance

upon them, might be put in good safety, and neither they, or any thing else left for a prey unto the Enemy. With much ado, *Fulcrinus* perwaded him to stay that night, that those Gallies might be brought out of the Harbour, and all things put in order for their departure. The rest of the night was spent in debating of the matter too and fro; where *Don John* would needs have it conceived into a publick Instrument in writing, that the Fleet by the general consent of the three Admirals returned for lack of Vittuals; whereunto the Venetian Admiral hardly consented. But when the Instrument should have been made and confirmed, *Don John* better advised by one of his Secretaries, That the same would redound unto the great dishonour both of the King and himself, that the Fleet coming out of the fruitful Country of *Sicilia*, should in a months space have Vittuals, changed his mind for the writing, and only requested the Venetian Admiral to credit him and *Columinus*, in that they had said concerning the want of Vittuals; promising him, that if upon the way he should meet with the Vittuals that were sent for, he would forthwith return and give him aid, as the time and occurrences should require; but in the mean time to proceed by common consent, to do that which was most needful. Hereupon they returned; and coming to *Coryra*, they met the expected Ship laden with Vittuals. Now is not *Fulcrinus* unmindful of his duty, but coming to *Don John*, put him in remembrance of his promise; telling him, That it was not unlike, but that the Enemy so soon as he understood of their departure, would come out of the Bay, and return with his Fleet towards *Constantinople*; and being but weak manned, and worse furnished of Mannes, might easily be overtaken upon the way and overcome. But *Don John* was not by any means to be thereunto perwaded, pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great matters to have been this year done, came to nought, but vanished into smoke; and nothing performed worth to long a discourse, more than to see with what difficulty great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their own Honour, or envying at others, corrupt with delays the fairest opportunities, and by their cross dealing, no less than the Enemy, hinder the common good, whereas they would all faintest seem to aym. From *Coryra* *Don John* departed to *Messina*, and *Columinus* unto *Rome*. *Fulcrinus* with greater honour than success returned to *Venice*, where he was with great joy received; both of the Senate and the Citizens in general; and so (no less famous for his patience and moderation towards the other Confederates, than for his policy and valour) with the good liking of all Men gave up his charge, in few years after to receive a greater.

About this time, *Amida* King of *Tunes* (of whom *Amida* the much is before spoken in the Life of *Sulymán*) being but a little before driven out of his Kingdom by the Turks (who had of long by little and little encroached upon him) and as a private Man lived in Exile with his two Sons at *Gulesta* with *Franciscus* *Towars* Governor, thereupon hearing of the great overthrow of the Turks at *Lepanto*, and of the good success of the Christians, sent Embassadors to *Don John* General of the Confederate Princes, then lying in *Sicilia*, humbly requesting his aid for the recovery of his Kingdom promising to defray the whole charges of the War, and for ever to hold his Kingdom of the King of *Spain*, as his Vassal and Tributary. Which his request well considered of, and the matter of no small consequence for the safety of the Christian Countries lying over against that part of *Affrick*, to have

so dangerous an Enemy removed; *Don John* the year following (the beginning of October) by the commandment of the King of *Spain* his Brother, departing from *Drepanum* in *Sicilia*, with an hundred and five Gallies and forty Ships, arrived the next day about noon at *Gulesta*, where the Gallies of *Malta* came unto him, and shortly after *John Andreas* *Amira* the Admiral with nineteen more, and *Columinus* the Popes Admiral with fourteen more, all well appointed. At his arrival at *Gulesta*, he understood by *Amida* and the Governor, the whole estate both of the City and of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; and that the Turks and Moors, terrified with so great a Fleet, were about to forsake the City. Wherefore having well viewed the place; he the next day after landed his Forces about four miles from the City, and sent two thousand five hundred Footmen before the rest of the Army to the City; who found it all desolate, the Turks and Moors being before for fear fled, some to *Caryra*, some to *Bijerta*; when entering without resistance, came to the Castle, wherein they found two hundred Moors, who said they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no means suffer the Christians to enter. All which was forthwith made known to *Don John*, who then because it was almost night, would not move, but early the next morning set forward with his whole Army; and entering the City, before abandoned by the Turks and Moors, and to coming to the Castle, found nothing therein but great store of Oil, Butter, and Wool.

*Amida* the late King, by the commandment of *Don John* all this while staid at *Gulesta*. But whilst *Don John* was yet at *Tunes*, news was brought to him the thirteenth of October, That the Turks Garrison before fled out of *Tunes*, with divers Moors coming to *Bijerta*, where they kept out by the Citizens. *Amida* therefore to recover for which cause they began to burn and faze the Country thereabout. Whereupon the General first *Towars* the Captain of *Gulesta* thither with part of the Army; who encountering with those Turks overthrew them, and had the City by the Citizens peaceably delivered unto him.

The Kingdom of *Tunes* thus easily once again recovered from the Turks, *Don John* thoroughly informed of the faithless and cruel dealing of *Amida* the late King, and that in desertion of the Christians and their Religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and procured the death of some of the Christians; gave this definitive sentence upon him, being yet in the Castle of *Gulesta*: That forasmuch as he had of long time been the author of great discord and endless troubles in that Kingdom, and had most unaturally deprived *Mulaffa* his Father, the rightful Heir of the Kingdom, of his figure; and in like manner tyrannically over his natural Brethren, and the faithful Heirs of that Kingdom, whereby the Turks had taken occasion both to invade and possess the same; he should therefore by the commandment of the King of *Spain* be carried Prisoner with his two Sons into *Sicilia*, there to remain for ever. Which heavy doom he taking most grievously, and yet crying out for mercy, was forthwith thrust into a Gally; and with his Wife and Children transported into *Sicilia*, there to live in perpetual Exile; The just reward of his merciles and unnatural dealing with his Father and Brethren; God no doubt requiring him with the like measure he had before measured unto them.

After that (the King of *Spain* so commanding) *Malcomus*, *Amida* his elder Brother, and right Heir of that Kingdom, was appointed King in his place; who departing from *Gulesta* to *Tunes*, was received as King, and there by solemn Oath pro-

mised for ever to be the King of *Spain* his Vassal, and to do whatsoever he should command.

There was before departed out of *Tunes* forty thousand Moors, who now came and offered their supplication to *Don John*, that they might again return and live with their new King; which their request being easily granted, they in great numbers every day returned into the City. Shortly after 1500 Turks, with 3000 of those wild People which some call Arabians, some Alabares, were troubled all the passages about the City; who were at last by the Christians overthrown, and 50 Christians whom they had taken Prisoners, rescued. After that, *Don John* by the advice of his most expert and skilful Captains, commanded a strong Castle to be built in the middle way betwixt *Gulesta* and *Tunes*; and for the performing thereof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with 2000 Italians; and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other 2000 at *Gulesta*. And so having performed that he came for, and disposed of all things as he thought best, returned again into *Sicilia*.

A grief of griefs it is, and sorrow almost unconfable, when worthy actions most happily begun, fort not to such happy end as was in reason hoped for. The greatest and most famous Victory of all Ages gained against the Turk, seemed to have lightened the Christian Common-wealth, and great hope there was, that the Christians falling into unity amongst themselves, would by an happy exchange make the Turkish Empire the Seat of their Wars, and to turn into the Turks Dominions, the terror, slaughter, and other calamities of War, which had for many year afflicted the Christian Common-wealth. But by how much the more joy was amidst such daily calamities and tears, so much greater was the sorrow, so great an hope to be come to nought, and Men to be so blinded with the darkness of envy and disdain, that they could not so much as think, with what dishonour and danger of the Common-estate, they should shrink from to just, so honourable, and so needful a service, including in it self the general good of all Christendom. When poverty shall consider what things might then have been done, and the devices whereby the common cause was overthrown; it will worthily blame and greatly lament to notable a Victory and fit opportunity, sent as it were from Heaven for the effecting of great matters, to have been let slip and passed over so lightly regarded. This hope in Arms, had now before had reposed all the minds of those Christians in concluding of Peace. Truly the Venetians both spoke and thought honourably of King *Philip*, as of a most faithful, just, devout, and honourable Prince; yet greatly blaming his Officers and others of great authority about him, as Men more regarding their own private, than the good of the Christian Common-wealth. In these perplexities of the Venetians, King *Philip* promised them to set forth a greater and stronger Fleet against the next year, and to be sooner in readiness with all his Forces and warlike Provision, and so to help them in all he might. Who for all that gave small credit unto those promises, for that with the like they had been oftentimes before deceived. And therefore as trusting most unto their own strength, they with all carelessness and expedition entertained more Souldiers; of whom some they put into their Fleet, the rest they placed in their Garrisons in *Crete*, in *Dalmatia*, and their frontier Towns in *Epirus*. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that War with greater fame than strength; for they had of purpose given it out, That they would the next Spring with divers Armies invade the

The Venetians weary of the dilatory and cross dealing of the Spaniards to set out the Peace.



Venetian Territories in *Crete*, in *Dalmatia*, in *Epirus*, yea and in *Italy* it self; and with their incredible multitude both of Horse and Foot overwhelmed the Venetians, that they should not be able possibly to hold out. This and more too they bravely vaunted of; but indeed *Ulcasses* coming to *Constantinople*, had brought his Fleet to shaken and so weak, as that it seemed not possible but in long time to be again repaired, and furnished with Souldiers and Mariners, in stead of them that had been lost, some in fight, but more by the contagiousness of the Infection. But howsoever the matter stood, the Venetians careful with the expectation of great matters, and in all hope of good success, comparing their own strength with the strength of the Enemy; yet were they no less discouraged with the delays and cross dealing of the Confederates, than with all the provision of the Enemy. It stuck in their minds, how that the Spaniards at such time as *Cyprus* might have been defended, delayed their coming so long, that *Nicopia* being lost, it was time to return; neither could they forget that lingering delay to have been the cause of the great mortality amongst their Men, dying in the Fleet at *Jadera*; They remembered also, that the commodities which of so notable a Victory were most plentifully to have been reaped, were by the slender prosecuting of the same, so sparingly taken, that the former dangers still remained. And that *Don John*, who ought by appointment to have been at *Cyprus* in the beginning of Summer, was scarcely come thither in the later end of *August*; And that he in the third year of this War, at such time as their Fleet was with great labour and charge again repaired, would not, or lifted not to adventure to have again overthrown the Enemies Fleet, but in the very action to have always trifled away the greatest part of Summer, before his Spaniards could be sent forward; and when he might safely have come to *Cerigo*, to have called back *Pulcarinus* and the rest, then facing of the Enemy, and even ready to have given him Battle: It was then secretly suspected, the Spaniards to have staid of purpose, and to have dallied on the time, that the Venetians having spent their Forces, might be the more exposed and subject to their injuries: It stuck fast not in their minds also, but even almost in their eyes, what things had happened of former time, when their Confederations with that Nation; that were grieved in the space of three years an hundred times, twenty hundred thousand Ducats to have been to little or small purpose spent in that War: Besides that, they doubted lest the Flemings with their Confederates should foment the King of *Spain* in defending of his own Territories, as that he should not be at leisure to send any aid into the East; in which case, what hope or help were they to look for? How should they then defend the rest of their Signiory in the East? How should their empty Coffers suffice to maintain so great Armies both by Sea and Land, as might withstand so puissant an Enemy? Long were the discourses, and effectual the persuasions, that the Venetians had amongst themselves, to induce one another, and all in general, more circumspectly to consider, not only what had already passed, or was presently in hand; but also more warily to foresee what would be the course and what the event of a matter so important; and besides to break off the Confederation, which they had always found to have stood them in small stead. In revolving of these things, only one remedy seemed most effectual for the curing of their afflicted State; which was, by desisting from War, to conclude a Peace with the Turk, howsoever: which they were the

rather in good hope to obtain, for that divers Speeches concerning the same had passed at *Constantinople*, and were from thence again reported at *Venice*. All Men thus inclining to peace, the Senate referred the proceeding therein unto *Abd Antimus Barbassu* their Embassador, (who all the time of these Wars had lien in safe custody at *Constantinople*) willing him therein to use the help of the French Embassador, who had always been a perfwader of Peace.

*Selymus* having got the Island of *Cyprus* and divers other places from the Venetians, and yet well wearied with the harms and losses he had himself received both by Sea and Land, was also desirous enough of Peace. So that the French Embassador might as it was thought, have got a reasonable and indifferent Peace, if he had but expected the opportunity of the time: But he (whereby moved with the common harms, or some other secret causes to him best known) in making too much haste, and seeming too desirous of Peace, much hurt the common cause of the Venetians, which he most desired to have furthered. *Selymus* having found him, resolved with *Admahmet* the great Bassa, what he would have done; who at such time as the same Embassador came unto him about the matter, told him, That he had himself many times moved, yea and so far forth as he might, importuned his great Lord and Master for Peace, but could never find him willing to hear thereof, until that now at length overcome and wearied with the continual solicitation of such as might do him with him, he had yielded therunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himself undoubtedly desired, that the crafty Bassa seemed him with most difficulty to grant, rather upon the influence and contemplation of them that laboured for the same, than for any desire he had therunto of himself. For certain days at the first the French Embassador was most courteously heard, and the Bassa with fair and cunning Speech promised, that the matter of pacification should easily and in short time be compassed; and so at their first conferences things passed rather in general terms, than that any conditions of Peace were particularly agreed upon; only this was on both parties consented unto, That the Venetians should send their Embassador of purpose, for the full concluding and confirming of the desired Peace. Which charge was by the Senate committed to *Jacobus Spermusius* in whole wisdom and valour they had supposed great hope and confidence. He was no sooner come to *Constantinople*, and the Turks delivered of the fear of the Christian Sword, by the dissolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, and the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their disdainful cars, their despightful speeches, their long and insolent attendance, with many other shameful indignities: Yea the Bassa was so shameless, as proudly to ask them, How they durst be so bold as to impugn the great Emperor *Selymus* his Fleet at Sea. Whereunto the Embassador answered, That the Venetians had always honoured the Majesty of the Turkish Emperor, neither had at any time taken up Arms against him, but in their own reasonable defence, when force was by force to be repulsed, a thing lawful even for the wild Beast in the wild Wilderness to do. At the first entreaty of the Peace, the Bassa seemed to put the Venetian Embassador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his request should enjoy their Territories in *Dalmatia* in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the same bounds, whereof they had in these Wars lost some part about *Jadera*. But when the matter should have come to the discussing, the Turk began to shrink from that he had before

*Selymus himself desired of Peace.*

*Mahomet Bassa desired, that he should send his Embassador to conclude the Peace in the behalf of the Venetians.*

*The Venetians first sent their Embassador of purpose to conclude the Peace.*

promised, refusing not only the restitution of the Territory they had indeed by Treason got; but by cautious expostitions of his meaning, framing the conclusion of the prelate Peace unto the form of their former League, required, That as the Turks had now yielded unto them *Malvasia* and *Nauplia*, so now they should redeliver unto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not restoring the Territory they had taken about *Jadera*, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their Law restore unto the Christians any Town or place wherein were any Church or Temple dedicated or converted unto the Mahometan Religion; as was there; and further, That the same Territory was already given by *Selymus* in reward unto his Souldiers, Men of desert, from whom without great injury it might not be again taken. Hereupon the French Embassador complained, That promises were not performed; and the Venetians so fretted, that they were even about to have returned as Men shamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks still standing upon such hard terms) the Embassadors by the appointment of the Senate concluded a Peace with the Turk; whereof these were the chief Capitulations; first, That the Venetians should give unto *Selymus* three hundred thousand Ducats, one hundred to be presently payed, and the other two hundred by equal portions in two years next following; then, That the Merchants Goods should be indifferently on both sides restored; and lastly, That such place of the Venetians as the Turk was already possessed of, should still remain unto the Turks; but that such Towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks Dominion, should be again forthwith restored. For the first payment of the Money the Turk was earnest, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this League unto him more honourable.

This Peace at *Constantinople* concluded the eleventh day of *February* in the year 1574, was by the Decree of the Senate confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of *April* following solemnly proclaimed in *Venice*, to the great wonder of the other Confederates. For the better satisfying of whom, the Popes Nuncio, with the Embassador of *Spain*, were sent first into the Senate House. And although there were many things that grieved the Venetians, yet did they forbear all hard speeches, and with that their moderation received much more honour, as it is more difficult for an angry Man to overcome himself, than others. The Duke with calm and temperate Speech, framed to the purpose, declared unto them, That Anger and Hope, two evil Counsellors, being set apart, he had concluded a Peace with the Turk; not for that he was desirous of the Turks friendship, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the love he bare to the State, which was not only in danger, but even with death it self to be maintained. How he had been spoiled of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, he further declared; and that the Venetian State grew every day weaker and weaker by the continual War; and that therefore, before it were by loss upon loss come to the uttermost of extremity, they not able to maintain so heavy a War, were to take some better course for the preservation of that which was left of their Signiory; for that the safety of the Venetian State should all times be a sure fortress against the defence of the Christian Commonwealth against all the furious attempts of the Enemy, and uncertain events of time.

The Fame of this sudden and unexpected Peace was for the just and common hatred of the Christi-

ans against the Turks, generally evil taken; and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly spoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Christian Commonwealth, or at leastwise their Confederates. For Men were for the most part of opinion, that the Turks Peace would be but feigned and deceitful; and that having gained time to do things in order, according to his desire, he would for the natural grudge he bare unto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had always done, break the League and take up Arms. Some said, That the Venetians forsaken of their Friends and Confederates, would in their own devices perish; yet so, as that their destruction would turn to the general harm of all Christendom; and these Men were of opinion, That in that case, and against that Enemy, a dangerous War was to be preferred before an uncertain and dishonourable Peace. Nevertheless the Venetians, besides that they for the present eased themselves of many by respiring an heavy burthen, so have they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy Peace, and found the same unto their State both wholesome and profitable until this day. It was already thought of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to have Peace with the Venetians, that he might the better recover the Kingdom of *Tunes* and the strong Castle of *Gazeta* from the Spaniards; who with the Knights of *Malta* now gaped more after *Tripolis* and the other Port-towns holden by the Turks upon the Coast of *Barbary*, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederates. Thus with the loss of *Cyprus* and some part of the Venetian Territory in *Dalmatia* ended this mortal and bloody War betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the Course whereof it well to be seen, what great matters the united Forces of the Christian Princes were able to do against this most mighty Enemy, if all discord and contention fell apart, they would in the quarrel of the Christian Religion join with heart and hand against him, and fight the Battle of Christ Jesus.

*Selymus* now at Peace with them who before most troubled him; to keep his Men of War busied, shortly after converted his Forces against *John Vayvod of Valachia*, and so at length joyned all that Province to his Empire. This Country of *Valachia* was in ancient time called *Dacia*; it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the Black Sea) on the South the famous River *Danubius*, on the West *Transylvania*, and on the North *Russia*. It is divided into two parts, the one called *Transilvania*, and the other *Moldavia* (of the River *Pruthia*), and runs running through the midst thereof, but passing the other both in greatness and abundance of Pasture. That part called *Transilvania*, *Mahomet* the Great (who won *Constantinople*) made subject to the Turkish Empire; but upon *Moldavia*, the other part, he only imposed a yearly Tribute of two thousand Ducats. After which time the Vayvods of that Country, aided sometimes by the Hungarians, and sometimes by the Poles, rose up oftentimes against the Turks, and refused to do their homage. It chanced, that *John Vayvod* of that Country, favouring the Poles, and joyning in League with them, lived much in *Russia*, as purposing from thence also to have taken his Wife. Which *Selymus* suspecting, with a great power chased him into Exile, and placed in his stead one *John* (called of his Country-men *Iwan*, and of some *Iovanna*) the supposed son of *Stephanus* formerly Vayvod of that Country; who with *Franciscus Comnenianus* a Moldavian, who afterward notably betrayed him, having of long time lived amongst the Turks, to be the more gracious amongst them, renounced his Faith, and being circumcised, turned Turk; and

*The Peace that they for the present eased themselves of many by respiring an heavy burthen, so have they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy Peace, and found the same unto their State both wholesome and profitable until this day.*

*It is divided into two parts, the one called Transilvania, and the other Moldavia (of the River Pruthia), and runs running through the midst thereof, but passing the other both in greatness and abundance of Pasture.*

and following the trade of Merchandise, became among them a Merchant of such Fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Baffees of the Court, and at length with Selymus himself. He understanding by his Friends near himself the Turkish Emperor, of his purpose for the removing of Bogdanus, corrupted with rewards the great Baffees, to be mediators for him to Selymus, that commanded by them, he might be preferred to be Vayvod of Moldavia; still increasing the suspicion Selymus had conceived of Bogdanus, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like enough in short time to reject his obedience to his Imperial Majesty. Selymus at the instance of the Baffees nominated this John to be Vayvod, who with a great power of the Turkish Horsemen entering into Moldavia, easily possessed himself of the Country, Bogdanus being then absent in Russia, and as then suspecting no such matter; who yet afterwards attempted in vain by the help of the Polonians to have again recovered his Country, but finding no possibility to do so, fled afterwards into Muscovia, where he long time after lived.

John the Vayvod fell into suspicion with Selymus and the Baffees of the Court.

John now quietly possessed of Moldavia, for some few years held the fame with the good liking of the Turk, paying him his wonted Tribute; but afterwards repenting himself of his wicked revolt from the Christian Faith, and now elisions again embracing the same, and (ignorant of his own Fortune) persecuting with too much severity those which withstood his coming into the Country, especially such great Men as took part with Bogdanus; and now after his return unto the Christian Faith, not favouring the Turks as he was wont, but crossing therein many matters, became suspicious both unto Selymus and the Baffees his old Friends. Which the Vayvod of the lesser Valachia (commonly called Valachia Transilvania) understanding, he became a suter unto the great Baffees of the Court for his Brother Peter, and earnestly travelled with them, that as John supported by Selymus, had driven Bogdanus out of Moldavia, so Peter his Brother might in like manner by his help drive John out also.

In which his Sute he spared for no cost, neither ceased by malicious suggestions to increase the suspicion already conceived of John the Vayvod; who having rejected the Mahometan Religion, and again embraced the Christian Faith, would (as he said) in short time, as had Bogdanus, joyne hands with the Polonians, and call off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had been so highly promoted. Besides that, this malicious Man offered, That his Brother Peter for such his protestation should pay yearly unto Selymus twice so much more as did John, namely an hundred and twenty thousand Ducats by the name of a Tribute.

The Baffees before corrupted, and moved with the greatness of the Tribute, perswaded Selymus, by an Embassador to send for John the Vayvod, to come unto him himself in person, and to command him to give place to such a Man as he should send thither in his stead; which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce unto him open War. Hereunto Selymus, who had even then much emptied his Coffers with the loss of his Fleet in the Battel of Lepanto, and the chargeable Wars against the Venetians, was easily induced; and to that purpose sent his Embassador to the Vayvod; who having audience the one and twentieth of February, at the same time that Henry Valoy (afterwards the French King) was crowned at Cracovia, delivered his Message as followeth:

Selymus the Great Emperor of the Turks sendeth me unto thee, John, Vayvod of Valachia, his Tributary;

with this Command, (whereunto his pleasure is; that thou shouldst without delay send him answer.) First, He chargeth thee to send him not such a Tribute as of was wont, but twice so much more; to wit, an hundred and twenty thousand Ducats. If thou shalt refuse to do so, there is another ready to give it for himself John the Turk and his posterity. But Selymus mindful of thy Constancy, Fidelity, and Valour, will not be troublesome unto thee in thy Government; if thou forthwith send the aforesaid Tribute. Which if thou shalt refuse to do, then his will is that thou shouldst give place to another, and thy self return with me into Constantinople, there to answer the matter; otherwise, I am in his Name to denounce all hostility and the calamities of War both unto thee and thy Country.

The commanding Speech of the Turkish Embassador.

This proud Message of the Embassador struck farther into the mind of the Vayvod than any would have thought; yet diffembling his grief, he commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of so great importance, and so much concerning the whole State of his Country, he could not give him to present Answer as he required; but that upon mature deliberation had with his Nobility and Council, he would in short time answer him accordingly. The Embassador being gone to his Lodging, the Vayvod forthwith began deeply to consider of Selymus his demands; and that in the Turks Faith was no assurance, which he kept or brake with the Christian Princes as best fitted his own turn; and besides that, That if he should grant to pay that great and heavy a Tribute in so great poverty of his Kingdom, forewaisted with civil War, Selymus would not be therewith long contented, so long as any Man would give him more, but happily would the next year exact a greater, and in the end such an one as he with all his Subjects should not be able to pay; which it should not be safe for him at any time to refuse, so long as any Man would give it. Wherefore calling together the Nobility and States of his Country, he brake with them in this sort:

If ever you were to consult and deliberate of a most important and difficult matter, this verily is that time; for Selymus the Turkish Emperor, enslaved with insatiable Avarice, and I know not by what perfidious contented with his wonted Tribute, exacteth of us twice so much more. If you shall grant it, it shall not much concern me, as not to be paid by me your Sovereign, but by your selves and your posterity; if we deny it, forthwith he denounceth unto us Fire and Sword, with all the calamities of War. And in this behalf of our Kingdom, almost spoiled by Civil Wars, how shall you be able to pay it him? Wherefore declare unto your minds. Verily I forgive, if you will in this yield unto Selymus, and grant him so great a Tribute; he will not therewith long hold himself contented, but every year extort a greater, until he have altogether eaten us up. Wherefore it were better for us (in mine opinion) to lose our lives together with our Wives and Children, than to suffer so great an indignity; neither is it mine own Estate that troubleth me, for why, it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you list not to endure the so dishonourable and base a tribute, let me forthwith go underhand and from you; and I will for my part so provide, as that I will not only not pay unto the barbarous Tyrant the new and heavy Tribute he demandeth, but not so much as any Tribute at all; so that you be not wanting both to your selves and me. I know right well (beloved and Fellows in Arms) what I owe both unto you and the Common-weal, for whose good and welfare I am always ready to lay down my Life.

He had no sooner thus said, but that a secret sorrow and unwanted silence had as it were oppressed the

the whole Assembly. At length, as Men awaked out of an heavy and dead Sleep, they murmured among themselves, that the Turkish Emperor should so without reason oppress them, with doubling and redoubling of his Tribute; and were generally of opinion, That the Vayvod had not so plainly as truly spoken of the intollerableness thereof; and that therefore they had rather die, than to endure so great dishonour joyned with so foul a slavery. And thereupon offered unto the Vayvod to serve upon their own charge, and with him upon the Bank of Danubius to meet the proud Enemy, and therein defence of their Lives and Liberty, to fight it out unto the last Man. The Vayvod in few words commending their fidelity, and taking of them an Oath for the faithful performance of that they had so resolutely promised, sent for the Turks Embassador, and gave him this short answer:

The answer of the Vayvod unto the Turkish Embassador.

I, for the ancient Fidelity and Allegiance which I owe unto my Lord and dread Sovereign, the mighty Emperor Selymus, would willingly yield unto him the Tribute he requirereth, were it not that I know the minds of my People to abhor the same; wishing rather to endure all calamities, hap whatsoever hap may, than to yield unto so dishonourable and shameful slavery. Wherefore silence I cannot by any means extort the same from my Subjects, tell me Lord Selymus, That I most humbly request, you to take the same in consideration; which I wish to be unto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than disgrace or hindrance. And that upon that good hope I both asked, and for my singular Fidelity obtained of him the Vayvodship of Moldavia; which my good hope I most heartily beseech him may not deceive me.

With this answer he dismissed the Embassador unwounded, and with a safe convoy brought him to the Bank of Danubius; which his homely usage of the Embassador, caused him not a little to be suspected, to be in mind changed from Selymus. The Embassador sent away, the Vayvod not ignorant of the suddain invasions of the Turks, forthwith began to raise his Army; and at the same time, sent Embassadors unto Henry King of Poland his nearest Neighbor, certifying him of the dangerous state of Moldavia, the surest Bulwark of the Polonian Kingdom, which once overthrown, opened a fair and easy way for the common Enemy into Polonia; and therefore requested him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of ancient time, even for the safety of their own State, protected that Country; so it would please him now in like manner in so dangerous a time, to give him aid; or at leastwise to give leave unto such of his Subjects as were willing to serve for entertainment, to come unto him, whom he would with all honour and bounty receive according to their place and quality. Whereunto the King answered, That forasmuch as he and his predecessors the Kings of Polonia, had for the space of more than an hundred years been in League with the Turkish Kings and Emperors, he could not either send him aid, or yet give leave unto any of his Subjects to serve against the Turk, as he desired.

With this answer the Vayvod was much troubled, as there decreed where he most hoped for relief, yet hearing of certain Companies of the Polonian Camps, which having long lien in hope of prey upon the side of the great River Borjshkeme, were returning empty home, he by fit Messengers sent of purpose, offered them great entertainment to serve him in his Wars against the Turks of which his offer, they (as Men living for most part by service) gladly accepted; and so without his knowledge of the King went unto him, to the number of twelve hundred, with

their Captains Men of great Courage and Valour, of whom Sujerevius was chief; who were by the Vayvod honourably entertained, and did him in these Wars right worthy service. These Cockfakes are light Horsemen, lying most commonly upon the Borders of the Polonian Kingdom towards the Tartars; an hardy and valiant kind of Men, whose best living, is the spoil they take from the Enemy; and their best Lands, their Horse and Launch. For albeit that the Turks and Tartars are most commonly in League with the Polonians, and seem never so desirous of Peace, yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, upon the suddain break into the Countries of Podolia, and Russia, part of the Polonian Kingdom, and there do great harm, if they be not in time repressed or cut off by the aforesaid light Horsemen; who for that purpose lie always in wait for them, as doth the Hawk for the prey.

Selymus findeth his Forces to do gainst the Vayvod.

Selymus understanding the answer of John the Vayvod, was therewith exceedingly enraged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the Embassador, who angry with the Vayvod, that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, spared not to the uttermost of his power, to incense the angry Emperor against him, as if his Honour had been in the person of himself contemned and violated. Wherefore without delay, he sent thirty thousand Turks, and two thousand Hungarians unto the Palatine of Valachia Transilvania, that joyning those Forces to his own, he might take John the Vayvod, and sending him in Bonds to Constantinople, to place Peter his Brother, Vayvod in his place. The Palatine glad of this command, and having raised his own power, together with the Turks and the Hungarians, swam over the River Moldavia, having in his Army about an hundred and two thousand fighting Men; a power, not only sufficient to have driven the Vayvod out of Moldavia, but also to have thrust a right puissant King in his Kingdom. The Palatine in the midst of so great a strength, little fearing, and less regarding the suddain coming of the Vayvod, suffered his Men with their Horses to lie disordered here and there, dispersed in the large Meadows and Pastures all along the fair River side; so the better to refresh themselves, weary of their long travel. In the mean time certain Scouts came to the Vayvod then at Digne Armer, certifying him, that the Enemy with an huge Army (the certain number whereof they could not well declare) was come over the River; and now resting themselves, had turned off their Horses into the rich Meadows thereabout, in such disordered and careless manner, as that they might with a final power be easily overthrowen. The Vayvod glad of this news, forthwith fell before Sujerevius with his Cockfakes, and soon other light Horsemen, more certainly to decry what the Enemy did, with the manner of his lying; and he himself with the rest of his Army followed fair and softly after. Sujerevius with great silence approaching the Enemies Camp, suddainly light upon the Enemies Scouts, in number about 500; who enclosed before they were aware; were taken every Man by the Cockfakes, and by them frantically examined of the state of their Army and Camp. Who for safeguard of their Lives now in the Enemies power, frankly confessed, how that the Palatine lay securely there by resting his Army, not so much for the refreshing thereof after his Travel, as with greater strength to set upon the Vayvod with his fresh Souldiers; and that in the Army were about seventy thousand Valachians, thirty thousand Turks, and three thousand Hungarians; who now dispersed, and sleeping in security, might easily be overthrowen. Of all these things Sujerevius advertised the Vayvod

The Vayvod entertaineth the Polonian Cockfakes.

The Palatine with the Turks overthrown by the Vayvod.

vod; requesting him with all possible speed to hasten his coming, for the obtaining of a most notable and assured Victory; he in the mean time lying close with his Men not far from the Enemy. The Vayvod certified of all these things, came without delay, and forthwith commanded *Superevius* with his Men to give the onset upon the Enemy; purposing himself with the rest of his Army on the other side, to charge the disordered Camp in three places. *Superevius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, suddenly fell upon the secure Enemies; who dismayed with the suddenness of the unexpected danger, stood as Men astonied, not knowing which way to flee, or how to make resistance. But whilst *Superevius* with his light Horsemen thus on the one side filled the Camp with tumult, terror, laughter, and fear; behold, even as a sudden Tempest, cometh the Vayvod, bearing all the disordered Camp before him; neither did the Enemies any means to flee, having put their Horses a great way off from them into the rich Pastures; but there taken unarmed, were miserably slain. In all the Camp was lamentation and mourning. Death raging in every place with such fury, that of so great an Army as of late passed the River, few or none escaped, more than the Palatine with *Peter* his Brother, who by great chance with much ado getting Horses, swam over the River, and came to the Castle of *Brailiova* in *Valachia*; all the rest were slain, and left to be of the Beasts of the Field, and Birds of the Air devoured. It was a most horrible spectacle to see the ground covered with the Bodies of the dead, all stained with gore Blood, and their Weapons of all sorts lying by them. In the Camp were found great Riches, all which the Vayvod gave unto his Soldiers, and there staid four days to refresh his wearied Men. After that, he with his victorious Army entered into *Valachia*, the Palatines Country, where he took many Castles and Towns, and put to the Sword all that came in his way, Men, Women, and Children, without respect of Age or Sex; and burnt all the Country Towns and Villages before him as he went; so that all that part of the Country of *Valachia Transilvania*, was covered with Smoke and Fire, to the terror of the Beholders. The aged Fathers were in every place drawn forth to slaughter, and the young Babes were cut in pieces, the Matrons and Virgins defiled, and afterwards slain; and in brief all the Cruelty that could be devised, performed; in the bloody execution whereof, the Vayvod commended his Men, perfwading them in like manner fill to prosecute the Victory, and that the rest of their labours was all but for prey and booty, for the enriching of themselves. In this havoc of all things, it was told him, that the Palatine with his Brother *Peter* the Men whom he had taken, were in the Castle of *Brailiova* not far off; whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his Army. The City of *Brailiova* standeth upon the River *Danubius*, and had in it a Castle of some good strength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a strong Garrison of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the Key of the Country; not far from this City the Vayvod encamping his Army, wrote unto the Captain of the Castle, with threat to deliver unto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his Brother, his mortal Enemies; who never wronged by him, had invaded his Country, and fought after his life, and being overthrown in Battle, were fled unto him; which if he should refuse to do, he threatened never to depart thence, until he had to his further harm, constrained him by force to yield them. These Letters he sent by two *Valachian* Captives, to be delivered unto the

Captain of the Castle; whereunto he returned answer by four Turks, two of the City, and two of his own Servants, by whom he also sent ten great Shot, and as many small, with two Turkish Arrows, and this Messlage.

For that I know thee to be the Servant of my dread Sovereign Selymus, I regard thee, and will not deny the same Men to be with me, whom thou sayest to be thyself. But forasmuch as I understand, that thou of late hast slain a great number of the Servants of the great Emperor, who by his commandment were bringing *Peter* the Brother of the Palatine into Moldavia: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raisest thy Siege, I will feed thee and thy Followers, with such Dishes as these; whereupon thou and thine Army gored to the full, shall all afterwards dangerously surfeit and cast. Farewell.

This rough answer so much moved the Vayvod, that he commanded hands to be laid upon the afore said four Messengers; and their Noses, Lips, and Ears, being cut off, both their Feet to be with great Nails fast nailed unto a long piece of Timber, and so with their Heads hanging downward, to be set up before the City, and so left for the Captain and the Citizens to gaze upon. Signifying withal unto the Captain that sent them, that he himself with the other Fugitives his Guests, should in like manner be served, if they fell into his hands. Immediately after he assaulted the City, and using the cheerfulness of his Soldiers, by plain force took the same, the Defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great slaughter of the Turks, whereas no Man was taken to mercy; the very Babes were slain, together with their Mothers, and like Rivers of Blood ran to the *Danubius*. For the space of four days this bloody execution indured; no place served for refuge, even the most secret and obscure places were searched, and the poor Creatures there found, drawn forth and slain. The fury was so great, that no living thing, no not so much as the very Dogs were spared. Much Gold, Silver, Plate, Jewels, and other rich Spoil was there found, all which became a prey unto the greedy Soldiers; for that City was of all others in those Quarters the richest, as a place much frequented, and enjoying long Peace, as after such time the Turks were fully possessed of *Gracia*, not being troubled with any Wars; until now, that it was by the Vayvod first ranfack, and afterwards rased down to the ground, and nothing thereof left standing, more than the bare Castle it self; which the Vayvod durst not adventure upon, for that it was well fortified, and furnished with so strong a Garrison, as that it could not without great loss be taken.

Whiles the Vayvod was thus buied in the spoil of *Brailiova*, news was brought unto him of the coming of fifteen thousand Turks to the relief of the Castle; against whom he forthwith sent *Superevius* with his Cossacks, and other eight thousand Moldavian Horsemen; who suddenly coming upon the Turks, disordered and fearing no such matter, flew almost 40000 of them, and chased the rest unto the Castle of *Trina*. Of this Victory *Superevius* in all haste certified the Vayvod; and withal, that there was another great power of the Turks coming, which might easily be also overthrown, if he leaving the Siege of the Castle of *Brailiova*, would without delay come and join his Forces with him. He glad of that news, and well perceiving how difficult and dangerous that Siege would be unto him, rose forthwith with his Army, and went to *Superevius*; and afterwards upon conference had with him, laid Siege to *Trina*; which City taken without much labour, he put to sword

The late answer of Selymus to the Vayvod.

Barbarous Cruelty.

The City of Brailiova taken by the Vayvod, and the ground.

The Turkish Garrison overthrown by the Vayvod.

Selymus is desired to have been thrust out of Valachia by the Vayvod.

The kind speech of the Czarnievice.

The City of Brailiova taken by the Vayvod, and the ground.

Czarnievice hath been content with Peter the Palatine's Brother, who cunningly pretended him to give the Turks relief.

ward all the People found therein, not leaving one alive; and by the service of *Superevius* overthrew the Turks coming towards *Brailiova*.

*Selymus* in the mean time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayvod, and doubting to be quite thrust out of *Valachia Transilvania* (which he was like enough to have been, had not the Treason of *Czarnievice* hindered the matter) prepared new Forces for that service; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greatest distress, appointed general Supplications and Prayers to be made unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better success of his Wars; the undoubted sign of his Fear.

The Vayvod after so many Victories against the Turks, purposing for a while to break up his great Army, called unto him his old Friend *Tristan Czarnievice*, unto whom, as unto the Man he of all others most trusted, he had resolved to commit the charge, with part of his Army, to keep the Turks from passing again over the River *Danubius* into his Country; and in delivering to him his Charge, spake unto him as follows:

Thy Fortune hath hitherto answered our desires (whereof I am glad) against the Turks, our most cruel Enemies, who are thankfully to take the same, and to render most humble and hearty thanks unto Almighty God, that it hath pleased him, the Author of all Victory, so to have prospered our endeavours, against their force and devouring Enemies. Now what remains for the present, but to disband mine Army, wearied with labour and travel, and to give my Soldiers leave to depart home to rest themselves, that so I may at occasion shall require again use their fresh Forces for our better service; you in the mean time with thirteen thousand of my (dear) Soldiers, shall lie upon the side of *Danubius*, to keep the Turks from passing the River. Have good regard I pray you, unto your charge, which I upon an especial trust, grounded upon your ancient love and fidelity, have at this time imposed upon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition understand from you of every motion of the Enemy, that so we may in due time provide for him accordingly.

And foin token of his greater favour, taking his leave of him with a Kiss (as the manner of those People is) gave leave unto the greatest part of his Soldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be always in readiness whenever they should be called upon.

*Czarnievice* having received his Charge, and promising unto the Vayvod the uttermost of his faithful devoir, went towards *Danubius*, and there most carefully kept the passages with continual watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come down to the other side of the River, and more were still coming, yet none of them was so hardy as to adventure the great River; *Czarnievice* with his Horsemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receive them on the other side. Which the Basha whom *Danubius* had sent with his Army, perceiving, sent certain Men picket out for the purpose, to *Czarnievice*, to sound him, if he might by any means be drawn to come over, in secret to talk with him; and the more to move him, beside his conduct for his safety, sent him by the same Messengers thirty thousand Hungarian Ducats for a Present. With which to take a Bait *Czarnievice* allured, and so forthwith, secretly passing over the River, had conference with *Peter* the Palatine's Brother, who then lay on the further side of *Danubius*, with a great power of the Turks. In this conference, *Peter* declared unto him in how great danger the

Vayvod stood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his Tributary and Vassal should work the destruction of his so great Armies; which his heavy displeasure he could no otherwise satisfy but with his head; and that therefore he should no longer rule in *Moldavia*, given unto him. Wherefore (said he) if thou be will of *Selymus* is yet in thy power, gain the good matter it is to begin any War, but an hard matter the same. Forasmuch as it is not always in the same Mans power to begin Wars, and at his pleasure to make an end. Every Fool may when he list enter into Arms, but must lay the same down when it pleaseeth the Conqueror. Now you have a fair opportunity, and it is in your own power to procure his friendship for ever, better standing with your Affairs than War. And albeit you may hope well of the power of the Vayvod, yet wisdom would not, that you should prefer uncertainties before things certain; you have now received 30000 Ducats, the earnest of your further service; which shall hereafter have also their due reward in most full and bountiful measure. Wherefore if you will do your self good, and provide both for your safety and preferment, confound not your own good Fortune, with the broken and desperate fate of the Vayvod, but suffer the Turks to pass as Friends over the River of *Danubius*; for I am come (said he) with a great and puissant Army from the mighty *Selymus*, to take upon me the Government of *Moldavia*, and to bind the Vayvod in Bonds to *Constantinople*; and of me, being once Vayvod, what is it that for so great desert thou and thine may not ask and obtain? Wherefore I pray thee conceal the coming of the Turks, and withdraw away thy Men from the River; so shall we passing over the River with our populous Army, easily oppress the Vayvod with all his power, and at once revenge all the former injuries and disgraces done both unto *Selymus* and us.

With greedy Men what will not the foul desire of Gold work? *Czarnievice* overcome with the golden Promises of *Peter* a and forgetful of his Faith before given unto the Vayvod, yielded unto all he requested; and drawing his Forces further off from the River, as if it had been for his more safety, gave the Turks free passage. There was then in the Turks Army two hundred thousand Men, well appointed, and furnished with great Ordnance and all other things necessary, both for the Field and for Siege, who by the sufferance of the false Traitor passed quietly over the River. *Czarnievice* forthwith posting to the Vayvod, certified him, how that the Turks rushing to his multitude, had passed the River of *Danubius*, against whom he was not able (as he said) to make head; and that therefore he should do well, without delay to go against them with such Forces as he had then in a readiness; which joyed unto his, might easily overthrow them. Glad was the Vayvod of this news, and filled with the hope of good success, demanded of him what strength the Enemy might be of? They are (said he) not not much above twelve thousand that be already come over, but are still coming more and more, and will before your coming thither be above fifteen thousand.

The Vayvod lay then at the Siege of the Castle of *Trina* (having before taken the City) but hearing this news, raised his Siege, and in four days came and encamped within six miles of the Enemy; and forthwith sent forth *Superevius* with his Cossacks, and *Jeremias* General of the Horsemen, with six thousand Horse, to take view of the

K k k k Enemies

Czarnievice's cunning, given the Turkish Army quietness to pass over the River of *Danubius*.

Enemies Camp, and to understand what might be of their designs. These two Captains marching together, chanced to fall upon the Turks Scouts in number about six thousand Horsemen, with whom they had a light skirmish, and in short time put them to flight. Of these Scouts they took one, and him grievously wounded; who being examined of the strength of the Enemy, and feeling himself wounded to death, told them dissemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Cockfolds doubting of the truth of that report, and probably conjecturing by no greater number of Scouts, that the Enemy was of far greater strength than was supposed or reported; quickly retired the Vayvod thereof, withholding him in time to provide for the safety of himself and his Army, and not too much to trust *Czarnievice*, whom they had a good while before suspected. But the Vayvod nothing doubting of the Faith of him whom he had a long time found most faithful in the time of his hardest distress, and used as a most trusty Companion in all his Travels, answered nothing, but that he knew whom he trusted; and that it was not now time to stand in doubt, or to be afraid, and that he would ere long come and take view of the Enemies Camp himself; for that he was not come so far to flie, but to fight in defence of his Country and Subjects, even to the last gasp. And so fortifying his Camp near unto a Lake that runneth out of *Dambius* (for the more convenient watering of his Army) he set forward with all his power against the Enemy.

Near unto the Enemies Camp was an high Hill, from whence the Vayvod had thought to have descended the number of them, with the manner of their lying; but coming thither, he could descry nothing but four Companies of Scouts a far off, one Company from another; who also upon the sight of the Moldavians withdrew themselves of purpose out of sight unto the Army, which then lay in a low Valley behind an Hill, not so high as that until a Man was almost upon it. The Vayvod suspecting the Enemy to be at hand, divided his Horsemen, in number 30000, into 30 Companies, and placing before every Company certain Field-Pieces, so marched ready to give Batel. His Footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of People, but unto him of all others most faithful, and armed with such Country Weapons as they had, he placed by themselves. So marching on, he came to another Hill, from whence he might not far off fully descry the huge Army of the Enemy, and how he had been by the Treason of *Czarnievice* deceived; whereupon he presently sent for him; who sent him word back again, That he could not now come, the Enemy being so nigh at hand, but that he should forthwith see him in the Field as forward as the forwardest against the Enemy. *Czarnievice* had then under his command 13000 of the most choice Soldiers in the Army; who upon the signal of Batel on both sides given for the Turks were now all ready; first according to his promise first forward, as if it had been to have given the onset; but being come near unto the Enemy, forthwith (as he had before agreed) caused his Ensign to be let fall, and his Men with their Caps upon the points of their Spears and Swords, in token of their voluntary yielding and submission, to bow down their Heads and Bodies; whom the Turks with their Spears and Lances held upon high, joyfully received as their Friends, or rather as Men taken to mercy. The rest of the Army almost discouraged with this so sudden a revolt of so great a Man, retired in haste to the Vayvod, crying out unto him, That all was lost. But he nothing discouraged therewith (as a most resolute Man in the most

sudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them up, willing them as courageous Men to follow him against the Enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting number, which always gave not the Victory. The Turks perceiving the Moldavians lately revolted, upon the joyning of the Batel (as Men in Confidence wounded) to shrink back, thrust them perforce into the head of their Batel, making of them no more account, but to blunt the Enemies Swords; and such as hung back, they themselves flew upon whom as false Traitors the Vayvod caused his Field-Pieces to be most furiously discharged; so that most part of these treacherous Men there slain, some by the Turks, some by their own Friends, received the just reward of their Infidelity and Treason, accompanied with perpetual Infamy. Over the dead Bodies of these Traitors the Turks coming on, were at the first notably encountered by the Moldavians; and after a most cruel Fight, as if they had been discouraged, began to give ground; but indeed of purpose to have drawn the Christians before they were aware, within the danger of their great Ordnance, and Ambushes, which they had before appointed and covertly placed for that purpose. Which *Suycerevis* well acquainted with the Turks fineness, perceiving, with much ado staid their further pursuit, and so avoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks deceived of their expectation, came on again afresh, with no less fury than at the first; whom the Christians right valiantly received, and made with them a mixed and mortal Batel; wherein many both of the Turks and Christians fell, and never rose again. But what was so small a power against such a world of Men? After long Fight, the Moldavians oppressed with the multitude of their Enemies, began to give ground; and seeing no other remedy, to either to flie or to die, betook themselves to flight, wherein most part of them were slain, the furious Enemy still hardly pursuing them at the Heels; of the Cockfolds who left only 2000 Horsemen (the chiefest strength of the Vayvod) thus by the Treason of *Czarnievice* overthrowen, the Vayvod with 20000 Footmen, and six hundred Men as had now after the Batel joyned themselves unto the Footmen, retired unto a Town not far off, which he but a little before had razed; but was now glad in the ruins thereof to fortify himself against the sudden and furious Assaults of the Turks, while the same night he beset the Vayvod's Camp with such a huge Army of Men, as no Man could go in or out of the Camp; or the uttermost part of that huge Army be from any place descried.

The next day (which was the 11 of June) the Turks shot divers great Shot into the Vayvod's Camp, but to small purpose; for the Christians had (for so forth a time) notably fortified themselves within the ruins of the old Town. Which the Turks well perceiving, and whilst considering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to assault the Vayvod in his strength, they sent Messengers unto him, to persuade him without delay to yield himself, and to repose more trust in the mercy of the Turks, than in his own broken Forces; especially in his so hard distress, being so beset, as that he could not possibly escape; and out of hope of all relief; and therefore should by such voluntary yielding, seek for grace of his Enemies, rather than by a desperate obstinacy to cast himself into a most certain destruction, where no mercy was to be expected. Whereunto the Vayvod answered, That he was not ignorant unto what danger he was brought, rather by the Treason of *Czarnievice* and his Followers, than by the Valour of the Enemy; yet had left with him a strong

*Traitors  
infidelity  
wounded*

*The Batel  
between  
the Turks  
and the  
Moldavians.*

*The Moldavians  
overthrown.*

*The Vayvod  
being fortified  
within the  
ruins of an  
old Town  
is besieged  
by the  
Turks.*

*The Vayvod  
being fortified  
and perforce  
murdered  
by the  
Turks.*

strong power of most valiant and resolute Men, who would in his quarrel and defence of them selves, sell their lives very dear unto the Turks; nevertheless, that to avoid the farther effusion of blood, he could for his part be content to yield unto his hard fortune, so that the great Commanders of the Turks Army would condescend unto such reasonable conditions as he should propound, and for the performance thereof give him their Faith, not once or twice, but several times by solemn Oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks accepted, willing him to set down the conditions; which were, First, that the Polonian Cockfolds might in safety depart into their Country, with their Horses and Armour; then, that they should without any violence offered to his person, send him alive and in good safety unto the great Emperor *Selymus*, before him to answer his own cause; as for the Moldavians, he said he needed not to covenant any thing, for the injury they had done to them, he would leave to the hurt of the Emperor himself, and of him whom he should appoint Vayvod, whose Subjects they were. These conditions (as reasonable) were well liked of the Turks, and so according to his desire, confirmed seven times by the solemn Oath of every Captain and Commander in the Army, both for themselves and their followers. Upon this agreement, the Vayvod brought all his Army out of their Trenches where they had then fronsely encamped, and there with a heavy hook took his last leave of his Soldiers, to the general grief of them all; amongst whom he divided much Money and Jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindness. And there in the sight of them all disarming himself, accompanied only with *Omolius* a Polonian, went in manner of a suppliant to the Turks Camp, where he had full four hours Talk with the great Commanders of the Army; until that the last *Captain* Bassa (either voluntary or unwilling) of himself was offended with his speech, or unkindly of his Faith, before given) with his Scimitar upon the sudden struck him a great blow overthwart his Face, and another cross the Belly; whom so wounded, and as yet but half dead, the Janizaries took and cut off his Head, which was forthwith set upon a Lance, for all Men to behold. His dead Body they bound by the Feet unto two Camels, and so shamefully tore it in pieces; and happy was he that could get any little piece thereof, or embrace his Sword with the least drop of his Blood. This was the lamentable and woful end of *John* the Vayvod of *Moldavia*, a right valiant and worthy Man, shamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks; who had been more constant in the Christian Faith, had not happily fallen into so great misery. Whole woful fall may serve as a most notable example of the uncertainty of these worldly things; for as no Man for a time had of the Turks more or more glorious Victories, so in the end, and as it were in demonstration of their fragility, no Man perished more miserably. The Vayvod thus perfidiously murdered, the Turks with like Treachery forthwith fell upon the Moldavians, and flew them down right as Beasts appointed for the slaughter. Which the Cockfolds beholding, and hoping for no better measure, thrust themselves into the thicket of their Enemies, and there valiantly fighting were all slain, except some few of the better sort referred for ransom, among whom was *Suycerevis* with some other Captains, who were afterwards for great sums redeemed, when as they could by no means be persuaded to forsake their Religion and turn Turk.

After this Victorious Murder of the Vayvod, the Turks overran all *Moldavia*, and put to the Sword all the Nobility of that Country, with many of the Country people; of whom they

also as their manner is in Countries now conquered, sent great numbers in Colonies into the farther parts of the Turkish Empire; and for the more assured possession thereof, placed strong Garrisons in every Town and Castle, as they thought it most convenient. Thus all *Valachia* (both the higher and the lower) fell into the Turks hands in the year 1574, and was by *Selymus* joyning unto the Turkish Empire, none of the least things by him done; for beside the gaining of so great a Country (the most assured Bulwark of *Polonia*) he hath thereby opened a fair and easy way for his Successors, at their pleasure to enter into *Polonia*, or *Russia*, parts of the Polonian Kingdom, yea and into *Polonia* it self; which they will undoubtedly in time do, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderate desires, and with his mighty hand protect the dangerous state of that Kingdom.

*Selymus* at the same time, not a little grieved with the loss of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, and that *Don John* had there done the year before; began forthwith to cast in his mind how he might again recover the same, and withal, thrust the Spaniards out of the strong Castle of *Guleta*; which they had now almost forty years kept, ever since that it was by *Charles* the Fifth, taken from *Barbarossa* in the year 1535; for he well saw it to be a matter of no small moment, to whom that strong Fortress (standing so commodiously in the Frontiers of *Africa*) belonged. There was (and still is) upon that Coast divers of the Turks Adventurers, which living altogether upon pillage, and if they could recourse, as to a most assured refuge; and if not Booty were to be met with thereabout, then would they run out towards *Malta*, *Sardinia*, *Sicilia*, and the other Islands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into *Italy* and *Spain*, and from thence carried away with them great booties both of Men and Cattel, and whatsoever thing else came in their way; for which cause many of the Turks Men of War resorted thither in hope of purchase. But after that *Guleta* was possessed by the Spaniards, they were not only deprived of that so commodious Harbour, but many times intercepted even by that place, and by the Gallies of *Malta*; which two places served as two most free Bulwarks against the Turks and Moors Adventurers, by whose means they many times came short home. For which cause the Turks, especially these Pyrats (of whom the Turk maketh great account, as not his least strength at Sea) wonderfully desired to have both those strong ports gotten out of the hands of the Christians. In the Castle of *Guleta* was continually a strong Garrison of a thousand Spaniards, who kept them of *Tunes* in great subjection, and oftentimes cut short these Pyrats and Rovers, who much troubled those Seas. Wherefore the Turkish Emperor *Selymus*, having made great preparation both for Sea and Land Service, commanded *Sinan*, *Piali*, and *Usculachi*, his chief Balleas, and Men of great experience, with all Speed to pass over with his Fleet into *Africa*, to besiege *Tunes* and *Guleta*. Who when they had put all things in readiness according as they had in charge, set forward, and with 300 Gallies came before *Guleta* the 13 day of July; whether also referred unto them other the Turks Men of War from *Alexandria*, *Algiers*, and other places, in such number, as that all that Coast seemed to be covered with shipping. The Turks at their first arrival laid Siege to the Water Town, wherein were 800 Soldiers well provided of all things needful for defence, who most valiantly maintained the place, until such time as that most of them being by the often Assaults of the Enemy slain; the rest by the commandment of the Captain retired to him into the Castle. In taking of this Tower the Turks lost 3000 of their Men. After

*Czarnievice  
re-volted  
unto  
the  
Turks.*

*The loss  
of  
Moldavia  
dangerous  
to  
Polonia.*

After that, they began to besiege the Castle of *Guletta*, against which they cast up divers Mounts, and from thence most terribly battered the Castle; from whence the deadly shot was sent again among them not sparingly; so that in one day 300 great Shot were reckoned to have been shot out of the Castle amongst the thickest of the Enemies. But after many furious Assaults, too tedious to report, and much harm done on both sides, the Turks to their great advantage took the Channel of the Lake of *Tunis*; and fearing lest some relief should be sent to the besieged, maintained their Assault day and night without intermission. Nevertheless, certain Companies of Spaniards sent from the new Castle by *Serbello*, got into *Guletta*; after which, they in the besieged Castle sallied out, and the 20 of *August* repulsed the Turks, with an exceeding great slaughter. But the Bassaes fully resolved upon the winning of the place to engage their whole Forces, and without ceasing still bringing on fresh Soldiers, after they had all the day continued a most terrible Assault, at length about two hours after Sun set, they took the Castle the 23 day of *August*, when there was now scarcely 200 Souldiers left alive to defend the same; who altogether with the other weak People in the Castle were without mercy cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this Castle, is hard to say; but certain it is, that they had therein great store of Victuals, Armor, Shot, and Powder, and four hundred great Pieces of Artillery.

*Guletta* thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid Siege to the new Castle, appointed by *Don John* the year before to have been built betwixt *Guletta* and *Tunes*, which was not yet altogether finished; wherein the two ancient and valiant Captains *Serbello* and *Salazar* (left there of purpose for the building thereof by *Don John*) lay with a Garrison of 4000 good Souldiers. The Bassaes when they gave the first summons to the Castle, the 24 of *August*, required to have it forthwith delivered unto them; to whom *Serbello* stoutly answered, That he had promised the King his Master, to give him a better account of the place; and being now also very old, could not endure the Turks heavy Yoke, but would therefore hold it out unto the last Man; which both he and *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by Men to be done for defence of the place; and falling out, sometime the one, and sometimes the other made great slaughter of the Turks, giving them also repulse upon repulse when they came to the Assault. But the great Bassaes, little feeling, and less regarding the loss of Men, so that thereby they might gain the place, after many most terrible and desperate Assaults, at length (namely

the 13 day of *September*) when they had with all their force for the space of six hours furiously assaulted the Castle, and slain most of the Defendants, at last took it. *Serbello* shot in with two Bullets, and wishing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the Enemy, thrust himself into the midst of the Turks, there to have perished; but by the hasty coming in of *Pial Bassa*, both he and *Salazar* were taken alive; as for all the rest that followed them, they were put to the Sword. The Bassa in his rage struck *Serbello*, and the more to grieve him, caused his Son to be cruelly murdered before his Face. Neither was this Victory by the Turks obtained without Blood, having in less than three months space that the Siege endured, lost above thirty thousand Men.

These strong Holds (the greatest strength of *Tunes* that Kingdom) thus taken, the Turks marched to *Tunes*, which they easily took, and afterwards overthrew the Fortifications thereof, because it should no more Rebel. *Mahomet* the young King, but the year before placed in that Kingdom by *Don John*, was there taken, and in bonds sent aboard to be carried with *Carrera* Captain of *Guletta*, Prisoners to *Constantinople*; and thus the Kingdom of *Tunes*, with the strong Castle of *Guletta*, fell again into the possession of the Turks, to the further trouble of the Christian Countries lying over against it. The proud Bassaes having (as they thought) best disposed of all things at *Tunes* and *Guletta*, departed thence, and with their Fleet of 400 Sail, came the fourth of *October* within sight of *Malta*. But understanding that they of *Malta* were provided for their coming, and remembering what dishonour their most magnificent Emperor *Selyman* had not many years before there sustained (whereof divers of them had been eye-witnesses) they turned thence, and sailed directly to *Constantinople*.

Shortly after, this great Emperor *Selymus* spent with Wine and Women, unto whom he had given his great strength, died the ninth of *December* in the year of our Lord 1574; when he had lived one and fifty years, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at *Hedrianople*. He was but of a mean Stature, and of an heavy Disposition, his Face rather Swollen, than Fat, much resembling a Drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of least Valour, and therefore least regarded, altogether given to Sensuality and Pleasure; and so dying, left his Empire unto *Amurath* his eldest Son, a Man of more Temperance, but not much greater Courage; who nevertheless by his valiant Bassaes and Men of War, did great matters, especially against the Persians, the mortal and dangerous Enemies of the Turks, as shall be hereafter in this History declared.

Christian Princes of the same time with Se- lymus the Second.	{	Kings	{ Emperors of Germany }	Maximilian the Second.	1565. 12.	
			{	Of England	{ Queen Eliza- beth.	1558. 45.
				Of France	{ Charles the Ninth.	1560. 14.
				Of Scotland	{ Queen Mary James the Sixth, that now reigneth.	1543. 20. 1567.
	{	Bishops of Rome.	{ Pius the V. Julius the XIII.		1566. 6. 1573. 12.	

# THE LIFE OF AMURATH,

The Third of that Name, Sixth Emperour of the *Turks*.



*Non ego fortis eram: quis tanto nomine dignus!  
Fortem faciat mens generosa virum.  
Me tumidum fortuna tumens exivit in altum,  
Et par fortuna mens mea semper erat.  
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:  
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.  
Unicuique ad fortia facta ministro:  
Te puer militatum est, nomen in asprum.*

*Was it I was not, none deserve that name  
But those, whose generous minds bespeak their fame.  
Fortune advanc'd me high, and sickle thee  
Still found a Soul, bravely prepar'd to me,  
Soft in my tender years tho' I became,  
Yet still I priz'd the glory of my name:  
I sent abroad my Ministers of State,  
To see the slavish drudgery of my fate.  
pag. 651.*

*Nouitaphi Ferhatu; Senah et ter maximus Osman,  
Terroris Orbis, succubore mihi,  
Armenios demui fortis, Medosque feroces;  
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.  
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parva laboris  
Gloria, subito maxima quaeque ruina?  
Et nihil aut tanti, quod non brevis auferat hora  
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa perit.*

*Osman, Ferhatu; Sinan, Nouitaphi  
The terrors of the World, did me obey  
I broke the Medes, and, the Armenians, Terrors  
And batter'd down the proud Taurisian Towers.  
See what's all this to my ill got renowne,  
Since greatest things are soonest tumbled downe,  
We're rob'd of all we have, in one short hour,  
And quickly we, and ours shall be no more.*

1574

Amurath takes upon him the Turkish Empire the 5th day of December, in the year 1574. The description of Amurath.

THE death of the late Emperour *Seh-mus*, was, for fear of the insolent Janizaries, notably concealed by the great *Bassa's*, until such time as *Amurath*, his eldest Son, then in *Asia*, by speedy Messengers advertis'd thereof, about twelve days after arrived at *Constantinople*, and there received into the *Seraglio*, took possession of the Empire the five and twentieth day of December, solemn amongst us Christians, for the Nativity of our Saviour Christ Jesus. He was about thirty, or as some write, seven and twenty years old, when he began to reign; of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his Beard thin and long; in his Countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, being indeed himself of a peaceable disposition, a lover of Justice, and, in the manner of his Superstition, very zealous. The riot and excess grown amongst the *Turks* by his Fathers evil Example, he reformed by his own Temperance, and the severe punishment of notorious Drunkards; yet it is reported, that he would oftentimes himself drink plentifully of Wormwood-wine; he was much subject to the Falling-sickness, and sore troubled with the Stone; more spare-handed than was for the greatness of his State; and yielding more to the counsel of his Mother, his Wife, and Sister, than of his great *Bassa's*, which was of many imputed to him for simplicity. At his first coming to *Constantinople*, to appease the murmuring of the Janizaries, he griev'd to see themselves so disappointed of the spoil of the Christians and Jews, which they were to take in the vacancy of the Empire; he bent the usual larges which the Turkish Emperours at their first entrance into the Empire, bestow upon them, augmented also their daily wages, and granted them this Privilege, That their Sons, as soon as they came to be twenty years old, should be intoll'd amongst the number of the younger Janizaries, and be paragon'd also of their immunities; whereby he won their favours exceedingly. And immediately, to rid himself of all competitors, he, after the unnatural manner of the Turkish Policy, caused his five Brethren, *Mustapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Osman*, and *Teibanger*, to be all strangled in his own presence. The Mother of *Solyman*, pierced through with the cruel death of her young Son, as a Woman overcome with sorrow, desperately struck her self to the heart with a dagger, and so died. At which so tragical a sight, it is reported that *Amurath* let some tears fall, as not delighting in such barbarous cruelty, but that the state and manner of his Government so required.

He pacifi-  
eth the Ja-  
nizaries,  
and aug-  
menteth  
their pri-  
vileges.

He strangleth five of his Brethren.

A desperate woman.

Russia invaded by the *Turks*. Louis, Grand Duke of *Belgia*.

In the beginning of his Reign he established five wholesome Laws, altered the Coin, and bountifully relieved the Poor. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet because he would not seem to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes

his Progenitors, he prosecuted his Fathers Wars, and by the *Tartars* called *Pracopenes*, in the month of *October* in the year 1575 entered into *Russia*, part of the *Polonian* Kingdom, where he burnt and destroyed two hundred Noble-mens houses, besides an infinite number of Towns and Villages, made great slaughter of the poor Country people, and carried away great numbers of Cattel and Prisoners bound in thongs made of raw Hides. But whilst they were dividing the spoil with *Peter* the new Vayvod of *Valachia*, who had before solemnly promised to give the *Tartars* no passage that way, the *Polonian* *Cossacks*, who had lien waiting for their return upon the River *Berisibenes*, broke into the *Tartars* Country, and there requited them with like harm, and brought back with them a number of old Captives, who little expected that their so sudden deliverance.

The *Polonians* at this time were at variance among themselves about the Election of their new King; *Henry Palmy*, their late King, being the last year, after the death of *Charles* his Brother the French King, secretly stolen from them into *France*, to take upon him that Kingdom: after whose departure some of the *Polonian* Nobility made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperour; other some, no less inclining unto the choice of the great Duke of *Muscovy*, and some unto others also. Whereof *Amurath* understanding, and loth that either of those two great Princes, his Enemies, should be invetted or strengthened with that so great a Kingdom, and so near unto him; to hinder that their Election, and to bring in another of less power, and so less dangerous unto himself, even in the beginning of his Reign wrote unto the *Polonians* to that purpose, commending unto them *Stephen Battor*, the Vayvod of *Transilvania*, for their King, in manner following:

*Amurath*, God of the Earth, Governour of the whole World; the Messenger of God; and faithful Servant of the great Prophet; unto the most honourable Nobility and Counsellors of the Kingdom of *Polonia*, greeting.

*It is not unto the World unknown (most honourable Amurath's Letters unto the Nobility of Polonia)* and mighty Senators) our Noble Progenitors to have of long time and for many Years holden good Friendship and Religious League with the Kingdom of *Polonia*: For which cause it hath pleased God and reasonable unto us, to put you in remembrance of this so ancient a League and Bond of Friendship; for that we understanding your Kingdom to be of late become destitute of a King, by the departure of the Noble King *Henry your Crowned King* (defended of the Royal Race of the French Kings) our friend: Who, for the small regard you had of him (so Great and Worthy a Prince) and for your Disloyalty, is departed

1575



1575 out of your Kingdom, without purpose of returning any more into Polonia. Whereupon, as it is reported unto us (but how truly we know not) you falling upon your said Crowned King Henry, are about to make choice of a new King, and especially of Maximilian the Emperor, or of the Duke of Mulcovie, both men of running wits, and of us greatly hated: For why, you may well know they will be troublesome and grievous, not unto every one of you only, but even unto us also. Wherefore be you aware that you be not deceived; and take heed lest your Considerations and Leagues cannot long by their solemn and proud be established; and without consider will the great danger of us, and how you may thereby fall into: Whereof we have thought good to give you a taste: Wherefore beware that heavier things befall not your State. We know there are right Noble and Wise men amongst you, which know better than they how to Rule and Govern: And if so be it please you to make choice of any of your own Nation, there is not far from you one Stephen Bactor Prince of Transylvania, a Man of great Honour and Valour, by whose Labour and Devotion, you may easily procure the peace and quiet of your Kingdom. Whereas if you shall do otherwise, we take to witness your God, and his Servant our Great Prophet, to destroy all your Wealth and Goods, which together with your selves, your Wives and Children shall be given for a prey unto our Soldiers, with the chief men of your Cities of Cracovia and Legnica: Which for all that that we say you as anything to the doubting of your Fidelity and Constancy toward us. As for the rest, which is pleased us by word of Mouth to have told unto you, we have given charge unto this our Ambassador and Counsellor, unto whom our desire is, that you should give full credence. From Constantinople the last of September, in the Year of our Prophet Mahomet 983, and fifth of our Reign.

This great Sultan's commendations so much prevailed with the *Polonians*, that notwithstanding that *Maximilian* the Emperor was by the Archbishop of *Gnesna* and some others chosen King, yet was that his Election by the greater part of the Nobility revoked, and both he and the great Duke of *Muscovy* being passed over, the noble Prince *Anne* (of the most honourable *Jagellonian* House) chosen Queen of *Polonia*; yet with this condition, That the should marry *Serphen* the Vayvod of *Transylvania*, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who, afterward elected King, all the time of his Life right worthily governed that noble Kingdom, not only defending the same in such state as he found it, but also notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with such Territories as he by force of Arms got from his Neighbours, especially the *Muscovites*. Of this Election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boast, and say, That he had given the *Polonians* a new King. But of him, and of the League made by him with *Amurath*, more shall be said hereafter.

1576 The year following, great troubles arose in *Perfia*, whereby the flourishing state of that most mighty Kingdom was sore shaken, and opportunity given for the Turkish Emperor to invade the same; which he laying hold upon, entered into that bloody War, which, to the great quiet of the Christian Commonwealth, for long time after, exercised the Forces of those most puissant Princes one upon another. For the better understanding whereof, it shall not be amiss compendiously to set down the same troubles of the *Perfian* Kingdom, the very ground of the long and mortal War between those two most mighty Monarchs.

Old *Tamas*, the *Perfian* King, Son to the noble *Hismet*, who with great glory had more than fifty years worthily governed that large Kingdom,

and mightily withstood the often invasions of the Turkish Emperours, now spent with years, died the eleventh of May in the year 1576, leaving behind him eleven Sons; namely, *Mahamet*, the eldest, of an infirmity in his eyes framed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet disposition, more delighted with the sweet pleasure of a contented Life, than the careful Honours of so great a Kingdom: *Ismael* the second Son, of a more fierce and troublesome nature, so much abhorring quietness, that, not regarding the League hardly concluded between his aged Father and the Turkish Emperours, *Solymán* and *Selmys*, he would now and then, without his Fathers knowledge, upon a youthful heat, break out into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and there make great spoil; for which doing, although he was both of his Father and the People the more regarded, yet was he by his Fathers commandment (who in outward shew seemed to mislike of those his youthful pranks, tending to the breach of the League) restrained of his liberty, and sent to the Castle of *Cabacha*, betwixt *Tauris* and *Cashin*, where he remained at the time of his Fathers death: *Aidere* the third Son, no less ambitious than was his Brother *Ismael*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalkan*, *Pyri Mahamet*, and other his Kinsfolks, all men of great Power and Authority. The other eight were, *Mamas*, *Solymán*, *Mahmud*, *Emangali*, *Alibach*, *Amet*, *Alid*, and *Ismael* the youngest.

The old King before his death had by his last Will and Testament solemnly appointed *Ismael* his second Son to succeed him in the Kingdom; as of all his Sons most fit to take upon him to great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder Brother seem'd not much to dislike, contenting himself with such Honours as his Father had before bestowed upon him.

*Tamas* thus dead, *Ismael* was by the Sultans sent for to *Cabacha*, to take upon him his Fathers Kingdom at *Cashin*, when in the mean time there arose a great tumult in the City, yea even in the Kings Palace; for *Aidere*, the third Brother, who in the time of his Fathers greatest sickness had entered the Chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his sight most presumptuously set the Royal Crown upon his head, to the manifesting of his ambitious desires, for which he was then worthily reprov'd: now after the death of his aged Father, carried headlong with the same aspiring humour, and supported by *Zalkan*, and other his mighty Favourites, had so effectually dealt with the great Lady *Periaconema*, his eldest Sister, and the other Sultans, Counsellors of Estate, put in trust to see the Will of the dead King put in execution, as that the Succession could not be any longer kept from him, and preserved for *Ismael*, but by the help of some time and secret device. This Lady *Periaconema*, (elder than all the young Princes, the Sons of *Tamas*, her Brethren, a Woman of great spirit and deep conceit) left in great trust by her Father, seeing the proceedings of her Brother *Aidere*, durst neither openly to move any thing unto the Sultans prejudicial to his designs, neither could she in her heart endure to great an injury to be done to her Brother *Ismael*, as appointed by his Father to succeed him. Wherefore in this perplexity the cast in her wily head how to satisfy her ambitious Brother present, how to save the right of *Ismael* absent, the honour of her dead Fathers Will and Testament, and the safety of the Kingdom. For having thoroughly debated the matter with the Sultans, the resolved that *Aidere*, invested in Royal Apparel, and seated in the great Gallery, should attend the acclamation of the people, and be there open intreated as the very elected King: With which vain shew the youth

1577  
The eleven Sons of Tamas the Perfian King.

*Ismael* appointed by his Father to succeed him in the Kingdom.

*Aidere* elected to the Kingdom of *Perfia*.

1576

youth (blinded with Ambition) suffered himself to be led: and being set in his Majesty, verily persuaded himself that he should now be honoured, both of his Friends and Foes, as King. But unto these his too happy and prosperous dreams, Succession (issuing from the frailty of those Counsellors, and his dissembling Sister, were nothing conformable; for that she, by their advice, took order for the gates of the Palace to be presently lock'd, leaving at every passage a sure Guard, and only one wicked open, safely warded with a company of most faithful and valorous Captains and Souldiers, wholly devoted to *Tamas* and *Ismael*, with straight charge, to suffer every man to enter in, favouring only the known friends of *Aidere*. In this fort did the think to have entertained the young man, until such time as *Ismael* should arrive at *Cabacha*, and so put in execution what he thought best for the honour of himself, and the general quiet of the Kingdom.

Who rejoiced now but *Aidere*? In conceit a King, replenished with unwonted joys, receiving honour from all men but his best Friends. By means whereof, perceiving now the prohibition of them, and moved also with the great stir of *Zalkan*, his greatest Favourite (who discovering the deceit, and crying upon King *Aidere*, threatened the Lady, the Sultans, and the rest that waited upon the feigned Succession, indeed ordained but for the scorn and delight of the ambitious man) stricken with an exceeding fear, and full of sorrow, he withdrew himself closely amongst certain Women in the Court, hoping so to find some way to escape with life.

In the mean time, so greatly increased the cries and threatenings of the Friends and Favourites of *Aidere*, (who now had all of them prepared themselves for some dangerous and pernicious attempt) that the Counsellors, with consent of the Lady his Sister, were enforced to take order, That to bethieve this tumultuous and seditious People of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* should be deprived of his Life. Whereupon, *Sabahal* the Georgian, Uncle to *Aidere* by the Mothers side, by the appointment of the Lady *Periaconema* and the Sultans, after long search made for him, at last found him hidden amongst the Women, and without further delay, taking him by the locks, struck his head from his shoulders, and in the place where *Zalkan* and the rest of his unfortunate Favourites stood crying and threatening, amongst the thickets of the pretence of the proud Conspirators, flung the Head all bloody, and as it were yet breathing for heat; trying aloud to them, Behold there your King, enjoy him at your pleasure. At which sudden and horrible Spectacle, every man burned in rage and anger; neither for the present wanted there many a rash head, that vainly threatened most cruel revenge; but in the end, when they perceived the next Succession of *Ismael* inevitable, and the death of *Aidere* irrevocable, every man betook himself to his own private Affairs, and so at last divided themselves one from another; and so departing from the Palace, scattered themselves some one way some another, every man as he thought best for his own safety.

Shortly after, *Ismael*, the desired King, arrived at *Cashin*, where he was of his Sister and the Sultans joyfully received as their lawful and undoubted Succession, and with the great acclamation of the People lauded King; who, as soon as he saw himself possessed of his Royal Seat, and his power now irresistible to his desires, he, after the manner of the Turkish Policy, most unannually caused the Heads of his eight younger Brethren to be stricken off; and withall used such farthest diligence, that not only all those which were near

*Ismael* situated King.

He murdered the eight of his younger Brethren.

unto them in Blood or Affinity were bereaved of their Lives, but also all the Favourites of his late slain Brother *Aidere* were destroyed in that public slaughter; so that all the Streets of *Cashin* were defiled with blood, and all the City resounded with mourning and complaints. Which unexpected Cruelty, altogether unworthy to worthy a thought King, so altered the minds of his Subjects in general, that all their former hopes were now converted into new fears, and their joy into mourning. But much greater, and far more lamentable did the miseries grow, as soon as it was given out, That he would change the Religion of the *Perfians* (who with great devotion honour their Prophet *Ab*) into the Superstition of the Turks, (who with no less impiety observe and maintain the wicked Rites of *Ebbekir*, *Hammer*, *Osman*, and others, by them supposed to be the most true Successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*.) For by means of this uncouth novelty and unexpected change, and by force of an Edict concerning that matter, published by this new King, many of his aposthane Priests, many of the Governors of his friendly and subject Cities (too much devoted to their former Superstition) were driven, some into exile, some clapt into prison, some had their Eyes pluck'd out, (among whom was the Caliph of *Cashin*) and not a few others, in sundry sorts deprived of their Lives. Yea, many Ladies, joyed in blood with *Ismael* himself, and divers others of his Kinsfolks (to whom neither Sex, nor Age, nor Innocency, could be a sufficient defence) endured sundry torments and strange calamities; so that in *Perfia* was never felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this so great an Innovation, and among these Tumults, there went abroad without a general rumour, not in the Cities of *Perfia* only, but in the Regions of the *Turks* also, even as far as *Constantinople*, That *Ismael* with a puissant Army of such favoured this new proclaimed vanity, was determined in person to go to *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*, there to receive the Crown of the Empire, at the hands of him that he should find to be the Successor of their great Caliph, and in the chief place amongst their unclean Priests; as had sometime *Solymán*, the great Emperour of the *Turks*, and the *Perfian* Kings of ancient times. In this world of troubles, when as the fear of farther miseries increased, rather than any hope of ancient quietness; he was, when he least feared, by the help of the afore-named Lady *Periaconema*, suddenly bereft of his Life: but what overtook in some of his own amorous practices, or poisoned by his laid Sister, or that she (as some before affirm) having secretly conspired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyri Mahamet*, *Curchi Boffi*, (being all at that time men of great account, and, as it were, Presidents of the Kingdom) who, disguised in Womens apparel, and brought in by her, strangled him, at such time as he had privately withdrawn himself amongst his Paramours, is uncertain. However it was, sufficient it, that he by the help of the said Lady *Periaconema*, was by unnatural Death taken out of this World the four and twentieth day of November, in the year of Grace 1577, to the exceeding joy of all those Nations, who by his death thought themselves now freed of many great and dangerous troubles; when he had reigned one year, seven months, and six days.

*Ismael* thus taken out of the way, the Lady being forthwith to persuade with the great Sultans (the Ministers of *Ismael* death) that as they had for the general good of *Perfia* contrived the death of the late King, so now that they would take upon them the Protection of that great Kingdom, with the preservation of the Majesty and Liberty

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*Ismael* suddenly murdered by the device of his Sister *Periaconema*.

*Stephen Vayvod of Transylvania, upon the commendation of Amurath, chosen King of Polonia.*

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thereof, untill such time as it were known who should worthily succeed in that Crown, which now remained in their Hands. There was at that time many of the greatest Princes and Governours of that Kingdom assembled at *Cashin*, there gaping after such Mutations of those troublesome times, as might best serve their private designs. *Emir Chan*, burning in ambitious Desires, was in hope, by means of a match to be made with a Sister of *Periaconca* (who was already greatly inclining unto him) to be exalted to the Government of all *Perfia*. *Mirza Salmas*, the chief Sultan, hoped on the other side to advance into the Estate, either *Mahmet Coda-banda*, the eldest Brother of the dead King, or *elic Hamze*, the eldest Son of the said *Mahmet*; and by bestowing upon him his Daughter in Marriage (as afterwards he did) to increase the glory of his House. Others there were that thought they should be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemost Son of *Mahmet*) out of *Heri*, and to make him King. Neither wanted the *Imam Tamas* his aspiring Friends, whose Tutor waited likewise for some Opportunity to settle him in the Kingdom, and by means of his Greatness, to make himself greatest amongst his Fellows. A number of others there were, that secretly waited upon every Occasion that time should present for their Preference. Howbeit in this so great variety of Thoughts, the Sultans answered the Lady with one consent, and promised her in most liberal Terms, all the Protections that their ears could afford, or their Weapons procure: and yet did every one of them, both in Action and Word, Clerk-like, dissemble their several Imaginations, whereunto their Minds were as prone and ready, as their Hearts were cunning closely to conceal them.

Amurath  
intrusive  
to the  
in *Perfia*.

*Amurath* the Turkish Emperor now wakened, first at the Death of the old renowned *Tamas*, and then at the Rumour of the desire *Ysmahel* had to pass with an Army to *Babylon*, as also at the fresh Report of the Turkish Superstition newly published in *Perfia*; and withall, thirsting to know what harm this late King had done in *Perfia*, what Diffentions he had raised, and how hardly the Provinces of that Empire had endured those Calamities; began forthwith to think hereby a fair Occasion to be ministered unto him to take up Arms against the *Perfians*, and Matter sufficient suggested for him to put in Execution the great desire he had of some new Conquest. For it is an ancient Custom, which is grown to be as it were a Law among the *Othoman Kings*, that they may not challenge their due Honours in their Life-time, nor their proud Monuments after their Death, unless they attempt some great and ambitious Actions and Enterprises, and perform some Exploit conformable to their Majesty. *Amurath* therefore bent upon these great fits in *Perfia*, would not direct his Mind any other way, or take any other War in hand, until he might first see what issue these marvellous Innovations in *Perfia* would bring forth; which in the Person of *Mahmet*, the succeeding King, seemed to be more pregnant than ever before, and ministered unto *Amurath* new Occasions of victorious and strange Hopes. For as soon as *Ysmahel* was dead, the afore-named *Mirza Salmas* (in Dignity chief man among the Sultans, though in Blood and Nobility, inferior to them all) after many Letters dispatched to and fro, at last assured *Mahmet Coda-banda*, how, with all quietness of Mind, and security of Person, he might come and possess himself of the Kingdom. He was also advertised by the said *Salmas*, of the whole Conspiracy plotted against his Brother, to bring him to his end; and likewise made acquainted how the fraudulent Lady, with the Sultans, had capitally conspired against himself: and how they, fa-

avouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of *Heri*, her Nephew, and his Son, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightful Succession of him, being the eldest Brother. So *Mahmet*, bearing himself upon the Faith and Diligence of *Mirza Salmas*, and desiring withall, to see his eldest Son *Hamze Mirize* advanced to some such sovereign Dignity as he law was due to the lively hope every man perceived to be in him, in regard of his Virtue and Prudence for managing the Commonwealth, and Matters of War, (wherein also he shewed himself unto his Father jealous and suspicious, lest some other men should usurp upon him that Honour and Authority which so properly appertained unto him) resolved in the end, not to leave the Kingdom in the hands of private Persons, nor the lightness of an unconstant Woman of suspected Modesty, and a rebellious Conspirator against her own Blood; wherewith he had, without any pity or remorse of Conscience, now twice deceived her self. And therefore he wrote back again, that he was minded to take the rightful Succession upon him, and that for the same purpose he was putting himself upon his Journey; with straight charge notwithstanding, that *Mirza Salmas* should before his entrance within the Gates of *Cashin*, present him with the mischievous Head of *Periaconca*, a Woman (in respect of the foem exercised against his Brother *Aldere*, and of the treacherous Death of her other Brother *Ysmahel*, and of the perverse Imaginations which he had conceived to cause the Succession to fall into other mens hands, and of the prodigal familiarity which he had with some of the Sultans) well worthy of a thousand Deaths. Secretly did *Mirza Salmas* put in Execution whatsoever *Mahmet* had privately enjoyed him, so that by his means he was presently and solemnly proclaimed King of *Perfia*. And afterwards, having gathered together many squadrons of men, wholly devoted to the Blood and Name of *Mahmet*, the same *Mirza Salmas* set him on the way, to follow the Head of that manlike *Tirago Periaconca* upon the point of a Lance, with her Hair dishevelled, and some other uncouth fights to the Terror of the Beholders. From which Novelty (one mischief as it were) he was huddling upon the neck of another) there sprung up divers inward Hatreds, sundry tumultuous Seditions, and much Civil Wars; this new King, by the instigation of *Mirza Salmas*, seeking on the one side to be revenged on the Sultans for his Brothers' deaths, and they on the other side opposing themselves with all their Power against him, the State of *Perfia* began to fall into great Inconveniences, and of these Novelty to reap new Losses. *Sahamel* the Georgian fled into his Mountain of *Brus*, fearing the Wrath of his new Lord: *Levent Ogli*, likewise another of the Lords of *Georgia*, understanding of the flight of *Sahamel* his Neighbour, entranced himself so far from his old Love and ancient Devotion towards the *Perfian Kings*, that he seemed now to desire some new Innovation. The Nations also that were Neighbours to the *Turks*, and the People of *Media Annapatia* (now called *Sirvan*) disliked of this new King; and in the end it appeared, that *Perfia*, under this King, through many Mutations, was in short time fallen into most notable Misery, and the state thereof more weakened than it had been of long time before.

Of all these things had *Amurath* from divers places intelligence; but more particularly from *Yusef of Van*, (a City of *Armenia* the greatest situate upon the Lake of *Atlanar*) who lent him most perfect information of all the fits in *Perfia*; discouraging unto him of the death of *Ysmahel*; the consultations of the Sultans, the treacheries and death of *Periaconca*, the broils between the King

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*Mahmet*  
reluctant  
to take up  
on him the  
*Perfian*  
Kingdom.

*Mahmet*  
proclaim-  
ed King of  
*Perfia*.  
The Head  
of *Periaconca*  
presented  
to *Mahmet*  
on a  
Lance.

No affi-  
rence in  
the *Turks*  
League.

Ambition  
the Cause  
of the *Perfian*  
War.

\* A Confu-  
lation hol-  
den a-  
mongst the  
Bassas a-  
bout the  
manner of  
the Invasi-  
on of *Per-  
sia*.

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and the Sultans, the nature of the new King, (being diseased in his eyes, little esteemed of his Subjects, belov'd in affection towards his Sons) the facility to over-rule the chief Governours of the *Georgians*, and the People of *Sirvan*, evil affected towards the new King; and to be brief, whatsoever had in truth succeeded in *Perfia*, and might inflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to convert his Forces against an Enemy of small counsel, and much confusion; adding thereunto, that never was there greater opportunity to overcome that King than was now offered, and therefore witheld him, not in any case to let slip so fair an occasion, as the *Othoman King* had never before, for the obtaining of so certain and glorious Victories.

*Amurath*, of long time wholly bent to mark the event of the troubles in *Perfia*, now flurried up with these Advertisements from *Yusef*, fetted himself more deeply in his former conceits to prove his Forces in subduing the *Perfian King*, the ancient Enemy of the *Othoman Emperours*, and the only Corridor and odious Competitor in the East. But no one thing did more inflame him thereunto, than to think, how he should have to his Enemy a King not acquainted with deeds of Arms, doting upon his Children, and weakened with the distention of his Subjects; and on the other side, entering into the consideration of his own Forces, of the infinite number of his men, both Horse and Foot, of the means he had to find money, of his Artillery and Engines of War, wherein he far surpassed the *Perfians*; he did more and more resolve with himself, to take the occasion that now was offered him to begin the War. For the compassing of which his purpose, he was greatly favoured by the present State of Christendom, at that time being wholly in league and amity with him. So not finding any thing contrary to his designments, he resolved at last to confer with the chief Bassas, which had the government of his Empire. Whether it were better upon this occasion to begin the intended War; or if they thought not so expedient War; or if they thought not so opportunity to be to fit, then to lay it aside, and to convert his Forces and Council against the Commonwealth of Christendom. For such is the barbarous Policy whereby this Empire is managed, That it is lawful for them to break any League, be it by never so many promises or solemn Oaths confirmed, whenever any Enterprize is to be attempted for the advancing thereof. So that although this War could not be removed either against the *Perfians* or *Georgians*, without breach of their promised Faith; yet among the manifold Confutations that passed among the great Bassas, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord, without farther respect, sought to set forward the ambitious desire of their proud Lord and Master. At last, after long consultation and large discourses, it was agreed upon by the great Bassas, *Mahmet*, *Sinan*, and *Musapha*. That it would be better, and less dangerous to attempt War against the *Perfians*, than to break the Faith of the *Georgians*. *Musapha* amongst the rest, preferring the Valour of the *Laines* (whereof he had made good tryal, especially at *Famagusta*) before the Armies and Forces of the *Georgians* and *Perfians*. Whereby it is apparent to the World, that neither the zeal of their Religion, nor any injury receiv'd from the *Perfian King*, but only the ambitious desire of *Amurath* (to subdue a Kingdom, both in his own conceit and other mens relations, evil governed, by an effeminate and foolish King, and through civil dissension brought unto great danger) was the first provocation of making this War.

\* Upon this resolution there arose new consultations touching the manner thereof, and upon what

coast they should begin their journey, for the more honourably success thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly urged, protesting before his chief Counsellors, that he would not enter into that War, except he were in great hope to bear away the Victory. Some thought it most convenient to send the Army to *Babylon*, and from thence to *Syrus*, called in old time *Persepolis*, the chief City of the Country of *Perfia*: others there were that gave advice, that the Army should be directly sent to *Taurus*, there to erect strong Fortresses, and to take possession of all the Country round about it; and there wanted not fewer (as it is reported) that thought it better to send two several Armies for both the fore-named Places; and so by bringing the Enemy into a straight, to enforce him to yield to whatever should be of him required. But *Amurath* durst not repose such Confidence in his Forces, as to think, that with his Battels divided and so weakened, he should be able to conquer that Enemy, who had always most valiantly fought against the monstrous and puissant Armies of his Ancestors: and therefore firmly resolved with himself to send one only Army, and to go with his united Forces to seek the overthrow of the Enemy. And yet preferring the strong hope he had conceived to conquer the Country of *Sirvan*, and the chief Cities of *Media* the great, before the difficulty of making War upon the Coast of *Seyras*, repelling also great hope in the notable help that was promised him by the *Tartars*, called *Precoepenses*, he confirmed the great Bassas his Counsellors in the same Opinion; and withall, discovered unto them a matter, which to all of them, but especially to *Sinan*, seemed most strange; namely, that he was determined not to go himself in Person with his Army; but to send one of his worthiest Captains in his stead. The Causes why he did so were many, but especially, for that he was troubled with the falling Sicknes, and feared greatly (and that not without good cause) lest his Son *Mahmet* (being much favoured of the People) might peradventure in his absence be untimely advanced to the Empire; beside the Dangers that he suspected at the hands of the Christian Potentates: and withall, perfwaded that to be unto himself a great Honour, perfwaded those things by his Servants, which had in those Countries been unfortunately attempted by his most noble Predecessors in their own Persons.

While they were thus consulting about the Expedition, and the great Bassas, *Sinan*, *Musapha*, and others, made means to be sent as the Sovereign Ministers of their Lords Delegation, he dispatched away sundry Posts and light Horse-men, with order to the Bassas and Governours of *Van*, *Babylon*, and *Erzerum*, in the Frontiers of his Dominions, that they should by often intreats spoil the Towns and Castles of the *Perfians*, and by all means to do them what harm they could. Which they were not slack to put in Execution, and especially *Yusef* (or rather *Musreze*) Bassa of *Van*; who with often incursions did much mischief, as well in the Countries Tributary, as subject to the *Perfian King*. A fottible preparative for greater Troubles to ensue.

Now in these great Preparations for the *Perfian War*, (which for many years after notably exercised the greatest part of the Turks Forces, to the great quiet of the Christian Commonwealth) *Stephen Babor* the late Vayvod of *Transylvania*, but now by the Commendation of *Amurath*, become King of *Polonia*; in the beginning of his Reign, by his Ambassadors the great Lord *Joh* of *Syenna*, entered into a strong League and Confederation with the great Turkish Sultan *Amurath*, *Constantinople*. Which, for that it thwarted in what Terms that famous Kingdom then and yet standeth

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*Yusef Bassa*  
begin-  
neth  
the Wars  
in *Perfia*.

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eth with the Turks great Empire, and which, containeth Matter well worth the Christian Consideration, it shall not be impertinent to our purpose (omitting the long and glorious Title of that barbarous Monarch, serving to no other end but to shew the greatness of his Power) plainly to set it down as it was on his part at the same time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the most puissant and mighty Princes, Sultan Amurath the Turkish Emperour, and Stephen King of Polonia, agreed upon and concluded at Constantinople, in the Year of our Saviour Christ Jahr 1577, and of the Prophet Mahomet, 985.

The League betwixt Amurath the Turkish Sultan, and Stephen, King of Polonia.

I Sultan Amurath, the Son of Selym Chan, the Son of Solyman Chan, the Son of Selym Chan, the Son of Balazet Chan, the Son of the Great Emperour Mahomet Chan, &c. Prince of these present times, the only Monarch of this age, of power able to confirm the power of the whole World, the shadow of Divine Clemency and Grace, Great Emperour of many Kingdoms, Countreys, Provinces, Cities and Towns; Lord of Mecha, that is to say, of the house of the glory of God, of the resplendent City of Medina, and of the most blessed City of Hierusalem, Prince of the most fruitful Country of Egypt, Imen, Zenan, Aden, and many other such like: In most loving manner desire, That the most Glorious and Renowned Stephen King of Polonia, Great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Livonia, and many other Countreys; moe; Prince of the courageous followers of Jesus, Governour of all the affairs of the people and family of the Nazarets, the welcome cloud of Rain, and most sweet fountain of Glory and Virtue, eternal Lord and Heir of the felicity and honour of the aforesaid noble Kingdom of Polonia, unto whom all the distressed require for refuge, wishing a most happy success, and blessed end to all his actions: offering unto us many Religious vows; and Eternal prayer, worthy our perpetual Love and most Holy League, and with great Devotion, performing both and other like Honours, as for the dispatch of his Letters to our most Glorious Court, for the new confirming of the most sacred League and Confederation with us, sending the Honourable Lord John of Sycena (his most faithful Counsellour) his Embassador to our Imperial Court; declaring his Love and Integrity, and purging himself of all the suspicion of Hypocrisy, hath requested the League and Confederation to be renewed. At whose instance we have given these our Letters confirming the said League of Peace and Confederation: Wherein we command, That none of our Counsellours, Beleeagers, Secretaries, Generals of our Armies, Captains or Squieries shall do, or on any behalf promise to do any hurt unto the Kingdom, Countreys, Cities, Castles, Towns, or whatsoever else to the Kingdom of Polonia belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobility, Generals, Captains, or others whatsoever belonging unto the King of Polonia, shall dare to do any harm unto any Kingdoms, Cities, Castles, or Towns confining unto the Kingdom of Polonia. In brief, my will is, that being a mortal Enemy unto my Enemies, and a fast friend unto my Friends, I shall do no grievance or harm unto any my Subjects, or things whatsoever unto my jurisdiction belonging. So in like manner, commanding also, that no hurt by any means, or for any occasion be done by our people unto the Subjects or whatsoever else, unto the jurisdiction of the King of Polonia appertaining.

The Creatives, Embassadors, Messengers, and men of whatsoever condition else, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble, come and go without any harm receiving, either in their persons or goods.

It shall be lawful also for the King of Polonia his Subjects, to seek throughout our Empire, for any the Polonian Captives taken before the time of this League; and the same so found (if they have not received the Turkish Religion, but still remain Christians) to redeem without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatsoever shall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this League, shall be all again freely and without any thing paying, delivered and restored.

That the Merchants on both parts may freely Traffick with all kind of Merchandise in the Black and White Sea, as also upon the main; and so paying their usual and lawful custom, to be in nothing wronged or molested.

If any of the Polonian Merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead, shall not be embazelled, but kept in safety until his brethren or other his friends, shall come with the King of Polonia his Letters: Upon the showing whereof, having also our Letters mandatory, the goods shall be forthwith restored unto the dead mans heirs. In which for also my Merchants shall be dealt withal, if any of them shall chance to die in the Kingdom of Polonia.

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine Empire, unto any belonging unto the Kingdom of Polonia, after the date of these Letters: confirming the League; the doer of the wrong shall be punished, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction, forthwith recompensed. And the like Justice to be also on the behalf of the King of Polonia administered.

If any doer shall depart out of mine Empire into the Polonian Territory, wherefore he shall chance to be found by his creditor, he shall be brought to the Judge of that place to be examined, and whatsoever it shall be proved him of right to owe, the Judge of that place shall according to the equity of the cause make the creditor to be satisfied.

But if the debtor come himself personally he shall, no other man shall by reason of another mans debt be taken, detained or molested: Neither shall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our Kingdoms.

In brief, upon whatsoever conditions and capitulations the League of Peace and Confederation was in the time of my Father, my Grandfather, or great Grandfather of famous memory, made with the King of Polonia, upon the like conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

Wherefore hurt-bait hatherto been done to either part by reason of the disagreement of the Governours and Captains, shall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Also after the time of these Letters confirming the League and Confederation, Whereas the King of Polonia shall in time pay a certain summe of money as it be paid unto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan, and his Son Mirzeley their Princes, shall restore the same again, and not to dare to suffer his Armies by any means to hurt the Polonian Territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their Armies, no harm shall be done unto the Kingdom of Polonia, neither on the part of the Polonians, to the Territories of the Tartars. And if any harm shall by the Tartars be done in the Kingdom of Polonia his Territories, it shall by my Commandment be again restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of Moldavia, or the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Moldavia; no harm shall be done unto the Countreys subject unto the King of Polonia; but, if any be done, and certainly known to be by my Commandment again recompensed.

On the part also of the King of Polonia and his Subjects, whatsoever harm shall be done unto the Territory or Subjects of the Moldavian Palatine, or Tartars, the harm so done to be recompensed, and the doers thereof punished.

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Also that all such Fugitives as having done any notorious Felonies, or other Villanies in Moldavia, and so are fled into Polonia, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of Moldavia, be restored, and in no case denied.

That all the Polonian Captives within my dominions, yet professing the Christian Religion, may by the King of Polonia his Subjects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and Masters payed: every such Master of the slave taking his oath that he will him so much. But such Captives as have received the Turkish Faith, to be forthwith set at liberty: And so the Turks slaves in the Kingdom of Polonia, to be likewise manumitted.

That our Embassadors on both sides (so long as we are in League and Amity) may freely come and go, and not be stayed in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so do. And being entered into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithful guide, appointed unto them, conducted unto the place they are to go unto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt or say any Merchant, having paid the thirtieth part, in lawful traffick.

If any of our Subjects shall have any suit with any of the King of Polonia his Subjects, the Judges shall without delay, be bound to administer Justice. All Thieves and Robbers shall be diligently sought out; and being found, to be severely punished, and the goods taken away, without impeachment, to be restored unto the right owners, their Heirs, or to the King.

The Samarkans of Silistria and Bologravage, the Customers and Watermen, shall not suffer any man but Merchants and such as are first in license, to pass over the River Nyseker: who passing over, if they shall bring with them any Slave or Bondman out of Polonia, he shall be sent back again. The Shepherds, if they will transport their Sheep into the jurisdiction of the King of Polonia, shall not do so without the leave of the Polonian Governours; before whom they shall also number their Sheep: of whom if any shall be left, the Governours shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored unto the Shepherds, as also to pay for their Hay.

The Lauzi, Janizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in time of Peace or War, to take any Horse from the Polonian Merchants, or other the Kings Subjects coming into our Kingdom.

The Palatines of Moldavia, in whatsoever condition they have been towards the former Kings of Polonia, they shall now forthwith be better. The Christians and customs of both parts, shall continue in their old manner, and not be increased. The Polonian Kings Subjects and Merchants, as well Armenians as of any other Nation, whenever they shall enter into Moldavia, or any other part of our Empire, shall not travel by uncertain and unknown, but by the common and high ways; wherein if they shall suffer any loss or harm, either in their goods or persons, the doers of such wrongs shall be sought for, and severely punished. Which Merchants shall be suffered without any molestation quietly to come and go, having payed their thirtieth; and no Merchant to be troubled for another's debt.

If any the Polonian Kings Merchants or Subjects, be willing for ready money to redeem and carry away any slave taken out of the Polonian Kingdom, and yet professing the Christian Religion, the Judges shall in no case withhold them, neither promise to take them from them, until they have again been redeemed. But if any of such slaves have received the Turkish Religion, they shall not be again demanded by the King of Polonia.

Such slaves as have not received the Turkish Religion, if after a certain space they shall be set at Liberty by their Masters, and in the Letters Testimonial of their Liberty, it shall be declared that they have re-

ceived the Turkish Religion; yet shall they not by the Judges be therefore detained.

In the City of Burusa, the Polonian Merchants having paid their usual thirtieths, shall not be farther pressed with any other unusual payment.

My will is also, that the Territories at this present in the possession of the King of Polonia, as hereafter to be by him taken from the Muscovite, or any other the Christian Princes, to be comprised within this League, and so to be Royally by him possessed.

And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in these our Letters of Confederation contained, I have by the power of the most Mighty God, and of his most Holy Prophet, and by the most clean and pure Spirit of all the Prophets; That for all the days of the life, and so long as nothing shall on the behalf of the King of Polonia be done contrary to the Peace and League, nothing shall also on my part be done contrary unto the same. Witness the Almighty, the upright Judge and discerner of mens actions. From Constantinople the year of the Holy Prophet Mahomet 985, the 14th. of the Month Cziemialli Eumel, and of Christ, 1577.

This League betwixt these two mighty Princes, Amurath and King Stephen, thus concluded, and after the death of Stephen, by Sigismund the Third (which now reigneth) renewed, as it hath been ever since to the Polonian Kingdom for the time commodious, to hath it as with an Adamantine band bound that most famous Kingdom, as that in the hardest distresses of the Christian Common-wealth, and most needful concerning it self, it hath afforded no more help than hath the Members farther off, which is, (I must to say it) none at all; as in the late and present Wars betwixt the Christian Emperour and the two last Turkish Sultans, it is too plainly to be seen: wherein, had it in due time given but such reasonable helps as might well have spared, much, no doubt might have been done for the repressing of the common Enemy, and the recovery of the greatness of that is lost of Hungary: but thus bound handeth as a dead Member, serving to no use more than to the more speedy destruction of it self, together with the rest of the sick Body. For what assurance it can have in this long, (I must needs say) but evil afflicted Peace, is well to be seen in the great Consultation of this great Sultan Amurath, with his Baffa's after the Persian War, for the invading of the Brittendom; the Princes, for all this League is solemnly constrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the same balance with the least, and preferred only by the Providence that all governeth: which leading the Turk against the Christian Emperour their Neighbour, hath given them that Peace they were otherwise hardly to have looked for. Unto whom for all that, having to his endless praise maintained a long and most chargeable War, they have not lent any great help or friendly hand; yet lying themselves still in the Lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God grant I be there in deceived) that is to be of him devoured.

But leaving these the heavy conceits of a melancholy Mind, and ominous forebodings of that I will not, to return again toward Persia, Amurath his greatest care. Amongst many the ambitious Competitors for the managing of these Turkish so great designs, was the great Baffa Medaphes Cerven, who in the reign of the late Emperour Seyhan conquered Cyprus, perceiving thence, together with his Victory, carrying Infamy, for his faithless and cruel dealing with Bragadine, the worthy and renowned Governour of Famagusta) appointed General of the Turks Army into Persia; and authority given him, to provide whatsoever he should think needful for so great a War. And Commandment

1577

Mellish, Baffa made General of the Turks Army.

1578

Mustapha  
confronts  
Erzurum,  
and there  
mustereth  
his Army.Mustapha  
at Chars.Mustapha  
confronts  
his Army  
at Chielder.

ment given unto the Bassas, and other Commanders of the greatest part of the Turkish Empire Eastward, that they should themselves with their Soldiers of all sorts, before their perpetual Appearances to go to the War in the beginning of the Spring this Year 1578, repair to *Erzurum*, a City of *Cappadocia*, bordering upon *Armenia*, there to attend the command of their new General. Who having his dispatch from *Constantinople*, and for fashion sake conducted by most of the Court over the Straight to *Scutari*, and from thence passing thorough the Countries of *Amasia* and *Sivas*, in the very beginning of Summer arrived at *Erzurum*, and there stayed until such time as his People, Victuals, Artillery, and other his necessary Provision was come thither. From whence he departed for *Sirvan*, having first taken a diligent survey of his whole Army, mustering the Soldiers of every Nation by themselves; namely, of the *Mesopotamians* twelve thousand, of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* fourteen thousand, of the *Syrians* two thousand, of them of the lesser *Asia* (now comprehended under the name of *Naxos*) ten thousand, of the *Jews* and *Philistines* one thousand, and of the *Cilicians* four thousand. After whom followed the Soldiers of *Greece*, the Glory and Hope of all the Camp, valiant Men, to the number of ten thousand; and after them the familiar and faithful Guard of the General, ten thousand *Janissaries* of *Constantinople*, with *Harquebuzers* on their shoulders, and *Scimitars* by their sides: of the City also of *Erzurum*, and the *Jurisdiction* thereof, appeared four thousand, under the Ensigns of *Bayan Bassa* their General. All these were Stipendiaries to the Turkish Emperor, unto whom other voluntary Adventurers joined themselves, in number not inferior to the rest, but better furnished, and of greater Courage: so that in this general survey of the Army were found about an hundred and ten thousand Men, most part Horsemen: yet was there not any fluted out of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, or *Hungary*, or thence along the Sea Coasts; neither were the Provinces from whence these Soldiers were drawn, left destitute or unfurnished of their ordinary Garrisons. Besides this multitude of Men, *Mustapha* brought with him five hundred small pieces of Artillery, with many loads of Money for his Soldiers pay, with further order for the taking up of more at *Albepo*, and other Places, if his Occasions should require. He caused also great quantity of Corn to be transported by the great Sea, called in ancient time *Pontus Euxinus*, to *Trapesund*, to be conveyed to *Erzurum*, being but four days Journey distant thence. To be short, having taken order for all things he thought necessary for the War, he in seemly array departed from *Erzurum*, and in eight days arrived at the Ruines of *Chars*, and in the fruitful Country thereabout rested himself; but was there surprised with such a violent Tempest of Wind and Rain, as rent in sunder his Tents, and did great harm, by means whereof many fell sick, and were constrained to forsake the Army.

Having stayed three days at *Chars*, the Bounder of the Turkish and Persian Empires, he departed thence with his Army, and that evening lodged under the Mountains of *Chielder*, supposed to be part of the Hills *Pariado*; where, hearing the Persians to be in Arms, he thought it best for the security of his Army, to pitch his Tents as that he might well discover the coming of the Enemy, and not to be assaulted unawares. And therefore, planting himself in the Plain, he gave order to *Bayan Bassa* of *Erzurum*, should take Possession of a certain Hill on the right-Hand, and *Derwis*, the Bassa of *Caramit*, should keep another Hill that stood on the left hand; and with them *Oman*

*Bassa*, *Mahomet Bassa*, *Mustafade Bassa*, adventurers, with many others, as well stipendiary as voluntary men, should likewise pitch their tents upon the same Hills, in such sort, as that they making as it were two Wings to the Camp, might discover the coming of every man, and yet he himself, being shadowed with the two Hills, might lie unperceived of any.

*Mahamet*, the new King of *Persia*, as yet scarcely settled in his Kingdom, stirred up by the fame of these motions, resolved in himself to stand upon the defence of his State, and for a time to dissemble the conceived hatred which he bare to some of the Sultans of *Persia*, and Princes of *Georgia*, and to make some apparent shew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promise unto himself any form of an Army, or Defence; wherein, (notwithstanding all the troubled State of his Kingdom) he wrought so cunningly, that almost all the great men of account, took upon them the Protection of his State and Kingdom.

And so *Tocmac* a Sultan, the Chan and Governour of *Reisan*, a famous man, well known unto the Turks, and of great Reputation amongst the Persians, was chosen General of this Expedition; with charge, That the gathering together the greatest number of Men he could out of *Atropatia*, out of *Media* the greater, and other Places near unto the Turks, he should by all means possible stop their passage into *Georgia* and *Media Atropatia*. And thereupon Precepts were sent out into all parts of the Kingdom, that all the Chans, Sultans, and Soldiers whatsoever, should come ready prest to attend upon their new General's Matry obedient to the Kings Proclamation, came, but many there were that would not stir a foot, for their Obstinacy in the Broils begun, and for the Suspicion they had of unlooked for Michiefs; at whose Disobedience the King much grieved, but now there was no Remedy but to make the best of the matter, and for the safeguard of his Honour to make the best of his Assistance they could. So with those few, which for the love of their Prince and Country were met together in those parts, being in number not above twenty thousand, *Tocmac* was dispatched about his Business, if happily he might with these small Forces oppress the Enemy in some straight and troublesome Passage, where the great multitude should rather serve to the confusion of themselves, than to the help of one another. These twenty thousand were all Horse-men, armed with Scimitar and Bow, with some *Harquebuzers* among, and furnished with very fine and well tempered Armour; but above all, courageous they were and resolute, and well the more, for the Valour and Prowess of their General. So provided of all things necessary, they set forward, and keeping the way of *Tauris* and *Genge*, they came to the turning of *Chars*, where they were advertised, that the Enemies Army was already passed.

They were now come within a days Journey of *Chielder*, when they sent quick and faithful Scouts to bring them certain News of the Condition and number of the Turks Army, who came thither even at the very time that *Mustapha* was incamping his Army between the two Hills, whereupon the two Bassas, *Bayan* and *Derwis*, with their People, had already pitched their Tents. These Scouts discovering the Turkish host aloft, persuaded themselves that there was not any other Batel than those which they saw upon the Hills; whereof, with all speed they could, they returned News to *Tocmac*, who at a safe and well tempered of his Scouts a far off. *Tocmac* thus informed by his Scouts of the number of his Enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpose to assault them; and having discovered their Tents upon the Hills, was

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Mustapha  
confronts  
with his  
Batel to  
relieve his  
distressed  
People.Tocmac  
General  
of the  
Persians.A Bulwark  
made of  
the heads  
of the slain  
Persians.

thoroughly confirmed in the Opinion he had before conceived of the number of his Enemies, and the Scouts relation, and with so much the more confidence set forward to assail them. But *Bayan* and *Derwis*, who quickly from the Hills perceived the Persians coming in the Plain, although they knew them to be men of great Courage, yet reposing an assured Confidence in their Generals Batel, with all speed mounted upon their Horses, and ran to meet them. So in the afore said Plains under *Chielder*, within one hour after noon was joynt a most bloody Batel, wherein at last were slain seven of the Turks Sazacks, with a very great number of Soldiers, without any apparent loss at all among the Persians, who fighting close together in a great heat, and all be-bloodied, urged their happy and fortunate Victory.

But *Mustapha*, who perceived all that had passed, and staid waiting till the fight was at its hottest, and the meely at its thickest, that so the flight of the Enemies might breed their greater disorder; and now seeing that his People could no longer endure the fury of the Enemies Rage (even as if it had lightened and thundered, and as though the Earth had shaken) with such Cries and Acclamations as the Turks use in their Assaults for the more Terror of the Enemies, exciting his Army, ran as it were headlong upon his Adversaries, and so renewed and more terrible Batel. The Persians wonderful Courage endured this unexpected and dreadful Assault, and with incredible signs of Valour, in that little time of day-light that was left (for the Night began now to approach) continued their manifold slaughters, and at last, being favoured by the darkness of the Night, withdrew themselves with as little loss as possibly they might. Neither durst *Mustapha* any longer pursue them, but was glad by Night to return to his Camp. Of the success of this Batel the Persians certified their King; as also of the greatness of the Turkish Army, with their further purpose for the annoying thereof. And by the Turks also were presented to *Mustapha* (who had already sent away Posts with News to *Amurath*) 5000 Heads, which by their Colour, Countenance, and Beards, bewrayed themselves to be Persians, and 3000 Persians alive. Of this Victory *Mustapha* greatly rejoiced, and to make it the greater (seeking by all means to conceal his own Losses and to raise a greater Terror by the Fame thereof, amongst his Enemies,) caused the Heads of those three thousand that were brought before him alive, to be presently cut from their Shoulders, and gave order, that of those Heads there should be framed a Bulwark in those Fields, for a most horrible and uncouth Spectacle.

The same day that *Mustapha* employed himself about this barbarous and cruel work, there came unto him certain Messengers from *Mamuchiar*, the younger Son of the Georgian *King Dowledin* (a great Prince in that Country) who told him, That with his good favour and leave, *Mamuchiar* their Lord and Master was coming to salute him, and to offer himself unto him as his obedient and devoted servant. At which news *Mustapha* redoubling his Joy, gave commandment, That all the Bassas and Captains of the Army, with all solemn Pomp, with drums, Drums, and seals of Ordinance, and all other signs of munificent and joyfull Entertainment, should go forth to meet the said *Mamuchiar*, and to accompany him to his Presence. Which they did accordingly, and so encountering him with all signs of Honour,

conducted him to the great Pavilion of *Mustapha*, who there caused him again to be saluted with like Triumph. *Mamuchiar* dismounted from his Horse, and against his Will beholding the strange and uncouth pile of Heads, all pale and filthy to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant; yet notwithstanding, before all other things, having done his due Reverence to the great Bassa, and according to his degree placed himself next to his side, after he had presented him with such Gifts as his Country yielded, he gave him to understand, That for the Honour and Estimation which he bare to the Turkish Valour, he was always devoted to the House of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes desired to spend his Goods and Life in their Service, so at this present time, moved by his ancient desire, alured by the strange Fame of this victorious and wonderful Army, and stirred up by a particular fantasy to learn the painful and hard Precepts of the Art Military, under such a General, Commander of other Commanders; he offered him all Devotion and Service, more than ever he had done to any heretofore, and himself having nothing in the World more dear unto him, consecrated his own Life to his Commandments; desiring that the fame might be employed in the conflicts of War under his Banners, among Warriors and Soldiers of Fame and Renown; and therefore besought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whose obedient Vassal he vowed himself to remain for ever.

Graciously did *Mustapha* receive all this Discourse from *Mamuchiar*, and having thenceforth again the pile of Heads, together with his Battels, Armour, and Provision of War, told him, That as all these Forces are the Gift of God, who ever favoured the righteous Councils of the *Othoman* Emperours, in such sort that they lord it over all the World, even to the astonishment of all that live in the World at this day; so had he, for his particular, chosen the better part, in coming now to yield himself, and to submit his Obedience to his Lord, although it had been better if he had done it before. And as concerning the desire he had to be his Companion and Fellow in their warlike Affairs, he did very friendly accept of his coming, and promised him all good Entertainment and assured Safety. And so in exchange of the Presents which he brought with him, he apparelled him in Cloath of Gold, honoured him with a Battel-axe and Targuet wrought with Gold and Ammel, and never permitted him to go from his Pavilion without a train of his Slaves following him.

This Georgian Prince thus solemnly entertained, the General gave order thorough the Camp, That they should the next Morning remove from those Mountains; and now every man was putting himself in readiness, when as there rose a most terrible Tempest of Wind and Rain, mixt with Thunder and Lightning; which continued with such Violence by the space of four days together, as if the Heavens had been dissolved into Waters. Whereby it came to pass, that out of the dead Carcasses and Heads before mentioned, issued a most horrible stink; so that thereby, and by the foulness of the Weather, with the other Annoyances always attending upon so great a Camp, the whole Army was exceedingly troubled, and divers Diseases arose among the Turks. But at the last the Weather breaking

The speech  
of Mamuchiar  
to Mustapha.The An-  
swer of  
Mustapha.A terrible  
Tempest.

1578

Muſtapha ſurveyeth his Army at Arch-chieler, and taketh forty thouſand of his Men.

up, *Muſtapha* riſe with his Camp, and ſet forward toward *Tefis*; and being not able by reaſon of the foulneſs of the way to paſs any further, that day layed in the Plains, where the Lake *Chielder* Grol handeth, and there reſreſhed his ſick and wounded Souldiers; removing thence, the next day about Noon he came to the Caſtle of *Archchibeleck*, ſometime a Caſtle of the *Georgians*, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his Wars againſt *Tamas*, and ever ſince holden by the *Turks*. Here *Muſtapha* ſurveyed his Army, and by diligent account taken, found himſelf to want 40000 of his Souldiers; whereof ſome were ſlain in the Battle, ſome were dead of Sickneſs, and many, weary of ſo long and perilous a Journey, were by Night ſolne out of the Camp, and returned to take their eaſe at home. From thence the Army removed, and lodged at Night near the marſh called of the *Turks* *Peruſans* Grol, or Lake of Slaves; and the next day came to *Triada*, where at this day are to be ſeen the Ruins of a great City, and of many Churches; whereof ſome are yet repaired and maintained by devout Chriſtians, the Reliques of thoſe happy and religious Forces, that with ſo great and faithful zeale paſſed the Seas and Mountains through thoſe barbarous Nations into the Holy Land; Men worthy of eternal Praise. The next day the *Turks* aſcended the high and craggy Mountain that ſtandeth upon *Tefis*; from the top whereof defending the day following, they ſeized upon a Caſtle of the *Georgians*, called by the *Turks* *Giurgi Chala*. Departing thence, and lodging in certain Plains, the next day they came near to the River that runneth by *Tefis*. But in theſe four days march from *Archchibeleck*, where *Muſtapha* took view of his Army, he made ſuch a number of the *Turks*, who in ſeeking for Victuals for themſelves and their Horſes, had ſtraggled from the Army, were cut off by the *Georgian* Captains, who with a number of their own Country Souldiers ſecrely followed the *Turks* Army, and well acquainted with all the ways of the Country, lay in ambuſh upon ſuch Places as the Viſualiers were to paſs through, and ſo ſuddenly ſetting upon them, ſpoiled them at once both of their Goods and Lives.

*Muſtapha* coming to *Tefis*, found that Caſtle empty, for that *Dani Chan* Lord thereof, hearing of the coming of the *Turks*, forſook the ſame, and betook himſelf to the Fields, providing better for himſelf in ſo doing, than by ſtaying ſil in the Caſtle, to have been there taken Priſoner. This Caſtle, for the convenient Situation thereof, *Muſtapha* cauſed to be repaired and fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of Artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Baſſa* General Governour of that Place, with a Garriſon of fix thouſand Souldiers; which done, he departed for *Siruan*. At which very time thoſe of *Soria*, which had brought a thouſand loads of Rent-Corn to the Camp from *Aleppo*, being themſelves in number a thouſand Perſons, with five hundred others of *Onps* (in ancient time called *Hus*, the City of the patient Job) and other places of *Soria*, men neither of Duty bound, nor of themſelves willing to follow the Camp, returned homewards towards their own Country; but upon the way they were ſet upon by *Aleſandro*, *Giuſſif*, and *David*, (three of the *Georgian* Lords) and all ſlain, except ſome few, who by the ſwiftnes of their Horſes eſcaped with *Nuſſerdin* their Captain.

Now after that *Muſtapha* had paſſed the defcent of the ſteep Mountains of *Tefis*, the next

day he incamped in certain low Plains; where the Ambaſſadors of *Aleſandro*, ſurnamed the Great, Son of *Leuent*, a *Georgian* Prince, came unto him, and told him, That their Lord was ready, if it ſo pleaſed him, to come unto him to do him Reverence, and by word of mouth to promiſe him that Devotion he had always in mind borne to the *Obſoman* Emperours. With glad Heart and cheerful Countenance did *Muſtapha* receive theſe Ambaſſadors, and preſently ſent them back to will their Lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendſhip ſhould be unto him moſt dear and acceptable. And after their departure, took order with all the Commanders of his Army, to receive him with all the ſignes of Joy that might be; which at his coming was accordingly by them performed. Who, after he had preſented unto the General the rich Gifts he had brought with him, he offered his Obedience to the *Baſſa*, with the moſt lively Speeches he could poſſibly deviſe, calling *Amurath* his Lord; ſeeming to take it in evil part, that he paſſed not through his Territory, where he ſhould (as he ſaid) have had plenty of all things for the relief of his Army; yet hoping that in his return from *Siruan* he would take it in his way; whereas he ſhould find him moſt ready to beſtow all that he had in the Service of his Lord, ſelling him moreover, That although he could not, for many urgent reſpects, go with him into *Siruan*, yet he would always accompany him in Mind, and continually pray unto the Creator of all things, for his Proſperity and moſt happy Succeſs. Courteouſly did *Muſtapha* receive both his Preſents and Submiſſion, and in exchange thereof beſtowed upon him certain Gifts after the *Turkiſh* manner, and in maſſiveſt Terms gave him anſwer; promiſing him in his return to paſs through his Country, and ſo diſmiſſed the *Perſian* Duke with like Honour, wherewith he was entertained at his coming.

*Muſtapha*, holding on his Journey toward *Siruan*, through moorſh and troubleſome ways; in twelve days after he departed from *Tefis*, came into the Confinnes of *Siruan*, near to the River *Canac*, and there rafted on this ſide the River one day. At which time they of the City of *Sechi*, bordering upon the *Siruanians* and *Georgians*, four days Journey from *Sumachia*, came to offer themſelves to *Muſtapha* Subjects to the *Turks*: Of whole Submiſſion the General graciouſly accepted, promiſing to them his aſſured Protection.

The *Turks* Army over-wearied with the continual travel of twelve days march, but yet far more afflicted with hunger, not finding in thoſe Parts ſo much as one wild beaſt to aſſuage their greedy deſire of Meat, ſought by all means, every man for himſelf, to get ſomething, eſpecially when they underſtood their General would paſs the River into a Country unto them all unknown, where they were altogether uncertain what to find for their relief. So wiſh they were inquiring among themſelves, who were able to conduct them to ſome ſuch place as where they might ſupply their wants, behold, certain *Perſians* were taken, who being ſtraitly examined on that point, after much reſiſtance, at laſt told them, that not far off after they had paſſed certain Marſhes, where *Canac* diſcharged it ſelf into *Araxis*, they ſhould find many Fields full of Rice and Corn in the blade, and a little farther certain far herds of Cattel, ſufficient to relieve the whole Army. Of this News was the General certified, who, although he greatly doubted the ſubtilty of his Enemies, yet to gratifie his Souldiers, and to make them more willing to follow him

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Aleſandro the Georgian ſendeth Ambaſſadors to Muſtapha.

Aleſandro cruelly over-aweined by Muſtapha.

1578

Ten thouſand of the *Turks* Foragers ſlain.

him into *Siruan*, he licenſed every man that had a deſire thereto, to go and provide himſelf of Viſuals, and ſo ſuffered all that would to go freely. Whereupon there went of themſelves, and were ſent by their Captains, about ten thouſand ſervile Perſons, with Camels, Horſes and Mules, to fetch away this proviſion of Corn and Cattel: But the Event anſwered not to their deſires. For *Toocma*, with the other *Perſian* Captains, and the reſt of the Souldiers that were eſcaped from the overthrow given them in the Plains of *Chielder*, having gathered together the remainder of the Army, and recovered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friendly for them, carefully attended the marching and paſſing of the *Turkiſh* Army. And being certainly informed by them of *Reſvan* and *Georgia* what way they kept, and that of neceſſity they muſt arrive at the Banks of *Canac*, they began to deviſe how they might in ſome meaſure be revenged for their former loſs, and impeach their Enemies entrance into *Siruan*. But wanting rather ſtrength than courage to aſſaile the whole Army, they thought it beſt to ſtay in ambuſh in ſome fit place, until ſome part of the *Turkiſh* Army (allured with the prey of the Corn and Cattel) ſhould for the relief of their common Neceſſities deſcend into thoſe fields. And the rather to draw them on, ſent out divers men, who, as if they had gone about their own buſineſs, and by chance at unawares had lighted upon the *Turks* Camp, revealed unto them as a great Secret, what a good Prey was hard by them; and ſo withdrawing themſelves out of fight, privily awaited the coming of the *Turks*: when as within the ſpace of three days it ſo fell out, that the aſſailed ten thouſand Foragers arrived at the ſpecified place, where they had no ſooner begun to chaſe themſelves with the Prey, but they were ſurprized by the *Perſians* and all ſlain, ſaving a few who by haſty flight ſaved themſelves. The noiſe of this hot Skirmiſh being heard into the *Turkiſh* Hoſt, cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out even as indeed it was; and therefore riſing with his whole Army, haſted with all poſſible ſpeed to have ſuccoured the poor People, who were now all ſlain. And albeit he came not in ſo good time as to yield them relief, yet came he very ſilky to revenge their Death upon the *Perſians*, ſlaying too long to load themſelves with the Spoil of their Enemies.

The place from whence the *Turks* were to have had the aforeſaid Booty, was almoſt in manner of an Iſland, incloſed with the Rivers of *Araxis* and *Canac*; whereto *Muſtapha* entred with his whole Power; *Derwis Baſſa* leading the one Wing, as did *Boyan Baſſa* the other, and he incloſed with the multitude of their *Perſian* Allies. The *Perſians*, ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all his Forces haſting towards them, and withal, remembering the late overthrow by them received in the Plains of *Chielder*; began to beſink themſelves how much better it had been for them to have contented themſelves with the late ſlaughter of the Foragers, and with ſpeed to have got them away out of that Straight, than by ſtaying longer, to be incloſed with the multitude of their *Perſians*, as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt manifold Peril. In this perplexity diſcourſing among themſelves, whether it were better to fly, or with ſo great diſadvantage to joyn battel, and ſo rather to dye honourably, than to live with reproach; at laſt they reſolved to relieve themſelves to the further ſervice of their Prince and Country, deeming it rather a point of Wiſdom, to ſacrifice themſelves to adventure upon moſt deſperate and aſſured death, ſo many worthy men as might in future time ſtand their Country in good ſtead; yet did they not ſee how, by flight, they would eſcape, for that they were in ſuch ſhort ſtrain-

ed within the Rivers, as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by, than that which contrary to their Expectation was by the *Turks* alſo readily poſſeſſed. In theſe Difficulties every man began to betake himſelf to his own private Conceit and Fortune. *Toocma* with *Amir Chan*, and other the great Commanders of the Army, were the firſt that turned their Backs, and by the help of their Courageous Horſes got over the River of *Canac*: whole Example moved many others to attempt the like, though not with like Fortune; for that their Horſes being not of ſuch Courage, and out of Breath, lay many of them drowned in the River. Wherewith others being amazed, as perceiving inevitable death in flying preſent before their Eyes, and reſolving alſo their hope even in deſpair, ran as if they were heading in a Rage and Fury upon their Enemies, and in fighting ſhewed unpeakable Valour: but what was one againſt an hundred? For there they were alſo all ſlain, though worthy of immortal Fame. Thus was the *Perſian* Army quite diſcomfited in this demy Iſland, being firſt ſlain with the Blood of the Enemy, and afterwards with the ſlaughter of the Neighbour and proper Inhabitant, and ſo became the perpetual ſpectacle of a moſt courageous and warlike People. The *Turks* in this laſt Conſliſt loſt not above 3000 men, beſide the ſlaughter of the 10000 Foragers; although *Toocma*, to make his loſs to ſeem the more tolerable, made report to the King of a great ſlaughter made. The *Perſian* Captains, full of ſorrow for this unexpected overthrow, with the licence of their General departed every man to his ſeveral Government: as *Emangul Chan* to *Genge*, *Seraph Chan* to *Nuſſerdin*, *Toocma* himſelf to *Reſvan*, and all the reſt to other Cities, to which Government whither they were before by the King appointed, and ſo remained, excepting his further Pleaſure from *Casbin*.

*Muſtapha* was now come to the River of *Canac*, which he was to paſs over into *Siruan*; and therefore made ſtraight Proclamation through his whole Army: That every man ſhould be in readineſs to aſſault the next day to paſs the River. At which Proclamation all his People ſuddenly aroſe in a tumult, and with injurious Terms, even to his Face, reproved his Folly and Inhumanity, propounding utter danger unto himſelf, and an univerſal Conſuſion unto the whole Army: and therefore prayed him to ſurceale from proceeding any further, unleſs he were minded to caſt them all away. But his reſolute Mind waſt not by their Threats or Intreaties to be removed, neither gave he them other Answer than this, That ſuch *Amurath* commanded, and that if all the reſt followed himſelves unwilling to obey their Sovereign, he himſelf would not, nor could not, but would be the firſt man to attempt and perform that which they all ſo abhorred and reproved. Valiant Souldiers (he ſaid) were diſcovered and known not in Idleneſs and Eaſe, but in great pains taking, and difficult Enterprises: who never ought to be afraid to change this momentary Life for everlaſting Honour, or to ſhun Death, if the Service of their Prince ſo required. And for mine own part, ſaid he, I muſt earneſtly preſent you, that after I have attempted the paſſage, if any thing happens unto me otherwiſe than well, yet carry my dead Body to the other ſide of the River, to the end that if I cannot ſhall I yet live execute the Commandment of my Sovereign, I may yet at laſt perform the ſame when I am but a ſpeechleſs and liveleſs Carcaſs: for ſo much as the deſire of my Lord is not in any ſort to be fruſtrated, for making too great account of mine own Life.

Divers andundry murmuring and whiſperings followed upon this ſpeech of cadmonour, ſo that ſome without ſtanding the next morning did firſt of all waſte over the deep and ſwift River himſelf: after whom preſently followed the *Baſſa*, with all their Slaves, by whole Example the reſt alſo were induced at laſt

The Reſolution Anſwered by the *Perſians* to the *Turks* Souldiers.

to

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The *Perſian* army, and in flying are many of them drowned in *Canac*.

B b b b b



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Eight thousand  
Turks  
drowned  
in passing  
the River.

to do the like, and so continued untill the darkness of the Night interrupted their Passage; by which Occasion more than half the Army could not then get over. In this Passage, being with great Tumult and Disorder attempted, it came to pass that about 8000 Persons, carried away with the violence of the River, were miserably drowned, with the great outcry of all the Host. The like hapned also to many Mules, Camels, and Sumpter Horses, upon whose Backs divers Persons being mounted, in hope to have passed dry over the River, were likewise headlong overwhelmed therein. With great Complaints and blasphemous Curlings was the whole Night spent by those that were yet on this side the River, whose fears were not a little increased by the Example of their unfortunate Fellows before drowned. And like enough it was some pestilent Sedition to have ensued thereupon, had there not a shallow Ford by great chance been discovered, which gave safe Passage to those that were left; for in the Passage which the People made that followed *Mulapha*, the Gravel of the bottom of the River being raised and removed by the heavy Host, the Cattel was driven down the River to a place where by great good hap there was also a Ford, and there gathered together in a heap, had in such sort raised the depth of the Channel, that it made as it were a shelf for their commodious Passage, so that the remnant of the Army, Carriages, and Artillery passing over the same, there was not so much as one man that perished. So having with much difficulty at last got over the River of *Ganah*, they called themselves that day and the next, and there stayed untill the whole Army was mustered, and again put in Order. Removing thence, the day following they encamped in certain barren Champains, where was neither Corn nor Cattel; neither could they perceive or learn, that in those quarters were any Villages at all. By means whereof, the hunger of their Beasts increasing, they were enforced to give their Horses and Mules Leaves and Stalks of very dry and withered Reeds, and such like things of little or no sustenance at all: and the men themselves were fain to satisfy their hunger with their uttermost reliques which they were fain to pick out of such poor Victuals as now by Corruption were become loathsome to mans Nature; and that which worse was, they saw no end of their Miseries they were to enter into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they must follow the fortune of their Leaders; among whom *Mulapha* bore all the rest far forward on his determined Journey. He had not long marched, but there was discovered good store of sundry Plants, and shortly after a very large plain Country all green and flourishing, and garnished with many Trees; by the only sight whereof every man was refreshed with the hope of Relief, and with more than ordinary paces hastened untill they were entered into those Champains, abounding with all kind of Corn and Fruits that could be of an hungry man desired. In this place did every man find his Appetite, and found in part the fore-passed Calamities. Through this fruitful and pleasant Country *Mulapha* leading his Army, at last arrived at *Eres*, the chief City in that Coast of *Sirvan*, as you travel from *Georgia*.

This City of *Eres* was forsaken of a number of her Inhabitants, as soon as it was known that the Turks were come to *Cataca*, who all followed their Governour *Samir Chan*, who with *Ares Chan*, Governour of *Sumachia*, and other the Governours of *Sebis*, and other Places of *Sirvan*, forsook the Cities, and all together withdrew themselves into the Mountains, as places of more surety, attending the event of these great Motions: so that as the

Turks entered the City undisturbed, so were they with the prey they found therein nothing enriched, for that in this common danger every man had carried away with him the best things he had. Here stayed *Mulapha* two and twenty days, during which time he erected a Fortres in the said City; whereupon he placed two hundred small pieces of Artillery, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Bassa* with a Garrison of five thousand Soldiers. In the mean time also he commanded *Ofman Bassa* (one of the voluntary Captains) with ten thousand men to possess *Sumachia*, sometime the metropolitane City of that Province, with the Title of Viceroy and Governour-general of *Sirvan*. Giving him further in charge, that in any case he should clear the passage to *Dorhent*, and give present Advancements to the *Tartarians* of his arrival there, whom he supplied by that time to be come into those quarters, for that they had before so faithfully promised to *Amurath*. *Ofman* comming to *Sumachia*, presently seized upon the City, and was friendly entertained of those that remained there; whom he likewise courteously increased, without doing or suffering any outrage to be done upon them. Of which his courteous usage they of *Dorhent* understanding, sent presently to offer their City unto him, beseeching him to receive them into his Protection, and to defend them from the *Persians*; under whom, although they had long lived in subjection, yet differed they from them in the Ceremonies of their Mahometan Superstition, wherein they better agreed with the Turks.

*Mulapha* having thus brought the Country of *Sirvan* into the Turkish subjection, and finished his Fortres at *Eres*, and put all things in such order as he thought best; impudenced by the *Jamzaries* and the People of *Grecia*, and somewhat increased by the season of the year, which was now far spent, departed from *Eres*, and turned his course homeward toward the Country of *Alexander*, fitnamed the Great, as he had promised in his late Passage into *Sirvan*. And having travelled a long Journey, he sent before him certain English and Pioneers to make a Bridge over *Canah*, so without danger to pass over his Army. Having passed the River, he gave notice to *Sahamal* (one of the Lords of *Georgia*) of his arrival, who presently came and yielded himself as Vassal to the Turks; and being entertained of the *Bassa* with great Pomp, and rewarded after the Turkish manner, took his leave, and so returned into his Mountain of *Bres*.

*Mulapha* setting again forward, and travelling by Night, because he would not lose the opportunity of the fair weather, by the error of his Guides lost his way, and so fell into rough and difficult Passages, whereby he was enforced to stay and wait for day light; which arising, did manifest unto them, that they were now entered into the Countries of his Friend *Alexander*: and therefore he gave forthwith Proclamation through all the Army, That no man upon pain of Death should be so foolish as to molest or disquiet any of the Subjects of *Alexander*, but to have good respect unto them, and to treat them with all Courtesy. The day following, he still travelled on in the same Country, when there arrived from *Zaghen* certain Ambassadors of *Alexander*, with great abundance of Cattel, Corn, Fruits, and other relief sent for a Present to the General, with a solemn excuse that he came not himself, because the Infirmary of his Body would not suffer him. Wherewithall *Mulapha* rested satisfied, and leaving the City of *Zaghen* on the right hand, caused the Messengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to *Teflis*, which they so directly did, that within the space

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*Mulapha*  
relieved  
his distressed  
Garrison  
at *Teflis*.

space of three days they conducted him thither with his Army, without the feeling of any annoyance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their pains by the General. Who now come to *Teflis*, found the Garrison he had there left for the keeping thereof, so hardly pinched with Famine, that they were glad to eat Cats, Dogs, Sheep-skins, and such like unwonted food, for neither durst they for fear of the Enemy go out of the Cattle to provide for themselves, neither if they had so done, had it any thing availed, such was the carefulness of the Enemy in keeping of his things: but now, by the coming of the General, they were relieved with Meat, Money, and plenty of all things. Having stayed there two days, he put himself again upon his way, and with Fire and Sword destroyed whatsoever came in his way in the Champains subject to the said City, only the Sepulchres of *Simons* Progenitors (Lord of that Country) were left untouched by the Turks Fury. The next day they travelled over rough and ragged Mountains, full of a thousand difficulties, which were the more increased by wonderful great Snows that were fallen, by reason whereof, many Soldiers, Horses, Camels, and Mules perished. In which distress the Army continued two days, during which time the Soldiers were fallen into such disorder, that forgetting the fear of the Enemies Country wherein they were, every man without regard took up his several lodging apart, some here, some there, where they might find either some thick Bush or some small Cottage, or some quiet Valley to shelter themselves in from the Wind, the Snow, and the Storm. Of which disorder certain *Georgian* Lords understanding by the Scouts, which from time to time waited upon the Turks Army, joyined themselves together, and in the Night secretly approached unto it, expecting the Opportunity of performing some notable Exploit; and having observed, that *Hosaine Bey* had withdrawn himself with his Regiment from the rest of the Army under certain Mountains, to lay claim himself from the Storm and Wind; they took the Occasion presented, and so assailing him, slew his Slaves and all his Squadrons, took a great booty of many loads of Money and Apparel, laid away with them all his Horses, and whatsoever else they could find, and scarce gave him leisure to save himself, by flying into the Tents of *Byran Bassa*. The next morning the Turks removed, and in the Evening came to a Castle called *Churuchala*, where they stayed a whole day to make provision of Victual, which was attempted by sending abroad many of their Slaves into the Fields, conducted by them of the Castle, who were all miserably cut in pieces by the *Georgians*. From this Place the Turks Army departed in great hunger, over divers rough places of the *Georgians*, where they were oftentimes fain to rest themselves; and at last came to the Confines of *Dedeinit*, of her called the Widows Country. In the entrance whereof, they must needs pass thorough a narrow Strait, between certain Mountains, where the Lord of *Widul*, which was attempted by the low Vallies, a dangerous place, and so narrow that no more but one man alone could at once pass through it. Between this Strait and a very thick and hilly Wood, they lodged upon the Bank of the said River, and from thence they removed the next morning and travelled over very steep Mountains and rough Fjords, over Ice and Snow, more hard than Marble, and over other hanging Rocks, in such miserable sort, that many Camels, Mules, and Horses, and the murthering Lord himself, were miserably perished. Through these ruinous Crags, and divers other Miseries, they marched all the next day, and after

that another day also, as miserable to the Army as the former; and so at last being sore afflicted with hunger, spoiled of the Enemy, tormented with the hard labour of the Car and situation of the Place, they arrived in the Territories that lay under *Almchala*, or golden Castle, the princely Widows Palace, where they had all manner of Relief for all the Miseries they had endured since their departure from *Churuchala*, by the space of six days; which if it had been a fair common travelled way, might have been performed in one only days Journey.

The Widow, with *Alexander* her eldest Son, came down from her Castle, and went unto the Pavilion of *Mulapha*, offering him divers Presents, and promising unto him all faithful Obedience; whom *Mulapha* courteously received, declaring unto her what honourable entertainment he had given to *Manuchiar* her younger Son there present, who had been with him in all the Expedition into *Sirvan*. And for the present, dismissing the privy displeasure he bare against *Alexander* (whom he thought to have been one of them that spoiled the *Servants* in their return from the Camp) he embraced him courteously, and prayed her to be content to leave him also there with him, giving her farther to understand, that he would fend both her Sons to *Constantinople* to *Amurath*, with Letters of Credence for their yielded Obedience, for their Favour shewed to his Army, in giving it to secure Passage, and to many Helps; and lastly, that for their good Deserts, they might be of the said great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged Lady, who before this time had been with ill will to him, yet outwardly in her Countenance showed her self pleased; and seemed contentedly to yield that he was of necessity constrained to grant; as well for that he was already possessed of one of her Sons, as also for that both herself and her whole state were now in his Power; and as it were at his Devotion: and therefore, leaving both her Sons behind her, she returned her self heavy to her Castle.

In this Place *Mulapha* having refreshed his Army two days, departed thence toward *Chars*, and after many days travel, at last arrived at *Ersirum*, to the great rejoicing of the whole Army, which was there presently discharged by the General, without any murthering at all, and leave given for every man to return into his Country.

*Mulapha* settling himself in *Ersirum*, dispatched Poets with Letters of plentiful Advancements to his great Lord and Master, of all things that had passed; not forgetting to magnify his own Exploits above Measure. He certified him of the Batels he had had with the *Persians*, the Obedience he had received of the *Georgians* and *Sirvanians*, the mutiny of his own Soldiers, the Fortres he had built at *Eres*, the Garrisons left in that City with *Caitas Bassa*, and in *Sumachia* with *Ofman Bassa*; and in brief, whatsoever else had passed, and whatsoever he had taken from the Enemy. Neither did he fail to propound unto *Amurath* what he thought convenient to be attempted the next year, for the strengthening of those places he had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new Enterprises. And principally he put him in Mind of a Fortification to be made at *Chars*, a place very fit for any Passage into *Georgia* or *Armenia*, by situation fruitful and commodious both for Men and Cattel. And withall he sent unto him the Widows two Sons *Alexander* and *Manuchiar*, the *Georgian* Princes, certifying him of their great Love and Affection, and that they desired their Country till good entertainment and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his Opinion, That *Manuchiar* was the fitter man for Government than his

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The Georgian  
Widow  
furnished  
herself  
with her Son  
*Alexander*  
and  
*Manuchiar*.

*Mulapha*  
council to  
*Ersirum*,  
and dis-  
charged  
his Army.

*Mulapha*  
magnified  
his own  
Exploits  
to *Amurath*.

Famine in  
the Turks  
Host.

The Turks  
Army re-  
freshed.

The Mili-  
tary of the  
Turks Army  
in passing  
the Straights  
of *Georgia*.



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his Brother *Alexander*, and the reader to do him Service. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the Valour and Diligence of *Muphtah*, and highly pleased himself with this conceit. That of these beginnings might grow mighty Conquests, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this means he should be able to surpass the Glory of his Predecessors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about these Wars, the less he troubled himself with thinking how to annoy Europe with his Forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Muphtah* from *Eres*, but that the *Tartarians*, having left the Fens of *Meotis*, and the unmountable fiores of the black Sea, and having passed over the Rocks upon *Chokchia*, and surveyed the frozen Gorge of the Mountain *Caucasus*, were now arrived upon the Confines of *Sirvan*, and there attended the Commandment of the Turks. These *Tartarians*, being of them that are called *Præcopenes*, to the number of thirty thousand, conducted by their Lord and Captain *Abdicheirai*, a young man of great Valour and Fame, and of a comely Personage, were come, according to the faithful Promise of *Tartar Chan*, with full Resolution to attempt whatsoever should be commanded them by the Name of *Amurath*. Now *Ofman Bassa* understanding of their approach, according to the charge before given him by *Muphtah* the General, invited them to enter into *Sirvan*, and by increasing of the Turks Forces, to further these beginnings of *Amurath's* Glory, and these his Conquests, (or more truly to say, these magnificent and famous Terms of Victory) all which was most diligently put in Execution by *Abdicheirai*; who, having entered the Iron Gates where *Derben* standeth, (which by the Turks at this day is called *Denir Capi*, and signifieth the Gates of Iron) and so from thence passing into the Country of *Sirvan*, there stayed, and thereof gave Advertisement to *Ofman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan*, late Governour of *Sumachia*, who for fear of the great Army of the Turks had abandoned the City, the chief place of his charge, and beaken himself to the safeguard of the Mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkish General, rejoyced with the other Governours of *Eres* and *Sechi* (who following his Example, had in like manner fled) now to return again to their forsaken Country, and to make proof if he could by any means take revenge of the Injury done unto him by the Turks. So passing under *Sumachia*, and having put to the Sword certain of *Ofman's* straggling Victuallers that were gone out of the City, he incamped with all his People a little from *Sumachia*, and by good Fortune surprised certain Messengers sent from *Abdicheirai* the Tartar, to certify *Ofman Bassa* of his arrival, and to know his Pleasure what he should put in Execution. These *Tartarians*, brought before *Ares*, after much Torture disclosed the Letters they carried, which the *Perfian* Captain read, and considering the great number of the *Tartarians* that were come, (for the Letters made mention of thirty thousand) he resolved not to stay any longer in those quarters, but presently raised his Camp, and retired towards *Canac*, meaning from thence to certify the King of those Novelties, and upon the banks of the said River to attend the Kings answer. The *Tartarian* Captain coming to *Sumachia*, was appointed by the *Bassa* to pass over the River of *Canac* into *Genge*, the Country of *Emanguli Chan*, with the spoil thereof to enrich himself, and by all means to make his arrival unfeigned, and by all means to make his arrival unfeigned, and by all means to make his arrival unfeigned.

*Chan* was yet incamped; whom he upon the sudden most furiously assaulted, and like a devouring flame discomfited all his Host: and taking him alive, sent him to *Sumachia* to *Ofman*, who forthwith caused him to be hanged by the Neck out of a Lodging in the same State-house where he had not long before sat as Governour. The *Tartarian* after that, swimming over the River, and crossing a little above *Genge*, found *Emanguli Chan* with his Wife, and all his Family, and a great part of the Nobility of *Genge* in a Valley hunting the wild Boar; and assailing him, put him to flight, took from him his Wife, all the Ladies, and many Slaves, and flew many of the rest that were come thither to flee the spot: and after that rode on to *Genge*, which he took, and yielded it wholly to the Fury and Lust of his barbarous Soldiers, who left no manner of inhumane Cruelty unattempted, in satisfying their immoderate and barbarous Affections. And so being loaded with the Spoils, and weary with the slaughter of their Enemies, they returned merrily toward *Sirvan*: and passing again over *Canac*, came to the higher side of *Eres* into certain low Champaigns, environed about with Hills, and there having pitched their Tents, without any fear feared themselves to sleep, and to rest their weary Bodies.

In the mean time, and long before these Actions, was News brought to the *Perfian* Court of all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the *Perfian* King having gathered new Forces, had dispatched *Emir Hamse Mirise*, his eldest Son, with 120000 Soldiers to pass into *Sirvan*, to see what hurt the Enemy had done, and to attempt the revenge of the forepassed Injuries; but above all things to punish the Villany of them of *Sechi*, and then the City of *Sirvan*, that not induced with any Necessity, had so voluntarily yielded themselves to follow the Obedience and Religion of the Turks. The *Perfian* Prince departing from *Cashin*, accompanied with his Mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloved Son, was on his way towards *Sirvan*, under the guiding and Government of *Mirise Salmas*, chief of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the Countries of *Ardozil* and *Caracach*, when he was certified by the advertisements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arrival of *Abdicheirai*, with his great number of *Tartarians*; and was thereby at the first stricken into a great quandary, and almost out of comfort: yet, prick'd forward with an honourable desire of Glory and Revenge, he prosecuted his intended enterprise for *Sirvan*, and halting his Journey, came to *Eres* long before the King's Father thought he could have to done.

His noble Celesty ferved him to great purpose, for that *Caitas Bassa* was lately gone out of the Fortres, and went spoyling the Country, carrying away with him whatsoever he met withal, and committing such Infolencies as hungry Soldiers beyond all honesty use to do in frange and fruitful Countries. But when he was in the midst of their spoils, and least feared the Enemy, he was suddenly assailed by the Prince; and having no means to escape his Fury in this Extremity, after a fierce and bloody Battle (wherein the Turks although in number few, yet shewed many effects of Valour) he was there slain with all his Soldiers, leaving the Fortres, the Spoils, and the Country committed to his Custody, free to the Pleasure of the Victor: which the *Perfian* Prince having once again gotten into his Possession, took away the two hundred pieces of Artillery that were left in the Fortres of *Muphtah*, and presently sent them to *Cashin* to his Father.

The Prince, encouraged with so happy a beginning, leaving his Mother at *Eres*, followed on his Journey toward *Sumachia*, but by the way defend-

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*Ares Chan*  
hanged at  
*Sumachia*.

*Emanguli*  
*Chan* taken,  
and *Genge* taken  
by the  
*Tartarians*.

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ing the Hills, he discovered where the *Tartarians* lay encamped. Whereupon he stood in great doubt, whether to adventure upon so mighty an Enemy, or to content himself with the Victory he had already gotten, and so to return into *Perfia*: to return he thought it too great a shame, and chose rather to adventure himself to most manifest Peril. And therefore defending the Hill, and drawing nigh the Enemy, he perceived that the Army was all laid down to rest, and that their Horses were some couched, some standing, but all unfaded; whereupon, without any stay setting spurs to his Horses, he picked forward with all his host, and most terribly assailed the *Tartarians*, now buried in their pools and sleep, and having slain their first and second Watch, although with some loss, among the tumultuary Soldiers he made an universal confusion and slaughter, putting force to flight, killing others, and taking divers of them Captives: Among whom was their General *Abdicheirai*, who was taken alive, and sent to the King.

After these Victories the *Perfian* Prince scoured to *Sumachia*, and compassed the City round about, wherein the Turkish *Bassa Ofman* sat as Governour, to the reproach of *Perfia*; and there encamping himself, sent word to *Ofman*, That if he would yield himself, he would let him depart with Life and Goods, otherwise, if he would obstinately hold it out, and not yield the City, which he so unjustly possessed, he should be constrained to surrender it by force, and his Life withal. *Ofman*, who as then knew nothing of the *Tartarians* overture, but still hoped of their return, and as he best entertain the Prince with fair words until their coming; and therefore gave him courteous answer, that he was very ready to yield up the City: but withall intreated him, that he would stay but for three days, and grant him time to put all things in readiness, that so he might freely depart, as it had pleased him in courtesy to offer. The Prince, glad of such an answer, supposing it to have proceeded of a sincere meaning, expected of the Turks the performance thereof: But *Ofman* meaning nothing less, than to commit himself to the faith of his Enemy, and seeing that the *Tartarians*, whom he looked for, appeared not, he resolved to save himself by secret flight; doubting, as he had good reason, that if he should longer stay, to be betrayed by the Inhabitants of the City themselves; and therefore somewhat before the assigned term of the three days appointed for the surrendering of the City, he by the help of a dark Night, and the cover of the high and rough Crags, with great silence withdrew himself out of *Sumachia*, carrying away with him all his Substance, and so in safety arrived at *Derben*. The next Morning the Inhabitants of *Sumachia* opened the Gates of the City to the Prince: who seeing their Infidelity, first by giving of entertainment to *Ofman*, and now by helping him to escape, without giving him any knowledge thereof, did put in execution the effect of his Wrath and Indignation, which even at *Cashin* he had conceived in his Mind against them; and with great Cruelty did punish the miserable and unfortunate Citizens, laying their Houses even with the Ground, rasing both the old and new Walls of that City, of late so desired a Receipt for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he stood in doubt, Whether to go on to *Derben*, or to return to *Perfia*: the strength of that City, the approach of Winter, and the long Journey he wrote to take homeward, persuaded him to lay aside the enterprise for *Derben*: whereupon he resolved to return to *Cashin*, yet first to make his return by them of *Eres* and *Sechi*, and upon them, as upon Rebels, to inflict well deserved

*Sumachia*  
besieged  
by the  
*Perfian* Prince.

*Eres* recovered  
by the  
*Perfian* Prince.

*Sumachia*  
yieldeth  
unto the  
Prince.

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Punishment. So making his present repair thither, spared neither Sex nor Age, nor any Condition of Persons, but upon them all poured forth his furious Indignation without exception. Which done, he with his aforeaid Mother *Begum*, and his Army, though somewhat diminished, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to *Cashin*.

Young *Abdicheirai* the *Tartarian* was kept safe in the Kings Palace at *Cashin*, but with such ease Imprisonment was agreeable to his calling; as which was day by day so enlarged, as that he seemed not to live as a Prisoner, but rather as a Companion of those of the Court, and as it were in apparent Liberty. By which occasion, having inflamed himself into the love of *Begum the Persian's* Wife, he spent his time in courting her, and the again in entertaining of him in all secret and covert manner. Yet their mutual Affections and interchangeable Favours passed not so secretly, but that in the Court and all over the City it was a ripe Report, That the shameless Lady, prodigal of her Honour, had participated both her bed and herself with the *Tartarian* Prisoner. Howbeit, neither the King nor the Prince knew any thing of it. But the Kings perceiving the young Generation to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely Feature, and withal nobly born (for he gave it out that he was the Brother of *Tartar Chan*) perfwaded himself, that it would stand with the great good of his state, of a Captive to make him his Son-in-law, by giving him his Daughter in Marriage; whereby he was in good hope these might grow future an amity and union between the *Tartarian* Præcopenes and himself, as that they would from thenceforth not only be to favour *Amurath* in those Wars, but also become Enemies unto him, and in the favour of *Perfia*, turn their Arms and Affections against him. Which his deep and confederate purpose so displeased the Sultans of *Cashin*, that they fought by all means they could possibly devise to avert the King from that so strange a Policy; but all in vain, for the King being fully resolved, and now upon the point to make a conclusion of the Marriage, the Sultans entering into the Palace with their Followers, and finding there the unfortunate *Tartarian*, ran him through the Body, and cutting off his privy Members, flapped them upon his Mouth after a most barbarous and filthy manner. It is reported, that the Queen was then also murdered by them; certain it is, that the poor Lady never after that day saw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the King her Husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publick Interest, is not certainly known. Upon these Murders sprung up many Troubles, and much civil Diffention, threatening the utter Confusion of the *Perfian* Kingdom, to the singular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous Disorders the King, by bridling his own Affections, and the Motions of his Son *Emir Hamse Mirise*, well appeased, procuring at last a perfect Unity, as then most Necessary for the defence of his Kingdom.

*Ofman Bassa* being in *Derben* (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in *Sirvan*) ceased not with all carefulness to devise what he possibly could, for the assuring of that Country (of late won, and now again almost lost) under the Government of *Amurath*. For the better establishing whereof, together with his own safety, he thought it good to enter into Friendship with old *Schahmal the Georgian*, Lord of the Mountain of *Armenia*. With this man did *Ofman* practice many tokens of good will, and he again interchangeably towards *Ofman*; whereupon there arose great Friendship between them, at leastwise in outward appearance; wherewith in short time there was added

*Abdicheirai*  
believed of  
the *Perfian* Queen.

*Abdicheirai*  
slain in the  
Court.

The *Perfian*  
Queen  
made a  
way.

1578 a trait knot of Alliance: for that *Ofman* took to Wife a Daughter of the said *Sabamali*, the greatest sign of his sincere love towards him. Nevertheless, shortly after, *Ofman*, upon some reasonable Conjectures, began to suspect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sabamali*, for all the fair show of Friendship he made towards him, might for all that receive some secret order from the *Perkan* King to betray him, and to free the City from the Turks, and to reduce all that Province unto the ancient confusion by the Speeches of his Wife, the Daughter of *Sabamali*, who, ravished with the Honour, Valour, and Riches of her Husband, could not conceal any thing that the knew devised against him, but frankly told him, That her Father, being secretly reconciled to the *Perkan* King, held Friendship with him, and that Letters went between them of great matters, and particularly of the Affairs of *Sirvan*. Hereupon the *Bassa* persuaded himself, that all the Friendship of *Sabamali* was but deep Dilimulation, and the Marriage of his Daughter nothing but a mean to procure his Death. Nevertheless he made them unto his Wife, as if he had made no such reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in store to his own safety, and the Destruction of *Sabamali*; whom, for all that he still entertained with all Honour and Kindness due unto a most loving Father-in-law. But to prevent the malicious purpose of *Sabamali*, having invited him, according to the custom, to a certain solemn Feast, he acquainted certain Companies of his most trusty and valiant Soldiers with his Determination, enjoining them, that as soon as *Sabamali* was entered into his Court, even in the very dismounting from his Horse, they should all fall upon him, cut off his Head, and put all his retinue to the Sword. Which his cruel command was when accordingly at *Sabamali* commencing put in execution, he in lighting from his Horse being slain, and all his Followers murdered, when forthwith were sent forth by *Ofman* two thousand Horsemen to spoil and sack all the Country of the said *Georgian* Lord, to the great marvel and astonishment both of far and near. The *Perkan* King hearing of these News, took the matter grievously, as forcing that the recovery of that Country and Province of *Sirvan* would prove a matter of great Difficulty, and fearing greatly that it would fill the main (as indeed it doth) in the Possession of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks Attempts against the *Perkan* in *Sirvan* this year 1578, wherein they lost above seventy thousand men, devoured partly with the Sword, and partly with Famine, and the other Millions of War. And so Winter coming on very sharply, every man withdrew himself from the Field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, until the coming on of the next Spring.

*Amurath*, advertised by Letters from *Mustapha*, of all that had happened in the late Expedition against the *Perkan*, upon these prosperous Successes (which the *Bassa* had for the advancing of his own Credit described to be far greater than indeed they were) began to cast many Devices in his Head, touching such matters as were to be attempted the next Year. And first, he thought it necessary to find his Forces again into *Sirvan*, to recover such Places as were first conquered by *Mustapha*, but afterward again subdued by the *Perkan*; so to establish his Government in that Country. But upon better consideration, he ceased further to think of that matter, for the great hope he had conceived of the aid that was promised him by *Tartar Chan*, who had faithfully assured both him and *Ofman*, that he would over-run that Province anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turks De-

signs; all which for all that fell out to be but windy words; yet in respect of this hope he laid *Sirvan* aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false Promises of the *Tartarian*, and the Valour of *Ofman*. And pleading his ambitious Desires with more haughty Thoughts, he began to devise with himself for sending his Army directly to *Tauris*, there to erect a Fortrels; which being strongly fortified, and furnished with a great Garrison of most valiant Soldiers, should never be again subdued by all the power of *Persia*; and by this means to keep in Subjection all those great Countries between *Tauris* and *Erzerum*. Which his conceit, being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the persuasion of others, very inward with him; every man being almost of Opinion, That it was an easie matter for so great an Host in few days to perform that Service, and to pierce, not only into *Tauris*, but further, to pass whithersoever he would desire. Yet after he had more deeply considered of an Enterprize of so great importance, and with more indifferent Judgment compared his own Forces with his Enemies, he began to find many difficulties and Dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not; for beside the length and tediousness of the Journey, he doubted that in sending his Army for *Tauris*, it might be on the other side assisted by the *Georgians* (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) and on the other side by the *Perkan*, and so brought into great danger; which he was always to fear, whenever he should have occasion to send new supplies unto the Fortrels by him intended at *Tauris*. Whereupon, laying aside all his former Conceits, as too eager and perilous, he resolutely concluded with himself, first to make sure his own Borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the Enemies Country, still fortifying in convenient Places as he went; and so slowly, although but slowly, to triumph over his Enemies, rather than by thrusting his Army headlong upon uncertainties into places strongly fenced both by Nature and the Power of most mighty Enemies, to be enforced with shame to abandon the enterprize so hastily begun.

Of this his Resolution he advertised *Mustapha* by Writing, giving him in charge, against the next Spring to provide all such things as should be necessary for the building of certain Forts upon the way that leadeth from *Erzerum* into *Georgia*; that having made those ways safe, and brought the People under his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha*, presently directed forth Precepts to the Cities of *Aleppo*, of *Damasco*, *Caraceni*, and other Places of *Soria* and *Mesopotamia*, for the taking up of cunning Workmen, of Pioneers, and such like, to the number of twenty thousand; and *Georgians* wrote to all the Countries, out of which he had raised his Army the last Year. That all their Soldiers (yea and in greater number also) should be in readiness against the next Spring, to return to the Wars. The rumor whereof he caused to be spread even as far as *Egypt*. He commanded also the Taxes and Tenths of those Countries to be collected, and further, used the Chambers of *Aleppo*, and other Places, for such masses of Money as he thought necessary for these purposes. In this while, the two *Georgian* Brethren, *Alexander* and *Manuchiar*, sent (as we have before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at *Constantinople*, in doubtful hope, expecting the end for which they were both sent unto the Court; were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan Religion, whereunto *Manuchiar* easily yielded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder Brother could by no Allurements or means be

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Alexander  
cont-  
in his Reli-  
gion.

induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his Religion, although he knew he should therefore be deprived of his state; but protesting his Obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his love to his Brother, requested only, that he might but as a private Man go and live in his Country, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors. Which his request the Turkish Emperor referred to the Direction of *Manuchiar*, to do therein as he law good; who consented therunto. Hereupon *Manuchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mulaffa* given him, with the Title of the *Bassa* and Governour of *Athens*, and of all his Mothers and Brothers Countries: and being thus created a Turk, had his Brother *Alexander*, a Christian, committed unto him, and both returned in to their own Countries.

Emangli  
Chan taketh  
upon him  
the defence  
of *Sirvan*.

Now in the *Perkan* Court at *Casbin*, were many Consultations had for the rescinding of the Invasions of the Turks. And among others careful of those matters, *Emangli Chan*, Governour of *Genge*, doubting to lose his honourable Government, by reason of the late sack of his City, and spoil of his Country by the *Tartarians*; by those Plots that were daily in contriving for the sending of men into *Sirvan* to impeach the Designments of *Ofman Bassa*, and if it were possible, to drive him out of *Perkan*, took occasion to offer unto the King, upon pain of his Head, to defend *Sirvan*, and not to suffer *Ofman* the Turk to attempt any new Fortifications, or further Conquests in that Province. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the Government of *Genge*, and guarding of the Country of *Sirvan* against the Forces of *Ofman*, was frankly committed unto him; and commandment given to the Governours of *Tauris*, *Revan*, and *Najafan*, and to divers other Captains that were to be ready at all times with their Power to assist *Emangli Chan*, if it should fortune either the *Tartarians* or *Turks*, with any great Power to enter into *Sirvan*: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the Security of that Province.

But how to protect the *Georgian* Country, was thought to be a matter of great importance, every man being almost of Opinion, That some great Power of the Turks should be sent thither, for the more assurance of the Conquest thereof already begun, and for the Succour of the Fortrels at *Teflis*, which must needs otherwise fall again into the hand of the *Georgians*. This matter so troubled the *Perkan* King, as that he seemed to have bent his whole Counsels and Thoughts thereupon: When *Simon*, a *Georgian*, a famous Captain, (sometime Prisoner with *Ismael* the late King at *Casbin*, and by the familiarity he had with him, induced from the Christian Faith) for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamar*, chosen to live deprived of his Liberty and State) thinking it now a fit time to obtain at the Kings Hand such help as he had long desired, for the recovery of his Dominion usurped by *Danid*, otherwise called *Dan Chan*, his younger Brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamar*, had voluntarily renounced his Christian Religion) offered now unto the King his faithful Service, for the defence of that part of the *Georgian* Country wherein *Teflis* stood (being in right, part of his own Inheritance) against the Turks; repaying by way of Dilgrance for the Defence of that evil defended Country, and further annoying of the Enemy. With great content did the *Perkan* King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that *Georgians*, which he possessed before whilst he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliouli Chan* into *Georgia*,

Simon with  
Aliouli  
Chan sent  
for the  
Defence  
of *Georgia*.

with five thousand Horsemen, and certain pieces of Artillery taken at *Erzer*, when *Caleas Bassa* was slain. *Simon* afterwards coming to *Georgia*, was joyfully received of his Country-men, and there mustered about three thousand Soldiers of his own and of his Neighbours; excusing himself that he was become a *Perkan*, not because he preferred the Mahometan superstition before the Christian Religion, but only so to be delivered from his long Imprisonment, and by that means to maintain his Estate. And in this order were the Affairs of *Georgia* assured and strengthened in the best manner that might then be.

Now began the Spring to approach, and every man prepared himself to the discontinued Travels of the Wars begun; and now were met together at *Erzerum*, out of all the wanted Provinces, all the Turks Forces, with all things necessary for the intended War. With this Army, in all things equal with the first, *Mustapha* led forward, and in twelve days came to *Chars*, not perceiving in his Soldiers any sign of discontent at all. And forasmuch as here they were to stay, and to fortify both with Walls and Ditches that ruined City, and that with as great speed as was possible; there was no Remedy, but that beside the Pioneers and Engineers that were brought for that purpose, many of the *Spagolians*, yea, and of the *Janizaries* also, must be let to work. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter Protestations to tell the General, That their stipends wherewith it pleased the Sultan to favour them, were not bestowed upon them to employ their Forces and virtues in such servile Works; but only with their Swords and other Weapons, to exercise that force and hardiness for which they were esteemed worthy of that Honour. Whereunto the General answered in most haughty Terms, and not yielding one jot to their Incivility, but using all means of Authority and Terror, brought them to work to much as he desired: So that within the space of twenty three days the Towers and Walls were erected, the Ditches digged, the Artillery ordered planted upon the Walls, and the Water brought round about it. Many Inconveniences happened in the Army while they were busy in this work; and namely upon the twenty fifth day of *August*, when they had almost even finished the whole Building, the Soldiers endured a most sudden cold by reason of the Snow that then fell in great abundance.

*Chars* thus fortified, the General resolved to send Succours into *Georgia* to *Teflis*; without which it was most certain that the Fortrels would be yielded to the *Georgians*, but in what sort to relieve it he remained doubtful. To send part of his Army with some valiant Captain seemed dangerous, and to go himself with all his Forces, would found (as he thought) to his discredit with his great Lord and Master, whom he had already made believe that he had subdued the *Georgians*; and brought all that Province to his Obedience and Devotion. In this Ambiguity, the desire he had to preserve his Credit with *Amurath* prevailed; and so he made choice of *Hajjan Bassa*, Son to *Mubamet*, principal Vicer of the Court, a gallant Gentleman, and of great Valour, to whom he delivered between eighteen and twenty thousand Soldiers; joining unto him one *Refuan*, Captain of certain Adventurers that voluntarily offered themselves to follow the Forces of *Hajjan*; assigning unto him likewise forty thousand Ducks, and many loads of Rice, Meat, and *Barley*, with other things necessary both for Diet and War; and so sent him away for *Teflis*. *Hajjan* with this charge far forward, fully resolved to put these succours into *Teflis*, or to lose all; and at length came to the famous Stright of *Tomani*;

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The meeting  
together  
of the  
Turks Army  
at *Erzerum*.

*Chars* fort  
ified in  
twenty  
three days  
space.

Snows at  
Chars in  
*August*.

*Hajjan* sent  
with twenty  
thousand to  
the succour  
of *Teflis*.

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nis, where the over-grown Woods on the one side, and the deep Valleys and craggy Rocks on the other, would afford a right constant Beholder. When upon the sudden, the *Perfians* and the *Georgians*, under the Conduct of *Aluculi Chan* and *Simon*, at unawares let upon the Turks, and joined Battle with them. For these two valiant Captains, remaining for the most part in the Borders of *Teflis* and *Tomanis* with 8000 Soldiers, waiting for some Opportunity to annoy either them of the Fort of *Teflis*, or else such as should come to their Succours; understanding by their espials, of the coming of *Hassan* with this aid, had scattered themselves all along the said Streight, in hope there to assail the Turks, and holpen by the advantage of the Place, to drive them headlong into the deep Valley, and at once to bereave them both of their Goods and Life. But *Hassan*, careful of nothing more than how to avoid that danger, chose rather to make his Journey through the thick Woods, and so as he might to escape the ambush that the Enemy might lay for him upon that straight Passage. And so entering with his Army into the Wood, which he was to have left upon his left hand, to discover what might be plotted against him, he was hardly charged by the Enemy, and constrained to fight with a thousand windings and turnings in and out, through a thousand crooked Paths and doubtful Cranks, in a most confused muddle, with great laughter of his Men; who were accustomed to this kind of Fights, not acquainted with the situation of the place, were in the skirmish driven far, that down they fell, and being not able to recover themselves, were presently slain. And thus with much ado he at length passed the Streight of *Tomanis*. *Hassan*, deeming himself much disgraced by suffering his Enemies, in number so far inferior, to have done him so much harm, and so to have elevated his hands, and so farther, considering that in such Places, sleights and stratagems more avail than open Forces; burning with desire of revenge, would needs stay near unto those Streights, as if it had been to refresh his wearied Army, but indeed to try if the *Perfians* would adventure again to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Refshan Bassa* with certain Bands of the Soldiers of *Grece*, and of his own Adventurers, to lie in ambush within the covert of the Streight, attentive to every sign of the Enemy. Two days the Turks Army thus divided, and were now resolved the third day to remove thence towards *Teflis*; when as the *Perfian* Captains, *Aluculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainly imagining that this stay of the Turks was for fear of the *Perfians*, foolishly returned, and gave a fresh onset upon the flank of *Hassan's* Squadrons. Who forthwith raising all his Soldiers, and giving a sign to *Refshan*, with all speed compassed in his Enemies, and frightening them on both sides, took them all the alive, cut in pieces other some, and put all the rest to flight. Among others that were taken alive, was *Aluculi Chan*, the *Perfian* Captain, who over-rashly charging upon the face of *Hassan*, fell into his Hand. The next day following (being the eleventh day after *Hassan's* departure from *Chari*) he joyfully arrived at *Teflis*, where he found among the poor besieged Turks many Miseries; whereof some were already dead, and some yet sick, for they were so plagued with Famine, that they not only devoured their Horses, but even the very Skins of the same Horses, of Sheep, and of Dogs, and in such most miserable wants had passed the time; whom *Hassan* at his arrival comforted with Gifts and good Words, exhorting them to persist constant in the service of their King, whose Honour (as he said) was never more than there to be respected. And for as much as the Soldiers of the

Fort did with one Voice request *Hassan* to appoint them a new Governour, because they did not like *Mahamet Bassa*, who the last year was left by the General in that Fort; *Hassan* removed the said *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Bassa* in his place: and so after he had filled up the places of the dead Soldiers with a new supply, and set all things in order, he took his leave, recommending the charge and custody of that Fort to their Trust and Valour. *Hassan* returning from *Teflis*, and being without any trouble come to the Streight of *Tomanis*, was advertised by his Scouts, That it was so strongly possessed by the Enemy, and so shut up with Artillery, as that it was not to be passed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Hassan* would return that way, had so belayed that Streight, as that the Turks could not without most assured loss pass the same: which thing much troubled the Bassa, and filled his head with many Concoits, how he might make his Journey some other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtful what to do, which way to turn himself, *Aluculi Chan* the *Perfian* (who to purchase his Liberty could have been content to have done any thing) offered *Hassan* to fetch him a short and safe cut, whereby he might without danger pass with his Army out of that troublesome Country; yet covenanting before, that he should promise him to set him at Liberty for his good Service. Which his request the Bassa did not stick in large manner to promise, although he afterwards to his great dishonour performed not the same. So bending his Journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aluculi* through strange and uncouth ways, out of those Woods and Dangers, not meeting with much as with one of his Enemies. But when the *Perfian* Duke well hoping for his Liberty, put the Turk in mind of his promise; he with deep and feigned sighs protested, That he was right sorry that he could not perform what he had promised to do for him, forasmuch as he lay not in his Power to let any man at Liberty, that was taken in Battle by the Soldiers of his great Lord and Sovereign: yet gave him his faith, that so far as his Intreaties and Favours with the General *Mulapha* could prevail, he would use all the most earnest means he could to procure his Liberty and return to his own Country.

Simon desirous the *Georgian*, perceiving that the Turks were removed, imagined forthwith that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithful Spies, that it was so indeed, he ran all headlong, and as it were desperate, to meet with this so happy an Army. And all inflamed with rage for this great Fortune of the Turks, he fell upon the tail of the Turkish Host, which with unmeasurable Fury he wholly destroyed, leading away with him all the People, all the Horses, and all the Treasure of *Mahamet Bassa* which he brought from *Teflis*. And all the Treasure of *Hassan Bassa* likewise. As for *Aluculi Chan*, whom *Simon* most greedily sought for, he was sent way in the front of the Army, so that he was not to be rescued. *Hassan* holding on his way, came to *Chari* in the space of eight days after his departure from *Teflis*, and there presented unto *Mulapha* the General, the *Perfian* Captain *Aluculi*, recounting unto him the dangers he had endured, and whatsoever else had happened in that Expedition. *Aluculi*, the unfortunate *Perfian*, was by the commandment of *Mulapha* carried to *Erzerum*, and there in a castle committed to Prison. Not long after, *Mulapha* returned himself also to the said City of *Erzerum*, with his Army sore weakened and discontented; which was there presently by him discharged.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Amurath*, to make a safer and more careful

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*Hassan Bassa* rewarded for his good Service.

*Simon* destroyed the treasure of *Hassan's* Army, and took from him his Treasures.

*Mulapha* returned to *Erzerum*, and there discharged his Army.

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passage for his Forces into *Georgia*, sent *Ulmahet* his Admiral with a great Fleet into the *Euxine Sea* to *Mengreba*, called in ancient time *Cholchis*; who entering the famous River of *Phasis* (now *Raffa*) there fortified, and laid such a beginning, that it was now one of the Turks proud Begleitings, although those Cities were utterly destroyed, and the depaure of the Admiral, were for the present again by the *Mengrelians* demolished. And this was the end of the first of this year 1579.

Of all these Successes *Mulapha* afterwards sent Advancements to the Court to *Amurath*, recounting unto him the fortifying of *Chari*, the Defects of *Hassan*, as well for the favouring of *Teflis*, as for the taking of *Aluculi* the *Perfian*. And because the said General had the year before perished at *Amurath*, That the Country of *Georgia*, and the People thereof, were brought under his Obedience, to the end that he should not marvel at so many Losses and so many Barrels, and thereby doubt of some false Informations; he declared unto him, that all these Troubles were not raised by the natural and home-bred *Georgians*, but by two certain Captains, *Aluculi* and *Simon*, one of *Perfia*, who had made all these fits; of which one of them now remained with him in Prison, for him to determine of his Pleasure. With great Delight did the Turkish Emperour read all that *Mulapha* had written, and by two of his Gentlemen-Ulcers sent to *Hassan* a Battle-axe all gilt and set full of Stones, a Targuer of Gold and Pearl, and a rich Garment of Cloth of Gold, in reward of his good Service, for which he greatly commended him; and withall gave order, That *Aluculi* should be kept where he was in the Castle of *Erzerum*, in diligent and safe Custody. These Informations of the Turks much delighted the *Perfian* King in his Court at *Cashin*, considering, that now they had both thoroughly acquainted themselves with all the Passages into *Georgia*, (in the difficulty and roughness whereof consisted the chief defence of that Province) as also that divers of the *Georgian* Princes were more than inclining unto the Turks Service; so that he could not but justly fear, that his Enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble Cities of *Medea* the greater, *yes*, and peradventure even unto *Tauris* before any of the rest. Which his care of foreign Invasion was doubled with domestic Feats; *Marize Salmas*, his chief Vicer, and upon whom he most relied, still filling his Head with a jealous Suspicion, That *Abas Marize* the Son (made Governour of *Heri*, by *Tamas* his Grandfather), was about in these Troubles with the Turk, to proclaim himself King of *Perfia*, to the great Ignominy of his Father, and Prejudice of *Emir Hamze*, his eldest Brother, and worthy and undoubted Heir of that Kingdom. This *Marize Salmas* (according to his longing desire) had married a Daughter of his to the said *Emir Hamze*, with the Consent of the King his Father; but yet not content with that Honour, ceased not continually with ambitious Devices, to seek out means how to bring to pass, that the *Perfian* Estate might wholly remain to his Son-in-law, undivided and intire from the Participation of his Brethren; and therefore little regarding the Perils that might happen from the Turks; and blinded with the desire of his own greatness, he went about to turn the King (being a man very credulous and inconsiderate) against *Abas Marize*; either to take him and commit him to Prison, or at least to deprive him of all Authority and Command. And the better to persuade the King thereto, he discovered unto him, how little *Abas Marize* the Son had respected him in divers Occasions; and that in these late Wars he had not so much as sent forth one man against the Turk, but had forbidden such as were of his Jurisdiction of *Heri*, to come to

*Cashin*, at such time as they were summoned both by Letters and Commandment, to have passed with *Emir Hamze* into *Sirwan*; by reason whereof not one of them would fit a foot, answering, That they were joyfully to do so by *Abas Marize*, their Lord; who had not only caused himself to be called King of *Heri*, but had given it out, that he meant to claim the Succession in the whole Kingdom. Their complaints much prevailed with the King, both in respect of the love he bare to *Emir Hamze*, his eldest Son, and also of the credit he gave to his Vicer; especially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the said Vicer; who as he was very cunning in such Practices of himself, so did he make them more effectual with the effeminate King, by the means of divers great Ladies, and other Devices that were to him very familiar and usual: Inomuch that the King, carried away with light belief, did continually bethink himself how to find Opportunity to repress the boldness of his disobedient Son; not forgetting for all that, to make such preparation against the Turks, as should be sufficient to stay their Passage to *Tauris*, if they had any purpose to do so. But leaving the *Perfian* King to his troublesome Cogitations for a while, let us again return unto the Turks General, the great *Bassa Mulapha*.

He now lying at *Erzerum*, after many troubles abroad, was surprized, and almost overwhelmed with unexpected Quarrels at home, many grievous Complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalship, and to call him to the Court to give account of his Actions. Which seemed not to be done without cause, he having before raised the great Discontentment in the Mind of *Amurath*, by sending such a strong power to the Succours of *Teflis*; whereby he conjectured, that the Affairs of *Georgia* were not in such Security as *Mulapha* had already informed him they were, and also generally offended the Minds of the Soldiers of his Army, who all in an uproar, accused him of Impudence and Prodigality, for that now this second year he had with so much ado gathered together such a number of Soldiers, charge of their Lord, and yet performed nothing worthy the Glory of *Amurath*, or answerable to so great a charge. Which Complaints, although they were of some moment, yet would the Turkish Emperour, for the great Favours he bare unto him his antient Tutor, never have construed them so hardly against him, as for the same to have been induced to have deprived him of his place, if the inveterate envy of *Simon Bassa* had not mislaid strength and force to these hard Accusations, and set (as it were) an edge upon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

This *Simon* was a most antient Enemy to *Mulapha*, and in all things thought himself his match. For if *Mulapha* had subdued *Cyprus*, he had conquered *Tripolis*, *Gazetta*, with the Kingdom of *Tunes* in *Affricke*; and if *Mulapha* were a man of great Courage, and reverend for his years, *Simon* would be his equal both in the one and the other; *yes*, and did much more to raise himself his better too; for that in the enterprize of *Giannen* in *Arabia*, he performed such an Exploit as *Mulapha* neither durst, nor yet knew how to put in Execution; so carrying away the Glory of that famous Conquest; for which ever after there was between them a continual heart-burning, one of them envying at the others Glory, and both in Word and Deed, as Occasions fell out, in all things opposing themselves against the other. At length happens this Opportunity, when taking the occasion of the Complaints of so many against *Mulapha*, caused a great number of them to frame their Supplications

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*Mulapha* a Mischance of his Generalship, and called some to *Constantinople*.

*Simon* recalled *Abas Marize* to *Heri*, and there discharged his Army.

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to Amurath, which he for his part did in most malignant manner enforce and exaggerate against his old Adversary, accusing him, that this second year he had most manifestly shewed himself to have gone unto the Wars, not as a worthy General, detestous of noble and honourable Enterprises, but as a man that would make merchandise of Blood, and of his Soldiers pay; employing the most liberal Provision of Corn and Money, not to the Rewards of well-deserving men, nor to the erecting of such Fabricks as were needful, and might have been built therewithall, but only to his own private gain, to so enrich himself with his Peoples losses, to the great hate of his Lord, and confounding of the publick Treasure; adding hereto, that if the things done by Mustapha were well searched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good Opportunities, attempted many things in vain, and not done any good either to the Emperour or his Soldiers, but only to himself; whom rather than they would follow again as their General, all his People in an uproar shewed themselves ready and willing to adventure themselves in any other far greater Labour than by their Lord and Sovereign should be commanded them.

These and such like Complaints, with the hard Opinion already conceived against him by Amurath, were the occasion why he resolved to put him from his place. Beside that, he thought it a thing dangerous to his fate, to suffer one and the self same General any long time to command over so great Armies; deeming it not so much for his Honour, still to employ one man, as to show that he had variety and choice of Subjects, worthy of so great a charge. And therefore, being desirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning Mustapha, he sent the chief of his Gentlemen Porters, with fifteen others, to bring him to the Court, with his Chanceller and Treasurer, to shew the accounts of such Monies as he had received, and to give up an account of their whole Office. Unto this Messenger had Amurath delivered three divers Letters, which he should warily shew, as occasion served; one of them was to written of purpose, that Mustapha in the receiving thereof might by the same Messengers be strangled; in the second was the Emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded; and in the third was contained, that Mustapha should forthwith send his Chanceller and Treasurer to the Court by those Messengers. Mustapha in the mean time by divers means, but especially by the guilt of his own Conscience, venting the Displeasure of the Emperour towards him, and suspecting (as the truth was) his Life to be by those Messengers sought after, at such time as the Captain-Porter came to his Camp, found many delays to put him off, and would not in any case be spoken withal. But when the Messenger would induce no longer deny, he was at length admitted to his presence, having a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his Companions might not stir or approach nearer unto him, the Bassa's Guard standing in Arms round about him. The Messenger perceiving the Bassa's wariness, willy pluck'd forth the three Letters, concerning the sending of his Chanceller and Treasurer to the Court. Then began the crafty old Bassa to find many excuses to have delayed the matter; but being hardly pressed by the Messenger and seeing no other Remedy, he with much difficulty delivered them both, covenerating before with the Messenger, to have both their Lives spared; who coming to the Constantinople, were forthwith clapt fast into the Tower called Yadenla, as there to have been severally examined of all the doings of the Bassa. But Mustapha, after long delay, coming at length to

Jo. Leventis, in the  
p. 79.

Constantinople, the ninth of April in the Spring following, and using the mighty and potent mediation of divers great Ladies, and other his gracious Friends in Court, prevailed so much in that corrupt Government, as that he was again at length received into the Favour of Amurath, without any further proceeding against him, his Chanceller, or Treasurer, who by his means were afterwards also enlarged and set at liberty; yet was he never after admitted to those Honours, which he perswaded himself were of right due unto him; for his good and faithful service of long time done to the Ottoman Emperours.

In this time that Mustapha was General at Erzerum, Mahomet the Vifier Bassa was victoriously slain at Constantinople; after whom, shortly died also Achmet Bassa, who succeeded in his place; so that the said sovereign Dignity, in Honour next unto the Turkish Emperour, was by rightful Succession due to Mustapha, the next Bassa; but that he was not thought worthy of it by him that might, and of right ought to have gratified him therewith, as shall be a little hereafter declared, when we have briefly set down the sudden and strange death of the said Mahomet the Vifier, worthy in all Histories to be registered, as a mirror for all such as administer Justice in so great place, to look upon.

This Bassa, a man of as great Fame as ever was any that had Government in the Ottoman Empire, in the time that he all commanded, had for some light causes deprived a certain Souldier of Constantinople of his yearly Pension, which, with many Labours and Dangers he had gotten to maintain himself; which Pension the said Souldier upon another Souldier, so that the other poor Soul remained in Misery, altogether unprovided for. Unto which miserable estate seeing himself now brought, and not guilty so himself of any Fault worthy to great Punishment, he determined with himself, to revenge the Injury with the Blood of that great Bassa, and to bereave him of Life, that had bereft him of Living; which, because he could not by any fit means put in Execution (by reason of the Guard of Slaves that kept the Person of the Vifier, so that no man can come near him that holdeth that high place) except he could by some means acquaint himself in the Vifiers Houle, and so insinuate himself into his acquaintance; he resolved to take upon him the rude habit of those religious, which the Turks call Derwishes, and after their manner to present himself every Morning before the Vifier, to ask his Alms, and so to hide, counterfeiting withall, a certain kind of folly and lightness of Mind, as do those Derwishes, to make the People believe, that they concern all worldly things, as men ravished only with heavenly Cogitations; which yet was by some that knew him, thought to have happened in him, through the Grief he had conceived for the loss of his Pension. Mahomet not only the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeited Hypocrite came before him, caused him to be sported with by his Alms, and as it were with a kind of private threat, saying him every Morning to come unto him into the Divans, and there, together with others appointed for the same purpose, to say his devout Prayers, and in singing Praises to their wicked Prophet, to intreat God for his Salvation; for it is a custom of all the Noble-men; that at ordinary hours of Prayers, all their Priests assemble themselves in the Divan, which is made ready for them; and there all together the infidel Wretches do with their unclean Mouths mumble up their blasphemous Prayers, or rather most abominable Blasphemies. By this means did this dissembling Companion so insinuate himself into the Vifiers Acquaintance, that

The strange Death of the great Vifier Bassa: see the next page.

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Mustapha by the mediation of certain great Ladies appeased the displeasure of Amurath.

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that the counterfeited fool went in and out of the Divans at his Pleasure, no man gain-saying either his going in or coming out, but daily sat in the Presence of the Vifier, and so having laid his Prayers, and taken his Alms, with all Reverence quickly departed. At last, when the crafty Hypocrite thought that the time was come wherein he might most fully execute his purpose, having utterly resolved with himself to die, so that he might satisfie the Desire he had of Revenge, he long covertly fostered in his Heart; having conveyed a very sharp Dagger secretly into one of his Sleeves, he went according to his Custom, to require his Alms, with an assured Resolution (when he had laid his Prayers, and reached out his hands to receive his wonted Alms) speedily to charge upon the Vifier, and with the Dagger to strike him to the Heart. According to the accustomed manner was the counterfeited Hypocrite (for who would ever have suspected so long and so traitorous a designment) admitted into the Divans, where Mahomet the Vifier sat in his Houle, to give publick audience, and after the usual manner, before any of the ficers that attended for answers and dispatch of their business suspected any such deceit, he was admitted near to the Vifier, and sitting right against him, according to his old wont, poured out those vain Devotions which those hypocritical Barbarians use to mumble up in their Prayers; which being finished, whilst the Vifier simply reacheth unto him his wonted Alms, the traitorous Villain in receiving it, suddenly drew out his Dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Vifiers Breast, out of which so deadly Wounds gushed out his Blood and Life together. Whereupon the flanders by astonishment with the strangeness of the Act, ran in, but to the old hoary Vifier lay all soiled in his own Blood, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gasp. The malicious murderer they presently laid hands upon, and bound him fast; but the Rumor of the strange fact did by and by sic unto the Emperours Ears, who, suspecting that some of the other great Bassas, desiring to mount into that high Dignity, had provoked the Traitor to do this detestable Act, would needs understand of the traitorous Murderer, what occasion had moved him so traitorously to kill his Vifier. Who resolutely answered him, That he did it to deliver the City of Constantinople from the Tyranny of him, by whom he was undervaluedly deprived of his Pension. But when he could get no other answer of him, he delivered him into the hands of the Slaves of the dead Vifier, who with most exquisite Torments put him to death.

Mustapha thus dead, after him succeeded Achmet the next Bassa, who (as is before said) shortly after died also, so that it was now Mustapha's coultie to succeed in that chief room, for that he was the third in the order of the Bassas. But when he had used all the means that he possibly could, to have obtained that so honourable a place by order due unto him; yet could he not find so much grace in the sight of Amurath, his great Lord, as to have it granted him under Seal, although in effect he made him fit as Vifier, and all matters of State were brought unto him at chief Vifier; but in his stead the Seal was sent to Sinan Bassa, who was now made General for the Persian Wars. Which disgrace not a little discontented Mustapha, fearing lest some other fatal accident should in short time light upon him.

After that Mustapha was thus displaced from his Generallship, Amurath nominated Sinan Bassa to be General in his stead, for this Expedition against the Persians; and for the Preservation of Chahar and Tebis; giving him sovereign Authority to command, and to set in order all such Prepara-

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Sinan Bassa chosen General Chahar and Tebis Persian Wars.

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tions as he should think necessary for such Enterprises as he should think good to attempt in his first year; who although by reason of his great favour, he grew haughty and Glorious, yet did he not forego to discourse thoroughly with himself upon all his Delinquencies; and namely, beside the uncovering of Tebis, he determined to build a Fort at *Manatis*, to assure the Passage thither from Chars; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the Persian King to send Ambassadors for Peace, with such Conditions as should be acceptable to Amurath. With these and such like Discourses did he busie himself whilst he was yet making preparation to set forwards towards Erzerum.

Of all these changes and alterations was the Persian King advertised, as also that this new Turkish General Sinan was careful how this long War might by some means be appeased, and a good Peace concluded. Upon which occasion, and by the Persuasion of *Louent Ogh*, the Georgian, and of *Mirza Salmas* the Vifier, he was induced to send Ambassadors to Constantinople, to demand Peace of Amurath. Upon which Relation he dispatched *Masni Chan* (of some called *Masdes*) his Ambassador, with direction that he should go to *Sindus*, and of him to receive Guides to conduct him to Constantinople with Letters to Amurath, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of these troubles; and in any case to conclude upon it, so that he would be content with Chars and Tebis. With these Instructions the Ambassador departed, and at length arrived at Chars, and so came to Erzerum, and was from thence conducted towards Amasia. But when he came to *Sivas*, he found Sinan the General there encamped, gathering together his Army for the Execution of his Delinquencies: for Sinan upon the arrival of Mustapha, departing from Constantinople the five and twentieth day of April, was not content with his own. Of the coming of this Ambassador, the Turks received great Joy, and News thereof was in post sent by *Cicala Bassa* to the Court. The Persian Ambassador informed Sinan of all that he had to treat with Amurath on the behalf of King Mahomet; and laboured earnestly to perswade him of the Equity of the Cause, and of his Request; declaring unto him, That so far as both the Nations were conjoynd under the Law of Mahomet their common Prophet (though there seemed some small difference not worth those troubles) it were a very inconvenient thing for them to contend among themselves, and to seek the overthrow or utter destruction of one another; and that therefore he was in good hope to obtain of Amurath this desired Peace, if he had no other cause where-with he found himself aggrieved, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he besought the General, that he would with safe Convey conduct him to Amurath, to the end that, if it were possible, these bloody Wars might take end; as at the very report whereof, the rest of the World rejoiced, and stood attentively waiting to see what would be the issue thereof.

This Ambassador Sinan entertained after the best manner the rudeness of his Nature would afford; and thinking that the very fame of his Valour had wrought in the Minds of his Enemies this Resolution, to come to demand Peace, granted unto the Ambassador a safe Convey to conduct him to Constantinople; and wrote to Amurath in his Letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, representing unto him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he dismissed the said Ambassador, he advised him not to go to Amurath, without Resolution to offer unto him some great good Conditions, and to yield unto him all that Country which he by force

The Persian King sends Masdes Chan his Ambassador to Amurath.

The Ambassador of Sinan to the Persian Ambassador.

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The Preparations of the Persian King against the Turks.

force of Arms had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* very well, that he was resolved in himself, not to yield so much as one hands breadth of the Ground which he had won with the Sword. Which motion of the proud *Baffa* so troubled the Ambassador, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in doubt, whether to proceed on his Journey to *Constantinople*, or to return back again into *Perfia*; but considering better what belonged to his Duty in so weighty a business, and hoping to receive more reasonable Conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himself, he gave large words to *Sinan*, and so with a safe Convey departed from *Sivas*: and by long Journeys came to *Senari*, and to passing over that little fair, the fourth of *August* arrived at *Constantinople*.

The Persian King in the mean time, stirred up with the report of the Turks Preparations, to cause it to be noised, that he likewise intended some important matters, commanded all the *Chans* and Governours of his Kingdom, to meet together with all their Forces at *Tauris*, where he himself, with the Prince *Emir Hamse* his Son, met them. And after many Consultations there had for the repelling of the Turkish Invasion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he resolved to send Souldiers into *Georgia* towards *Teflis*, whether of necessity Succours must be sent by the Turks to them of the Fort; and withal, determined also to go himself with all his Army from *Tauris* to *Caracach*, a place very commodious and near, to guard both *Tauris* and *Sivas*, being situate even in the middle between the one and the other; and there to expect the removing of *Sinan*, whose ambitious Nature the King knowing, doubted that he, to surmount *Mutapha*, would attempt some great Enterprize; yea peradventure, to run even upon *Tauris*. But when it came to the point that he should send some of his Captains into *Georgia*, he made choice of such as had best experience of those Countries, and were nearest unto him; with whom he sent *Tacmas* also, and the rest, whose Service he had before used against the Turks: commanding them to join their Forces with *Sinan* the Georgian, and by all means possible to annoy the Enemy; whom if they should perceive to bend for *Tauris*, they should not fail to follow him; to the end they might join together with him, and to encounter the Enemies Army. All those Captains were resolute men, and led with ten thousand Souldiers, which being joyned with them of *Georgia*, amounted to the number of thirteen thousand: who, arriving at *Genge*, gave knowledge to *Sinan* of their coming, and that in his behalf they were ready to do great Matters.

Now was the Persian Ambassador with all due honour received at *Constantinople*, where he was honourably entertained by the great Baffas of the Court, but especially by *Mutapha*, who within two days after, suddenly died; of a fatal taken of eating too much of Meats and Mummings, and immoderate drinking of *Zerbet*, (a kind of pleasant drink which the Turks use, made of Water and Sugar;) but most men thought him to have poisoned himself, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be again inflamed by the new complaints of the Persian Ambassador against him, for that he in the time of his Generalship, had dishonourably suppressed certain Ambassadors sent from the Persian King; which he now fearing to be called in question, for the former storms as yet scarce well appeared, made himself now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer lived, he should have been undoubtedly strangled; which to prevent, he became the worthy Execu-

tioner of himself, that had most unjustly caused others to be most shamefully murdered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather believed, for that the infinite Wealth he had of long time, (craped together, was immediately after his Death taken into the Kings Treasuries, some small portion thereof being left unto his Nephews; a most certain token of *Amurath*'s Indignation against him. The Persian Ambassador having audience the twentieth of *August*, with many lively Reactions and much Eloquence, perswaded the Turkish Emperor to desist from the War begun, as contrary to the Will and Pleasure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*; as also to the Peace, which was so royally, and with so many Capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his Grandfather; and was not to have been broken, and Wars raised, but upon some great Quarrel or Injury done; which the Persians had not at any time offered, but had always wished unto him all Happiness, as they had manifestly declared, by sending unto him an Embassy to that purpose by *Sultan Tacmas*; whereby he might plainly perceive the good mind and zeal the Persian King had for the maintenance of the Peace. And although in the short reign of *Imabel*, there was some Rumor raised, that he meant to go unto *Babylonia*, and some such like News; yet that was but a youthful part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to such as being kept long in Strait Prison, cannot use their Liberty with Moderation, and had therefore received due Punishment for it, by sudden and unexpected death. But as for the King that now is, he did above all others, embrace amity with his Majesty, and therefore did most earnestly desire, that it would please him to temper his Anger conceived, which had incensed him to take up Arms against a King so much his Friend; being of the same Religion and better affected towards him than all the rest of the Nations in the World.

This Ambassador the Turkish Emperor distinctly without any Resolution at all, but only gave order, that whatsoever he had to say touching this Peace, he should communicate it with his Viceroy. Many were the Discourses which happened, for that the Turk required all those Cities and Countries, which till that time he had conquered with the Sword, or (as their proud manner of Phrase is) whereon his Generals Hoofs had trod, to be yielded again unto him; and the Ambassador on the other side, had no warrant from his King to yield any more than that part of *Georgia*, which is on this side the River of *Araxis*. Whereupon the said Ambassador began to fear, lest he should be suspected for a Spy, and so be evil intreated: whereupon he did find himself too manifestly charged by the hard speech that the Viceroy used towards him. Being thus doubtful whereupon to resolve, perceiving himself straitened to the grant of these demands, and receiving also some threatening withal, he determined with himself to enlarge his Speeches with the Viceroy in divers and sundry particularities, and to give him good hope that he should be able to perswade with his King, the yielding up of so much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Masut Chan* the Ambassador in friendly manner and without any outrage sent from *Constantinople* to *Chars*, and Communion given to *Sinan* (then at *Chars*) that without delay, and with all speed he should cause the Ambassador to be conducted to *Van*, and from thence into *Perfia*, wherefore he did desire, all which was faithfully performed.

But to return again to *Sinan* the General, who from *Sivas* had sent the said Ambassador to *Constantinople* (as is before declared;) and being departed

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Sinan must stretch his Army at *Erzerum*.

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Masut Chan reports unto the King what he hath done, and is for his good service by him rewarded.

parted thence, arrived at *Erzerum*, where he took a Survey of his Army, and called a Provision necessary for this Expedition; and so from thence was now come to *Chars*, from whence he dispatched the Persian Ambassador, much discontented that no other Conclusion for Peace could be wrought.

*Masut Chan* at last arriving at the Persian Court, reported unto the King all that had happened in this Ambassage; the sum whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condescend to any condition of Peace, unless the whole Country of *Siran* might be yielded unto him, for that he had once (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did the same Ambassador forbear to tell the King the Suspicion *Amurath* had conceived of him, to have been a Spy rather than an Ambassador; and of the large Promises he was fain to make to the Turk, to avoid the manifest danger of Imprisonment, or Death: all which for all that, now lay in his Majesties Power to perform or not. The King for the present remained well satisfied with that *Masut* had done, and in reward of his great travel and expenses, gave him the charge of the Chamber at *Tauris*, naming him the Chamberlain of that rich and great City. Of which new Office (though very honourable, and of great importance) he took small Pleasure, for that one *Emir Chan*, his ancient Enemy, was chief Governour of that City, from whom he feared some dangerous treachery; wherefore he appointed his Deputy for the Execution of the Office, and withdrew himself from *Tauris* to *Cassagatch*, a place of his own, there to pass away the time, for that he thought the King otherwise to dispose of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the ancient hatred he had conceived against him, took this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the King; certifying him, That *Masut*, not contented with the great preferment it had pleased him to bestow upon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned *Tauris*, and substituted in his place a most base Person to represent the King's Majesty, and to manage his Treasures: and that he absented himself far from that City and the Court there, having withdrawn himself into the Confinnes of *Turkie*, no doubt for some mischievous intent, either to yield himself unto them, or else to have Intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himself of the great Error he had already committed, by offering *Siran* unto the Turkish King; and making promise of so large Conditions, whereby he had obtained such a sure and safe Convey to conduct him; when as he had before discovered himself to be a Favourite of the Turks, and a Traitor to his own King: and that therefore it were good to make trial of his Inclination, and to peradventure to decline some great Mischief, tending to the danger of the Persian State. This malicious Accusation slyly contrived, wrought in the mind of the suspicious King, that he commanded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Masut*, and to bring him to the Court, and if he could not by other means; then by torture to wrest from him the truth of all those matters. Glad was *Emir* to have his Enemy thus put into his hands; and thought it long until he had brought this shame upon *Masut*: who having already heard some indrawing thereof, resolved with himself to do any thing, rather than to fall into the Power of his hateful Enemy. And therefore at such time as fifteen tall fellows were for that purpose sent unto him from *Amurath*, who in the King's name summoned him to the Court; he, without making any new that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, and made them great cheer; but when he perceived them to be

overcome with sleep, which crept upon them by reason of the excess wherewith they had overcharged themselves; he caused them to be straitly bound, and with long Cords hanged them down into a deep Well, and there but them up secretly covered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in his House, and leaving his Wives, his Children, his Brethren, and Nephews on Horse-back, fled with all his Family in the Evening, and the next day arrived at *Salmas*, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkish Baffa, and from thence conveyed to *Van*, where he was courteously welcomed by *Cleali Baffa*, and honourably accompanied, sent to *Sinan* the General, who very glad of his coming, sent him with all diligence to *Constantinople*, to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first enterprize of Peace betwixt the Persians and the Turks.

*Sinan* remained at *Chars* eight days, and there again surveyed his Army and Provision; and afterwards set forward towards *Tomani*, with Resolution there to build a Fort. But being come thither, he could by no means put that his Designment in Execution, by reason of the immoderate Rain, which continually, as the space of eight days fell in such abundance, as that neither of the Sun appear, or the Sky clear. Befide that, *Sinan* greatly feared lest the Enemy, taking the Opportunity of this Rain, of the Strait, and of the Building, should assault his Army, and finding it in evil plight, and out of order, greatly endanger it; wherefore, calling off his former Determination for fortifying at *Tomani*, he removed thence to carry Succours to *Teflis*. But as soon as he was risen with his Army, and sent the Straght, *Tal-Ogli*, Captain of the Janizaries of *Damascus*, and *Homar*, *Samsack* of *Saffet*, having received secret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good store both of Corn and Cattel; resolved with themselves to go thither to fetch in that booty; and so with two thousand Souldiers, greedy of Prey, they set forward. Now *Sinan* the Georgian, and the Persians, following the Turks Army a far off, had divided his Souldiers into all such places as where there was either Corn or Water, or any such thing as might allure the Turks to fetch themselves from the Camp; and perceiving these hungry Turks carefully to run head-long to lay hold on this desired booty, he suddenly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces, being disordered; so that of those two thousand elapsed but *Tal-Ogli* the Captain of the Janizaries only, *Homar* the *Samsack*, and all the rest being left dead upon the Ground.

*Sinan* holding on his way, in two days came to *Teflis*; where presently he called a Council of all the chief men of his Army; taking order, That every man upon his Oath, should depose the truth touching the greatness of *Teflis*; which he did, only in reproach of *Mutapha* the great Baffa; who most untruly had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as *Damascus*, whereas in truth it was not in any respect to be compared unto that so famous a City. After that, he divided the Treasure and Succours he had brought, among the Souldiers of the Forts, cheering them up with good Words, and promises of great Matters. And because the Souldiers there in Garrison complained greatly against the Baffa their Captain, he caused a Bill of complaint to be framed against him, and finding him guilty, that he had converted the Souldiers pay to his own use, he condemned him to the Restoration thereof; and so immediately discharging him of his Office, placed in his room *Gusli Bey*, a Lord of *Georgia*, who for the ancient Enmity betwixt him and *Sinan*, had yielded that

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Masut connects his Army at *Teflis*.



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Sinan de-  
parteth  
from Teffis.Seven  
thousand  
Turks slain  
by the Ge-  
orgians and  
Persians.

himself to the Turks, and was of them so welcom-  
ed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the Custody of  
that Fort, which with so many dangers had been  
maintained and defended till that day.

All things thus set in order at *Teffis*, *Sinan* with  
his Army departed thence, and having again pas-  
sed the Streight of *Tomanis*, there came unto him  
*Mustaffa Bassa* (afterward Governour of *Aleppo*)  
declaring unto him, That not far off was great  
store of Corn and Cattel, and no body but only a  
few *Georgians* to keep the same; and therefore  
willed him to fend forth some to fetch it in,  
whereof, though it had been much more, his Ar-  
my then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well af-  
fected unto this *Mustaffa*, and therefore the easi-  
er induced by him to fend for the aforesaid booty;  
but moved with the fresh remembrance of that  
which had happened to *Tal-Ogli* and *Honar*, he  
gave order, That to fetch in this Corn and Cattel  
there should go 10000 Horse-men and their  
Servants, among whom was also the same *Mus-  
taffa* as their General. Now flood *Tococmae*, *Sinan*,  
and the other *Persian* Captains in secret ambush,  
waiting when any of the Turks should come to  
fetch in this booty. Whereupon the aforesaid  
Soldiers being now come, as they desired, and  
having almost charged all their Mules and Horses  
with that which best pleased them to make choice  
of; the hidden *Persians* all on a sudden issued out  
of their lurking places among them, and with  
great slaughter put them to flight, and with such  
 fury pursued the Victory, that they flew of them  
7000, carried away many Prisoners alive, and the  
Mules and Horses laden with the stolne booty.  
*Mustaffa* was the first that fled, and the first that  
brought the unhappy News of that overthrow to  
*Sinan*; which was forthwith confirmed by the re-  
port of such as had by speedy flight escaped the  
Fury of the Enemy. Wherewith *Sinan* was moved  
to the Battle of *Caramania* with a great Power,  
charging him whosoever he should find the En-  
emy, to let upon him; and presently rising him-  
self with his whole Camp, followed the said Bas-  
sa: but all too late, for the *Persians*, after the aforesaid  
Victory, without slaying, had withdrawn  
themselves into their strong Places, known only to  
such as were well acquainted with the difficult Pa-  
ssages of *Georgia*: and having there disposed of their  
Prey, were now returning to wait some con-  
venient occasion of new war, when they defeated  
the whole Army of the Turks upon the rising of  
a certain Hill, they were afraid to meet them,  
yea and stood in some doubt also, lest *Sinan* should  
descend from the Hill, and so assault them; for  
which cause they retired themselves again into the  
strength of the Mountains; yet not with such  
speed but that the Turks overtook some few of  
them, and slew about fifty or threecore of them,  
whose Heads, in sign of Triumph, they carried a  
good part of the way upon the points of their  
Spears; and took Prisoners about threecore and  
ten more.

At last *Sinan* with all his Army having passed these  
dangerous Places of *Georgia*, arrived at *Trisla*, where  
it was told him, That the *Persian* King in Person,  
himself being already departed from *Tauris*, with  
an exceeding great Army was coming to bid him  
Battle. At which News he caused Proclamation  
to be presently made thorough all his Army, That  
every man should put himself in readiness for the  
Voyage to *Tauris*, whither he himself meant to  
go to meet with the King his Enemy. In the mean  
time (as is reported) he dispatched certain Posts  
to the *Persian* King, then at *Caracabach*, to intreat  
him to fend another Ambassador to *Amurath* for  
Peace, thinking by that means (as some do con-  
jecture) to remove the King from the Resolution of

committing to assail him, if he had any such mean-  
ing. After this Proclamation made, he defended  
into the open and large Plain of *Chielder*; where  
presently he mustered his whole Army, and gave it  
out, That before he would set forth toward  
*Tauris*, he would make trial of the readines and  
nimbleness of his Soldiers, in such sort as if they  
should presently joyn battel with the Enemy;  
which, without further delay, he put in Execution  
the next Morning, formally ranging his whole  
Army in order of Battel, and then sending out some  
few others to shew themselves upon the top of cer-  
tain Hills, as if they had been Enemies that came  
to seize upon his Army; he caused all his Artillery  
to be discharged, and commanded every man to skit-  
mish and bestir himself altogether after the same  
manner as if the Enemy had been there present  
before them: where the thundring of the great  
and small shot, the thick storms of Arrows, with  
the brightness of the Armor and Weapons, yield-  
ing forth lightnings as if it had been fiery beams,  
and the noise of Drums and Trumpets, and other  
Instruments of War, with the Ensignes of blue  
and yellow flying in the Wind, made such a me-  
dley of all things, as if it had been the turmoil of  
a very battel indeed. In the end he caused the re-  
treat to be sounded, and then setting all his Army  
in order again, made the like shew the second time,  
and so the third time also; which was indeed per-  
formed with the great force and defension of his  
Soldiers, who deemed it rather Childrens play,  
than any commendation to the proud Basa. These  
counterfeit shews of War thus finished, yet did he  
not set forth toward *Tauris*, as he had given it  
out, but loitered eight days in those Plains of  
*Chielder*. At which time there arrived out of *Per-  
sia* one *Alder* the Aga, as an Ambassador from the  
King, who was by *Sinan* with great Joy entertain-  
ed. Wherewith were the things by this Ambassador pro-  
posed, such as had *Messia Chah* offered; but the  
conclusion of all was, that the *Persian* King would  
be content voluntarily to relinquish *Chars* and *Tef-  
fis*, and so remain as he did before, in Amity with  
*Amurath*; and so desired *Sinan* to conclude a peace  
with his Master, if it might be; as for himself,  
this Message done, he was precisely to return into  
*Persia*. For this Peace *Sinan* promised to deal with  
*Amurath*, so that the *Persian* King would fend ano-  
ther Ambassador to *Constantinople*. Upon which  
Conclusion the said *Alder* retired into his Land,  
at *Tauris* declared to the King what he had seen,  
what Promises he had received of *Sinan*, and with-  
all, exhorted him to fend a new Ambassador unto  
the Turkish Court. After this, when the publick  
Rumor of the coming of the *Persian* King was found  
to be false, *Sinan*, instead of going to *Tauris*, re-  
turned to *Chars*, where he idly stayed a whole  
Month, to the general marvelling and murmuring  
of all his Army, accustomed to see themselves (to  
the great charge of their King) and the disturbance  
of his whole Kingdom) brought forth not for any  
honourable Conquest, but as it was only of pur-  
pose to make a vain show of War.

At last he departed from *Chars*, for that now  
Winter was come on, and the Frosts and Snows  
did his Army great harm; and so coming to *Er-  
zerum*, there presently dismissed every man to go  
and winter in his own Country; but remained  
still himself in the same City. From whence he by  
speedy Posts diligently advertised *Amurath* of the  
Succours he had left at *Teffis*, of the losses he had  
received from the Enemy, of all that which was  
by *Musapha* misreported, of the coming of the  
*Persian* Ambassador to him, of the Promises made  
unto him touching a new Ambassador, and to be  
short, of all his whole Actions. Besides all this, he  
advertised *Amurath*, That the Enterprize of *Per-  
sia*

*Sinan* de-  
sired of  
his Soul-  
diers.

*Sinan* cometh  
to  
*Erzerum*,  
and there  
breaketh  
up his  
Army.

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was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and such  
a one as needed another manner of Preparation  
than had been as yet appointed for it; and that if  
he desired to subdue *Persia*, it was then very ne-  
cessary that he should speak with him at large,  
and discourse upon many particulars, which could  
not so well without exceeding tediousness be de-  
clared by writing. After that, he sent other Mes-  
sengers also, to follicite *Amurath* for his return to  
*Constantinople*; continually telling him, That it  
was not possible to signify by Writing, what he  
purposed to report to him by word of mouth, for  
the better accomplishing of the enterprize begun.  
Nothing in the World did *Sinan* abhor more than  
this War, having his mind altogether bent against  
the Affairs of the Christians in *Europe*, and there-  
fore fought by all means possible for the diverting  
of those Wars from the East, into some other  
quarters. At last he wrought so much, he intreated  
so much, he writ so many Letters, and follicited  
the matter so earnestly, that *Amurath* was per-  
suaded to fend for him to *Constantinople*, as soon  
as ever he was certified of the arrival of the new  
Ambassador from *Persia*, of whom *Sinan* had be-  
fore advertised him. For he was resolved either  
to grow to a peace with the said Ambassador, if  
he came with honourable Conditions; or if he  
came not, or, that after his coming they could  
not agree upon the Peace, then to put in Execu-  
tion those his Conceits, wherof he must needs be  
particular talk with *Sinan* by word of Mouth. At  
length the promised Ambassador, called *Ebram  
Chah*, a Man of great eloquence, and highly ho-  
noured in *Persia*, came to *Sinan*; wherof *Sinan*  
gave present Intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching  
him again to permit him to come to *Constantinople*.  
Which his request *Amurath* then granted. Where-  
upon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court,  
where he attended the universal Government of  
the whole Empire. At his first coming to the pre-  
sence of *Amurath*, wherein he discoursed with  
him of any thing, but of the coming of the *Per-  
sian* Ambassador) the conditions were set down  
which they were to require for the reducing of the  
Captulations of this Peace to a good end. After  
which agreement, the Ambassador being now  
come, and most magnificently received in *Con-  
stantinople*, had audience. At which time he with  
much glorious Speech laboured to persuade *Amu-  
rath*, That his King had a most ardent desire to  
be reconciled unto him, as to joyn his Forces  
with his, against the Enemies of the *Mahometan*  
Religion; and that for that purpose he was now  
especially come thither: which his good purpose,  
if it were answered with like zeal on his part,  
there would thereof ensue the greatest Unity and  
Friendship that ever was between any *Mahometan*  
Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gave him no other  
answer, but that he should thereof talk with his  
Vizier, and with him intreat of all matters con-  
cerning the Peace; and so he went by *Amurath*  
entertained and dismissed both at one time.

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*Amurath*,  
circum-  
sisteth his  
eldest Son  
*Mahomet*.

Now had *Amurath* called to *Constantinople* his  
eldest Son *Mahomet*, (who afterward succeeded  
him in the Empire) being then about sixteen  
years old, to circumsise him, according to the  
Custom of the Turks; following therein the invete-  
rated Law of the Hebrews. Unto which Solemnity  
many Christian Princes were solemnly invited;  
who accordingly sent thither their Ambassadors  
with great Gifts and Presents, in token of Peace  
and Confederacy; namely, *Rodolphus* the Empe-  
rour, *Henry* the III. the French King, *Stephen* King  
of *Polonia*, the State of *Venice*, the King of *Per-  
sia*, the Moor Kings of *Morocco* and *Fex*, the Princes  
of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and others. With all Tri-  
umph and Joy was the Circumcision of this young

Prince solemnized by the space of forty days and  
forty nights, in the great market Place of *Con-  
stantinople*; where all the Ambassadors aforesaid  
with their Staffs prepared and furnished according  
to their Degrees and States, and received rich en-  
tertainment as might be shewed at such a kind  
of barbarous Spectacle: only the *Persian* Ambassador,  
who had all his Scaffold ferial to himself, but  
not regarded as the rest, rejoiced not at their Feasts  
and Triumphs: for among sundry other wrongs  
and scorn done by the Commandment of *Amu-  
rath* unto the *Persian* Nation, (as by hanging up  
certain counterfeit Pictures of *Persians* made of laths  
and sticks, and then burning them, and in many  
the scornful forts shewing them) the Turk, for the  
great displeasure he had conceived for the harm  
done to *Osman Bassa* and the Turks in *Sinan* much  
about that time, and for the disdain he had taken  
against *Ebram Chah* (as one not condescending to  
the conditions of Peace which he expected, nor  
yielding to any more than the other Ambassador  
had done before, seemed to have come as a Spie  
to mock the Turkish Affairs, or to mock *Amurath*,  
rather than to put in execution any good matter  
to pacify the Minds of the two mighty Princes)  
commanded the standing, before appointed for  
him, in disgrace of him to be flung down, and him-  
self and all his followers to be clad up as clove Pri-  
soners in the house of *Mahamet Bassa* at *Constanti-  
nople*; where he was so faithfully kept, that though  
an hundred of his followers there died of the Plague,  
which shortly after began to wax hot in the City,  
yet could he not obtain so much favour as to be  
removed into some other place, but there was in-  
forced to tarry it out, until that afterward order  
was taken, he should be carried thence as Prisoner  
to *Erzerum*. To end these Solemnities, *Mahomet*  
the young Prince was circumcised, not publicly,  
but in his Fathers Chamber, by *Mechmet* one of  
the inferior Bassas, sometime the Emperour *Sol-  
ymans* Barber.

Now whilst *Sinan* as great Vizier, sat command-  
ing in *Constantinople* the Garrisons of *Chars* and *Tef-  
fis* (kept in by the Enemy, and having received  
none other relief than a little which *Sinan* before  
his departure from *Erzerum* had by good hap cau-  
sed to be secretly conveyed unto them) were  
thought to be driven to great wants. Which thing  
*Sinan* right well knew, and fearing lest those two  
places, which had with so much ado been both  
gained and maintained, should for want of new  
Succours fall again into the hand of the Enemy;  
he both boldly and freely counselled *Amurath* to  
send a new Garrison to *Van*, for the safety of the  
Country thereabouts, and then, under the Con-  
duct of some valiant Captain, to fend Succours to  
*Teffis*: upon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his  
Opinion, and willed him to bethink himself of  
some fit man. Hereupon, *Sinan* propounded divers  
unto him, but none of them pleased him for why,  
he was before resolved, in the sight of *Sinan*, and  
of his Council, to bestow this charge upon *Maha-  
met Bassa*, Nephew to *Musapha* the late Basa,  
and for his sake lately to *Sinan*. This Basa *Mahomet*  
he sent to *Erzerum*, with the Title of the Basa of  
that Province; honouring him withall with the  
name of General of the Army for *Teffis*. And pre-  
sently gave commandment to *Hassan* the Basa of  
*Caracem*, to *Musapha*, sometime called *Mannuchiar*  
the *Georgian*, to all the *Saravacks*, the *Curd*, and  
the *Souldiers* of *Erzerum*, that they should resort  
to the standard of *Mahomet* their General, and so  
to follow him to *Teffis*. Whereupon there assem-  
bled together out of all the said places about five  
and twenty thousand Soldiery, with all things  
necessary for the relief of the distressed Garrison  
which was in *Teffis*. Commandment was also

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In Lewis's  
top. Amurath  
Terc. p. 821

D d d d given



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given to the Bassas of Aleppo and Maras, to repair to Van with all their Soldiers, and there to abide till Winter; which they accordingly did, not molested nor troubled by any Enemy.

In the end of August, Mahamet Bassa departed from Erzerum, with the Bassa of Caracem, and all his Army, carrying with him Money, Corn, and all other things needfull for the relief of Teflis, and in eight days came to Chars, and from thence to Archelae, not troubled by any. At Archelae he found Mustapha (otherwise called Manuchian) the Georgian, with all his Soldiers, whom the General most joyfully entertained, and honoured him with Gifts, and withall admonished him to continue in his Obedience to Amurath, and to conduct him with his Army the shortest and safest way to Teflis; for that some were of Opinion, that it were best to go by Tomanis; and some other, by the way of Mustapha his Country: wherein Mustapha did readily resolve him, that the easiest and shortest way lay through his own Country, being also in his Opinion the safest. This counsel of Mustapha pleased Mahamet greatly, so that he made choice of him to be the guide of his Army, reposing himself wholly upon his good direction; and so departed thence toward Teflis, passing through Alunchala and Carachala, both belonging to the said Georgian, abounding with all things necessary for the sustenance of man, neither were they ever disturbed by any Enemy. Having passed Mustapha's Country, they came to a friendly Castle called Gori, from whence they discovered in certain fields a great Army of the Georgians mingled with Persians, but appareled after the manner of Georgia; these were those Captains of Persia, sent from the Persian King (as in other years before) to aid the Georgian King; who secretly conjointed with Simon Chan the Georgian, had changed their Apparel, because the treaty of Peace should not be disturbed, and their King accounted unjust of his Word; who under a colour of a treaty of Peace, whilst Amurath attended nothing else but to secure and defend his conquered Countries, without purpose to annoy any other places, went about to procure the destruction of the Turks. These then, as soon as they saw the Turkish Army, and perceived that they also themselves were by them defied, sent Heraulds unto them with haughty words of defiance, and to offer them battle. With great Grief of Mind did the Bassa receive this proud defiance; but having no other purpose but only to bring his Successors safe to Teflis, he dismissed the Heraulds, and studied by all means he could to turn Back. That Evening he was favoured in his purpose by the great and continual Rain which then fell, and served for a reasonable excuse of his delay: but the next day proving fair, and the Sun shining bright, both the Armies marched in fight the one of the other all day, until about four hours and an half before night, at which time the Turks arrived near to a River that separated the one Army from the other. There the Bassa fell in Consultation with Mustapha, whether they should pass over the River before Night, or stay on that side they were until the next Morning: In which case Mustapha advised him to stay, as fearing lest the Enemy should set upon the Army, disordered in passing the River, and to annoy them. Notwithstanding the General disliked this Advice of Mustapha, having taken a strong conceit, even upon the first discovery of the Enemy, that there was some intelligence and compact between Mustapha and the Persians, and that to that end he had maliciously persuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis; and therefore the Bassa thought, that if there were any such Plot laid between Mustapha and the Enemy, to let it in some confusion,

Mahamet Bassa reflects Battle offered by the Georgians and Persians.

would not in any case follow the Council of the misguided Georgian, to stay that Night; but commanded, that with the greatest speed that might be, all his Soldiers with their Treasure and Corn should pass over the River, to the end, that before Night, he might on the other side of the River incamp his Army in some good place, to the scorn and derision of his Enemies. Mahamet his Lieutenant, a bold young man, and an hardy, was the first that ventured over, and after him the Carriages of Money, and of Corn, and then the whole Multitude were drowned in the passage, being rather trodden down with the Horses and Camels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the Channel, or swiftness of the River.

As soon as the Georgians perceived that the Turks had passed the River, without staying until they might settle themselves in any good order, they in great haste and fury ran upon them, and presently assailed them, whilst they were yet all in confusion and out of order; by reason whereof the Turks, although they turned their faces upon their Enemy, and made some good resistance, yet in short time you might have seen the Banks of the River in many places stained with the Turkish Blood, and many Carcasses of the Turks here and there scattered, without any apparent loss among the Georgians and Persians. Amongst them that fell in this slaughter, were a number of Sanzacks, of the Curdi, and Mesopotamians; which the rest perceiving, and by the overthrow of their own, conjecturing the loss of others, turned their backs and fled; the like did the remnant of the Mesopotamians, and after them the whole Army: whom the Georgians pressed so close by their flight, that many of the Turks, seeing no other way to escape, cast themselves into the River, and so (though hardly) escaped with their Lives. Great was the flame, great was the confusion, but greatest was the loss they received, for that in the heat of the Battle, the Kings Money and Corn was taken by the Georgians and Persians, every man taking only so much for himself as he could secretly hide upon his own Body, or convey by the means of some trusty slave, which by the help of their swift Horses, was preserved rather by Fortune than by Valour.

The Turks, thus discomfited and spoiled of their relief, the next Morning gathered themselves together again one with another, cursing the Heavens, the King, and their adverse Fortune: some of them also threatening the Georgian Renegade Mustapha, as though all this mischief had hapned through his treachery and secret Intelligence with the Enemy. Notwithstanding, when they found that they had still remaining so much Money and other calamities as might suffice to comfort the afflicted Minds of the Soldiers besieged in the Fort, they resolved to hold on their way towards Teflis; and in their Journey used such speed, that the day following they arrived there in the Evening. But when they of the Fort saw their Friends whom they had so long expected, arrived in such bad fortune, and so evil furnished, they were astonished and wonderfully grieved at this common loss, and all in a confusion protested to Mahamet, That they would abandon the place, if they had not forth with necessary Provision made for them. But the General, after he had with large Promises mitigated their first Furies and Insolencies, presently in the Morning caused a Divano, or Council to be called in the Castle, where, having gathered together all the chief Men in his Army, he spake unto them in this manner;

The Turks discomfited, and the Treasure and Corn taken by the Georgians and Persians.

Mahamet with his discomfited Army cometh to Teflis.

For

1581

The Opinion of Mahamet Bassa in the Castle of Teflis.

FOR as much as it hath pleased God, that so great and important an occasion of Victory, which was offered unto us for the Honour and Glory of every one of us, is now fallen out so unfortunately, that it hath not only not injured us in any matter of triumphing over our Enemies, as we should have done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carry away from us both the Triumph, and also our Armour, our Horses, our Slaves, and our Spoils; yea, and the remembrance whereof doth most grievously trouble and afflict me) our Sultans Money, and our publick munition and forces solemnly delivered to our Conduits, is now become a booty and a prey unto them; that the Honour which might have made every one of us famous among valiant Soldiers, is now fallen from our foreheads, and to our great detriment, doth adorn the heads of Strangers, or rather of our Enemies; and that notwithstanding all this, we are now come to those courageous Soldiers, which with their great Valour have defended this Fort even in the midst of their Enemies Weapons and Treacheries; and to whom we should yield that aid and relief which the virtue of every one of their Minds doth deserve, and which King Amurath had put into our hands to bring hither unto them; there is now no remedy, but to resolve upon some good means, that we fall not wholly into the utter disgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintain these Soldiers in the custody and defence of this Fort: and though it be with all our wants, and all our own dishonours, to comfort these that have so long time looked for us, and so well deserved all manner of relief. We cannot excuse our selves, that our Enemies were better than we, either in number, or Injuries of War; for both in the one and the other we were far better than they: neither yet can we say, that they set upon us by Night, or as unprovoked; for when we saw their number, their Weapons, their Horses, and finally their approach, and their manner of assault, yet we would needs pass over the River, and join battle with them: which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable unto us, because we were more ready to take our fight, than to endure the fight; and to life our feet, than to occupy our hands. And therefore it is very requisite, as to perform the Duty of Soldiers, that we suffer not our Lord and King to lose his Money, which he trusted into our hands, and which we have lost, not by strength, nor by any treacherous stratagem of our Enemies, but by our own too too important fear, and too base a regard of our Lives, before which, it was the Duty of every one of us to have preferred the care of Honour. For, if by fighting and courageous sustaining the assaults of our Enemies, though they had been stronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned unto us, and that we could in any fort have repented to the King and the World an honourable and bloody Battle, we should not now have had any need to seek means how to repay this loss, and to restore the thing that violently was taken from us: by such as were more mighty than our selves, and these honourable Soldiers should more easily have digested with us this lamentable Calamity. But we have lost that Money, and in very deed having as it were willingly bestowed it upon the Georgians and Persians, to redeem our Lives, and to save us from their fiery Fire-brand to repay us, or else for ever hereafter to be challenged as lawless debtors to the King for it. And therefore, my good Friends and Companions, if you will take a good course, let every one of us, without further Consultation, put his hand into his private Purse. (If he have not so fully cast that also into the hands of the ravenous Enemy) and with our own Money let us succour the Necessity of these men, and have regard to the Honour of our King. So shall we make our Right to blame worthy, and our Justice more honest, and that which is of greatest importance, we shall better pacify

the wrath of Amurath, which he might most justly conceive against us. I myself before you all am most ready to discharge four thousand ducats towards it, if it shall please you all to follow me accordingly; we shall deliver these Soldiers from their great Necessity, and acquit our selves from the intricate bonds of most troublesome displeasures.

There might a man have seen a thousand Countenances changed a thousand manner of ways; for one softly whispered many a curse and shame upon the King, upon Mahamet, yea, and upon God himself; another denied to do anything, another determined privily to steal away, and some said one thing, and some another: but in the end every man was induced to follow the Example of Mahamet, and thereupon having made a Purse according to every mans ability, there was collected thirty thousand Ducats among them. And presently after, word was sent to Lucent Oglu at Zagher, to send thither Grain, Muttons, and other necessary Provisions, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

Two days only were spent in Teflis, and having changed such Soldiers as desired to be dismissed, and also appointed Hamur Bassa Governor of Teflis, instead of Giusuf that there governed before, he departed. But before his departure Consultation was had, Whether they should keep the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the Country of Mustapha the Georgian; and in the end they resolved to keep the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they should all pass the River. The Curdi were the first that went over, and had already passed the same when the General began to revoke his former order, and sent them word, That they should return, because he was now determined to go back the same way he came. At which message the Sanzacks were in a Rage, and in plain terms sent him answer, That these mutabilities befel them not, being men accustomed to War, but to be rather Childrens play, than manly Resolution; and that for their parts they were minded not to change their Journey, but would go on the same way they had begun, and so forwards they went (say the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arrived at Chars long before Mahamet, who was much grieved at this their so great disobedience: but seeing no other remedy, he with the Bassa of Caracem and Mustapha the Georgian, put themselves on their Journey, even by the same way they came to Teflis. At last Mahamet arrived at Alunchala, the chief Castle of the Georians, and burning with the desire of revenge of those losses, (which he thought himself to have received by the Treachery of Mustapha) or, as some thought, seeking by this means to make Amurath believe, that in truth all the forepassed mischiefs had happened not thorough their cowardice, but through the treacherous and malicious devices of the Georgian, and so to make their received losses seem more pardonable, he devised with himself how to find out such a plot, as that Mustapha might upon the sudden be taken away, as guilty of so foul a Treason. And that he had devised, was in this sort: To call a Council in his own Pavilion, as if he had received some commandment from the Court; and having called Mustapha to come into that room, whilst the said counterfeit commandment should be in reading, to cause his Lieutenant, with those chief of his band that stood about him, to fall upon him, and presently to cut off his head. This pretended Council was accordingly called, wherein sat the Bassa himself, and with him the Bassa of Caracem, certain Sanzacks, subject to the Jurisdiction

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The Turks among themselves make a Purse of 30000 Ducats for the relief of the Garrison of Teflis.

Mahamet deviseth how to betray Mustapha the Georgian.

D d d d d

Others



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Abas Mirise  
by his  
Ambassa-  
dours pur-  
sued of  
Treason.

thought in him, but also that he had always defied and laboured the contrary: and would moreover open unto them such matter, as in respect of other men, and not of himself, might cause their coming to prove profitable and commodious to all the Kingdom of Persia. Which his request they both solemnly promised faithfully to perform, being very desirous to understand what those strange Novelties should be. Whereupon *Abas Mirise* went unto them two of his chief Counsellors, men of great account and reverence both for Years and Wisdom, with full instructions; who after many Speeches, in the end (swearing (according to their custom) by the Creator that Deeds out the Air, that founded the Earth upon the Deep, that adorned the Heaven with Stars, that poured abroad the Water, that made the Water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, (swearing by the head of *Ad*, and by the Religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that such perverie thoughts never entered into the head of *Abas Mirise*: they alleged many Testimonies and manifest Proofs, that most joyally, in all due time, as well when he was advanced to the Kingdom of Persia, as also in his Battels against the Turks, his Son had always caused devout Prayers and Supplications to be made to God for his Prosperity; neither ever desired to hear any other, but happy and fortunate success of him. They brought with them a thousand and a thousand Precepts and loyal Letters, which the young man had caused to be written, as occasions required, to the Governors that were his Subjects, for the Government of the State, wherein he never named himself King of Persia, but only, Your King and Governour of *Heri*. They prayed the King also, to cause a diligent Process to be framed against his Son; and if there should be found in him any sign or shadow of so wicked a suspicion, then to take from him his Estate and Liberty; offering themselves to remain as Hostages for him. But when all this should be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from their unjust Accusations, then (falling even to the Earth and kissing it) they besought him, and as it were conjured him, not to leave the matter thus imperfect, to the Prejudice of his Blood; but returning to his Counsellor, to take information likewise, upon what mind and consideration he had advised the King, to take upon him this unorderly and dangerous Voyage; where no doubt he should find nothing in him, but malignant, ambitious, and wicked Affections; and such as even deserved, that with his Blood there should be revenged all the Blood of the Turks, which till that hour had been brought to their unworthy and undeserved Deaths. And for as much as nothing remained, whereof the Vicer had informed the King against his Son, but the commandment that was given by *Abas Mirise* to the Governors under him, That they should not go to the Wars against the Turks: they confessed in Truth, that such an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traitorous end and purpose, as was reported to the King by his great Counsellor, but only in respect of an Invasion justly feared in those quarters by the *Tartarian Jeshelbas*; who by divers *irrides* had already done great harm in the Country about *Heri*; and put young *Abas* and his Counsellors in such a fear, that they durst not disannul their Cities of their Guards and Forces; and therefore had commanded the said Governors, not to go to the Wars against the Turks, but to stay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing signified unto the Vicer himself, which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to try, if in these common troubles he could bring to pass, that *Abas Mirise* and the King might be taken away, and *Emir Hamze* succeed in his place; and

The Ambassadors  
of *Abas* ac-  
cuse *Mirise*  
to *Salmas*  
the Vicer.

so he himself remain the Superintendent of his Son-in-Law, and Moderator of that most famous Kingdom. Of which to treacherous a purpose, they for all that, thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant, knowing his own kindred Disposition and Love towards his own kindred; but imputed it only to the immoderate and ambitious desire of the wicked *Traitor Mirise Salmas*.

Of these grave Speeches of the Ambassadors, *Mahomet* the Father (by nature credulous) began to make great Constructions; and deeply to consider of his earnest and important requests; which seemed unto him so upright and equal, as that he could not chafe but hearken unto the same; and therefore, calling unto him the Governors, the Captains, the Judges, and Treasurers of all the Cities that were subject to *Heri*: he demanded of them, how and in what sort they esteemed of *Abas Mirise*, and in what degree of Honour he desired to be esteemed of them; and of them all received one answer, That they held him for their Lord and Lieutenant to the King of *Cashin*, and that he himself had always desired to be so looked and thought of: for proof whereof, every one of them brought in divers Letters, Precepts, and Orders: wherein he never caused himself to be honoured with any other Title, but only, Your King of *Heri*. He demanded further, Whether any such Wars were attempted by the *Tartarian Jeshelbas*, or not; whereof he received a large and full Information, that so it was, to the great detriment of all those Territories. And thus the King was thoroughly persuaded of the Innocency of him, who before was noted unto him by his Vicer, to be an obstinate Rebel. Upon which Occasion only, although he might justly have put him to Death, as Author of so great troubles and bloodshed; yet, because he would be better informed of the truth of the Accusations laid against him by the Ambassadors, he resolved to make a curious and diligent enquiry thereof: and therefore, first of all, in great secrecy he examined *Emir Hamze*, his eldest Son, wherefore he had advised the Journey against his Brother *Abas*, whom he had found guilty of all those Crimes that were objected against him: Whereunto the Prince answered, That he had no other certainty of the pretended evil behaviour of his Brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he always gave to his Father-in-law *Mirise Salmas*, to whom as to a chief Counsellor, his Father-in-law, and Protector of the Kingdom, he had always yielded absolute credence; and so discharged the whole Trenchels of all those Mischiefs upon the Vicer. Touching whom, the King made diligent Inquisition, as well among those of the Court, as of the Army; and thereby found of him guilty of all that the Ambassadors of *Heri* had accused him: and that being always acquainted with the true Occasions which restrained the Governors of *Heri* (subject to *Abas Mirise*) from going to the War against the Turks, he had most maliciously concealed the same, of purpose to hatch such a strange and dangerous contentment, as had wrought the unworthy Death of many brave men, and almost defiled the hands of the Father with the innocent blood of his guileless Son. For which so foul a Treachery, the false Vicer was worthily condemned to die; and his wily head by the commandment of the King, struck from his Carcass. Justly rewarded, with the same Punishment which he unjustly fought to have converted upon others; and with his own destruction pacified the Difficulties and Brawls that were arisen between the two Princes. And so the two Brothers being reconciled together, and the Son to the Father, that *Abas* had again promised his wished Obedi-

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Ferat chosen  
General of  
the Army  
in *Sinai's*  
Place.

ence (which he afterwards most dutifully performed) *King Mahomet* returned with the Prince towards *Cashin*, where, by reason of new and unexpected Motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and desired. *Amurath*, through the rough Speeches of *Sinan*, was more and more fed in his purpose for the continuing of the *Porte* War; accounting it so much the more to his own Glory, as it should in happy success fall out contrary to the Opinion of many: and thereupon began to bethink himself, whom he might chuse for his General, to whom he might commit so great a charge. Among the Balleas of the Court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe years, but yet full of courage, though in opinion, in counsel as hardy as might become his age, ready for all sudden and strange adventures, but above all, a Vassal most devoted to the King; of this man, at last he was resolved to make choice, to have the leading of his Army: and therefore calling him apart, declared unto him what he had in himself purposed; encouraging him to take the charge upon him, with a firm resolution to perform all things answerable to so worthy an enterprise, with the opinion he had conceived of his Valour. Very willingly did *Ferat* accept of this new Office, and thought himself (as indeed he was) highly favoured by the King; and thereupon made him a large promise, to employ his strength, his wit, and uttermost devotoir, to put in execution whatever should be offered unto him, either by occasion, or by his Royal Commandment.

At first *Amurath* had no other purpose to employ him any further, but only to assure the Passage to *Tefis*, and so into all *Georgia*; and to have destroyed the Country of *Misapha* the Georgian, who had so audaciously injured the Lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole Army in Confusion; but being certainly advertised of the troubles in Persia between the King and his Son, he changed his purpose, and commanded *Ferat* to employ all his forces to erect a Fortrel at *Reivan*, a place belonging unto *Tocmac*, and to assure the Passage from *Chors* to *Reivan*; for so they should be revenged of many harms they had received by him, and lay open the way to the City of *Tauris*, to the great glory of *Amurath*. As for *Misapha* the Georgian, although he had well deserved to be chastised for his rash attempt against *Mahomet Baffa*, being then his General, yet he would *Ferat* to dispense his evil Opinion of him; and (if it were possible) so to work, as to tie him as an Instrument to convey Treasure and Succours to *Tefis*: for by this means the Passage being made safe, all *Georgia* would without any more Fortresses be subdued, and then the next year they might attempt the enterprize for *Tauris*.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the Devices of *Amurath* his Lord, and shewed himself ready for any attempt. And so the time being come wherein it behaved them to let on foot their important Designments, in the beginning of the year 1583, Commandments were sent out to all the Cities of the Empire, which were wont to make their appearance at the Wars. That upon such summons, they should be ready to return against the *Persians*, and to put in Execution that should be enjoined them by their new General. The Fame whereof flew as far as *Soria*, *Jurie*, *Pahstine*, *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, to *Balsara*, to *Sivas*, to *Maras*, to all *Bythina*, *Capadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Armenia*, yea, and beyond *Constantinople*, to the Borders of *Hungary* and *Greece*, and in brief, to all the Regions that were wont to come to this War: all which sent their Captains and Souldiers accordingly. And so at last General *Ferat* departing from *Constantinople*,

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General  
*Ferat* de-  
parteth  
from *Con-  
stantinople*.

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He com-  
eth to *Rei-  
van*.

and passing over to *Scutari* by the way of *Amasia* and of *Sivas*, came to *Erzurum*, where he took a view of all his Army and Provision: and from thence in eight days arrived at *Chors*, conducted by the *Persian* fugitive *Mirise Chan*; and from *Chors*, let himself on his way towards *Reivan*. Three days before he came to *Reivan*, of certain Ruins of an old Castle which the Turks call *Aggia Chatsi* (or the Castle of Strangers) he erected a new Fortrel, and left in it a Garrison of four hundred Souldiers, with a Sanzack, and certain pieces of Ordnance, and then went to *Reivan*. This Country is distant from *Tauris* eight or nine days Journey; between which two places are situate *Naffwan*, *Chinoff*, *Maras*, and *Sinapan*, all crissed with goodly Gardens and pleasant Greens: but in the way are many craggy Mountains to be climbed, andundry hard Passages either for Army or Traveller.

Here then did *Ferat* encamp himself with his Army; and taking advice of his chief Captains, where he should build the Fort; they all with one consent advised him to settle upon the Houses and Ruins of *Tocmac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, enclosing the Gardens with strong Walls and deep Ditches round about, whereinto he conveyed Water from a certain River, that coming down from the Mountains, ran into *Araxis*. Which Work was performed with such Expedition, that within the space of fifteen days the Fortrel was finished, being in circuit seven hundred and fifty yards. It grieved *Tocmac* exceedingly thus to lose his Country and Dwelling, and so much the more, as it happened so suddenly, and as it were unlooked for. He himself, as soon as he understood that the Turkish Army was coming to that Coast, having withdrawn himself and his Men of War out of the City he could not keep, fought by all means to be revenged, if not altogether, yet in some part, of this so great an Injury. And therefore he wrote unto the King at *Corasanz*, to *Emir Chan* at *Tauris*, to *Simon* in *Georgia*; he gathered Souldiers out of the Villages, and used all his possible endeavour to enable himself to annoy the Enemies Army: but from none of these places could he receive any help, the King being so far off in Wars against his Son, the Georgian being butted by hindering any Relief to be brought to the beleagued in *Tefis*; as for *Emir Chan* (who by solemn promise unto the King before his departure to *Heri*, had undertaken the defence of that side of the Kingdom against the Turks) he either would not, or could not fit; neither felt to much as one Souldier, having, as some supposed, secret Intelligence with General *Ferat*, not to disturb him in this his Work. So *Tocmac*, destitute of all other help, was not able of himself to do much against so mighty an Enemy; yet ceased not to lay such privy Ambushes for the Turks as he could, killing of them sometimes 100, sometime an 150, and sometimes more, as they fell into his danger. And to ease his Stomach against *Emir Chan*, (who sitting still at *Tauris*, as it were to behold his Misery, would not so much as shake a Sword against their spoiling Turks) he spared not to dispatch certain Horsemen in haste to the King at *Corasanz*, and by eloquent Letters to amplify the cowardice of *Emir Chan*; intermeddling withall some causes of Suspicion, that he had some intelligence with the Turkish General.

*Ferat* having thus built this new Fort at *Reivan*: as *Amurath* had commanded, and furnished it with Artillery, and all other things needful for the defence thereof; appointed *Sinan Baffa* (the Son of *Cicada*, a Renegade of *Genoa*, and by *Selymus* the late Emperour, in the flower of his Youth created *Alge*, or Captain of the *Teniteries*) with a Garri-

*Ferat* in the space of fifteen days buildeth a Fort at *Reivan* 750 yards about.

son

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son of eight thousand Souldiers to keep the fame. And to departing thence, by the way of *Aggia Chalefi*, in ten days arrived with his Army at *Chars*.

*Ferat* had not long stayed at *Chars*, but strange News were brought thither, That *Mustapha* the *Georgian* (to whom *Amurath* had sent thirty thousand Ducks, by two of his *Capigi* and two of his *Chiaus*, to have by him been conveyed to *Teflis* for the Relief of them in the Fort.) was revolted from the Turkish Obedience, and being now become a Rebel, had left that Fortrefs in manifest danger to yield, if by some other means it were not relieved. Which strange Novelties exceedingly troubled the General, who to know the certainty thereof, called before him all such as were the Messengers of this Mistrust: by whom he was certainly informed, That *Mustapha*, the two *Capigi*, and the *Chiaus*, having put themselves upon their way towards *Teflis* with the Treasure, guarded with a Convoy of five hundred of his Souldiers, in the mid way had met with his Cousin *Simon* the *Georgian*; by whom he was perswaded to return again to his antient Faith and Religion, which he had to the great Peril of his Soul forprophantly abandoned, and to those of the Service of *Amurath*, which would yield him no other recompence than an hard and infamous Captivity, and in the end some fraudulent and treacherous Death: and that his Perswasion had so prevailed with *Mustapha*, that he caused the two *Capigi* and the *Chiaus* to be apprehended and presently beheaded; and dividing the Treasure with his said Cousin, had with him and his other Kinsmen vowed a solemn and perpetual Conjurment, and to having withdrawn themselves to their wonted Passages, lay there in wait for such Succours as should by the Turks be brought to *Teflis*.

When *Ferat* understood these and such other Particularities, he all in a Fury swore that he would not return to *Erzurum* until he had put all the Country of *Mustapha* to Fire and Sword: yet first he thought it needful to relieve *Teflis*, which would otherwise be in danger to be yielded to the Enemy: and for that purpose made choice of *Hassan Bassa*, who in the last year of the Generalship of *Mustapha*, had most courageously conveyed the like Succours, and taken *Aliti Chah*. Unto him therefore did the General assign forty thousand Ducks, with other Provision necessary for that Service; and for the more Security, appointed him fifteen thousand of the most choice and valiant Souldiers in all the Army, to conduct the same. In ten days space *Hassan Bassa* went and came from *Teflis*, having in his Journey to and fro had many Skirmishes with the *Georgians*, wherein he lost some few men, without any other loss worth the remembrance.

After this, the General sent one *Refshan Bassa* with six thousand Souldiers to spoil the Country of *Mustapha* the *Georgian*, the late Renegade, but now become a Rebel to the Turk; which *Refshan*, without any long stay over-ran all his Territory, burnt his Towns, and committed most uncouth outrages, which extended even unto the poor infensible Trees, and carried away with him many captive Souls, with much Corn and Cattel, like a raging Tempest destroying whatsoever came in his way. Now was the General also retired to *Arda-chah*, whither came *Refshan* to meet him with his forlaid Booty. But because they had now performed what they had before intended, and in ten days space *Hassan Bassa* went and came from *Teflis*, having in his Journey to and fro had many Skirmishes with the *Georgians*, wherein he lost some few men, without any other loss worth the remembrance.

the good service done by *Hassan Bassa*; who for the fame was now once again honoured by the King, with Cloth of Gold, a Battle-axe and Targuet all gilt.

About this time, one *Podolovius*, a Gentleman of *Polonia*, sent by *Stephen* King of *Polonia*, to *Constantinople*, by the leave of *Amurath* to buy certain Horfes in *Anatolia*; returned afterwards with four and twenty goodly Horfes which he had bought, was notwithstanding the Great Turks Pique, by his Commandment slayed upon the way, all his men (in number four and thirty) slain, excepting one Boy, who getting into a Wood, escaped, and *Podolovius* his Head struck off. The Horfes brought back to *Constantinople*, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, some bestowed into his own Stable, and the rest given among the Baffaes, Turks, in derision of the *Polonian* King. This *Amurath* commanded to be done, in revenge of an outrage done by the *Polonian* Cossacks against the Turks; whereof News was but even then brought to the Court.

The nine and twentieth day of November of this present year 1583, died *Hama Cadum*, the Widow of the late Emperor *Selimus* the second, and Mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth buried by her Husband *Selimus*, and his five Sons, strangled by their Brother *Amurath*.

All the rest of this year 1583, *Ferat* spent at *Erzurum*, and afterwards sent out his ordinary Commandments to all the accustomed Cities, to summon the Souldiers against the next Spring in the year 1584, gathering together a greater number of Pioners and Engineers than ever had been gathered in these Wars heretofore; and withall gave it out, That he would go to *Erzurum*, and there do great Matters. At which report the *Georgians* were much moved, and began to cast many things in their Heads about it; but above all others, the King, who understanding at *Cashin* of all that had before happened at *Reivan*, and of the new Preparations of the Turks, began to fear that they would this year pass to *Tauris*, or at least (as was reported) to *Nassivan*, and in those places build new Fortresses, to the great danger of the *Persian* Empire: and therefore, retaining still such Forces as he brought with him from *Heri*, and commanding as many more as he could out of all the Cities that were subject unto him, to follow him to *Tauris*, he arrived there with his Army, not long after the arrival of *Ferat Bassa* at *Erzurum*. This unexpected coming of the *Persian* King with so great an Army to *Tauris*, filled the World with Expectation of great Matters to have been done by him against the Turks; inasmuch that *Ferat* the General, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to advertise *Amurath* of the matter: declaring unto him, That his desire was to go to *Nassivan*, and there to build a Fortrefs, according to his Commandment, so to lay open a Passage to *Tauris*: but having received certain Intelligence, that the *Persian* King was come to *Tauris* with an huge Army, and full Resolution to encounter him; he thought it his Duty not to put in Execution his aforelaid Determination, without his express Commandment. Unto whom *Amurath* presently wrote back, that the matter so standing, he should not go to *Nassivan*, but only employ his Forces to assure the Passage to *Tomanis* and *Lori*, that so the Fort of *Teflis* might the year following be relieved by some small Band, without sending of any great Army for the conveying of Succours thither; so that he might, by this way, *Ferat* kept secret to himself, causing the Rumour of his going to *Nassivan* to be more and more increased; and purpose to feed the Opinion that the *Persians* had before

The Death of *Hama Cadum*, *Amurath's* Mother.

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The death of *Refshan* a new Army.

The Persian King with a great Army coming to *Tauris*.

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fore conceived of his coming thither; and so excluding them, with less danger to build the Forts he had intended, for the quieting of those most dangerous Passages of *Lori* and *Tomanis*.

Upon this Resolution *Ferat* having gathered together his People, with all things necessary for his purpose, removed with his Army from *Erzurum* towards *Chars*, where he stayed ten days to take a new survey both of his Souldiers and Provision. And to departing thence, left forward toward *Lori*, sending before him *Hassan Bassa* with five thousand light Horsemen to scout the Country even to *Tomanis*, and to learn what he possibly could of the Enemies purposes, and the State of *Georgia*. Which thing *Hassan* justly performed, speedily scouring over all the Woods, and disclosing all the Passages from thence to *Lori*, and so to *Tomanis*, without meeting with any upon whom to assay his Valour, more than certain Robbers upon the high-way, whom he caused to be slain, (as men altogether ignorant of the *Georgian* and *Persian* Affairs) and their Heads to be let on the tops of their Laurels, and so returned again to *Lori*: where having stayed one day, he met with the General, to whom he recounted all that had happened in that his Expedition. *Ferat* being come to *Lori*, there camped his Army. This place did sometime belong to *Simon* the *Georgian*, well strengthened with an high Castle, compassed about with very deep Ditches, and a thick Wall almost a mile in circuit, but was then somewhat weakened with time; it is distant from *Teflis* about two days Journey of a Carriers pace. Upon this Castle *Ferat* seized; and having repaired the Walls, and strengthened the breaches, he placed therein all his force of *Georgians*, with seven thousand Souldiers for the defence thereof, and planted upon the Walls two hundred small pieces of Ordnance: And so when he had seen all things there in good order, departed thence with his Army towards *Tomanis*, having before commanded *Ali Bassa*, at some convenient time to forsake *Saitan Chahsai* a Castle about ten miles distant from *Lori*, and therein to place a convenient Garrison of Souldiers and Artillery.

Four days were they going from *Lori* to *Tomanis*, being ordinarily but one days work from the one place to the other: but now the General would needs to make it, to take the spoil of those rich Fields, abounding with Corn, Cattel, and Fruit, and to leave unto the Country-people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At last being come to *Tomanis* (in times past a Castle of *Simons*, but by reason of the Wars, by him then abandoned) he began to consult with the other Captains, how and where the Fort should be erected, for the assurance of that Country. But after many Discourses, it was at last concluded not to fortify in that Castle, as being too far from the Straight, to make that dangerous Passage safe and secure; but to go a little further, and to build a Fortrefs upon the very Mouth of the Straight. So the Army marching forward a few miles, at the very entrance of the narrow Passage found the Ruins of another Castle, and near therunto stayed themselves. This steep headlong Castle was to compass round about with a thick Wood, which hindered all discovery afar off, that it was not convenient to found such a Castle there, from whence their Ordnance could neither avail them to whom the defence thereof should be committed, neither damage those that should come to offend them. And therefore the General commanded, that every man with all his Endeavours should lay to his hand for the cutting down of that thick Wood, and making way through thick and thin, to lay it for an open Campaign, that was before the Reception of a thousand dangerous Treacheries. In

very short space were the Trees laid along on the Ground, the place made high and open, and a very commodious Situation prepared for the Foundation of a Castle. The plot of the old ruined Castle was compassed about with a Wall of a thousand and seven hundred yards, and in the midst thereof was erected a strong Keep, stately Lodgings and Chambers builded, and two pieces of Ordnance distributed upon the new Walls. After that, the General sent *Refshan Bassa*, and the *Baffa* of *Caracem*, with 20000 of his most choice Souldiers, to convey Succours to *Teflis*: who marching closely together in the direct way, in one day arrived at the said Fort; wherein they bestowed their Supplies; and changing the Governour thereof, substituted one only called a *Baffa*. Whilst *Refshan* yet lay thus camped under *Teflis*, *Daur Chah*, the Brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of these Wars, at the coming of *Mustapha* the Turks General into *Georgia*, had fled out of *Teflis*, came now with all his Family, and offered himself as a subject and devoted Vassal to the Turkish Emperor: whom *Refshan* entertained with great Promises and large assurances of all good Success, according to his desire.

In the mean while News was brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* staying at the Straights of *Tomanis* with his Army, had sent *Refshan Bassa* with a far less number than indeed he had, to succour *Teflis*: Upon which report he took Courage to encounter *Refshan*, and to give him Battle. Upon which Resolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 4000 *Georgians*, partly Subjects of his own, and partly of *Manuchians*, he with all speed possible went against *Refshan*. But whilst *Simon* was going thitherwards, General *Refshan* fearing the worst, had already by chance dispatched away the two *Baffaes* of *Caracem* and *Maras*, with 10000 Souldiers, to the end that joining themselves with the Souldiers of *Refshan*, they should at all adventures be so much the stronger. Now *Simon* going resolutely on, found *Refshan* incamped with 6000 Souldiers only; at the foot of an Hill, on the back-side whereof lay all the rest of the Army, and presently gave a charge upon him; when the Souldiers behind the Hill being aware of his coming, were ready all at once with their Weapons to receive him. Who now perceiving his Error, repented himself to have rashly assaulted his Enemies, seeing now no other Remedy but to be utterly undone. But seeing that he had now so far engaged himself, as that he could not by flight but increase his Grief, and make the issue more lamentable; with these few Souldiers which he had, he incurred the Fury of the great Army of *Refshan*, so that on both sides there was joyued almost cruel Battle: wherein the strange and unusual Valour of those few Christians was much to be wondered at. Yet in the end the huge number of the Turkish Swords and Spears prevailed upon that small number of the *Georgians*, as that they were brought to great Extremity; yea *Simon* himself having his Horse slain under him, fell down headlong to the ground, and in his fall was very near to have been taken Prisoner, as was his Lieutenant, and many other his Followers, had he not been relieved by an unexpected and marvellous chance: for whilst the Battle was even at the greatest heat between them, *Refshan* discovered the two *Baffaes* of *Caracem* and *Maras*, who (as is before said) were newly sent by the said *Refshan*, and also the rest of his Army, were indeed thought to be *Persians*; whereupon they were incontinently surprised with a sudden fear, inasmuch that they now became very doubt

The compass of the Castle built at *Tomanis* by *Ferat*.

*Simon* in danger to be taken, & escape by a strange chance.

Reccc ful

*Ferat* comes to *Erzurum*, and there breaks up his Army.

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ful of the Victory, whereof they thought themselves before assured. In this suspense and doubtfulness of Mind the Batel was also intermitted, and the Victory by the fight of those their Friends disturbed; whereby the Georgians, and especially Simon, whose estate was almost desperate, took the Opportunity to escape and save themselves; leaving behind them most sure signs of their Valour among the Turks, of whom many remained there slain, many wounded, and many filled with great marvel and unexpected fear. Thus escaped poor Simon with the remainder of his followers into his known places of Refuge, there to bewail the Death and Captivity of his Subjects. But Reshan after he had discovered the Baffles approaching towards him, to be his known Friends and well Willers, retired in himself exceedingly, that Simon had so escaped his hands; yet holding on his way to Tomanis, he arrived there in great Triumph, drawing the Standards of Simon all along the Ground, and causing many of the heads of the Georgians to be carried upon his Soldiers Lances, to the great joy of General Ferat, to whom he delivered all the Prisoners taken in the Batel, and wicked Daw Chan, who having in times past renounced his first Faith, was become a Persian; and now again despising the vain superstition of the Persians, had yielded himself to the vanity of the Turks, and made himself a voluntary Slave to Amurath.

A wonderful death in the Turks Army at Trimala.

Now was the year so far spent, that every man began to fear the Winters approach; and therefore the General determined to remove thence, and to withdraw himself into places of more safety. And so having first all things in order in the new Fort, he appointed Hajan to be the Baffa of Tomanis, and left with him eight thousand select Soldiers chosen out of all the Army, for the defence of that Fort and the Country thereabout. Deeply had Ferat laid up the outrage committed by Manuchiar the Georgian (being now returned to his old place of Manuchiar) in taking away the Kings treasure, and killing the two Capiti and the Chian; and therefore he resolved with himself, not to return to Chars or Erzurum, unless he had first passed into the Country of the said Georgian, and in most cruel manner revenged those notable injuries before received. In three days he arrived at Trimala, and there incamped. But lying there, such an unwonted Dearth and Scarcity of all things rise in the Army, but especially of Victuals, that every five bullets and a half of Wheat was sold for five hundred Ducks, to the universal calamity of the whole Army.

From this place, the General was minded to go on forwards towards the Country of Manuchiar; but whilst he was upon the raising of his Tents, one Vei Baffa of Aleppo came unto him, and told him, That it was not good now to spend the time in wandering about those Countries, for that there were three very great Enemies confederate together, to make this enterprise very difficult, and almost impossible and desperate: one was the season of the year, being now full of Snows, Frost, and Tempest; another was, the want and scarcity of all things necessary, especially of Victual; the third was, the People of Georgia, who by a common uniting of themselves together, and adventure aided by the Persians, might work some notable mischief against the Army. This Speech of Vei so much offended the General, that he most sharply rebuked him, and with bitter terms reproved him, telling him flatly, That he well perceived that he was brought up among Mountains and Villages, and of a Villain (as he was) upon some superfluity of grace, or foolish importunity, advanced to the honour of a Baffa, and that therefore he should not have presumed so much as to think it lawful

for him, so impudently and malapertly to come and give him such advice; whereas it had been his duty rather to have held his peace, and to have hearkened to the commandments of his betters and superiors, yielding himself obedient and devoted with all his power to perform the same. With this rebuke the General passed on to Archeloch, burning, and in a manner destroying the Country before him, though indeed it was in amity and confederacy with the Turks. But the Inhabitants of Archeloch upon the coming of the Turks had abandoned the City, and for fear withdrawn themselves into the Mountains. In Archeloch Ferat incamped, and flayed the face of four days among the rocky crags; and in a barren foil, yielding necessary sustenance neither for man nor beast; so that every man there endured unpeakable miseries: yet for the space of four days the Soldiers with patience endured this great Calamity. But in the end, the fall of a huge Snow being added to these extremities, did so greatly increase their grinds, that all the Janizaries and Spagolans of Constantinople arose in a Tumult, and coming before Ferat, in delightful and contemptuous manner, with very haughty and resolute terms laid unto him:

AND how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent Government? Where is the due Commiseration that thou oughtest to bear towards the Vassals of thy Sovereign, thou rhetorical and unreasonable Captain? dost thou think happily, that we keep our Harlots at thou dost, under thy impious Possions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate Viands, whilst others live in Misery? Dost thou believe that we have as thou hast, our dainty Sugars, Spices, and Confevers, whereby to restore us, in the common Calamity of others? And that we have at command, Meat and precious Wines, which thou minglest with thy clear and pleasant Water, partly provided for thee by the Art of the cunning Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far Places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured, that so much People should continue in this Famine, afflicted with Nakedness, and many other Inconveniences: and therefore get thyself up and return toward Erzurum; otherwise we shall be forced to do that which will breed more displeasure unto thee, than to any man living.

The General in a great Agony presently called a Council, wherein it was concluded, That they should all send their strong trumpet Hoxies to Ardachan, and the rest to follow him into Persians Country, whether he had appointed to go on, to make an inroad, and with the spoil and booty of that Country to refresh the Minds of his Soldiers, afflicted with the Miseries both past and present. This Commandment of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well because he promised them a speedy Voyage, as also for that every man desired the lack of Alunchah and other the Territories of Manuchiar. So Ferat holding on his Journey through certain low Vallies between the high and craggy Mountains, continually accompanied with great Famine and Scarcity, at length brought his Army to Clissa, a place belonging to Manuchiar, but as then for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants; who with their Wives and Children, and all the best stuff they had, were fled into remote and safe places until the Fury of the Enemy was overpassed. In the Fields near unto this place (bounding with Corn and Carrel, and plenty of Fire) the General refreshed his whole Army, and hoping that all the Soldiers would like it well to stay a while in that safe place, determined with himself to erect a Fort in that Place. And with this Resolution gave commandment to Reshan Baffa to go up to

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the Tower, and in the top thereof to let up an Ensign, with a Proclamation and public Report, That he would in the Name of Amurath there erect a Fort, and fortify it as he had done the other Forts before. Reshan accompanied with Amurath the Baffa of Carmania, according to the commandment of the General, in the top of the Tower set up an Ensign or two; which as soon as the Soldiers had espied, the forenamed Janizaries and Spagolans, thinking themselves too much abused by the General, arising all in an uprore, replenished with Fury and Indignation, ran up in a rage to take down the Ensigns that were set upon the Tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the said Reshan once or twice about the pate, discharging withall a thousand injurious and spiteful Words upon him, and sharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himself to countenance the Action of Reshan) with Gestures full of despight, contempt and disdain, reviling him with many shameful and scornful Terms, they protested unto him;

That they were not come to the Wars to exercise the Occupation of Mafons and Dabblers, and to be employed in such vile and dishonourable Offices; but only to manage their Weapons, and thereby to demonstrate their ordinary Wages, and to purchase to themselves Glory and Renown at the Kings hand. And therefore if he loved his Head, and would not see those Armes turned against himself, which hitherto had been the Revengers of the Enemies Injuries, he should resolve with himself, to leave these new Buildings, and these unseafable Defilements, and giving place to the contrary season of the year, to have due care of their common Defences and Necessity.

Whilst they were yet thus expostulating the matter with him, one more bold than the rest, and more forgetful of his Duty, did not stick to assault the General, and to threaten him to wreak his Fury upon him; which in that Tumult had happily been done, had not the Baffa of Carmania lent the General his own Horse, and so conducted him to his Pavilion. Yet was he nevertheless still pursued by the tumultuous Soldiers, and again sharply accused for the say that he made there, and for not resolving presently to remove thence; and at length after many reproachful Speeches, told expressly, That if he did not the next morning remove out of those quarters, without all fail he should lose his Life for it. For that, Ferat disdainful to yield to them, that should of Duty have been ready and obedient at every beck of his; and seeking by all means (notwithstanding all this fury) to stay there so long time as should be sufficient to build a Fort, that would so much offend Manuchiar; answered them again:

That he made no account of their threatening him with his Life, which he had always offered to lay down for any service of his King. But if they had in care to serve their Sovereign in this new Building, they might go their ways; as for himself he was resolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatsoever he had commanded him; for the honour of whom every one of them ought to think their Lives very well beloved.

Upon this answer there followed divers railings and curfings against the King, against the General, and against them all; and in this confused tumult every man betook himself to his Weapons; in every corner was heard grumbings and whisperings full of Wrath and Indignation; so that there was a great fear of some dangerous event, but greater was the Suspicion of the Generals Life. And

The mutinous Soldiers again threaten their General.

The stout answer of Ferat.

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now every man had withdrawn himself to the guarding of such things as he esteemed most; when suddenly and in a trice you might have seen the Pavilions of all the Baffles and Captains fall down flat to the Ground, all the Cooks thereof being cut in sunder by the wrathful Soldiers; and as there in a moment, all the Muttons and other Carrel the General and Baffles led with them for their ordinary use, were seized upon by the same Soldiers, and guarded with all diligence possible. And so far was it off that any man durst challenge or revenge this their Insolency, that they themselves turning afield upon their General, being now in a maze and deadly fear, began now the third time to threaten him. That if he did not forthwith remove from those Countries, and turn his Journey towards Erzurum, those Vallies and Fields should without all fail become the Sepulchres of the Baffles, and those Hills retain the eternal Memory of so bloody a day.

With a little Liberality might the General have done with this People whatsoever he had lifted, but being loth to gratify them in any thing, he was enforced to perform their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great shame, to obey them, whom with right ought he might have made obedient to himself; and therefore to avoid their despightful Threats, to his exceeding great reproach, he was glad even as they had commanded, to remove out of those quarters. The fifth day he arrived at Ardachan, with the great trouble of all his Soldiers; for whereas the Journey was wont to be two days work ordinarily as well in respect of the length of the way, as the difficulty of the Passage; the General would now needs have it done in one, the rather thereby to grieve his Soldiers. But of this his wilfulness he received even the same day the just reward; for that the Chariots wherein his Women rid were conveyed away, together with the Eunuchs that were their Keepers: some say by the Georgians that lay in wait for such a Prey; others say by the Janizaries, who the more to dishonour their General, wrought him this Injury.

Great was the reproach of Ferat received in the Army, but far greater at Constantinople, when these News were there known; but there was no remedy, he must now perforce endure it, and discontented as he was, keep on his way towards Erzurum. In Ardachan he took a survey of his Army, and there gave his Soldiers leave to depart: himself afterwards arriving at Erzurum, hated of all his Soldiers, envied by his Captains, derided for the loss of his Women, and fallen into the disgrace of every man. No less than the rest was the Turkish Emperor discontented with him also; first for that he had done nothing worth speaking of, in revenge of the shameful Injury done by Manuchiar the Georgian, and yet so mightily discontented his Soldiers; and secondly, for that without any care he had suffered Aliculi Chan the Persian Prisoner to escape away, about whose flight it was thought he could not chide but have some Intelligence. For Ferat, after he was by new order from the Court, to direct his Journey from Najafan to the Straights and narrow Passages of Georgia, being desirous to be thoroughly informed of those dangerous ways; in this second year when he removed from Erzurum, took Aliculi Chan out of Prison, of purpose to use him as his guide in those dangerous Straights, and therefore carried him under a Guard (whatsoever it was afterwards) of his most faithful Vassals, still treating him well, and asking such order as that he wanted; and at length coming to the Straights of Tomanis in Georgia, where the Castle (as it was before said) was erected, he from thence secretly escaped unto Persia. The manner of his escape is diversely reported; some say,

Ferat at Ardachan breaks up his Army.

That



*Emir Ch...*  
having h...  
Eyes put...  
out, diet...  
miserably...  
in Prison.

the

The *Tartars*  
King sendeth  
12000  
*Tartars* to  
lie in wait  
for to kill  
*Osman*.

And now were the Messengers sent from *Amurath*, come to *Osmán*, who presently put himself on his way towards *Constantinople*, having left behind him at *Derbem* and *Sumachia*, two Basileas, thought to be the most sufficient men in *Sermania*; having also appointed very good orders in the fame, and an assured establishment of all those Countries and Places which *Mulapha* first had subdued, and he himself had afterwards maintained under the Obedience of *Amurath*. He had also provided for the safety of his own Person, in passing those troublesome and dangerous Passages through which he was to travel, by chusing out four thousand Soul-

*Often in af-  
fected by  
12000  
Tartars.*

*Osman*  
overcom-  
eth the  
*Tartars.*



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Ofman  
strangleth  
Mahomet  
the Tartar  
King with  
his two  
Sons, and  
placeh  
Ihan his  
brother in  
his stead.

post halt sent for to *Constantinople*, and put into the Gallies bound for *Caffa*, with Letters to *Ofman* of the tenour aforesaid. Now in the mean time *Ofman* had by cunning means got into his hands this *Tartar* King, being, as is reported, betrayed by his own Constables, corrupted by the Turks Gold; whom with his two Sons *Ofman* upon the receipt of the aforesaid Letters from *Amurath*, caused to be presently strangled with a Bow-string, and *Ihan* his younger Brother to be faluted King in his Place, yet as Vassal to *Amurath*. This shameful death, the usual reward of the Turkish Friendship, was thought justly to have happened unto his *Tartar* King, for that he long before, supported by *Amurath*, had most unaturally deplored his aged Father from that Kingdom, just revenge now protecting his to great Dignity.

*Ofman* embarked himself at the forenamed *Caffa* at the Port of *Caffa*, passing over the *Euxine* Sea, and entering into the *Thracian Bosphorus*, arrived at *Constantinople*; where he was received with great Pomp and singular significations of good Love. But with most evident and expresse kinds of Joy was he saluted by *Amurath* himself, when by his own Speech and Presence he declared unto him every particular of the matters that had hapned in his long and important Voyage, and in lively manner represented unto him the Perils and Travels that he had passed, and the Conquests that he had made in *Sirhan*. After all which Discourses, *Amurath* who longed after nothing more, than to see the *Perfian* King somewhat bridled, and the famous City of *Tauris* brought under his own Subjection, began to enter into Conference with *Ofman* about that Enterprize, and in the end needed know thoroughly of him, what issue he could promise him of this his desire; and in what sort by his Advice and Counsel the Forces should be employed, and the Armies disposed for the subduing of that City, which over all the Nations of the World was so famous and so great an honour to the *Perfian* Kingdom. To all which demands his Answer and Resolution was, That forasmuch as the matters of *Georgia* were now well settled, the treacherous Passages by the new built Forts assured, and the Province of *Sirhan* under his Obedience established, there was now no cause why he should any longer forego so famous an Enterprize, but by the Conquest of *Tauris*, and erecting of a Fort in that proud City, to bring a Terror upon all *Perfia*, and to raise a glorious renown of it to mighty a Conquest among the Nations of *Europe*; for the accomplishment whereof, he thought that either the same Army, or at the most a very little greater would suffice, so that it were raised of the best and choicest Souldiers.

By reason of one of the Letters which *Scianus Bassa* had written to the late *Tartar* King, and by the instigation of the young Sultan *Mahomet*'s Mother (jealous of the near alliance of the great *Bassa* with her Husband, as prejudicial and dangerous to her Son) *Amurath* had in the open Divano deprived the said *Scianus* from the Office of the chief Visier, and hardly pardoning him his Life, at the Intercession of his Wife, being his Sister had banished him the Court, so that he lived afterwards about *Cabedon*, upon the Borders of *Afia*, not far from *Constantinople*, in a close Palace he had there built for his own Pleasure; in whose room he appointed *Ofman* to be chief Visier; and to honour him more, nominated him the General of his Army against the *Perfians*. Such Power hath Virtue, that even from the very crum of the rascal sort, and out of the filthiest rout of Mountain Peasants (which notwithstanding cannot be truly justified of this *Ofman*, his Father being *Beglerbeg of Damasco*, and his Mother, the Daughter of the

*Beglerbeg of Babylon*) it doth oftentimes in the course of this variable World draw divers men into Princes Courts, and advance them to the highest Dignities. Truth it is, that from a private Souldier, though well born, he by sundry degrees grew up to the highest Honour of that so great an Empire, and was at one instant created the chief Councillor, and General of the *Ottoman* Forces. Great was the Joy that *Ofman* conceived heret; and great was the desire he had to make himself worthy of so honourable Favours; and the greater Confidence he perceived that *Amurath* had reposed in him, the more eagerly was he spurred on to any thing possible whereby he might raise himself to have deserved the same. And therefore advising with himself, that forasmuch as the greatness of the Enterprize required a greater Army than was levied in former years, so it was necessary also for him the sooner to send out his Advertisements unto all his subject Provinces, and by his own example to stir up the other Captains and Souldiers even in the Winter (though it were as yet somewhat troublesome) to pass over to *Sentari*, and from thence to *Angori*, to *Amasia*, to *Sivas*; and there in those Territories to drive out the time, untill his Souldiers which were summoned, were all gathered together. And because upon this his great speed it might peradventure fall out, that the Enemy might doubting his purpose for *Tauris*, might provide a greater Army than they would otherwise, he caused it to be given out, That he must go for *Nassau*; to the end, that the *Perfians* so beguiled, should not regard the gathering of so mighty an Army as they could have done if they should have heard of the Turks coming to *Tauris*; and so the General countenancing Rumour flew not only through all the Cities subject to the Turks, but into the Countries of the *Perfians* also; who notwithstanding being very jealous of the City of *Tauris*, and fearing that the matter would fall out, as indeed afterward it did, ceased not make most curious and diligent inquiry about it. And although the disguise offered to his Ambassadors at *Constantinople*, dissuaded him from sending any other for treaty of Peace: yet to spy out the Secrets of the Turks, and to understand the certainty of their purpose for *Nassau* or *Tauris*, he sent divers Messengers to *Ofman*, as if he had meant to feel his mind touching a Peace; but in very deed for nothing else but to found his Designments: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could use possibly discover, but still remained doubtful as at the first, the Fame fill running for *Nassau*.

In the beginning of this year, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* sent one *Molapho*, one of the meanest of his *Chians*, unto *Stephen King of Polonia*, to excuse the Death of *Podolovius* (so shamefully murdered as is before declared) as if the same had hapned by the Infolency of certain Souldiers, and not by his Commandment; who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two base Fellows, as Authors of that outrage, for the King to take revenge upon; but were indeed no such men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for some other Fact worthy of Death, and now sent thither to serve that purpose: for whom the *Chians* (in proud and threatening manner in the name of his Master) required to have present Retitution made of all such goods as the *Polonian* Coffacks had not long before taken from the Turks, and the Captain of the said Coffacks to be delivered also unto him, to be carried to *Amurath*; and so hardly urged the matter, that notwithstanding the unworthy Death of *Podolovius* and his Followers, and the taking away of his Forts (all the goods taken by the Coffacks, were forthwith restored

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Ofman  
strangleth  
Mahomet  
the Tartar  
King with  
his two  
Sons, and  
placeh  
Ihan his  
brother in  
his stead.

red; which the *Chians* almost in triumphant manner pretended unto *Amurath* at *Constantinople*. This Summer also, *Amurath* disposing himself with his Mutes, was almost dead. These Mutes are lusty young Fellows, deprived of their Speech; who nevertheless certain by signs can both aptly expresse their own Conceits; and understand the meaning of others: these men for their Secretive are the cruel Ministers of the Turkish Tyrants most horrible Commands; and therefore of them had in great regard. With these Mutes mounted upon fair and fat, but heavy and unwieldy Horses, was *Amurath*, upon a light and ready Horse, (sporting himself (as the manner of the Turkish Emperours is) riding sometime about one, sometime about another; and striking now the Horse, now the Man, at his Pleasure, when suddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling Sickness, his old Dilease; and so falling from his Horse, was taken up for dead: insomuch, that the *Janizaries* supposing him to have been indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the spoyling of the Christians and Jews, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or Captain to restrain their Infolency, to the Terror of the rest, hanged up one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of *Janizaries*. Nevertheless, *Amurath* shortly after recovered again, and to appease that Rumor of his Death (openly upon their Sabbath, which is the Friday) rid from his Palace to the Temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others law him (saith *Leunclavius*) his Countenance yet all pale and discoloured.

Jo. Leunclavius  
pag. 51.  
Turcorum  
sup. Anat.

A most  
barbarous  
outrage  
committed  
by Petrus  
Emar be  
headed.

This year also hapned such a chance as had like to have raised new Wars betwixt the Turks and the *Venetians*; which, forasmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in silence to pass over. The Widow of *Ramadan Bassa*, late Governor of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, with her Son, her Family, and a great number of Slaves of both sorts, being about to depart from *Tripolis* to *Constantinople*, had rigged up a fair Gally for the transporting of her self and her Substance, reported to be worth eight hundred thousand Duckas; upon which Gally for her more safety, she had joynted two others, as Consorts. Thus embarked, she came to the Mouth of the *Adriatick*; where failing by *Corfu*, she was by force of Tempest driven into the Gulf of the *Adriatick*. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the *Venetian* Senators, with certain Gallyes had the charge for the keeping of that Sea against Pirates, and all other Enemies whatsoever. Hearing of the Turks coming into the Gulf, without delay set upon them; and being too strong for them, took them all; and having them now in his Power, exercised most barbarous Cruelty, as well upon the Women as the Men: for having slain the Men, in number two hundred and fifty, and the Son of *Ramadan* in his Mothers lap, he caused the Women, being before ravished, to have their Breasts cut off; and afterwards to be cast overboard into the Sea, being in number about forty. The Brother of *Emus* chancing upon a beautiful Virgin, was by her most earnestly intreated to have spared her Honour; and the rather, for that (as the said) was a Christian, taken Prisoner about twelve years before in Cyprus; since which time she had lived in most miserable Captivity among the Turks; and being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble *Venetian*, was in good hope to be set at Liberty inviolated; which the most humbly besought him for the love of God to do, and not to imbrue his hands with her guiltless Blood, or to dishonour himself by forcing of her. But all the could say prevailed nothing with the cruel and unbridled Youth, who after he had at his Pleasure abused her, cast her with the rest into

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Ofman  
strangleth  
Mahomet  
the Tartar  
King with  
his two  
Sons, and  
placeh  
Ihan his  
brother in  
his stead.

the Sea. It is thought that *Emus* suffered this so great an outrage (and so far unbefitting the Honour of the *Venetians*) to be done, to the intent that none should be left alive to bewray the greatness of the Booty, or of the Villany there committed; which was nevertheless (God so appointing it) revealed by one of the Turks, who loved by a Surgeon of *Crete* which knew him, and afterwards coming to *Constantinople*, openly declared the same. With the odious report whereof, the Turks were so enraged, that in every corner of the City a man might have heard them threatening unto the *Venetians* most cruel Revenge; yea they had much ado to hold their hands from the *Bilo* or Governor of the *Venetian* Merchants in *Constantinople*, and to forbear to spit in his Face, as he went in the Streets. At that time was one *Johan Francisus Mauricemus* (or as they commonly call him, *Morefin*) *Bilo* at *Constantinople*; who understanding that *Amurath* in his Rage was about to send one of the great Gentlemen of his Court, whom the Turks call *Zasfi*, (the great Turks use to call him *Zasfi*) to *Venice* about that matter, found means to have him stayed at *Constantinople*, and another of less Authority sent to expostulate the matter with the Senate, and in the Name of *Amurath*, to require to have the Offender punished; and the Gallies with the Slaves and Goods restored; so should the League betwixt him and them continue firm; whereas otherwise he should be constrained by force of Arms to revenge the Wrongs done to his Subjects. This Message being by the said Messenger delivered at *Venice*, the Senators after diligent Examination of the matter, returned this answer: That the Widow of *Ramadan* with her Family coming to *Zagynbus*, an Island of theirs, was there honourably entertained, and presented with certain courteous Presents; but departing thence, and coming to *Cephalonia*, another of their Islands, her People running on Land, contrary to the Conditions of the League, made spoil of whatsoever they could light upon, sparing neither Man nor Beast; of which their Infolency their Provider understanding, and making after them, found them in Arms within the Gulf; and coming near unto them, was neither by them saluted, as the manner at Sea is, neither was any topfall struck, in token that the command of that Sea belonged unto the *Venetians*, all which they ought by the League to have done; for which their outrages and proud Contempt, their Provider had taken so sharp a Revenge; nevertheless, they promised in that case to do what befitted them in Reason and Justice to do, for the satisfying of his desire. With which so reasonable an answer, *Amurath* seemed to be well contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himself with Wars against that mighty State at Sea, his Wars against the *Perfians* being not yet finished; yet shortly after, *Emus* was for his dishonourable and cruel dealing with the Lady and her Family, worthily condemned and beheaded, and the Gallies with all the Goods and Slaves restored. This great Woman had in those Gallies four hundred Christian Slaves, which upon the taking of the Gallies were (as the manner is) set at Liberty, for whom the *Venetians* made Restitution of as many others of the Turks.

Amurath  
sendeth a  
Messenger  
to Venice,  
to expostulate  
the injury  
done unto  
his Subjects.

Petrus  
Emar be  
headed.

Jo. Leunclavius  
sup. Anat.  
Turcorum  
pag. 52.

Ofman Bassa  
made chief  
Visier and  
General  
of the Army.





that they became Lords of the Pavilions, the Wealth and Armour of the Turks; and leading away with them their Horses and their Carriages, put to the Sword five hundred Persons, and (scarce gave any leisure of escape either to the Bassa the Father, or the *Sannack* his Son, who fled thither to *Jerusalem*, and never returned again to *Ebrain*; but *Pels* his Father still followed the Army with those few men which he had left, and was thought worthy of all men to be tried.

Ebrain  
fondly  
for Har-  
quebuzes  
to Man-  
Ogli.

Upon the Hill aforesaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty four days together, with abundance of all things necessary for Victual; during which time he attended nothing else, but to try all Devices how he might draw Money and Presents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might train him into his Hands. For the compelling whereof, he dispatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manfur* Agent) to *Man-Ogli*, being in *Andrea*; to tell him, That forasmuch as he would not give credit to the promise which he made him, not to adventure himself into the hand of his Friend, he should send unto him all the Harquebuzes he had; for that the *Sultans* Pleasure was, that his People that went not to the Wars in his Service, should not be furnished with so great store of Weapons, to the danger of their Neighbours, and of the Subjects themselves. With great Grief of Mind did *Man-Ogli* behold the Messenger, as the Man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly Enemy; yet in regard of him that sent him, he forbore to do him Injury, or to give him any Reproach; telling him, That all his People and Weapons were dispersed abroad over his Territory, so that he could not tell what Harquebuzes to send him; with which cold Answer *Gomeda* returned. Which thing when *Ali Bassa* of *Aleppo* understood, he offered himself to the General, that he would go unto him, and that to some better purpose. Many Reasons did *Ali Bassa* use to twade the wary *Drufian* to come and yield his Obedience to *Ebrain*, (swearing that no harm should be done unto him; and withal promising him great and honourable Favours. But never could he remove the resolute and provident Mind of *Man-Ogli*, or win him to yield himself into the hands of a Man, whom he thought to be so murderous; yet at last with much ado, he prevailed so much with the *Drufian* Lord, that in sign of the Reverence he did bear towards the General, and of his Obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to send a Present to *Ebrain*. And thereupon gave him 320 Harquebuzes, 20 packs of *Andarine* Silks, and fifty thousand Ducks to carry to the Bassa for a Gift, and to reconcile him unto him. For the better effecting whereof, he sent his own Mother to the great Bassa, who in the behalf of her Son performed a very worthy Message, excusing him as well in respect of his Enemies that late there so near unto him, as also in regard of his Oath which he had solemnly sworn. That for the Treachery of *Mutapha* he would never commit himself into the hands of a Turk; and therefore besought him to accept of the Gifts that were sent him; and withal a Mind and Heart most ready to serve and obey the King in all Occasions; and that he would hold him excused, for that his Excuses were both just and reasonable. Whereunto the Turk replied, That although he had found so foul a Fault in *Mutapha*, who under the assurance of his Promise and Fidelity had betrayed her Husband; yet for all that he ought not to fear any such wicked or infamous Act at his hands, who stood upon his Honour and the Word of a Soldier; and so by Oath protesting all faithful and constant Friendship towards him, in token of his sincere meaning, he cast a white veil about her Neck, and put another upon himself, and the third he gave

The nota-  
ble diffi-  
culty of  
Ebrain  
Bassa.

her in her hands; willing her to report to her Son the Oaths he had made, and to carry him that Veil, and bring him with her, proceeding no otherwise to treat him, but as a friend and a Brother; the peaceable old Woman went her way accordingly; but the neither could not would go about to alter the purpose of her Son, but returned to *Ebrain* such answer as did not greatly please him. After which time, he fought more than ever he did before, to get the wary *Drufian* into his hands, or at least, without regard of shame to draw from him more Presents and Weapons. And therefore once again he sent the crafty *Gomeda*, to exhort him upon Faith and Promise, to come unto him; but for all the craft and lying Speeches that the treacherous Messenger could cunningly evolve, he could obtain nothing of the *Drufian* Lord, but good words only. Yet at last after much fineness he prevailed so much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to send another Present to *Ebrain*, with an express Condition notwithstanding, that he should cause *Ebrain* to depart out of those quarters, and that he should not himself return any more to request any thing farther of him. Which he very largely promised, only desiring him to send a good number of Harquebuzes, thereby to content the Bassa fully; so he gave him fifty thousand Ducks more, and four hundred and four score Harquebuzes, with a thousand Goats, an hundred and fifty Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffs, a thousand Oxen, and two hundred Weathers. With this rich Present came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring unto him that this he had got from him, upon promise that he should not molest the *Drufian* any more. For which promise he made, *Ebrain* sharply reproved *Gomeda*, and threatened to make him know what it was to take upon him so dangerous a Liberty; and for the greatest desire both to himself and to the other *Ebrain* would needs have *Gomeda* himself to return again with like Message to trouble the *Drufian*. Whereunto although he went in great fear of some mischief by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy but needs he must follow the command of him, in whose Power it was to take from him both his Honour and Life; and therefore on he went. But as soon as *Man-Ogli* saw *Gomeda* (thinking as truth was, that he came again about his wonted Request) he was with the very sight of him so far moved, as that he was even at the point to have thrown a dart at him, and so to have dispatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects staid his fury; yet spared he not to utter in ignominious words and deadly Threats to disburden his Choler. Notwithstanding *Gomeda* could do no less but accomplish the effect of his fraudulent Requests; and so wrought with him, that he drew from him four hundred more of Harquebuzes, ten Swords, and ten Daggers, certain finer Belts, ten packs of Silks, and some few pence; causing him withal to protest unto him, never to suffer himself to be persecuted to come again unto him; for if he did, he threatened to kill him, happen after what might of it. With exceeding Joy and Triumph did *Ebrain* receive this Present, and thinking now with himself that he had gotten a sufficient booty from him, he determined to rife with his Army, and to sack all the rest of *Man-Oglis* Country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir Ebne-free*, burnt *Andrea*, the place of *Man-Oglis* Residence, and in two days burned and destroyed nineteen other of his Towns, with unpeakeable Cruelty committing all things to Fire and Sword. After all this sacking and raving, *Ebrain* sent divers Messengers to *Man-Ogli*, to try whether he would yet be persuaded to come unto him; but nothing could move the resolute *Drufian* to com-

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Emir Ebne-  
free en-  
ceiveth Man-  
Ogli's Ma-  
licious or  
Lieutenant  
to come  
to Ebrain.

himself into his hands, but rather increased his Contancy to avoid a most certain Death. Now the great Bassa still thirsting after Blood and Revenge, understanding by a Spy, that the Captain of *Andria* (being one of the Followers of *Man-Ogli*) with three hundred and fifty Soldiers was got up to a certain Hill, unto a Place of great Security, he sent *Emir Ebne-free* to entice him, and to tell him, That seeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yield himself, he should come unto him; which if he would do, he would assuredly in despite of *Man-Ogli* make him a *Sannack* of some of those Places which he most desired. The ambitious and unheedy *Macademio* suffered himself to be easily persuaded, and being accompanied with his three hundred and fifty Followers, went with the said *Ebne-free*, and came at last to the Pavilion of *Ebrain*, having first caused his aforesaid men to fly, being in a Valley two or three Miles off. But *Ebrain* would not so much as see the *Macademio*, although both in respect of the nimbleness of his Person, and also the fierceness of his Looks, he was worthy to be looked upon; but commanded him to keep in a several place from *Serafidin*, and in the mean time devised how he might with least loss of his own men, put to death those three hundred and fifty the *Macademio* Followers; which was by straining them, by means of the said *Ebne-free*, into a certain Vine-yard, and so having brought them unto a Straight, suddenly to set upon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed; for being by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their slaughter, fearing nothing lest they were suddenly indolent by the Turks *Sannacks* or *Barbarians* and daunt every Mothers Son. This Malice thus fulfilled, *Ebrain* commanded the *Macademio* to be brought before him, and without delay to be stripped and flogged quick; who being come, stoutly upbraided *Ebrain* with his Promise and his Oath; and amongst other Speeches which he uttered whilst they stripped him; said, Cut me off my Members, and first putting them into the Privities of that infamous *Ebrains* Wife, put them afterwards into the Mouth of himself; for so I tremble he will be contented and satisfied with my Flagg. And to them that were the Executioners of his painful Death, he said, It is your great good Fortune indeed, that with such Violence and needless deformity, you are now able to fill my Blood, and to take my Life from me; whereas none of you all had been able, or once dust, man to man, to have drawn one drop of it from me, no nor to have injured my Countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked and unsatisfiable desire of my Blood, and fulfil the cruel command of your Viper, for in the end there will alleighten you the just reward of this so villainous a Feat. With these and other such like Speeches the miserable wretch was stripped, and three great slashes made on his Back, where they began to flea him; he in the mean time not ceasing to blaspheme their Religion, and to curse their King, and their false Prophet also. But the barbarous Soldiers proceeding in their cruel Action, made other like gashes upon his Breast and Stomach; and so drawing the Skin downward, could not bring it to his Navel before he was with the Extremity of the Pain, dead. After this, *Ebrain* caused the Followers of *Serafidin* (in number about a hundred and fifty) to be cruelly slain, and all his Country to be most miserably wasted, he himself left remaining in Chains.

The Maca-  
demio by  
his Com-  
mandment  
of Ebrain  
flung quick.

Whilst the Fire and Sword thus raged in the *Drufian* Country, *Ebrain* by speedy Posts sent to *Sidon*, where his Gallies lay at rode, commanded, That disarming four thousand Soldiers, they should sack all the Countreys along the Sea-coast, even as far as *Casius* in *Palatine*, leaving neither Age nor Sex, nor any Person of Condition what-

soever. Which his cruel command was presently put in Execution; and three thousand Souls brought away Captives, great Booties made of much rich Merchandise, many Towns burnt, sundry Gallies rased and laid even with the Ground; and to be short, all the whole Countrey of *Serafidin* and *Man-Ogli* laid utterly waste and desolate.

*Ebrain* was now in readiness to depart for *Constantinople*, where he was by *Amurath* expected; as well for his Gold, as the accomplishment of the Marriage. But bethinking himself, that whatsoever hitherto he had done, would be accounted either little or nothing, unless he provided in some sort for the quieting of those People under the Turkish Obedience, he determined to nominate one of the three *Drufian* Emirs that came to him to *Jerusalem*, to be Bassa of those Regions. And because *Emir Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richest and most obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge unto him, and honoured him with that Dignity; yet not without a Bribe, but for the price of an hundred thousand Ducks. Wherefore he apparelled him in Cloth of Gold, gave him a Horsemans Mafle, and a Sword all gilt, and delivered unto him the Kings Commiſſion, causing him withal, to swear Faith and Obedience to *Amurath*. And so having (at least shew) set in order the Affairs of those Mountains, which an hundred of the Turks great Captains had in former time vainly attempted, he returned to *Damafco*, where he staid 12 days, by shameful shifts extorting Money from divers Persons. At last having no more to do in those parts, he turned himself towards *Gazir* and *Baruto*, Places under the Government of *Ebne-Manfur*, where he arrived with all his Army, and found the Gallies which he had left in the Port of *Sidon*, now in the Haven of *Baruto*, as he above before commanded. Now upon a certain Hill above *Baruto* near unto the Sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his own Tent only, and none other; and having sent all the rest of his best and goodly things which he meant to carry with him to *Constantinople* aboard the Gallies, strowed himself only under that narrow and bare Tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Manfur*; and in a pleasant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make payment of the Debt of an hundred and threescore thousand Ducks which he owed the Kings Lord for the Custom of *Trippoli* and *Baruto*; for that he could not longer stay in those quarters, but was to return to *Constantinople*, which he knew how to do, unless he carried with him the discharge of that Debt. Whereunto *Ebne-Manfur* made Answer, That it would not be long before his *Macademio* would come with his Monies, and that then he would without further delay make Payment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be an excuse, and therefore determined with himself to thrust him into the Gallies; and because he could not carry the Money unto the King, yet at the least to bring him his Debtor. But forasmuch as he doubted to put this his Determination openly in Execution, for fear of some Insurrection amongst the People, as well for that he was within the Territories of the said *Ebne-Manfur*, as for that he saw him greatly beloved and favoured of the other two *Drufian* Lords, *Ebne-free* and *Ebne-carfus*, he therefore thought it better Policy by concealing his purpose, to shew him in his outward Actions all good Countenance, and by secret and subtil means to take him Prisoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That forasmuch as he was to stay there for his Business that Night, and was relieved the next day to make a road into the Country of *Man-Ogli*, he therefore prayed him to do him the Favour to be his Guide, and for that purpose, when he should send for him

Ebrain not  
ably dis-  
semble  
with Ebne-  
Manfur.

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Elm-Mun-  
fur in  
Chains  
from to the  
Gallies.

at Midnight, that he would come unto him very secretly, because he was minded to depart without any, only with five hundred men in his Company. The *Drusian* Lord verily believed the matter that it was, and withal was in good hope by that means to find some way to escape his hands. Whereupon being called up at Midnight, he readily went to the Tent of *Ebrain*, who presently charging him (whom all men thought he had especially affected) with many abominable and foul terms, caused a Chain to be cast about his Neck, and his Arms; and so to fall bound to be carried into the Gallies. And yet not contented, took the spoil of all his Country, whereby there was levied such a Prey as was marvellous to behold; for besides Money (whereof there was a very huge sum) the store of Cloths of Silk and Gold, was such, and so great, as might better become some great Prince, than such a mountain ruffical Lord as he was. When the *Baffa* had conveyed all this into his Gallies, he failed to *Tripoli*, where he found *Seraphadin* in the Custody of *Veis Baffa* and *Aby Baffa*; and having stayed there some few days, wherein he committed sundry villainous and abominable Robberies, he caused the said *Seraphadin* to be put into the Gallies, with all his Silks and other Wealth, and so departed for *Constantinople*; where at such time as he entered into the Channel of the City, accompanied with four and twenty Gallies, he was encountered and received by a wonderful number of his Friends and Favourites, and saluted with an honourable Peal of Artillery out of the *Seraglio*. *John Thomas Minadie* the best Reporter of this History, as also of the late Wars betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perfians*, being then at *Constantinople*, and having (as he reported of himself) good means to see the bountiful and beautiful Presents which the spoiling and ravenous *Baffa* gave the *Turkish* King; reporteth the sum thereof to have been a million of Gold, besides the yearly Revenue of *Catir*, amounting to five hundred thousand Ducats, with threefold Horses most richly garnished, of singular beauty, but especially of the *Arabian* Race, a live Elephant, and a live Giraffe (which is a beast like a Camel and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a Chair of massie Gold richly set with precious Stones; a Casket also beset with precious Stones and Gold, many Packs of most fine Cloaths, Wollen, and Silks, certain other Cloaths with Fringes of Gold and Silver, and the *Burariar* cut-work, most fine Linnen of *Alexandria*, and all the Harquebuzes taken from the *Drusians*; besides sundry rich Presents given by the proud *Baffa* to the great Ladies of the Court, reported by *Leuncadivus* to have been worth two hundred thousand *Sulmanes*.

Jo. Leunc.  
pag. 55.  
The rich  
Presents  
given to  
Amarrath  
by Ebrain.

But now forasmuch as we have before made mention of the *Sannack* of *Jerusalem*, and his flight, it shall not be altogether impertinent to our History (though somewhat of some) in few words to declare what passed between him and the *Arabians* of *Palatine*, a little before the coming of *Ebrain* the great *Baffa* into those quarters; by which little, the desirous Reader may easily perceive the woful and troublesome state of that some time most blessed and fruitful, but now most miserable and barren Land of *Jury*, and of those Places in Holy Writ so much renowned.

The Land  
of *Tauris*  
much  
troubled  
with the  
Arabian  
Thieves  
and Rob-  
bers.

In the Confines of *Sodom*, and in the Places that lie not only between the Lake *Abraham* and *Danabos*, but also in the Plains and in the Vallies of *Jericho* and of *Samaria*, and in other Places about *Bethlehem*, *Leuzus*, *Bethanie*, *Bethage*, *Caparnaum*, *Nazareth*, *Levir*, *Bethsaida*, *Naples*, and other Towns of Name thereof, there do haunt and live certain *Arabian* Pirates, who spreading themselves even as far as *Buma* and *Joppa*, over-run

at their Pleasure all the Countries there round about, and continually commit grievous outrages, as well against the laid Cities, as also upon the Goods and Wealth, not only of the Inhabitants there, but also of the Strangers; yea and their Infolence oftentimes groweth so great, that they dare to assault the fenced Cities, beside the spoiling of Travellers, that by reason of their business have occasion to pass from one City to another. They are good Horse-men, but use no Armour; their Horses are very swift to run, and spare of Diet, and are themselves bold and adventurous Thieves. These *Arabians*, having had Intelligence, that the famous ambitious Youth, appointed *Sannack* of *Jerusalem*, was in mind to raise all the *Sannacks* thereabout; and joining himself with them, and his Father the *Baffa* of *Damasco*, to refrain their insolent Liberty, and to work their Destruction, resolved with themselves not to stay, until he and his Confederates were ready; but rather by sundry Invasions by him, even unto the Gates of *Jerusalem*, to provoke him to come out into the Field. And the rather to induce him so to do, they compacted with a certain *Subbaffi* of *Bethlehem*, their Friend, to encourage and animate the *Sannack* thereunto, by promising unto him good Success and prosperous Events. The ambitious young man, seduced with the glorious Performances of the false *Subbaffi*, of whom he made good reckoning, and provoked by their Infolences, resolved (as they had wished) to issue out of the City into the open Field; and thereupon having armed an hundred of his *Vassals*, and raised all the Horsemen that were under his Government, to the number of six hundred, he made a road towards *Jericho*, sending before defiance unto them; against whom the *Arabians* came accordingly, and with their Arrows and *Indian* Cans overwhelming his Harquebuzes, as if it had been a raging Flood, wrought him great woe; when in the very nick, the *Battel* yet being at the hottest, the traitorous *Subbaffi* fled towards *Bethlehem*, and left the *Souldiers* of *Jerusalem* in the hands of the *Arabians*, who put most part of them to the edge of the Sword, and scarcely gave Liberty to the *Sannack* to save himself by flight. The *Sannack* certainly informed of this Fraud of the dissembling *Subbaffi*, to be revenged upon him, began also in like manner to dissemble with him, feigning that he would come more try his Forces against the same *Arabians*; and so used the matter, that the *Subbaffi*, arriving *Jerusalem*, came unto him, without any Suspicion of the *Michief* intended against him. But as soon as he was come, the *Sannack* took him alive, and presently caused him in most cruel manner to be slain quick.

Thus having passed over the Troubles that stayed the People of *Egypt* and *Damasco*, and the Countries thereabout, from relating to *Osman* the *Turks* great General at *Erzurum*, as yet again return thither where we left him, taking a view of the Preparations against the *Perfians*, and the state of those Affairs, which of all others most exercised the Forces of the two mightiest *Mahometan* Monarchs; and with the Expectation thereof, filled the World from the East to the West.

The straight Commandment from *Amarrath*, together with the Fame and Reputation of *Osman* the General, had drawn together such a world of People of all sorts to *Erzurum*, as that it seemed not the Power of one King alone, but rather the united Forces of many Kings. Wherefore *Osman*, perceiving that he had gathered together too great a number of People, and too huge an Army, and that it might so fall out that he might want Victual for so great a Multitude (neither so greatly fearing his Enemies Forces, as that he needed to lead so populous an Army against them) determined

The Sub-  
baffi of  
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quite quick.

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to discharge a great number of such as he thought most weak, and least able to endure travel; so that out of this great Multitude he drew out about forty thousand Persons, who liberally, according to every mans Ability, redeeming the ordinary Perils of Wars, returned home to their own dwellings. And so in *Osman*'s Army remained the number of an hundred and fourscore thousand Persons, or thereabouts. With this Multitude the General departed from *Erzurum* (about the eleventh of August this year 1585) towards *Tauris*, continuing for all that, the Speech for *Naffian*. But he had scarce marched two days, when divers *Souldiers* of *Greece* and *Constantinople* presented themselves before him, upbraiding him with great Impudence, and telling him, that they began already to feel the want of Victual, by wanting the same day their ordinary allowance of Corn for their Horses; so that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of so long a Journey, they felt such want, they could not tell with what Judgment or so far as *Naffian*, nor by what cunning conceit he had presumed to sustain to great an Army in the Service of their Lord. *Osman* quickly heard their Complaints, and presently provided for them, by causing such store of Barley to be distributed among them, as they desired; and severely punished the Officers that had the charge for the allowance of Corn, who most covetously began to make Merchandise of the common Provision, by converting it to their own private Ends. And having on his Journey, and by the way of *Hellen*, *Calist* and of *Chars*, arrived upon the *Calderan* Plains, famous for the memorable Battels there fought between *Selymus* and *Hymenae*. In these Plains he took a general review of his Army, wherein there wanted a number, that by reason of Sickness being not able to continue the Journey, were informed to stay behind, some in one Place, some in another. Removing thence, he took the way. *Naffian*, as he had till hitherto given it out he would, but now directly to *Tauris*. Which so sudden an alteration of the Journey, as soon as the *Souldiers* of *Greece* and *Constantinople* heard, they fell into a great Rage, and coming again before the General, reviled with him in this sort to his Face.

And what are we, thou Villain, thou Turk, thou *Dolt*, whom thou hanst in this sort? We are neither Oxen nor Sheep of the Mountains, for the leading of whom thou thinkest thou art come out; neither are we brook fishes, thy Lies and Deceits. If thou hast publicly professed to lead us to *Naffian*, and by that Speech hast trained us from the farthest bounds of *Gracia*, to what end now, after thou hast wearied us so much, dost thou deceive us with such Fancies, and bring us on Journey, and set before us such strange and important dangers as our Minds never once thought on? But if this we thy first purpose and intent, and that now, not foolishly or by chance, but upon Precon- dition and good Advice thou changest thine Opinion, why dost thou dismiss so many *Souldiers*, as might have made the Army more terrible and stronger for the enterprise of *Tauris*? Dost thou think that by suffering Riches to redeem their Liberties, and so to increase thy Riches, thou shalt set our Lives in sale, and to make us slaves to the Perfians?

At these arrogant Speeches, the General was exceedingly troubled; (seeing his good meaning, and the earnest desire he had to advance the Mighty and Glory of his King, taken in so evil part, and those his best *Souldiers* so highly offended. And although he could indeed have readily used the

Osman  
wily ap-  
proach his  
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Souldiers.

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sharpest and hardest Provisions and Remedies for it, that in such Occasions are ordinarily applied; yet upon good Advice he forbore for to do, and instead of Rigour and Punishment, resolved to work by more easie means. Whereupon, causing many of the Captains and chief men among those tedious *Souldiers* to come before him, he first persuaded them, That the former speech for *Naffian* was not raised at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to go for *Tauris*; but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the Commandment to defend the *Pertian* Preparations; which they would undoubtedly have made far greater, if the speech had been given out at the first for *Tauris*. Which his princely Care of their Safety, they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in so doing they should still preserve that great Opinion which both the King and the World had conceived of their Valour and Fidelity. Neither needed they to fear that the *Souldiers*, which were dismissed might weaken the Army, for that they themselves were not only sufficient to pierce into *Tauris*, and to open the way upon the Enemies, but to damn them even with their Looks; and that those which were discharged, had but purged the host of all Cowardice, and left nothing in but Virtue and Courage. By this mild answer of the General, the tumultuous *Souldiers* were sufficiently pacified, but much better apaid and contented they were, as soon as he put his hand to the common Purse, and bestowed among them all a small quantity of Money; for by this kind usage, all their Stomachs were overcome, and they themselves became so willing and so courageous, that now they durst venture not to *Tauris* only, but to *Cashin*, yea even to the farthest parts of all the *Perfian* Kingdom.

These important outrages thus appeased, the General turned himself such as his Army towards *Coy*, a City situate beyond *Vain*, in the midst between *Tauris* and the *Marian* River; where he refreshed his Army with all things he could desire. From *Coy* he passed to *Marant*, a City subject to the *Perfians*; plentiful also of all things needful for Man or Beast. From thence he leaned down towards *Suffian*; a fruitful Place, subject also to the *Perfians*; from whence he began to discover *Tauris*. Great was the Joy of the whole Camp, and now the mutinous *Souldiers* of *Greece* and *Constantinople* could highly commend the Advice of the General, or rather of *Amarrath* himself, in giving out the Rumour of *Naffian* for *Tauris*; as the only means whereby they were in quiet come so far, the *Perfians* being wholly occupied (as they supposed) about *Naffian*; inasmuch that every man being waxen courageous, and replenished with Joy, without any fear as he began proudly to plot unto themselves nothing but Sackings, Pillings, taking of Prisoners, Ravishments, Robberies, and all those insolent and outrageous Actions that use rarely to proceed from the greedy Adfections of those barbarous Villains; especially they of the *Vainward*, who being detours of Booty, and to discover the Enemy's Country, defended down towards certain pleasant Gardens full of all sorts of Trees, Springs, and Fruits; where having satisfied their Appetites, they withdrew themselves to a certain little River near to a Bridge called *The Bridge of Sub-metter*, and there staid at pleasure attending the coming of the Army. But even whilst they were thus enjoying the Water, the Fruits, the Shade, the green Grass, and other Delights of the Place, the *Perfian* Prince *Enir Hamze*, King *Mahamets* eldest Son, who with himself, washing full when some of the Enemies Bands should come down to those resting Places, *Tauris*, suddenly set upon them with such Speed, Courage and Fury, that as if it had been a lightning, and

The Perf-  
ian Prince  
over-  
cometh  
the *Vainward*



1585 in a manner without any resistance he over-ran all the *Turks*, and dispersed them, putting to the Sword about seven thousand of them. And so leading away with him many Prisoners, Horses, Slaves, with sundry Ensigns and Turkish Drums, he withdrew himself back towards his blind Father, who lay then encamped about twelve miles from *Tauris*, with fifty thousand Souldiers or thereabouts; *Alichi Chan* Governour of *Tauris* being left in the City with 4000 Souldiers only. A greater Army than this, not exceeding the number of threecore and four thousand Men, was not the *Persian* King able to levie; the principal occasion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the *Turcoman* Nation being waxen rebellious and disobedient, would not by any means be brought to defend that City, whereof *Alichi Chan* their Capital City was now Governour; and from *Cheilan* and *Heri* there came not so much as one Souldier to relieve the Necessities of *Persia*. So that with these small Forces in comparison of the Enemies, the *Persian* King had no stomach to meet the Turkish Army in plain Battel, but sought how he might with as little loss to himself as possibly he could, make trial of his Forces, and by all politick means to weaken and annoy his strong Enemy.

*Ofman* understanding of this discomforture of his *Vanguard*, forthwith dispatched *Sinan Basha* the Son of *Cicada*, and *Mahamet* the Basha of *Caramit*, with fourteen thousand Souldiers to pursue the victorious Prince: who in their pursuit used such Expedition, that at length they overtook him in the way towards his Fathers Camp. But as soon as the Prince saw the *Turks* to near him, that without a dangerous and shameful flight he could not avoid the Battel, courageously he turned his Face, and joyed with them a most bloody conflict; which began two hours before Night, was most fiercely maintained until that the Darkness of the Night bereaving them of the use of their Weapons, enforced both the one side and the other to retire. Which was done with the notable loss of the *Turks*, who in this second conflict (as it was commonly reported) lost six thousand men; and had (as it was thought) suffered a general slaughter, had not the Night interrupted to uncouth an Addition, well worthy of a thousand Day-lights. So that hitherto the *Turks* sustained the loss of more than ten thousand Souldiers, and yet had scarce discovered or seen the City which they so greedily longed after.

The next Morning the *Turks* Camp removed and came within two Miles of *Tauris*, where they incamped. But whilst they were setting up their Tents, *Alichi Chan* issuing out of the City with all his Garrison and such of the Citizens as were fit to bear Arms, set upon the Face of the *Vanguard*, being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings fo charged them, that with great loss he forced them to retire even unto the main Battel; where after he had espied the great Artillery, he without hurt withdrew himself again to the City. The Confusion of the *Turks* in this Skirmish was notable, for in a very small time the *Vanguard* was disordered, and almost three thousand slain. But *Alichi* not so contented, in the shutting in of the Evening sallied out of the City the second time, and swiftly running along that side of the Army that lay towards *Tauris*, slew the Basha of *Maras*, and did great harm in that quarter; which done, without any paying he fled to the Kings Camp, and forsook the Defence of that formidable City which he could not hold. Nevertheless the *Taurians*, as many of them as remained in the City, gathered themselves together to the Gates of the City, well armed, prepared to make a bloody entrance for the *Turks* whenever

they should come. All the Night was spent in watching without rest on either side, and yet nothing attempted; but upon the break of the day, a great multitude of the fervile foot of the *Turks*, and of the common rascal rout, without any order from their Captains, armed with Corselets, Spears, and Swords, went to the City with Resolution to have sacked it, and to have enriched themselves with the Spoil and Pillage of that wealthy City. But when they came to the guarded Gates of the City, they found there contrary to their Expectation, a terrible Refuge, and were enforced there to join an hard and mortal Battel; so that the Walls, the Entrance, yea and all the Ground thereabout was bathed with Blood, and as it were, covered with Weapons and dead Carcasses. And yet for all that, though the *Persians* stood fast and firm at the arrival of this fervile rout, at last they were constrained to yield the entrance, being overcome by the Multitude of them that out of the Camp flowed in upon them like a Flood; and retiring into the City, now astonished and amazed on every side, they fortified themselves in their Houses under the Ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the Streets; from whence with their Arrows and some few Harquebuzes, they did the *Turks* that entered, great harm. Yet were they not able to kill and destroy so many of their Enemies, but that at the last they were too mighty for them, and wrought many grievous Mischiefes in that woful City. And so a great number of the rascal People that remained alive, returned to the Turkish Camp, carrying away with them too manifest Tokens of the poor oppressed City; wherein the miserable Woman and impotent Souls flood embracing and straining the Doors and Posts of their Houses, and kissing their native Soil, with Prayers, Mourning, and Complaints, bewailing their present Miseries, and yet fearing worse to come. *Ofman* the General now made acquaintance with these Calamities, caused Proclamation to be published, That no man should be so hardy as to molest the *Taurians*, and in the mean time went himself about the City, viewing thoroughly the Situation of it, and surveying the Place wherein he might both incamp himself safely, and with better Foundation and greater Security erect a Castle or Fort, for the more assurance of that conquered Country.

The City of *Tauris* seated at the foot of the Hill *Orantes*, about eight days Journey from the *Caspian* Sea, and is subject to Winds, Cold, and Snow, yea of a very wholesome Air, abounding with all things necessary for mans Life; and wonderful rich, with perpetual concourse of Merchandise brought thither out of the *East*, to be conveyed unto the *West*; and also of others brought out of these *Western* Parts, to be dispersed into the *East*. It is very populous, so that it feedeth almost two hundred thousand Persons; but yet open to the Fury of every Army, without Walls, and unfortified. The Buildings (after the manner of those of the *East*) are of burnt Clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the Name, and was the Place of the *Persian* Kings Residence, until such time as that the late King *Tamas* removed his seat from thence further into his Kingdom to *Cashin*; nevertheless both before and since, although it had been sundry times molested by the Inroads and Fury of the Turkish Emperours, yet was it still in great Estimation and Repute.

Of this City *Ofman Basha* having taken diligent view, caused his Tents to be pitched on the South side thereof, where was a spacious Garden all flourishing and beautiful, replenished with sundry kind of Trees and sweet smelling Plants, and a thousand Fountains and Brooks derived from a pretty River,

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A great slaughter in the Gates of Tauris.

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The Castle of Tauris built in 35 days.

Eight Janizaries with certain Spanglans found strangled in a Bath at Tauris.

The Deception of Tauris.

The Murther of the Turkish.

which with his pleasant Stream divided the Garden from the City of *Tauris*; and was of so great Beauty, that for the delicacy thereof it was by the Country Inhabitants called *Sechis Genet* (that is to say) the eight Paradises; and was in times past the standing House of their Kings, while they kept their Residence in the City; and after they had withdrawn their Seat from thence to *Cashin*, became the Habitation and Place of abode for the Governours of *Tauris*. Of these Gardens and Places *Ofman* made choice to build his Castle in; whereof he gave the model himself, and commanded that all the whole Circuit of those pleasant Greens should be invironed with Walls, and Trenches digged round about them to convey the Water from the aforesaid River. Which was accordingly begun with the greatest care that possibly might be; the Foundation of the imbatteled Walls laid, the Ditches digged sixteen foot broad, and a mans height in depth; and in the space of six and thirty days the whole work finished and brought to an end; great force of Artillery mounted upon the Walls, and divers Baths, Lodgings, and such other Houses necessary for the Turkish uses, built within the Castle. The first day of this building *Ofman* fell sick of a Fever, with a bloody Flux; which haply was the cause both of his illness of the Building, and of many other losses that afterwards happened in it, shall be hereafter declared.

Five days after the building of the Castle was begun, News was brought into the Turkish Camp, That eight *Janizaries* and divers *Spanglans* were seen strangled in a Bath within the City of *Tauris*. Whereupon the *Zaini*, *Spahini*, and *Janizaries* came presently unto the General, declaring unto him, That although he had with too much Clemency given order, That no man should hurt or molest the *Taurians*, and according to his Pleasure every man had used Modesty towards them, and Obedience to him; yet the *Taurians* themselves had most audaciously strangled in one of their Baths eight *Janizaries*, and certain *Spanglans*, which Injury and Insolency (they said) in their Judgment was not to be suffered. This outrage lo moved the General, that without any further delay he commanded the City to be sacked, leaving it wholly to the Pleasure of his Souldiers; who forthwith to used the matter, not as if they would have revenged an Injury, but rather as they have brought an utter Destruction upon the whole City. Every place was filled with Slaughter, Ravishment, Rapine, and Murder; Virgins were defouled, Men-children defiled with horrible and unpeakeable Sins; Younglings snatched out of their Parents Arms, Houses layed even with the Ground and burnt, Riches and Money carried away, and in brief, all things minated and wasted. Neither were these Mischiefes committed once only, but the second followed worse than the first, and the third upon that worse than the second; so that it was a misery almost inexplicable, to behold that City so populous, so rich, sometimes the Court and Palace of the *Persian* Kings, and honour of that Empire, now subject to the Fury of the *Turks*, plunged in Calamity and utter Destruction.

The woful Advertisement hereof sore troubled the *Persian* King, but the young Prince his Son much more; who, moved with the Passions of most inward Grief, Didder, and Despair, and desiring nothing more than Revenge, resolved to attempt any thing whereby to requite so great a Wrong. In which Resolution having confirmed his Army, he commanded 500 of his Horsemen to present themselves even to the very sight of the Enemies Tents, and as it were to dare them to Battel. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant shew of themselves. At the discovery

whereof, the *Turks* imagining that the *Persians* were come in great number to assail the Army, order was given by the fickle General, That *Cicada Basha* and *Mahamet* the Basha of *Caramit*, with the People of *Gracia*, and all their own Forces, should go to encounter the Enemy; who presently, with their Ensigns displayed, under which there stood about four and thirty thousand strong, besides a number of fervile People, yet men exercised in Labours and Perils, in all, well near forty thousand, let forward. Now the five hundred *Persians*, with a marvellous cunning kind of skirmishing, dallied with the Turkish Souldiers, and drew them forward for the space of eight Miles and more; and being brought so far on, and now forewarned with the skirmish, were lustily assailed by the *Persian* Prince, who with part of his Army (to the number of about twenty thousand Persons) courageously let upon the two Bashes, and joyed with them the deadliest and cruellest Battel that ever was written of. Wherein the *Persians*, having given a most perilous Onset, and done great harm, it was thought that they would have contented themselves with so lucky an Encounter, and so retired; which the *Turks* minding to prevent, and not to return without a notable Victory, hardly pressed upon him, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and to give them the cause of many other losses that afterwards happened in it, shall be hereafter declared. But the *Persians*, having quietly and with great assurance for a reasonable space endured their charge, at last as if they had been fresh men, made head upon them afresh, and began a most terrible Battel anew, wherein the Basha of *Caramit* (above named) was put to flight, and being wholly dismayed and discomfited, fled back again to the Camp, carrying with him the most manifest tokens of the unhappiness of the Battel. *Cicada*, the other Basha, notwithstanding valiantly and with great cunning still sustained the Fury of the *Persians*, labouring by all means to encourage his Souldiers, and to have restored the Battel; but when he had done what he could, overcome at last by greater Valour, he was enforced to betake himself to flight also; and so altogether discomfited, came to the Camp without any Ensign, having left behind him eight thousand of his Souldiers dead upon the Ground.

The *Persian* Prince, encouraged with this so fortunate Victory, by speedily Heralds sent to the sick Visier (whom he thought notwithstanding to have been in Health) and gave him to understand, that if he were willing to fight, he was ready for him, and in what sort soever it pleased him to accept of Battel, to make him good account of his Valour; and to cause him to know, not only that *Amurath* his Master had most unjustly raised this War, but also that it had been good for himself not to have taken the same in hand. Of this offer *Ofman* accepted; but being not able himself to go and answer the Prince in Person hand to hand, by reason of his Sickness, which every hour mortally increased, he sent out all his Captains with his Army to dare him Battel.

The Prince lay ten miles or thereabouts distant from the Camp of *Ofman*, towards whom the *Turks* let forward in this manner: The main Battel was guided by the Basha of *Caramit* and *Sinan Basha*, with all the Souldiers of *Assiria* and *Babylon*; the left Wing was led by the Basha of *Natalia*, with the Band of *Gracia*; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath Basha* of *Caramania*, with the People of *Soria*; to the number of threecore thousand, besides such as were left behind at *Tauris*, with the trusty guard of the *Janizaries*, and the Artillery, for the safeguard of the Sick Visier. In this order they confronted the *Persian* Prince, who was himself in the midst of his Army, with all his

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Eight thousand Turkish slain.



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The Baffa of Caracem slain by the Persian Prince, and his head cut off.

People in very good order having on the one side the Souldiers of *Perfia* and *Armenia*, and on the other that of *Tauris* and *Amurath*, in all, the number of forty thousand. The *Turks* fought nothing more, than that the *Perfians* feared a great compals about, should with all Celery and Fury set upon their Tents, and the Riches they had laid up together in their Pavilions; and therefore at every motion of theirs they continually feared this sudden out-road; whereof they had such especial care, that retiring themselves as much as they might, and feigning as if they had given Place to the *Perfians*, it wanted not much but that they had brought them even within the just level and mark of their Artillery. Which the *Perfians* perceiving, without any further dallying hardly began to assail the main Body of the Batel. The Prince himself being entered amongst the Souldiers of the Baffa of *Caracem* (who as General sustained the Place of *Ofman*) and pressing into the midst of the Batel, dispatched every man that came in his way; and having singled out the Baffa from the rest, more off his Head, and gave it to one of his Followers to carry upon the top of his Lance. Which being openly defied, brought a great Terror upon the *Turks*, and exceedingly encouraged the *Perfians*, who embued with the Blood of their Enemies, and intermingling themselves more and more among them, made of them a most confused and general laughter; wherein beside the Baffa before-named, there died also the Baffa of *Tripolis*, the *Sanczak* of *Brusia*, with five other *Sanczaks*, and as it was commonly reported, twenty thousand *Turks* more. It fell also to the Lot of *Amurath* Baffa of *Caracem* to be there taken Prisoner, with divers other common Souldiers. But Night coming now on, and the *Perfians* being come somewhat too nigh the *Turkish* Artillery, they gave over the fight, and withdrew themselves back to the Place where the King lay incamped with the rest of his Army.

But now were divers days spent, wherein the new Fortrefs at *Tauris* (as we have before said) was fully finished, when the Souldiers of *Græcia* and *Constantinople*, wearied to see their Friends and Fellows thus slain before their Faces, and having also safely laid up in their own Custody such Preys and Booties as they had gotten in the sack of the City, resolved with themselves to procure their own departure, and so much the rather, for that the Winter was now fast coming on. And forasmuch as the General was through the immediate flux of blood brought weak, and in despair of Life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his Physicians, and therefore not to be spoken withal, they were fain by the Mouth of such as were their trusty Friends about him, to represent unto him the Necessity of their return, and withal after many reverend Intreaties, caused it also to be signified unto him. That if he stood obdurate, and would needs lay dallying out the time in those dangerous Places where no such need was, they should be informed to withdraw themselves, and to forsake him. *Ofman*, who had now nothing else to do in those Countries, but only to leave some convenient Garrison in the new Fortrefs at *Tauris*, liberally promised to satisfy their Requests, by departing the next Morning. So calling unto him *Giffier* the Eunuch Baffa of *Tripolis*, a man of a crafty and cruel Nature, made him Governour and Keeper of the new built Fortrefs at *Tauris*. And the more to encourage him to take the charge upon him, he gave him treely for the space of three whole years, not only the Office and Authority, but also the Rents and Revenues of the Baffa of *Caracem*, lately slain by the *Perfian* Prince, and withal honoured him with the Title of a Baf-

la of the Court; so that having finished his three years Office of *Caracem*, he was then to go and sit among the lowermost Seats of the Baffas of the *Forta*. The Baffa seeing fo fair and fo high a way for him to mount to those high honours (greater than which there is none in the *Turkish* Empire) readily accepted the offer, and dispatching his Lieutenant to *Caracem*, to the Government of those Countries in his Absence, with an hundred of his own Followers, setled himself in the said Fort with a Garrison of twelve thousand Souldiers, furnished with all necessary Provision until the next Spring. The General having thus set all things in order, and carefully provided for the safety of the Fortrefs, departed according to his Promise, and the same Morning (which was the fourteenths and fiftenth day which his departure from *Erebrum*) came to a Place called *Sancacan*, seven Miles distant from *Tauris*.

The *Turks* were now upon the point of their incamping, in a confused disorder and hubbubly, when those that were hindermost in the Army heard the neighing of Horses, and the noise of Drums and Trumpets, as if it had been the coming of an Army. Which when the whole Camp understood, they ran headlong and disordered as they were, to the rescue, on that side where the noise of the Horses and warlike Instruments was heard. But whilst the *Turks* were thus intent upon going on that side to expect the coming of the Enemy, the *Perfian* Prince without any sign or token of Batel, with 28000 Horsemen was ready upon them on the other side; who having discovered the Camels and other Carriages, whereupon their Booty, their Spoils and their Riches were laden, which they had taken in *Tauris*, beside much of their Provision of Viduals for the Maintenance of the Army, he turned upon them, and with a pident and safe Convoy had taken for a Prey eighteen thousand of the Camels and Mules well laden with the same Booties and Viduals; which the Prince felt presently away with six thousand of his Souldiers, and he himself with his two and twenty thousand *Perfians* entered into the *Turks* Army, who now to withstand his assault, had on that side also made head against him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withal, to see what a mortal Batel was made, what singular Prowess shewed even presently in the fore-front of the Batel; for in a moment you might have seen the Tents and Pavilions turned upside down, and their incamping Lodgings replenished with dead Carcasses and Blood, victorious Death ranging and reigning in every Corner. The *Turks* themselves were astonished and marvelled to see their Enemies (so few in number, and intermingled among so populous an Army of warlike People) more like fatal Ministers of Death, than mortal men; so brandish their Swords over them, as if it had lightened, and to make fo general a slaughter; and do to this day with great Admiration recount the Valour and Prowels of the *Perfians*. But they all now doubtless have entered the very Lodgings of the sick Visier, now at the last gasp, but by him who at that time commanded in his Name) That without delay the Artillery should be unbarr'd and discharged: which in that Medly and Confusion of both Armies, without any Exception or Distinction of Persons, overthrow both Friends and Foes, and did more harm perhaps among the *Turks* themselves, than among the *Perfians*: for at the first thundering noise thereof the Prince with all speed retired; after whom presently followed all the rest: so that the *Turks* which remained behind, were more annoyed with the deadly thro, than with the

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Ofman the General departed from the City of *Sancacan*.

The Batel of *Sancacan*.

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Twenty thousand *Turks* slain. Ofman the Visier and General slain at *Sancacan*.

*Perfians*, who flying away, could not feel the damage, but that the *Turks* must first be well paid for their Labour. The *Turks* pursuing the flying *Perfians*, made them as if they would gladly have overtaken them; but Night coming on, they feared to proceed any further than they might without Danger return. In this Batel of *Sancacan* were slain twenty thousand *Turks*, without any notable loss of the *Perfians*.

Among the rest, in the same place died the Visier *Ofman*, General of the late dreadful, but now desolate Army; not by the hand of the Enemy, but consumed with the vehemency of an Age, and flux of Blood. Whole Death notwithstanding was kept secret from the whole Army, every man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his Sickness, because the Charters wherein he lay, were fill kept close; and in his Name *Cicila Baffa* (for so he had appointed in his will) gave out Answers and Commandments to the whole Army. Nevertheless it was disclosed to the *Perfians* by means of three young men, who in the Life of *Ofman* having charge of his Jewels and Treasure, were with the best thereof and the fairest of his Horse fled to the King, to whom they revealed the Death of the General. The *Perfians*, who before had thought it not possible for so great cowardice and dishonourable kind of fighting and ordering an Army to have proved true, as that from the Virtue and Valour of *Ofman*, of whose worth they had too manifest a trial and experience in times past, now understanding of his Death, were thereby encouraged to attempt the utter overthrow of the *Turkish* remnant, and so to give them an honourable farewell. Whereupon the *Perfian* Prince with 14000 men followed the *Turks*, who had now rallied the Camp, and were encamped to a certain River, called *Sale-water*, not far from *Sancacan*, where the Prince caused a few Tents to be pitched, about four or five miles distant from the *Turkish* Camp, the afore said Book running in the midst between the two Armies. Now the Prince had purposed to have assailed the *Turks* in the Morning, whilst they were lodging their Carriages, hoping in that Confusion to have wrought them some notable Mischief; which his designment was revealed unto the *Turks* by one of his Spies whom they had caught. And therefore they did neither rise fo early in the Morning as their manner was, nor load their stuff until such time as they were all armed, and on Horseback ready to receive their Enemies. By which their wary and unusual manner of rising, the *Perfians* perceived that their purpose was by some means discovered. And yet considering that if they should lose this occasion, they should find no other good Opportunity to annoy them before the next Spring, they usually resolved to adventure the assault; and having observed that the Enemies Artillery was on the right side of the Army, they in the fight of every man began to enter on the left. But the *Turks* presently fo uncovered and unbarr'd their Artillery against the assailants, as was to their great loss and danger. Howbeit they were fo nimble and fo quick to shroud themselves under the Enemies Army, and to avoid the mischievous Tempets, that being come now very near the *Turks* Squadrons, they must needs joy Batel with them. The *Perfians* had purposed before, as soon as they saw the *Turks* begin to stir, to retire, and so to draw them on into a very filthy and deep marish; which being then dry, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by those, that were acquainted therewithal, or born thereabouts. Which their policy the Rebel *Mazen Chan*, and with him *Dam Chan* (as being well acquainted with those places) perceiving, gave notice thereof to *Cicila Baffa*, who presently

caused a great compassing wing to be made, commanding them to set upon the *Perfians*, and charge them home; which was forthwith put in Execution, so that their fore-front opened it self with very large and spacious corners upon the Prince, who no sooner saw this their unwonted order of coming on, but by and by he perceived that his purpose was discovered; and thereupon without any stay he began to retire, calling his People after him; which could not so suddenly be done, but that three thousand of them remained behind, all miserably stifled, overthrowen in the mire, with very little loss to the *Turks*. And this only batel of five that were fought under *Tauris*, and in those quarters, was less hurtful to the *Turks* than to the *Perfians*.

The Prince returned to the King his Fathers Camp, returning unto him the whole Action, together with the departure of the Enemy. And fo the *Turks* came to *Salmis*, where the Death of the General was published; from *Salmis* they went afterwards to *Van*, where they took a survey of their Army, and found wanting therein about fourscore and five thousand *Perfians*, or as some lay more. At *Van* all the Souldiers were dismissed; and *Cicila* from thence gave notice to *Amurath* at *Constantinople*, of all that had happened. Where first was published the Death of *Ofman* the General, (for whom were made many great and great sorrow) and together with his Death, were blazed the bloody and mortal Actions that were in that Expedition performed; so that the whole City seemed to be greatly discomfited; and in many places were heard much sorer railing upon the King, many Curses of this War, and insolent Maledictions of these manifold Mischiefs. After that, was dispersed the great Fame of the new Fortrefs erected at *Tauris*; a certain River, called *Sale-water*, and of all the loss that had happened therein; and a general Edict published in the Kings Name, that through all the Cities of his Empire they should make solemn Feasts, with other exprets Tokens of Joy and Rejoicing; which was accordingly done both in *Constantinople* and other Places. There was also word sent to the Ambassadors of *Hungary*, of *France*, of *Venice*, and of other Countries, That they should do the like; but they all with one accord answered, That it was never the Custom of Ambassadors to make any such signs of Rejoicing, but only when the King himself in Person returned from any the like Victories.

In the mean time Consultation was held at *Van*, for the sending of Succours to *Teflis* in *Georgia*; unto which important Service, *Dam Chan* to deserve some Reward at *Amurath's* hand, offered himself, unto whom *Cicila Baffa* delivered thirty thousand *Creschies* to be conveyed to the Fort at *Teflis*. Which piece of service the *Kensagat* performed, and without trouble relieved the Souldiers in the Fort; which was so well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for the same good Service honoured him with the Dignity of the Baffa of *Maras*. *Mazen Chan* also the other *Perfian* Rebel, that guided the *Turkish* Army to *Roivan*, and afterwards to *Tauris*, was in like manner by the same *Amurath* honoured with the great rich Office of the Baffa of *Alleppe*.

The Mischies the *Turkish* Army endured in this Expedition for *Tauris*, beside the Losses before rehearsed, were wonderful; for as the *Sanczak* of *Amurath* (a City of *Soria*, called in ancient time *Amapea*) present in all this Action, reporteth in a Letter which he wrote to *Ali Baffa* of *Alleppe*, there was such a dearth in the *Turks* Army, that they were enforced to give their Camels Biquet and Rice, and when that was scarce, they gave them their pack-Saddles to eat, and after that, pieces of Wood

The *Turks* Army discharged at *Van*.

The Mischies the *Turks* Army endured at *Tauris*.

1585 beaten into Powder, and at last the very Earth, which death endured until they arrived at *Tauris*. And at *Tauris*, whilst the Fortels were in building, they were of necessity constrained to give their Horses their Dung in very drie Powder. By reason whereof there followed a grievous mortality of Horses, Camels, Mules, and Men; and the stink which grew of this Mortality was so great, that every man was faine to carry a piece of a strong smelling Onion under his Nose, to avoid the heaveins thereof.

The Fort so lately built in the Royal City of *Tauris*, exceedingly grieved the *Perfians* in general, but especially the King and the Prince his Son; to let it alone, they reckoned it too great a shame, and how to demolish it they knew not well, finding themselves not only destitute of Artillery, but also of such sufficient strength as was requisite for performance of so great an Enterprize; yet, picked on with desire of Glory, and the necessity of the Cause, they determined even in the depth of Winter to gather new Forces, and with Trenches of Earth to approach the Ditch, and to try if they could advance a Countermine as high as their Walls, and so to attain to the Conquest thereof. But in the gathering of their Men they discovered new Difficulties; for, to hire any Souldiers either from *Heri* or *Cheilan*, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amir Chan*; and their *Turcoman* Nation, which might have been the readiest and the nearest at such a need, for the Death of *Emir Chan*, and for the Succession of *Alchah*, were grown very contumacious; so that neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the Presidents and Governors of that Kingdom, could tell which way to turn themselves. At last, for the common safety, they determined to draw the *Turcomans* to a Reconciliation; hoping that by promising them any honest Satisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themselves grieved for the Death of their Captain, they would become more tractable to do them Service in their common Necessities. Whereupon the King sent kind Letters to the Heads and Captains of these Nations, and principally to *Mahamet Chan*, and to *Chahise* the Sultan; declaring plainly unto them the Perils of his State, and of the Liberty of the whole Kingdom, with the Confidence he had in their Valour; and that therefore forgetting all that was past, as done not in shame or scorn of their Nation, but only for Zeal and Love to the Kingdom, they would demand full Satisfaction as they desired, and that he would be ready to agree to any just request they should make. To which Letters they readily answered, that they would come unto him, to put in Execution whatsoever he should for the common Necessity or Honour of his State command. Now they had crafted amongst themselves already concluded not to suffer any other to sit in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Governour, but only young *Tamas* the Kings third Son. Which Conclusion they had plotted to themselves, with a Resolution in the end, to cause him to be accepted for King at *Casbin*, in despite of the King himself, and of the Prince *Hamek*; nothing regarding, that by this Action far greater Troubles would arise in *Perfia* than ever were yet heard of; but only being wholly bent to revenge the Death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malicious and fraudulent Resolution, they to the number of ten thousand (under the conduct of two Captains, *Mahamet* and *Calife*) went to the King, in all Reverence offering themselves with all readines to be employed in the enterprise wherunto they were called. The old credulous King, not suspecting any mischief plotted by these secret Rebels, was greatly comforted at their coming; and although by some of his Sultans

that had felt some inkling of this Conspiracy, he had secretly to use and to be used with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their trust; yet did he think every hour a thousand until he had offered them Satisfaction, promising them, that what Captain soever they would desire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were possible, they should have him. Whereunto the dissembling *Mahamet Chan* made answer, That their desire above all things, was to do him Pleasure and Service; not doubting but he would appoint them such a Chieftain, as should be valourous, noble, and acceptable unto them. The King could say no longer, but frankly declared unto them, That to assure them of his good will, and to give them an Hostage in pawn thereof, he had made choice of young *Tamas* his Son, to succeed in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Governour. As soon as *Mahamet Chan* heard this Resolution of the King, who beside all expectation, voluntarily of himself yielded them the means to put in Execution what they had maliciously before contrived against the Peace and Liberty of the Kingdom; he became more joyful than he was wont to be, and outwardly shewed himself ready for whatsoever the King would command him; and in the Names of the rest, yielded also large Promises of Fidelity and Obedience, so that the matter might be performed for which he had now given his Word.

The King, who desired nothing more than to see the Fort of *Tauris* raised (which could hardly be done without the help of those *Turcomans*) conformed to the Advice of the wisest of the *Sultans*, and of the Prince, secretly, and as it were by stealth, gave his young Son *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chief of all the *Turcomans*. Who, to nourish the good Opinion and Credulity of the King, and to secure the Prince and the Sultans, gave a lustre beginning, by the help of his Followers, with Trenches and Rampiers to approach the Fort. Neither was there any great time spent therein; for they had now almost made their Trenches and Rampiers even with the Enemies Wall, and the Ditch it self was almost filled up with Earth, so that there wanted but little more Labour to begin the desired assault; when, contrary to all Mens Expectation, the false and wicked Traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his *Turcomans*, leading away with them the Child *Tamas*, departed in the Night-time, and upon a sudden, from so noble and honourable an enterprize; and, blinded with desire to put in Execution his ill-hatched purpose, covertly and without any noise, removed from the besieged Walls, and put himself on his way towards *Casbin*, still terming *Tamas* by the Name of the King of *Perfia*, and sundry ways abusing and mocking the poor old King and the Prince. This so sudden and so dangerous a Rebellion, whereby not only so honourable and so necessary an enterprize was to be abandoned, but the whole state of the Kingdom like to be endangered, exceedingly grieved all good men, but most of all the old King and the Prince his Son; who, no less careful of his rightful Succession, than was the aged King of his present Estate, both now hazarded by this Rebellion; wholly incensed with Grief and Anguish of Mind, began to cast a thousand Devices in his troubled Head, what course to take, and what to resolve upon. To abandon the siege it grieved him above measure, and to suffer so pernicious a Rebellion to go forward, seemed too dangerous for the State of *Perfia*; and to provide for both these Michiefs at once, was altogether impossible. In these huge Waves of contrary Thoughts, he resolved at last to turn himself against the *Turcomans*, and to suppress that Rebellion, as most dangerous to the State. And so with twelve

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1585 twelve thousand Souldiers, and a part also of the Kings ordinary Guard, all courageous and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious *Turcomans*; and marching directly toward *Casbin*, he overtook them at a place called *Calfeza*, a daies Journey on this side *Casbin*, and there joined Battell with them. Wherein, many of them being sorry for that they had done, would not so much as draw their Swords against the Prince; many others fled also away for fear, so that he easily obtained a wished Victory over them. The feditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken Prisoner, and by the Princes Commandment presently beheaded; so was also *Calife* the Sultan, and divers other Captains of this pestilent Conspiracy. Young *Tamas* was also taken, and by the Direction of the Prince sent to the City of *Chahise*. Five thousand *Turcomans* of the late Followers of the Rebel *Mahamet*, fled out of the Battell towards *Babylon* by the way of *Siras*, and yielded themselves to *Solyman*, Basha of that City; who afterwards repenting themselves of their Folly, fought to return again into the Favour of their King, but all in vain; so that being become Rebels to the one, and suspected to the other, they did at one time lose their Country, their Liberty, their Honour, and the Favour of all Men, as well Friends as Enemies. The Prince after this Victory held on his way to *Casbin*, and there staying, laboured to gather the dispersed *Turcomans*, especially those that (moved with the honesty of the cause) would not bear Arms in so unjust an Action, intending afterwards to return to *Tauris*, to attend the besieging and conquest of the Fort. This was the end of this dangerous Rebellion, the chief cause that *Tauris* was not again recovered out of the hands of the *Turks*, to the great weakening of the *Perfian* Kingdom.

Now *Giasfer* the Eunuch Basha Governour of the Castle of *Tauris*, fearing lest the *Perfian* Prince would with a greater Army again return to the siege; perceiving himself to wax every day weaker and weaker, by reason that many of his men secretly fled from him, beside them that perished with Sicknes, and others slain in adventuring too boldly to go abroad to seek for Victuals; sent Advertisement thereof to *Cicada Basha* at *Van*; signifying further unto him by Writing, That if the Prince should again return to assault the Fort, he should of Necessity be enforced to yield it; and that therefore, as he tendered the honour of his Sultan, he would be careful to send him Succour, whereby he might be able to maintain the Fort; adding moreover, That now it was most easily to be done, because there was no Forces of the Enemies in those quarters, saving only a few which remained about the King, lying twelve miles off from *Tauris*. *Cicada*, moved with the importance of the enterprize propounded, and withall desirous to gain some credit of Glory and Renown with his King, entertained the Advices of *Giasfer*, and getting him to horse with a train of three thousand Harquebuzers, and good store of Munition, set forward toward *Tauris*. The *Perfian* King advertised thereof, sent out Spies to learn what way they held, meaning to meet them and to set upon them; but these Spies coming near to *Salmas*, were apprehended by the fore-runners of *Cicada*, and being put to Torture, revealed at last, how that their King was in Arms, and on his way towards *Sancascan*. At which News *Cicada* was greatly affrighted, as well for the danger wherewith the Forces and Munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as also for that by any loss which his Troops should sustain in this Expedition, the City of *Van* (being indeed the greater and most noble frontier Town in all those Countries) must needs be in hazard to be lost, having left in

The *Turcomans* did combine, and *Mahamet Chan* and *Calife* the Sultan beheaded.

*Giasfer* Basha sent to *Cicada* Basha for Aid.

The *Turcomans* forsook the siege, and fell into Rebellion.

1585 it but his Lieutenant with a very few Souldiers. Whereupon he determined to relinquish this dangerous enterprize, and to withdraw himself back to the Defence and Preservation of the City committed to his Trust and Government. But although these expected and desired Succours were not conveyed to *Tauris* as was intended, yet had *Giasfer* as good Fortune as he could wish; for the Preparations of the Prince were so long and troublesome, and his return so much prolonged, that there was time enough yielded unto the *Turks* great General, now newly chosen (as by and by shall be declared) to go with a strong Army into those quarters, and to preserve all that which the only Expedition and Celerity of the Enemy might have put in great hazard, and almost have brought to a desperate case.

In the mean time, *Annurath* the Turkish Emperour was greatly troubled at *Constantinople* in making choice of a new General, on the one side, *Ofman Basha* having by his last Will left *Sinan Cicada* to be his Successor, as a man of approved Valour; and the many dangers he had run through in the late Service about *Tauris*, with the great favours he had in the Court, did not a little incline the King to his Election: on the other side, he heard of a public Rumour spread amongst the Souldiers, that they could by no means indure to be commanded by so young a Captain; and that some plain terms should lay, That they would not obey him: Which caused *Annurath* to doubt, that some dangerous discord might thereof ensue in the Army, if he should proceed to make choice of him. Then there was also *Ferat Basha*, the same man which had already sustained the charge before *Ofman*, who now very ambitiously fought again for this Honour, having of late performed some good Service to the good liking of the King. Or any other to make better his Cause, he had none, so that he stood in great doubt what to do. In the end, because he was in good time to provide for his Affairs, he made choice of *Ferat Basha*, the same man whom he had before made proof of: a man of great Fidelity, of an honourable Carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of such an Army, to whom he granted the ordinary Authority, to manage at his pleasure such Affairs of the Empire as concerned his Journey. Upon this Resolution, general Precepts were sent out to all Cities within the Kingdom, to the Bashes and other Governours, with special Commandment, That all their Souldiers, together with their Taxes, Tentis, Munitions, Victuals, Armour, Artificers, and to be short, all their necessary Furniture and Provision should be ready and in order, upon the first warning should be sent them the next Spring. Great provision of Money was made, and in *Soria* (besides the ordinary sum that is bestowed upon the yearly pay of Souldiers in *Reison*, *Erzurum*, *Lari*, *Tamania*, *Albata*, and *Chors*, which swallow up all the Revenue of that Country, and of the City of *Tripoli*, amounting to the sum of six hundred thousand Ducckats) there was taken up in prest of private Merchants in the City of *Alleppe* only, the sum of three hundred thousand Cecchini, to be repaid unto them with the first Monies that should be received by the Officers of his Custom-houses. A matter that moved an extraordinary grudging among the People, for that it seemed to every man a very strange and intolerable Exaction, beside so many grievances laid upon them, for Corn, for Carriages, for Pioneers, and for Workmen, to endure this burdenable load of lending their Money, without hope of Restitution thereof: yea and indeed every man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill-advised, to make it known to the Christian People what scarcity and want of Money they had.

The return of *Sin* six hundred thousand Ducckats.

Ten thousand *Turcomans* offered their Service unto the *Perfian* King.

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had. The General had also with him four hundred pieces of Artillery, and did bidde to work the matter, as that *Musul Chan* (who was appointed *Baffa of Aleppo*) was granted unto him to be the guide of his Army, as he had been of *Ofman*; and that *Cicada Baffa of Van* (for his good fidelity) was removed from thence, and sent farther off out of his way as *Baffa to Babylon*.

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First de-  
parture  
from Con-  
stantinople,  
and com-  
eth to Si-  
vas.

And thus having put all things in readinesse, he departed from *Constantinople* in the Month of *April*, in the year 1586, and passing over the Strait into *Asia*, came to *Sivas* somewhat later than he should have done, being hindered partly by the Plague, which then raged exceedingly in *Constantinople*, and partly by other occasions incident to such Actions. At *Sivas* he staid so long for the coming together of his Army, and in mustering Men, that it was the latter end of *July* before he departed thence; staying indeed the longer at *Sivas*, by reason of the exceeding Dearth and want of Victuals at *Erzirum*: which Dearth was also for great in *Aleppo*, that a *Venice* bushel of Wheat was sold for twelve *Cecchiat*.

But yet making his abode at *Sivas*, but ready to depart, was advertised by certain Posts sent from *Giasfer* the *Baffa of Tauris*, how that the *Perfian* Prince was hourly expected with a great Army, and that if he did foreclose to send Succours, and to prevent the coming of the Prince, and so give him time and leisure to assault the Castle, he doubted greatly how he should be able to hold the fame. Upon which Advertisement *Ferat* presently removed, and so halted his Journey, that about the beginning of *August* he was at *Erzirum*; and still hearing more and more of the Princes coming, staid not there, but halted to *Van*; where having gathered together all his Souldiers, and taken a new Survey of his Army, he departed thence; and being presently come into the open and large Cham-pains, to make use of the readinesse of his Souldiers, he marshalled the Troops, as if he should forthwith have joynted Battle with the Enemy, and so in feemly order marched on.

The *Turkish* General continually feared, lest the *Perfian* should come upon him with some sudden assault; besides that, the constant report of the Princes coming to *Tauris* with his Army, much increased his troubled Thoughts. But on the other side, he repoyed great Confidence in the Conspiracy that was now plotted against the Life of the Prince, with the privacy of *Ali-chi Chan* the Protector and Champion of *Abas Mirise of Heri*, who under the colour of accompanying the Prince to assist his Forces, had resolutely concluded with himself, and absolutely-promised *Abas* (having also given Intelligence thereof to the *Turkish* General) to rid the Prince *Hamm* of his Life; or at least (which he thought might more easily be brought to pass) in the sundry Revolutions and variable Chances of the Battle, at some time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and so to settle his Lord and Master *Abas* in his Estate. Upon these Treacheries *Ferat* grounding himself, being with greater Confidence to dispose his Designs, and somewhat less to fear the Fame of the huge Preparations of *Perfians* against him. Which Preparations in truth, as by most wicked Devices and malicious Conspiracies they were turned quite contrary from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamm* had continually appointed them; so if they had been employed with such Faith and Fidelity as so righteous a cause required, without all doubt the Writers of our time should have had matter enough in this 80 year to shew and represent unto the World fuch Accidents as should be nothing inferior to those of the year before-going. But forasmuch as Rebellion and Discord, the two inferiour Ministers

of the Devil, have for the utter undoing and overthrow of the Glory of *Perfia*, continually favoured the *Turks* Army, no marvel it is that the *Perfians* cannot vaunt of any Revenge taken for the Indignities offered them by their Enemies; and that our Writers cannot chide but write of the true and undoubted Victories of the *Turks*, and the bare Shadows of the *Perfians* Exploits; which notwithstanding many Christians vainly believe, because they most earnestly desire them to be true, although they do see to the contrary, the manifest prospering and evident Conquests which the *Turks* have in divers their States and Countries.

The *Perfian* Prince about the latter end of *July* arrived at *Tauris* with the greatest part of his Army, where he (contrary to the Opinion of all men) staid not, for what cause is uncertain. But understanding that *Zeinel Baffa of Salmas*, by Nation a *Curd*, lay encamped before the City, who of a *Perfian* was become a *Turk*, and had done great harm against the State of *Perfia*; he determined suddenly to set upon him, and to chastise him for his Rebellion. According to which Resolution, being accompanied with twelve thousand Souldiers, he rode to *Salmas*, where finding *Zeinel* with all his People encamped as he had been before informed, he gave him the assault. *Zeinel* more ready to fight than to flight, and his Souldiers as ready as he, fied presently, and fell before the *Perfians*, so that the *Baffa* himself with a few others had much ado to escape and save themselves in the closest Corners thereof, leaving the City committed to their charge, for a prey unto the angry Enemy; who entering into the fame, sacked and spoiled it, executing thereon all such Cruelties, as partly the natural desires of Souldiers use to practise, and partly such as the *Turks* themselves shewed unto them in that miserable and most lamentable sacking of *Tauris* the last year. The like Spoils did the *Perfian* Army in all those quarters round about, and so would have peradventure returned to *Tauris*, but that certain Spies arrived upon them, with Advertisement, That the *Baffa of Reivan* being issued for his Fortresses with fifteen hundred Harquebussiers, had committed the like outrages in the Villages and Fields thereof, as the Prince had done about *Salmas*: With which News the Prince was greatly moved; and immediately rising with his Army, and marching towards *Reivan*, not far from the City encountered the *Baffa*; who discovering the Enemies Forces afar off, began in great disorder to fide and retire into his Fort, leaving the greatest part of his Souldiers (making not so much speed in flight as himself) to the Fury of the Prince, who put them all to the Sword, and did what harm he possibly could in all the Places thereof.

At the very same time great Troubles arose in the *Drusian* Country; for *Man-Ogl* the valiant *Drusian* (of whom we have before spoken) in Re- venge of the Injuries done unto him and his People by *Ebrahim Baffa*, and by a valiant kind of Resistance to recompence himself of all those Bribes and Presents, which by so many Gifts and Subtilties were by the covetous *Baffa* wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken up Arms, and having waited and sacked all the Territory of *Eh-ne-Manfir*, and of his other Enemies who had yielded their Obedience unto the *Turks*, without lett forced all that Country with sudden Invasions and Incursions, even very near unto the Cities of *Balbecke* and *Tripoli*, and did thus exceeding harm. For redress whereof, *Amurath* was glad to dispatch away from the Court *Ali Baffa* born at *Jesusa* with the Title of the *Baffa of Damask*, and with Authority to muster fresh Souldiers, and so wholly to attend the utter Subversion of *Man-Ogl*. But coming thither, he found all again quiet, so that his

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The Glory  
of the  
Turk  
King-  
dom over-  
thrown by  
Rebellion  
and Dis-  
cord.

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Presence in that Country served rather for a Reconciliation and Peace-making amongst them, than for the prosecuting of any further War; which at that time was most necessary for the *Turks* to be avoided, as well for want of Money in the common Treasury, as for the exceeding scarcity of Victuals.

Now the *Perfian* Prince having made an end of the Outroads and Spoils before-mentioned, retired himself to *Tauris*, and so towards the Fathers Camp, where the rest of his Army was now arrived, to the number of about forty thousand; of whom the Prince dispatched away the Souldiers of *Heri*, to the number of eight thousand, under the conduct of the traitorous *Ali-chi Chan* their General; and part also of the *Turcomans*, under the leading of *Emangul Chan*; with special charge, That they should by the way, in places of most advantage, meet and receive the Enemies Army, and in those narrow and troublesome Passages to do them what mischief they possible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this means to weaken the Enemies Forces, and so at their arrival at *Tauris*, to come upon them with all his Power, and so utterly to destroy them.

*Ali-chi*  
and  
*Emangul*  
Chan per-  
forming  
nothing  
against  
the *Turks*,  
as was  
by the  
Prince  
expected.

But  
the  
Turks  
put-  
ting  
Succours  
into  
the  
Fort  
at *Tauris*.

Both these Captains departed accordingly, making them that they would with all Affection accomplish the Commandment of their Prince; yet never the less heard any service of moment put in Execution by them, for *Ali-chi* full of Treason, after their departure began to allege many forced Reasons and Excuses, Why they should not stirre out from meeting with the *Turks*; and *Emangul* as yet utterly ignorant of the wicked Purposes and mischievous Treachery of *Ali-chi*, suffered himself to be misled by him also. By the Delays and Negligence of these two *Perfian* Captains, the *Turkish* General took leisure, without any loss or hindrance at all to the Fort, to put the desired *Perfian* Succours into the Fort, so that when the *Perfian* Prince by good hap had got Knowledge of the Treachery of *Ali-chi*, and of the Delignment, which many of the *Sultans* had lately contrived, for the betraying of him alive into the hands of the *Turkish* General. Of which Suspicion he being greatly afraid, durst not only not trust himself to perform those Barrels that he had before determined to have performed, but quite abandoning this noble and admirable enterprise, wholly employed all his Care and Study for the safety of his own Person, and so left the Triumph of the Matter in the Power of the *Turks*. And thus those great Hopes and Expectations which the *Perfians* had conceived of great Exploits to have been done against the Enemy, did not only prove vain and come to no good Issue, but contrariwise by this discovery were converted into most strange Disturbances, and all *Perfia* thereby endured sundry Alterations and Revolutions of most important Consequences. For both *Ali-chi Chan* and his Complices were purified by the Prince, as Rebels and Traitors; and also *Abas Mirise of Heri* was manifestly discovered for a wicked and treacherous contriver of his Brothers Death; whereby the common Mischiefes were encreased more than ever they were before, and the publick Calamities yielded greater hopes unto the *Turks*, than they had ever before conceived in all the course of their Wars.

When *Ferat* had thus relieved them in the Castle of *Tauris*, leaving for the Custody thereof *Giasfer* the *Baffa* with his former Companies, he returned towards *Erzirum*, having first caused a Fort to be erected at *Curchive Tauris*, a Place near unto *Tauris*; another at *Coy*, and the third at *Cum*; in every one of which Forts he left a convenient number of Souldiers, with all things necessary and sufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the

Places they were to keep. He sent also Succours to the Fort at *Tat*, in *Georgia*, which they had long expected, and now most joyfully received. But the *Perfian* Prince having heard *Ali-chi Chan* out of the quarters of *Tauris*, thought himself now wholly delivered from the great fear of Treason and Rebellion, wherein he of late lived; and therefore in as great haste as he could, put himself on his Journey towards *Genge* in which place having gathered together a good number of Souldiers, he determined to remove thence, to intercept the Succours that were by the *Turks* to be brought to *Tat*. Now he had always found *Emangul Chan* to be both faithful and wise, and as him he repoyed an assured Confidence for performing any enterprise that he had in hand, and communicated with him every Device that he had conceived in these Wars. And therefore he made head and joynted with him; and lodging most familiarly in his City, he stayed there for the setting in order and disposing of his aforefaid Designment, being very desirous not to let such an Opportunity to overstep, without Signification unto the World of some notable Novelty, which might be correspondent to the Fame that of matters passed and performed the year before, was now spread and published abroad over all the World. But when he was even at the very fairest to have put this his desire in Execution, and least of all feared any Treachery or Treason, upon a sudden in the Night-time as he slept upon a Pallat he was miserably stricken through the Body, by an Eunuch of his that attended upon him, and so most rependently and bright lustre that ever shined in *Perfia*, was utterly extinguished. What was the occasion thereof, and who procured his Death, divers and sundry are the Opinions of Men. Some think that his Brother *Abas Mirise of Heri*, who had before conspired to have him betrayed into the hands of the *Turkish* General, had now by force of Money and Gifts seduced the wicked Eunuch thereto. Others deemed it not to have been done without the privacy of his Father, as more desirous to prefer *Abas Mirise* of his other Son unto the Kingdom. Divers others do diversly reason of the matter, so that to affirm of a certainty, that thus or thus the Death of so worthy a Prince was procured, were great rashness; and therefore we leave it, with the further process of the *Perfian* State, unto the further discovery of Time, the ancient Mother of Truth.

Notwithstanding the League betwixt the Christian Emperor *Rodolph* the second, and *Amurath* the great *Turk*, many sharp skirmishes oftentimes fell out betwixt the *Christians* and the *Turks*, upon the Frontiers of their Territories and Dominions, especially in *Hungary*, *Croatia*, and *Sirvia*; as now in the latter end of this year 1586, in the Month of *December*, the *Turks*, after their insolent manner making an incursion into the Borders of *Croatia*, being in number much fewer; where amongst others, the *Baffa of Bosna* with his Brother was slain, whose Head with certain Prisoners was sent to *Viennoa* *Ernstus* Arch-duke of *Austria*, the Emperours Brother. This *Baffa* of *Bosna* and his Brother, slain in this Conflict (as we have said) are reported to have been the Sons of *Muhanet* the late great *Vizier*, by one of the Daughters of *Selymus* the second, *Amuraths* Sister. For divers years following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the Remembrance, contenting himself (as it should seem) with that he had already got from the *Perfians*; and holding his league in some reasonable sort with the *Christians*; yet not so, but that many a bloody broyl, tending at last even to the breach of the League, passed betwixt the *Turks* and the *Christians*; which for the Continuation

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The *Perfian*  
Prince  
being  
slain  
by his  
Eunuch.

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The Castle  
of Koppa  
in Hungary  
was visited  
by the  
Christians.

of the History we will briefly set down, as they are unto us by the Writers of our time reported.

In February the year following, which was the year 1587, the Christians, provoked by the often outrages of the Turks, letting upon the Castle of Koppa, not far from the lake of Balaton, being then frozen, by good fortune surprised it. There was at that time in the Castle three of the Turks, Samacki, and about a thousand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninety of the better sort, with seventy Women, besides divers of the meaner sort, fell into the hands of the Christians; the rest saving themselves by flight, or by creeping into secret corners; an hundred Horses for service were there taken also, and so much Booty as was esteemed to be worth forty thousand Ducats. Of the three Samacks that were there present, *Ali Samack* of Koppa was taken, and brought first to Vienna, and afterward presented to the Emperor; Another of them standing upon his defence in a vault under Ground, was there smothered; the third escaped by flight, but was afterwards the same year taken with divers others, as shall be forthwith declared.

The eighth of August following, four of the Turks great Commanders in Hungary, viz. The Bassa of Ziget, the Samacks of Mohas, of Quinque Ecclesie, and the new Samack of Koppa, with five thousand Soldiers, made an assault on the borders of the Christians, and in most cruel manner destroyed seventeen Country Villages about *Limbach*, carrying away with them all the miserable Country People, with the spoil of the Country. Whereof George Count *Serinus* (Son to that most valiant Count *Nicholas Serinus* slain at Ziget) Commander of the Garrison of *Canisla*, understanding, with as much speed as was possible raised such Forces as he was able out of his Territory between the Rivers of *Drauw* and *Mura*, and being unto him the Count *Nadaldi*, the Lord *Baithanis*, and some other valiant Captains that had the charge of those Frontiers; with such diligence took the Strights and Passages whereby the Turks must needs return again to the Marishes, that the Turks coming back again that way with a very rich Prey and many Prisoners, being in the break of the day hardly charged by those most expert and resolute Soldiers, in those threight and troublesome Passages about a mile from *Canisla*, were at length cut off and put to flight with such a miserable slaughter, that many of them yielded up their Scimiters, pitifully crying for Mercy; other some fled back into the Woods and Forests, and many running headlong into the Marishes, there perished, or sticking fast in the deep mud, cried together for mercy and help of their Enemies. In this Conflict *Muhamet* the Samack of *Quinque Ecclesie* (Son to *Haly Bassa*, slain in the Battle of Lepanto) was taken Prisoner. *Sinan Beg* Samack of *Mohas*, thinking to escape through the Marish, stuck fast with his Horse, and was thro' through the Head with a small shot, and there died. The Bassa of Ziget, with *Chafan* the new Samack of Koppa, seeing all desperate and lost, fled betimes out of the Battle; but he of Koppa, wandering up and down in the Woods, was the next night after the Battle with others taken; the Bassa of Ziget, almost spent with Hunger and Grief of Mind, escaped on foot seven days after to *Bresenza*. There were taken of the Turks a thousand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their Wounds. In this Battle there was slain of the Turks, with them that perished in the Marishes and Woods, about 20000, and of the Turks Horses were taken about 1500. All the Prey before taken by the Turks, with the miserable Captives, was again recovered. The number of them that performed this notable Service, was in all but fifteen hundred foot, and

five hundred horse; of whom there was but eleven slain, but most of the rest wounded. Four hundred heads of the slain Turks were (after the manner of those bordering Soldiers) carried for them to *Canisla*, with five hundred Prisoners. The Christian Soldiers, with the help of the Country People, ceased not for certain days to hunt after the Turks that were fled into the Woods, as after wild Beasts, of whom they found a great number; divers other, also fleeing no means to escape, came forth of their lurking Places, and yielded themselves.

*Amurath* understanding of all these Troubles that had so happened, commanded *Ali* the Bassa of *Buda* to be strangled, for that he had broken the League, and not refrained the Infidelity of his Samacks, whom he might have commanded; and in his stead placed *Sinan Bassa*, whom, before in disgrace, he had now at the request of his Wife again received into Favour, and restored to his former Dignity. About this time also *Sigismund* (the King of Sweden's Son) now after the Death of King *Stephen* chosen King of *Polonia*, and *Maximilian* the Emperours Brother rejected even in the beginning of his Reign sought to renew the League which *Stephen's* Predecessor, and other the *Polonian* Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his Predecessors, the *Turkish* Sultans. And to that purpose writ unto him as followeth.

*Sigismund* the Third, King of *Polonia*, unto *Amurath* the Third, Emperour of the Turks, fiftenth greeting.

THE Almighty long keep and preserve your Majesty in Health and Honour. Most Mighty Prince, and our beloved Friend and Neighbour, after that we by the Grace and Goodness of our Lord Jesus Christ govern the Kingdom of *Polonia*, and the Ambassadors of that Kingdom had signified so much unto us; we, providing us of Necessaries, came to *Danske* the eighteenth of October, from whence we send *John Zamogil* our Secretary, to give your Majesty to understand of this our coming. For being told by the *Polonian* Ambassadors, That we were chosen unto the Government of that Kingdom, upon Condition, That according unto the Custom of our Predecessors the *Polonian* Kings, we should keep Love and Friendship with the most excellent \* *Musliman* Emperours; we promise unto your Sovereign Majesty, that we are willing with all like or greater Zeal and Devotion, to continue that Amity and Friendship with your most excellent Majesty and the Othoman Emperours your Successors. For confirmation whereof, so soon as we shall come unto *Cracovia* the regal City of *Polonia*, and there be crowned, we will forthwith send our great Ambassador unto your Majesty. In the mean time we most earnestly request your Majesty, that our Kingdom may on your Majesties behalf rest in Safety and Peace; which we persuade our selves you will easily grant. So willing unto you all Health and Happiness, we bid you farewell. From *Danske* the 18th of October, in the year 1587, and of our Reign the fifth.

Unto which the Kings Request and Letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this Answer in Writing.

*Amurath* the Third, Emperour of the Turks, unto *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*, greeting.

I Take it well, and as a token of your Love, that your Ambassador *John Zamogil* came with your Letters unto our most high and glorious Court, the refuge of distressed Princes; wherein you have given us to understand, how that instead of the most excellent and famous King *Stephen*, of worthy Memory, late King of *Polonia*,

Ali Bassa  
of Buda  
strangled  
by the  
command  
of Amurath

Sinan Bassa  
again  
received  
into Favour.

Sigismund  
the Polonian  
King  
Letter  
unto  
Amurath.

\* The  
Turks  
were  
called  
Muf-  
liman,  
which in  
their Language  
signifieth  
a  
believer.

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Polonia; you, descended of the same noble Stock and Race of the *Polonian* Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous Kingdom of *Polonia*, and the great Kingdom of *Lithuania*, chosen King of *Polonia*; and being sent for by lawful Ambassadors, by the Favour and Goodness of God, to be come unto the City of *Danske*, and from thence to be about to go unto *Cracovia*, the chief City of the Kingdom of *Polonia*. And when you are there arrived, to send your Ambassador unto our most high and glorious Court, to confirm, preserve, and establish the League and Amity commodious and necessary for both our Kingdoms, and kept by your ancient Predecessors, with our Grandfathers and Great-Grandfathers; yea, and that with greater Zeal and Devotion than any your noble Ancestors. And therefore your Ambassador in your Name requesteth, That no Invasion on our behalf be made into the Borders of the Kingdom of *Polonia*, or any harm there done; and that the most noble *Tartar* Prince *Isabam Gerai* (whom God bless) should be warned, that he neither make nor suffer any Invasion to be made into the Confines of the Kingdom of *Polonia*. All which things in your Letters contained with the rest which your Ambassador hath by word of mouth delivered, are with speed orderly by us conceived. Know you therefore our most lately and magnificent Court to be always open unto such as request therewith, and that from thence never man had refuse, neither shall hereafter have; wherefore it befleemeth you, as upon as these our Letters shall be brought unto you, to open your Eyes, and to beware that nothing be on your part done against the Majesty of our Court, and the League; and that our Peace and amity be neither in much or little disturbed, but at best befleemeth, well and sincerely kept, and so persuade your self it shall on our part also be most inviolately observed. Our Letters are also directed unto the most excellent *Tartar* Prince *Isabam Gerai* (whom God bless) straightly charging and commanding him, not to make or suffer any Invasion to be made into the Borders of *Polonia*. In brief, the League and Amity shall on our part be religiously kept; and we desire your Majesty to do any harm unto the Kingdom or Confines of *Polonia*, shall therefore without fail receive from us due Punishment. So on your part it is requisite that the same be done, and that in Declaration of your Love, you forget not oftentimes to intimate unto our most high and glorious Court, such certain Occurrences and News as shall happen in those parts, which shall be unto us a sign of your sincere Love and Friendship. So know you, and give credit unto this our Seal from *Constantinople*.

Neither was King *Sigismund* unmindful of this his Promise before made for the lending of his Ambassador; but being possessed of the *Polonian* Kingdom, sent *Christopher Dziercisk* (his Secretary) Ambassador unto *Amurath* for the confirming of the League; which he hath ever since so firmly kept with the Turk, that he could never by any Entreaty of the Emperour, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in respect of the common danger, be drawn into the Fellowship of this long and religious War, so hardly maintained by the Emperour, and some few other Christian Princes his Confederates; first against *Amurath*, whilst he lived, and ever since against *Mahomet* his Son, whom now reigneth; the issue whereof, God grant it prove not as well unto the *Polonians* as others farther off, in time, lamentable.

The year following, *Perat* (yet the *Turkish* Genral in *Perfia*) took the City of *Genoa*, being before for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants; who yet, upon his Faith given for their Safety, returned again, yielding to pay unto the Turk a yearly Tribute of five thousand Ducats. But when he would have gone further into the Enemies Country, having part of his Ar-

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Genoa  
taken  
by Perat.

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my cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous Soldiers foully entreated, wounded, and enforced to retire. *Goela Bassa* also pading over the River *Euphrates*, had in those quarters divers bloody Skirmishes with the Persians, sometime carrying away the better, and sometime the worse, as the Fortune of the Field leaved. Until at length, *Amurath* himself, no less weary than his People of that long and chargeable War, and the Persian King also inclining to Peace; he, by the perswasion of *Sinan Bassa* (but lately before received into Favour) was now contented to be intreated to hearken unto the same; moved therewith, as well by reason of new Troubles then in other Places arising, as for the great Famine and Plague then raging in *Constantinople*. And considering withal what a great Territory he had won from the Persians, and how necessary it was for him by Peace to confirm himself in those his new Conquests, and by the building of certain strong Forts for the Succour of one another, and by the placing of his Timariots therein, to assure the same unto him; all which without our Peace he could not possibly do, as the old Bassa right wisely told him. For which Reasons he yielded to Peace; and so Ambassadors passing to and fro, a Peace was at length agreed-upon between these two great *Mahometan* Princes; the Turk covenanting to keep unto himself the Places he had already gained; namely, *Tauris*, *Genoa*, *Sirvan*, and *Chars*; with all the Profits thereof arising, for the maintenance of his Garrisons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new profits would presently arise; the Turks grew insatiable of these late Victories, being not able to content themselves with the Conditions of the League; and the Persians not willing to live in continual fear of the Turks, especially seeing themselves to be daily by them more and more oppressed; and withal doubting lest the Turks, after they had taken fast footing in those new conquered Countries, and so grown strong, and gotten better knowledge of the Passages, should, (after their ambitious manner) seek to possess themselves of the rest; not keeping the Covenants agreed upon between them, nor at all regarding the Capitulations of the League. Which was nevertheless (as we said) on both sides for the space of ten years orderly confirmed, with all due Circumstances and Ceremonies, in like Occurrences by the great Potentates of the World used; and the more assurance thereof, one of the Persian King's Sons, or, as some others say, one of his Nephews, given unto the Turks in Hostage, as *Amurath* required.

These long Wars thus ended, shortly after a great Sedition was raised at *Constantinople* by the Soldiers of the Court, which, returning out of *Perfia*, with great Infidelity demanded their Pay. For the satisfying of whom, by the content of the great Sultan himself, the Value of the Coin was increased, and a new kind of Subsidy for levying of Money imposed upon the Subjects in general, none excepted; who, standing upon their ancient Liberties and Privileges, refused to pay it, especially the *Janizaries* and other Soldiers of the Court. Wherefore their *Agas* or Captain was commanded to appease them, and to persuade them to pay the demanded Tribute; in attempting whereof he was in danger to have been slain by the intolent *Janizaries*; and yet nevertheless for prevailing no more with them, was in disaffection thrust out of his Office, and another placed in his room, that should have married *Amurath's* Daughter; of whom for all that, the *Janizaries* would not accept in any case, but threw Stones at him, and threatened to kill him. The next Night a great Fire arose in the City, for the quenching whereof the *Janizaries* were commanded (as their

The Janizaries in Turbule as Persia, Constantinople.

Great Fire done by Fire in Constantinople.

H h h h Duty

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Duty was) to put to their helping hands; which they not only refused to do, but also kept back others that brought Water for the quenching thereof, and together with the other Souldiers of the Court, did what they might to make it burn the faster. With the rage of this Fire were consumed fives of their Temples, twenty five great Inns, fifteen thousand Houses, with many Warehouses and Shops. To appease this dangerous fire, and to prevent further mischief, commandment was given to the *Reglerberg* of *Græcia* and *David Passy* a Jew (the first Authors of this new Inposition that they should either gather the aforesaid Tribute by their devils, and pay the Souldiers, or by some other means to give them Contentment. But here began the Priests publicly to perswade the People from payment of this new Tribute, or any other such like; perswading them in any case to defend their ancient Liberties and Customs; whereupon the Churches were by the Priests shut up, publick Prayers for the Health of the Sultan intermitted, the Basses Houses assaulted, and all the City in a new hurly bully. For the appeaching whereof, *Amurath* was glad to yield unto the *Janizaries*, to pay the Souldiers out of his own Treasurie, to revoke his Mandates given out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliver the two Perswaders thereof to the Pleasure of the *Janizaries*; who drew them up and down the Streets at Horfes Tails, and afterwards cutting off their Heads, in scorn tossed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had been Tennis Balls.

Sinan  
Bassa of  
Buda  
was  
the  
upper  
part  
of  
Hungary.

Sinan  
over-  
thrown.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan*, Bassa of Buda, having with the assistance of the *Sannacks* about *Fille*, raised an Army of eleven thousand Souldiers, with purpose to have spoiled all the upper part of Hungary, came the sixth of October before the Castle of *Punose*, and gave thereunto summons, but finding them in the Castle better provided and more resolute than he had before supposed, he departed thence, and passing the River *Schabo*, came to *Sixs*, a Town of about five hundred Houses, which after a fore battery he took, and burnt it down to the Ground. In the mean while, *Claudius Ruffel*, General for the Wars in that part of Hungary, having assembled his Forces, came upon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worse, when he had slain of his Turks about two thousand five hundred; besides three hundred other drowned in the River *Schabo*. Shortly after, the Christians in like manner breaking into the Frontiers of the Turks, took from them the Castles of *Blavenslein*, *Gefers*, with some other small Forts therabouts in the upper part of Hungary.

1589

*Sinan*, for that he had contrary to the League, and without the Commandment of *Amurath*, to unfortunately attempted War in Hungary, was the next year in great Displeasure sent for to Constantinople, and *Ferrat Bassa* of *Budine* (late General of the Turkish Army against the *Perlians*, and now but newly come home) placed in his room at Buda.

*Amurath*, before not ignorant of the great Preparation that Philip the King of Spain had made, and of the invincible Armado (as it was termed) by him set forth for the Invasion of England (the same whereof had long before filled a great part of the World, viz. 1588), and of the purpose her Majesty of England had for the troubling of her rich Trade, especially into the West Indies, and for the relieving of *Don Antonio*, by him driven out of Portugal, wrote unto her about this time concerning her and such like matters as had been moved by her Agent, as followeth:

Amurath the Third, Emperour of the Turkey,  
unto Elizabeth Queen of England, France,  
and Ireland, greeting.

1589

Nicholas  
Ruffel  
Epist. Tur-  
cic. lib. 12.  
p. 41.  
Amurath's  
Letters  
unto the  
Queen of  
England.

MOST Honourable Matron of the Christian Religion, Mirror of Chastity, adorned with the Brightness of Sovereignty and Power amongst the most chaste Women of the People which serve Jesus, Mistress of great Kingdoms, reputed of greatest Majesty and Praise amongst the Nazarenes, Elizabeth Queen of England, to whom we with a most happy and prosperous Reign. You shall understand by our high and Imperial Letters directed unto you, how that your Orator, resident in our State and magnificent Court, hath presented unto the Throne of our Majesty, a certain writing, wherein he hath certified us, how that about four years ago you have made war upon the King of Spain for the abating and breaking of his Forces, wherewith he threatneth all other Christian Princes, and purposeth to make himself the sole Monarch both of them and all the World beside. As also, how that the same King of Spain hath by force taken from Don Antonio (a lawfully created King of Portugal) his Kingdom; and that your Intention is, that his Ships which came and come into the Indies may from henceforth be embarrased and stayed from that Navigation; wherein are yearly brought into Spain, precious Stones, Spices, Gold and Silver, esteemed worth many millions, where-with the aforesaid King, as with a great Treasure enriched, hath means to molest and trouble all other Christian Princes; which if he shall proceed to do, he will make himself daily stronger and stronger, and such an one as may not easily be weakened. After that, your aforesaid Orator requested our Highness, in the beginning of the next Spring to send us our Imperial Fleet against him, being assured that the King of Spain could not be able easily to withstand it, for that he had now already received a great overthrow by your Fleet; and being scarce able to withstand you alone, if he should be on divers parts invaded, much needs be overcome to the great benefit of all the Christian Princes, as also of our Imperial State. Besides this, that whereas the aforesaid Don Antonio is by force driven out and deprived of his Kingdom, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitors of happy Memory, whose Graves the Almighty lighten) should also give the Aid and Succour of our magnificent State, as did they unto all such as had recourse unto their high Courts and Palaces for relief. In brief, all these things, with many others which your aforesaid Orator hath at large declared unto our Imperial Throne, we have well understood, and laid them up in our deep remembrance. But forasmuch as we have for many years past made Wars in Persia, with a full Resolution and intent utterly to conquer and subdue the Kingdom of that accursed Persian Heretic, and to join the same unto our ancient Dominions; and now by the Grace of God, and help of our great Prophet, are now upon the point for the satisfying of our desire; that once done, due Provision shall be assigned unto all such things as you have of us requested or desired. Wherefore, if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of Amity and Friendship with our high Court, you shall find no more secure Refuge or safer Harbour of good Will or Love. So at length all things shall go well and according to your Hearts desire in your Wars with Spain, under the shadow of our happy Throne. And forasmuch as the King of Spain hath by Fraud and Deceit got whatsoever he holdeth, without doubt his deceitful Deceiters shall by the Power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the mean time we exhort you not to lose any Opportunity or Time, but to be always vigilant, and according to the Conventions betwixt us, favour able unto our Friends, and unto our Enemies a Foe. And give notice here to our high Court, of all the new War which you shall

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shall understand of concerning the said King of Spain, for the behoof both of your self and us. To be sure, if you are dissatisfied, after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his Ambassage, and here left in his place one Edward Bardou, his Deputy and Agent, now by our leave maketh his return towards your Kingdom, being for the good and faithful Service here done, worthy to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted; who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserved Honours and Preferments, let him or some other principal Ambassador without delay be appointed to our Imperial Court, to continue this Office of Legation. This we thought good to have you certified of under our most honourable Seal, wherewith you may give unwritten Credence. From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the 15th of this blessed Month \* Ramazan, 1589.

\* September.

Yet for all these fair shews, it may seem unto him that looketh more near into the state of the Turkish Affairs at those times, and that which hath ensued since, that *Amurath*, glad of the Discord of these two great Christian Princes, and not well assured of his new Conquests in Persia, had no great mind to the Invasion of Spain, as too far from the strength of his Empire, an Enterprize not to be so easily managed by Sea, as were the Wars he shortly after undertook against the Christian Emperour *Rodolph* by Land; wherewith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his Life, as did also his Son *Mahomet* that reigned after him.

The Pol-  
nish Col-  
lacks in-  
vade the  
Tartarian  
and Turkey.

About this time also the *Polonian* Borders (whom they call *Collocks*) a rough and warlike kind of People; after their wonted manner making an invade upon the Turks and Tartarians, upon the sudden surprised *Koflan*, a Port Town within a days Journey of *Caffa*, where they had the spoil of many rich Warehouses of the Turks Merchants, and the rifling of certain Shipping lying there in Harbour; and having taken all the Pleasure, they returned, and with a great booty returned to their lurking Places. With which Injury the *Tartars*, provoked and set on by the Turks, to the number of forty thousand, brake into *Podolia* and the Provinces near unto *Polonia*, and resting in no place, but burning the Country before them, slew the poor Country People without Mercy, and making havock of all that they light upon, besides the spoil, carried away with them many thousands of most miserable Captives; who gave great grief and trouble to the *Polonians* refused, with the notable laughter of the Enemy, surprised in their return. Whereupon such unkindness life between the Turkish Emperour and *Sigismund* the *Polonian* King, that it was thought it would have broken out into open Wars, had not the *Polonian* by his Ambassadors and the Mediation of the Queen of England, wisely appealed the angry Turk, and so again renewed his League.

*Amurath*, now at Peace with the World, from which he by Nature abhorred not, and sitting idle and melancholy at home, was perswaded by the Basses his Counsellors, to take some new War in hand; for that great Empires (as they said) could not without the continual use of Arms long stand or continue; as appeared by the *Roman* State, which so long as it was at Wars with *Carthage*, or their great Captains and Commanders occupied in arms against their Neighbour Princes, still remained triumphant, and commanded over a great part of the World; but giving it self to Ease and Pleasure, and the Martial Men not after their wonted manner employed, it in short time by Civil Discord fell, and of the Mistress of the World, became it self a Prey even unto the basest Nations. Which also Cato in his great Wildom foreseeing, cried out in the Senate, That the Souldiers and Men of

War were to be kept still busied in Arms far from home, for that in so doing, all should go well with the State, and the Glory thereof increase. Whereunto the *Osman* Emperours, his noble Progenitors, having respect, propounded not Peace as the end of their Wars (as do other weak Princes having their own Forces in distrust) but as invincible Conquerors, still fowed Wars upon Wars, making one Victory the beginning of another; whereby they not only brought that their Empire unto that greatness it was now of, but by such continual Employment made their Souldiers more courageous and ready, and also kept them from Rebellions and Tumults; whereunto in time of Peace and living at ease, these Martial Men are most commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing, to do that is evil and naughty. Every thing (as they said) was by the same means to be maintained, whereby it was at the first increased; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by Wars begun and augmented, so were they by continual Wars also to be from time to time embellished, whereas otherwise the Souldiers living in Peace, and forgetting their Martial Prowess, would for most part grow cowardly, as giving themselves over to the Love of their own Dwellings, of their Wives, and of their Children, and other Pleasures; or else converting their Studies to Merchandize, or other profitable Trades, would in time forget the use of Arms, and be thereto again hardly drawn; unto the great weakening of his strength both by Sea and Land, and the diminishing of the number of his great Commanders and expert Captains, not to be had without the continual use of War. With these and such like Reasons, the great Basses of the Court perswaded *Amurath*, That he must of necessity take some new Expedition in hand, and not to suffer his valiant Souldiers, but now lately returned out of Persia, to grow lazy or insolent for lack of Employment. Which they did not so much for the Love of their Prince, or Zeal unto the State, as for their own private gain; especially the two old Basses *Sinan* and *Ferrat*, the envious Competitors the one of the others Honour, who, although they both much and almost all commanded both in Peace and War, yet was their Honour greater, and their Profit far more, in commanding of the Turks great Armies abroad, than in sitting in the *Divans* at home; unto which no less honourable than profitable Prefecture they both with like Ambition aspired, accompanied with the hot desires of their own great and many Favours both at home and elsewhere. These Perswasions well pleased *Amurath*; who although he were himself no Souldier, yet was he defensible of new Conquests, and to increase his Name; accounting it no less honour unto himself, by his Servants at his appointment to perform great things, than it was unto his Ancestors to do that they did themselves in Person.

But in this so serious a matter, and of so great consequence, *Amurath* at the first could not tell what best to resolve upon; not that he was not desirous of Wars, but because as yet he certainly knew not against whom he might with great Profit and least Difficulty and Danger convert his Forces; upon which point his Counsellors agreed not, but for divers Reasons were of divers Opinions. Which, forasmuch as they contain matters of greatest importance of all things then in the World done, but especially concerning the Profit of the Christian Commonweal, I shall not think it unworthy my Labour, to set them down in such order as I find them credibly reported; having moreover in them many Letters and most weighty matters not yet come to all mens Knowledge; as also opening the Devices of the Turkish Tyrant against the Christian Princes; a move not only for

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The Causes  
why *Amurath*  
would  
not  
suddenly  
leave  
upon  
War.

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they might seem hardly able to be helped or defended by their own People, but should need the Aid and help of the other near Provinces subject unto this Kingdom; which if they should be either letted, or flay to come in good time, they should leave so much the more easie Victory unto their Enemies.

The fifth Opinion for the Invasion of the Venetians, and the Reasons why.

In the fifth place were they which went about to perfwade Amurath to break his League with the Venetians; using Reasons rather probable than true, although they might seem unto the Turks less doubtful, for that men easily and willingly believe such things as they themselves desire. These men went about to prove no Expedition to be less difficult than this, as judging of things present, by the event of former Wars passed; wherein the Turks had always taken something from the Venetians: who to redeem their Peace, were divers ways enforced to satisfy the Turks. That the Venetian Common-wealth was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred War, was manifest (they said) that, that in all Actions it had propounded unto it self Peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their Ancestors, never entered into Wars, but enforced thereunto: and would happily upon the first denouncing of Wars, willingly depart with certain Places, for fear of greater harm, or to be utterly overcome, as it appeared they did in the yielding up of Cyprus. The Power and Force whereof was not so great, as that it could alone stand against the great Sultan, and to confederate it self with others, would require no small delay, for the great and many Difficulties which commonly used to arise in making of Leagues; not being now so conjoined with the Spaniards as in times past, of whose aid it being of late destitute, was constrained to make an hard Peace with Selimus. And if so be the Spaniard would needs joyn himself unto the Venetians against the Turks, yet that he could by no means afford them such Aid and Succours as were of necessity to be required unto to great a War, he himself being in his Wars otherwise so intangled; as for all other Consideration they could make without him, to be but weak and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do herein, to be but little; for albeit he should according to his Duty exhort other Christian Princes to give Aid, and to fit them up unto this War, yet that beside some little supply of Money hardly drawn out of his own Clef, and the Ecclesiastical Revenues, he could scarcely perform any thing more; or when he had done his utmost devotion, could but joyn five Gallies of his own unto the Venetian Fleet; which, with the Gallies of the Duke of Savoy, of the Knights of Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a Fleet of some twenty Gallies, which was but a small matter. Besides that, the Turks were perfwaded, that betwixt the Venetian State and the other Christian Princes was no such Friendship and good Agreement, as the greatness of the imminent Danger of that War, and as the necessity of the cause would require; and that hitherto their Treasures had been so exhausted in paying the Debt they were run into in the last War, and in building of Fortresses, that happily they were not now so furnished with Coin, as was requisite for the defraying of so great a War. And unto this War against the Venetians, consented almost all the Vicer Baffas, differing only in this, Where, or against what Place of the Venetian Territory this War were to be first begun; some naming one place, and some another (for divers Reasons thereunto leading) which for brevity we pass over.

The sixth Opinion, for the attempting of Italy, and the Reasons thereof.

Otherwise of the Baffas in the sixth place, rejecting all the former Opinions concerning the War to be taken in hand, would have had all the

Forces of the Ottoman Empire, as well by Land as Sea, to have been converted against Italy; for that otherwise the Turks should never come unto the Monarchy of the whole World (whereunto as at a mark they had directed all their Actions) except they did first subdue Italy. For that this Country, as the Center of the whole World, was wont to give both Council and Aid unto the rest of the Limbs, whereby the Devices of others were crossed; and that the Romans had at length commanded over all the World, especially for that they held in Possession this Country. Hereof did the Hungarians, the Alani and Gethes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, the Spaniards, and Saracens, direct all their Thoughts and Cogitations. In fine, they concluded, That no Expedition could be taken in hand more honourable or profitable than this; for that Italy was a Queen amongst other Provinces, for commodious Situation, the wholefomeness of the Air, the plenty of all things necessary for Mans Life, for great, fair, and most rich Cities, for the ancient Glory and Majesty of the Roman Empire, and many other Causes also. Neither that this Expedition was to be deemed of much Difficulty, for that Italy was under the Rule of divers Princes, unto whose command most of their Subjects unwillingly obeyed; as also, for that the Inhabitants of that Country had now for many years lived in continual Peace, and were therefore the more intimate and fearful, and to unfit for the Wars; and that if that Expedition were in one or divers places taken in hand before the Corn were full ripe, the Turks in that so fruitful a Country could never want Necessaries for them to live upon; whereas the Inhabitants in great number wanting the same, and shut up within the Walls and Fortifications of their Cities and strong Towns, should be brought into extreme wants; which was the more evidently to be seen, for that at this time wherein they were at Peace, they had not Corn sufficient in the Country for their own use. People to live upon, but were glad to have it brought unto them from other Places, especially from Peloponessus, Constantinople, and the Cities upon the Coast of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be considered, that most part of the Italians lived by no other means than by their handy Labour, or the trade of Merchandise; of which means if they were deprived, they should in short time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of such Conditions as the Venetians should propound unto them, or as Tributaries, to submit themselves unto the Ottoman Government. Neither that the Souldiers would unwillingly be drawn unto that War; for that they were not to pass through barren Regions of the Enemy, frozen with ice, or delatred, either by rough Woods or inaccessible Mountains; but were all the way thither to travel through their own Country, and as it were in the sight of their own Houses; and if the Turks could oftentimes enter so far, where as they had their Confines more remote, and their Passages more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a far greater Opportunity, and their Enemies so near at hand.

The seventh Opinion was theirs which thought it best to have the War transferred into Polonia, and from thence into Hungary and Germany; for which they alleged these Reasons: First, for that they thought it a disgrace unto the Majesty and Reputation of the Ottoman Empire, that the King of Polonia had sometime refused to pay his Tribute due (for so the Turks account of all such Presents as are unto their Sultan usually sent by their Neighbour Princes, of Courtship) and that therefore he was by force of Arms to be compelled thereunto.

The eighth Opinion for War to be made against the Emperor, and the Reasons thereof.

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Which they thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-burning amongst the Polonian Nobility. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous War to be taken in hand; forasmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldavia, the Tartars, and the Sarmacks of Adoramus, Bendera, and Vofia; and moreover, for that the Turks could never have any assured or full Possession of Moldavia or Valachia, except the Infidelity of the Polonians were repented; the Vayvods of which Countries, when they had enriched themselves with much Wealth, used still to flie into the Kingdom of Polonia. Besides that, they should thereby revenge themselves for the Injuries done them by the Cossacks, and have more free and safe Traffick into Muscovia, and bring a Terror upon the Duke of Muscovia, by reason of the nearness of the Country; which great Duke was an Impediment unto the Ottoman Emperour, that he conquered not the whole Kingdom of Persia. And when they had by this means by little and little drawn unto Germany, happily it might come to pass, as that the Christian Emperour should thereby receive some notable loss, his Empire being still more and more expofed and en-vironed with the Turks Forces and Garrisons. Polonia they said to be a plain and open Country, neither to have any strong Places for to withstand them, and the Inhabitants to have small skill in Martial Affairs, for that they had now long lived in Peace. For as for the War that they had with Maximilian the Arch-duke of Austria, it continued not long, and King Stephen in the late Wars he had with the Muscovites, used for most part the Hungarian Souldiers, and ended those Wars rather by befieging than by fighting.

The eighth Opinion, for War to be made against the Emperor, and the Reasons thereof.

They which in the eighth and last place delivered their Opinions concerning the intended War, perfwaded to have it converted upon the Christian Emperour; whom the Turks call the King of Vienna. The Causes they alleged for the beginning of this War was, For that the Vfockie were grown so insolent as to make good prize of the Turks both by Sea and Land; in such sort, as that not only for the harms which they did, but even for the Majesty and Honour of the Ottoman Empire, their Infidelity was no longer to be suffered. By whose Injuries it was especially brought to pass, that the Merchants, to their great hinderance in private, and the Sultans great loss in common, having left the Town of Narenta or Naronia in the Turks Dominion, had removed their Mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a Town of the Venetians; and that yet for all that was not so sufficiently provided for the Security of the said Merchants, although there were Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians; for that these unruly men for most part living upon the spoil, troubled all both by Sea and Land with their Robberies, driving away mens Cattel, burning the Villages, and taking away the young Babels out of the Mothers Arms and Laps. Whereby it was easily to be seen what mind they were of; and that it was not to be doubted, but that if Occasion should serve for them to surprize any of the Turks strong holds upon the Frontiers, they would with all their Power attempt the same; which, what a Dishonour and Infamy (not to speak of the loss) it would be unto the whole Ottoman Empire, every man might easily guess. Neither that it was unknown, how little the Christian Emperour had esteemed of the Turks, at such time as he was in War with the Persians, paying his Tribute too low at his Pleasure; an evident sign rather of violating than of establishing the League. And that the good Success of this War was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtful; for that the attempt might be given both by Croatia, Hungary,

and Austria, Countries abounding with all things necessary for the maintenance of a great Army; as also for that they were, namely Belgrade, Buda, and Alba Regalis, with many other strong places, were already holden by the Turks Garrisons, whither their Armies might in all cases of Extremity in safety retire, or out of the same Garrisons repair their Losses, if any should be. The Roman Empire (as they said) was more desirous of Peace full, than how to heap up and preserve their Treasures; and the Princes, of nothing more careful, than how to heap up and preserve their Treasures; and the People of Germany, for that of long they had had no Wars, to be less fit than to bear Arms, and worse to be commanded by their Captains; always having in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those Nations are not beloved, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at Unity amongst themselves, but divided, especially about matters of Religion. Neither that it was to be feared, lest foreign Princes should give Aid unto the Emperour in this War; with the Turks, and therefore would by no means turn the heat of this War into their own Boiloms; as also, for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in so doing, they should be driven out of their Country, and enforced to remove themselves toward the frozen Sea; and the Transilvanians, having received his Sovereignty from the Turk, no less in fear (if he should so do) to be of him again strip and spoiled of the same, as for the King of Spain, although he were of such Power, as might afford unto the House of Austria great Aid, yet that he was in other Places now too much bound; and that the Bishop of Rome could not in all Places be ready to serve his own; the Princes of Italy would not spend their Subjects and Treasures to pleasure another man; and that the Venetian State would not rashly fit up the Turks Arms against themselves, but rather at ease expect the event of the War,gers. These were the chief Opinions of the great Baffas concerning the War to be taken in hand, not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound Advice, (as commonly they do) but rather from a certain barbarous Infidelity and Contempt of others; wherewith, they moved, do oftentimes vainly perfwade them of the easie performance of divers Expeditions, which in proof they find to be not only most difficult, but unto themselves also most pernicious.

In this so great diversity of Opinions, Amurath stood long in doubt what to resolve upon; a desirous he was in all places to shew his Power, and (if it were possible) to exceed the Glory of his Predecessors, as he thought himself to have already done in Persia; having, as he boasted, by his Servants there performed more than they could themselves in Persia with their mighty Armies. Wherefore, contenting himself with that he had already done in the East, he resolved now to turn his Forces against the Christian Emperour towards the West, and that for divers respects. First, it grieved him to see the Honour of the House of Austria, and that it durst to make head against him; besides that, to make War upon a Country confining upon his own, would be a thing of far less Difficulty than was the Persian War, where his Armies were now still to be led through his own peaceable Countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieved with Victuals, in case whatsoever they they needed. In which Opinion he was also confirmed by Sinan Baffa, who having in vain perfwaded him to have made War against the Venetians, furthered now this War; in hope thereby

Amurath resolved to make War upon the Emperour, and the Reasons thereunto.

1590 thereby to recover his Credit and Reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in *Perfia*, as also at *Constantinople*, by the discord betwixt him and *Ferrat Bassa*, commonly called the Black Serpent) as also to increase his Wealth and Riches; which shortly after forced to his desire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed General for these Wars. But above all others, *Haffan Bassa* of *Bofnia* furnished this matter, in hope thereby to have gained great Riches, (as the *Turks* manner is) together with the greatest Honours of the Field, as he was most vainly persuaded by his cold Prophets, to whom he gave no small credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harms which the *Vlouches* and other the Arch-duke's Servants and Subjects did upon the Frontiers of his Territories; telling him of their Burnings, Spoilings and Robbings, inciting him to begin his War in *Croatia*, and so to continue the same either against the Emperor, or the *Venitians*, or else upon the sudden that way to break into *Italy*, as had sometime the like been done in the time of *Mahomet, Bajazet, and Solyman*, his noble Progenitors; whereby to bring a great Terror upon all the Princes of *Italy*, and to enrich his Soldiers with rich Spoils. By which his impotency he (as a most mortal Enemy) only unto the House of *Austria*, but unto all *Christendom* got leave to begin those fits in the Frontiers of the Empire, which were first fatal unto himself, and have ever since even until this day notably exercised the Arms of these two last *Othoman* Emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the *Christian* Emperour, with others his Friends and Confederates. Yet unto this leave granted unto the *Bassa*, was this Condition at the first annexed, That he should seem to do it by the Commandments of *Amurath*, but of himself, under colour to restrain the *Vlouches*; who, as well by Land as by Sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the *Christians* and *Turks*, by the great liberty of the Princes of *Austria*, having small care to chaffin them.

Now was it no great matter for *Haffan Bassa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord and Master had commanded for the disturbing of the Peace betwixt him and the *Christian* Emperour; the *Turks* Leagues with their neighbour Princes being seldom so religiously kept, but that as well their Soldiers in Garrison upon their Frontiers by Land, as their Adventurers by Sea, might, to keep themselves doing, upon a Military Infoleny (as the *Turks* term it) now and then at their pleasures make incursions for booty both by Sea and Land: which, answered with the like from their Neighbours to molest, there never wanted new Grievances, and just causes of Complaint, to the stirring up of greater troubles even amongst the greatest Princes. The *Venitians* thus wronged at Sea, and their Merchants robbed; by their Ambassadors complained at *Constantinople* of the Injuries done them by the *Turks* Pirates, requiring to have them called home and Justice done upon them. In like manner the Emperor also, seeing many things both this year and the next attempted by *Haffan Bassa* in *Croatia*, and the other *Turks* in *Hungary*, contrary to the League, to the great disturbance of his Subjects in both those Countries, by his Ambassador then lying at *Constantinople* complained of these Outrages, desiring to know whether they were done by the consent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, then to require that order might be taken for the restraining thereof; which was accordingly done, and those Incursions for a while stayed, and the former Peace seemed to flourish.

1591 As for *Amurath*, he did not stand idle, but flew as if he were willing that the League agreed upon for eight years, should not be in any wife on his part infringed. At which time the *Perfian* King's

1591 Son (the League not long before concluded) died in the *Turks* Court, where he lay in *Hostage*; whose dead body *Amurath* caused to be honourably sent home to his Father into *Perfia*, with an Apology in defence of himself, against the suspicion conceived by some, That he should have been the cause of the untimely death of that young Prince; justifying withal the confirmation of the League, which by the death of the Prince was like enough to have been broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that persuaded by his *Bassa's* (as is aforesaid) to make Wars with the Emperour (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope thereby to add unto his Empire the reliques of *Hungary*, with some good part of the Territory of the House of *Austria* also, and so to open himself a way into the heart of *Germany*. For which purposes he now called very great preparation to be made, and a strong Army to be raised; and at the same time put a great Fleet of Gallies into the *Archipelago*, for the safety of his Islands in that Sea.

According to these Desigments, the *Bassa* of *Bofnia*, by the Commandment of *Amurath*, with an Army of fifty thousand entered into *Croatia*, and without resistance, burnt and destroyed the Country before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid siege to the City of *Whitine*, being the metropolitane City of that Country, strongly fortified as it were in an Island, compassed about with the River *Dna*. Which City, after he had fore battered and twice assailed, was by the distressed Defendants (now despairing of relief, and unable longer to hold it out) yielded unto the *Bassa* upon Composition. That the *German* Soldiers there in Garrison, might in safety with bag and baggage depart; and that each of the *Christian* Citizens as would, might there still remain without hurt from the *Turks*, either in Body or Goods. Which Conditions the *Bassa* faithfully performed to the Garrison Soldiers, whom, in number but four hundred, he sent with safe convey into their own Territory: but afterwards, contrary to his faith and promise, exercised all manner of *Turkish* Tyranny upon the poor Citizens. The Emperour troubled with this unexpected Invasion of the *Turks*, sent the Lord *Petersen* (whom he had many times employed in Embassages to the *Turk*) to pray Aid of the *German* Princes against the common Enemy. Who, according to the greatness of the danger, in large terms promised their help. The first that made head was *Ernestus*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, the Emperour's Brother, who with five thousand Soldiers came from *Piemont* to *Savaria*, commonly called *Graz*, the Metropolis of *Stiria*; to whom repaired daily more strength out of *Carinthia*.

In the mean time, the *Turks* Army daily increasing in *Croatia*, inclosed fix thousand Foot-men and five hundred Horse-men of the *Christians*, who had taken the Mountains, Woods, and streight Passages, and so hardly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life: amongst whom many valiant Soldiers and expert Captains were slain; namely *James Pratis*, *George Elebach*, and *John Weberburg*. The *Bassa*, after the barbarous manner of the *Turks*, to make his Victory seem more famous, laded fix Waggon with the Heads of the slain *Christians*. The *Turks* thus raging in *Croatia*, brought a general fear upon all *Hungary*, *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Silefia*, and the rest of the Provinces thereabouts. Whereupon the Emperour, calling together the States of *Silefia* and *Moldavia*, declared unto them the imminent danger; persuading them to join their Forces with the rest, for the repelling of so dangerous an Enemy, and so imminent a Danger.

After

1591  
The *Perfian* in *Hostage* died in the *Turks* Court.

1592

While the Metropolitane City of *Croatia* yielded to the *Turks*.

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After long delay, *Ernestus* the Arch-duke, the tenth of *August* came to the Emperour his Brother, with the Ambassadors of *Hungary*, and the seventh day after were called together the Embassadors of the Kingdoms and Provinces of the Empire; where it was thoroughly debated, how the *Turks* were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence Forces, Money, and other Warlike provision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seen, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous, and the rather, for that the Beglerbey or great Commandment of *Greece*, with three thousand select Soldiers both Horse and Foot, of long time exercised in the *Perfian* War, was ere long expected; who, joining with the rest of the *Turks* Army, might do great matters both in *Hungary* and the Places adjoining. For preventing of which to great and manifest dangers, they late daily in Council in *Prague*, yearning themselves even from morning until night, for the *Hungarians*, and especially the Lord *Nadasthi*, a most noble and valiant Gentleman amongst them, instantly urged to have Succours sent into *Hungary*; so far as the *Turkish* Emperour, if he should get into his hands the rest of the Towns and Castles yet holden by the *Christians* in *Hungary*, it was to be feared lest he should in short time after endanger the whole State of *Germany*; the strength whereof the *Turks* feared not so much, as he did those poor reliques of *Hungary*. Others were no less careful of the dangers of *Croatia* and *Stiria*, as more proper to themselves, the Enemy now there raging. In these so great dangers, the *Hungarians*, with the rest of the distressed, cried upon the Emperour for help; and he likewise called upon the Princes of the Empire. Divers Assemblies were made in *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Silefia*, and the other Provinces of the Empire, and Embassadors sent from almost all the *German* Princes to the Emperour: all was full of Consultation, but as for help that came in very slowly; yet such as was to be had, was forthwith sent into *Croatia*, to defend the Fortresses there against the further attempts and proceedings of the furious Enemy.

Certain vain attempts of the *Turks*.

The eighteenth of *September*, the *Turks*, with all warlike Provision upon the sudden by Night assaulted the strong Castle of *Tocay* in the upper *Hungary*, in hope to have surprised it; but finding it a matter of more Difficulty than they had before imagined, they departed thence, and attempted the lesser *Comara*, which, standing in a marshy Ground, was also easily defended. At which time also the *Bassa* of *Buda* with his Power entered into the Frontiers of the *Christians*, but having well viewed the Cities, Towns, Castles, and Forts upon those Borders, and finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned again to *Buda*.

*Turkopolis* spoiled by the *Turks*.

The fix and twentieth day of *September*, *Haffan*, the *Bassa* of *Bofnia*, incamped with his Army betwixt the Rivers of *Kulp* and *Sauer*, and in the Darkness of the Night passing over part of his Army into *Turkopolis*, with Fire and Sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and fertile Island; the Lord of *Bony*, to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in vain to defend the same.

About the end of this Month, the *Bassa* of *Ziget*, with the *Sannacks* of *Mobas*, *Koppas*, and *Quinque*, *Ecklesia*, and other *Turks* of great name, came with a strong Army, and encamped between *Ziget* and *Rodofe*. And shortly after News was brought to the Emperours Court, that *Ramsia*, a City of *Stiria* (not far from the River *Zala*) was hardly besieged by the Enemy, and that the *Turks* in coming thither had taken many *Christian* Captives; which they had thus to be sold at *Constantinople*; and that there was in the *Turks* Army about an

hundred and sixty thousand men. But forasmuch as the *Christian* Army daily increased also, and was now grown to the number of threecore thousand men, began to hope well that the Enemies Rage would be stayed from any further proceeding. About the same time, *Ernestus*, the Arch-duke, appointed General of the Army, with the Marquis (Son to *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke) his Lieutenant, came both unto the Army.

1592 In these Preparations, about the beginning of *October*, heavy News was brought unto the Emperours Court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had sent into *Croatia* under the Conduct of *Thomas Arctelus Begne*, *George Gleichpacher*, and *Dionysius Denke*, to hinder the Course of the *Turks* Proceedings, being incamped betwixt *Whitine* and *Carastar*, and having the twelfth of *September* discovered from an high Hill certain Companies of the *Turks*, (which were indeed of purpose come thither to view the Army of the *Christians*) sent out fifty Horsemen to discover the *Turks* Army where it lay, and what it attempted. Who, finding no more of the *Turks* than those whom they had before seen from the Mountain, returned again unto the Army with such simple Intelligence: whereunto the *Christians* giving Credit, became secure in their Tents, as Men out of fear of the Enemy, and so kept but negligent Watch. But in this they were deceived, the Enemy, of a sudden came upon them, and with an hundred thousand men brake into their Trenches; where the *Christian* Foot-men for all that, for the space of four hours maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both sides slain. But the poor *Christians* being better round, and oppressed with the Multitude of their Enemies, were slain almost all; yet the Captains seeing the Danger, by speedy flight saved themselves; for which their Cowardice and careless Negligence they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almost all the common Soldiers were there slain; yea such as fell alive into the hand of the Enemy, were most cruelly cut in pieces. The spoil also of the Tents of the *Christians* fell unto the Enemy; wherein, beside the abundance of other things, they found sixty thousand Dollars, brought but two days before from *Lipsa* for the Soldiers pay. The *Turks*, after their barbarous manner, in Observation of their Victory, laded fourteen Waggon with the Heads of the slain *Christians*, which they sent unto divers places thereabouts. This was indeed a great Victory, but gained by the *Turks* with much blood; for the *Christians*, fighting as men desperate, flew for their Enemies about twelve thousand, and died themselves as men rather with number oppressed, than with true Valour vanquished.

The Night following, the *Turks* upon the sudden in the dead time of the Night surprised the Castle of *St. George*, and without respect of Age or Sex, cruelly put to the Sword all them that were therein, except an hundred and fifty Persons, whom they carried away Captives; and so leaving the Castle on fire, departed. At the same time divers Companies of the *Turks* were seen about *Silefia*, who led away with them about fix hundred *Christians* into most miserable Captivity. And that nothing might be wanting unto the Calamities of this so miserable a wretched Country, three hundred Waggon charged with all manner of Provision, sent out of the Provinces thereby for the Relief of the Garrison Soldiers in *Croatia*, were all intercepted by the *Turks*, and so carried away.

The Emperour, considering these Proceedings of the *Turks*, and that their Strength daily increased, gave notice by Writing, to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what Incursions the *Turks* had

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The Castle of *St. George* surprised by the *Turks*.

The Emperour prays Aid again of the *German* Princes.

had of late made into Croatia and the Frontiers of Hungary, with other Places near unto them; and that the *Beglerbeg* of *Græcia*, with the *Baſſas* of *Boſnia*, *Buda*, and *Temefwar*, without regard of the League was in Force, had taken divers Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and ſtrong Places, and to extend the bounds of their Dominion above forty German Miles, having ſlain or carried away into Captivity the poor Inhabitants of thoſe Countries; and now to be grown to that height of Pride, that except their farther Proceedings were with like Forces reſpected, they would in ſhort time ſet Foot in Germany it ſelf, and poſſeſſing themſelves of *Sirria* and *Carlinibia*, would from thence daily more and more incroach upon the Empire, which to hinder, was not in his Power only, but required their help in general. Wherefore he requeſted them now at length, in ſo publick a Danger to open their Coſſiers, and to fend out their Forces againſt the common Enemy. Which Requeſt of the Emperor, with the due Conſideration of ſo great a Danger, moved not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others alſo farther off, to yield liberal Contribution unto ſo neceſſary and general a Cauſe.

The Turk now hearing of the great Preparation of the Chriſtian Princes, beſide the Army which was already in the Field, and that they had made a ſtrong Bridge over the River of *Drauw*, which they had alſo fortified, thereby in ſafety at their Pleaſure to tranſport their Army; without further delay ſupplied ſuch Places as they had gotten with ſtrong Garrifons, and ſo withdrew themſelves into their own Territory; which they did the rather, for that the Plague then raged fore in *Conſtantinople*, informed that there died a thouſand a day. Which Contagion had alſo taken hold of the *Turk* Army; ſo that the *Chriſtians* for fear of Infection, forthwith flew what *Turk* ſoever fell into their hands. And thus ended the Troubles of this year, being as it were an Introduction for greater to enſue the year following.

The *Turks*, together with the beginning of the new year, began alſo their wonted Incuſions into the Frontiers of the *Chriſtians*. They of the Garrifon of *Perrinia*, (a ſtrong Fort, but lately, and contrary to the League, built by the *Turk* upon the River of *Colapis* or *Kulp*, for the further Invaſion of *Croatia*) made daily Incuſions out of that new Fort, and entering into the Iſland *Thynopolis*, ſpoiled and burnt the Town and Caſtle of *Beck-Vochobinam*, and having made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them 400 Prifoners. And in Hungary the *Turkiſh* Garrifons, to ſupply their Wants, made divers Incuſions upon the *Chriſtians*, and did exceeding much harm; of which Adventurers, fix hundred in paſſing over the frozen Lake, were all drowned in the miſt thereof. In another place, three thouſand of them near unto *Nuſſe*, divided themſelves into two Companies; whereof the one ſhewed it ſelf in the fight of the Towns-men, the other ſtill lying in ambush. They of the Town, upon the ſight of theſe *Turks*, ſallied out, and cauſing them to retire, followed them ſo far, that they were paſt the Place where the reſt of the *Turks* lay; who preſently ſtarting up, ran with all ſpeed toward the Town, in hope to have ſurprized it, and wanted not much of that they deſired; for there was ſcarce an hundred of the *Germans* there in Garrifon left in the Town, who had ſcarce ſo much time as to draw up the Bridges; which done, they with the great Ordnance from the Walls, enforced the *Turks* to retire and forſake the Town.

About the ſame time alſo, the *Turks* in Garrifon at *Perrinia*, falling upon the ſudden, took the Town of *Martenzie*, which they ſpoiled, and having ſlain and taken about ſeven hundred Perſons,

ſet fire on the Town, and ſo returned, having loſt in this Exploit not paſt an hundred and fifty of their own Men. Not long after, the ſame Garrifon Soldiers of *Perrinia* took another Caſtle three miles diſtant from the River of *Kulp*, whereinto the *Chriſtians* dwelling round about had for fear of the Enemy conveyed all their Wealth, with great ſtore of Viſuals; all which the *Turks* took, and having ſlain fix hundred men in the Caſtle, returned with an exceeding rich booty to *Perrinia*; which they fought with the Lives of five hundred of their Fellows, ſlain in taking of the Caſtle. With like Inſolency did alſo the other Garrifons of the *Turks* rage in all the other parts of Hungary. About *Sajſovia* in the upper Hungary, they carried away about three hundred *Chriſtian* Captives. And in the neſther part of Hungary, they took the ſtrong Caſtle of *S. Hedwig*, upon the Lake of *Ballaton*, which they ſpoiled and burnt; and ſo likewiſe the Caſtle of *Uſſa*; but attempting the leſſer *Comara*, they were by the Garrifon Soldiers valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the Caſtle of *Swick*, which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerve for a ſafe Refuge for their Adventurers. Which their manifold Outrages, contrary to the League, evidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloody War which preſently appeared enſued; and was indeed more ſuſpected, for that at the ſame time the Emperor's Ambaſſador, *Frederick Comaritis*, was by the Commandment of *Amurath* ſhut up cloſe in his Houſe at *Conſtantinople*, and not ſuffered to ſpeak with any man, neither to write or to ſend any Meſſenger to the Emperor; which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the *Turk* intended, and therefore began to raiſe new Forces. The Hungarians and *Bohemians* alſo ſecing their Towns and Caſtles thus taken, their Provences ſpoiled, infinite number of People led away into Captivity, and the Enemy daily increaſing in ſtrength; at length agreed upon their own Charges to maintain a certain number both of horſe and foot, for the repreſſing of theſe *Turkiſh* Incuſions.

Now although the Emperor knew right well all theſe Outrages of the *Turks*, contrary unto the League, could not be done without the knowledge and good liking alſo of *Amurath* (as before informed thereof by his Ambaſſador from *Conſtantinople*) yet, to ſhew himſelf willing to have the League on his behalf kept, alſo to make a further proof of *Amurath* his Reſolution for Peace or War, he wrote unto him as followeth:

Rodolph the Second, Emperor of the Romans, unto *Amurath the Third*, King of the *Turks*,

Whereas nothing is hitherto on our behalf omitted for the preſervation and continuance of the League and Amity betwixt your moſt Excellent Maſty and Us, by the renewed Capitulations of Peace; and that we have with all ſincerity and love performed, and are hereafter ready to perform whatſoever is on our part to be performed and done; and as we have hitherto, ſo for ever hereafter alſo make offer of the ſame; we moſt aſſuredly promiſe unto our ſelves on your Maſties behalf, that you in like manner will not ſuffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to do all things which ſhall be meet and needful for the preſervation and keeping of this our mutual love and friendſhip. Upon which good hope grounded on our ſelves, to declare our plain meaning and ſincerity indeed, we will cauſe our honourable Prefent (which is now ready) to be brought unto

The Emperours Letters unto Amurath.

your

your moſt Royal Maſty, at ſuch time as ſhall be agreed upon betwixt our Ambaſſador and you; unto whom in all ſuch matters as he by our Commandment ſhall have to deal with your moſt Excellent Maſty, your Viſcous, or ſervants, we requeſt you to give full Credence. In the ſame time, your Excellency ſhall do well to provide, that as we have now ſeverely commanded our Subjects to keep the Peace upon our Frontiers, ſo that your Soldiers alſo make no Incuſions as Enemies into our Territories, nor do in them any harm, but to endeavour themſelves alſo to Peace and Quietneſs; and eſpecially, that all ſuch things, as contrary to the Capitulations of the League have been there of late taken from our People, or otherwiſe unjuſtly poſſeſſed, may be again reſtored, the Loſſes recompenſed, the new Fort of *Perrinia* demoliſhed, and the Baſſa of *Boſna* and others, the Authours of breacking of the League, puniſhed and diſplaced; whereby we ſhall gather your Royal Maſties moſt noble and kind affection towards Us and our State, which as it ſhall be a thing moſt juſt, ſo ſhall it be a ſingular Confirmation of our League. But concerning theſe Matters, and others to the ſame belonging, our Ambaſſador is to declare our Mind more at large, that ſo our preſent deſire for the continuance of our League and Friendſhip with your Maſty, may more plainly be known. So with we all Health and Proſperity unto your moſt Royal Maſty. From *Prague* the eighth of *March*, 1593.

The Emperor alſo, at the ſame time, and to the ſame purpoſe, ſent to ſin *Baſſa* in this fort:

Rodolph the Second, Emperor of the Romans, to *ſin Baſſa*, the Chief Viſier, greeting:

The Emperours Letters unto ſin Baſſa.

We write at this preſent unto your moſt Excellent Maſty, our moſt honoured Friend and Neighbour, concerning ſuch matters as we thought fit for the Preſervation of the Peace and League betwixt us, leſt happily otherwiſe we might ſeem to have forgotten our Duty. Now it ſhall well-becomme your uprightness and good will, which we have at other times proved for the high Place and Authority which you hold (and which we joyce to be again reſtored unto you) to give unto theſe things ſuch eſſe paſſage before his Maſty, as that we may acknowledge your kindneſs and favour, and have occaſion therefore to ſhew our ſelves unto you thankful. Firſt, we offer our ſelves moſt ready to continue the Peace, and to perform whatſoever is according to the conventions of the renewed Peace on our part to be performed; alſo to ſend the honourable Prefent (which is not as yet by us ſent) when as our Ambaſſador ſhall have with you appointed any certain time wherein it may be ſent. And we alſo aſſuredly hope ſo to prevail with your Emperor, that on your part the Places within our Territories, by your People forcibly poſſeſſed, together with all ſuch things as have been wrongfully taken away, may be again reſtored, and the Fort of *Perrinia* razed. The Baſſa of *Boſna* alſo (who we think would have been kept within the compaſs of Duty, if you had at that time held the Place of the chief Viſier) and whoſeever elſe, guilty of the wicked breach of the League, to be worthily according to their deſerts puniſhed and diſplaced, and your Soldiers ſeverely charged not to make any further Incuſions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the League; as we likewiſe ſhall with new and ſtrait Commands moſt carefully refrain our Gar-

riſon Soldiers upon our Frontiers; from all ſuch Incuſions and Enemies Actions. But of theſe things our Ambaſſador is more fully and at large to treat with you; unto whoſe Speech we deſire ſuch Credence to be given as unto our own; and we will ſo provide, that you ſhall have good proof of our great good-will towards you. From *Prague* the eighth of *March*, 1593.

Unto which the Emperours Letters, *ſin* returned anſwer as followeth:

*ſin* Baſſa, Chief Viſier to *Amurath the Third*, Emperor of the *Turks*; unto *Rodolph the Second*, Emperor of the *Romans*, greeting.

By theſe we give your Maſty to underſtand, That two of your Maſties Letters were brought hither before we were choſen and confirmed Chief Viſier in this moſt Royal Court; wherein your Maſty excuſes your ſelf, and ſhews the cauſes why the ſending of the wonted Prefents hath been ſo long deferred, by laying the fault upon the Inſolency of our Garrifon Soldiers in *Boſna*, and the breach of the publick Peace; which your Letters being by us read before our moſt mighty Emperor, his Highneſs in great choler burnt out into theſe words, *And thy Son*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, hath ſill hitherto writ, and given us to underſtand, that the ſuſal Prefents would certainly come, and that the King of *Vienna* would not in any caſe conſent unto the breach of the League, or of the Amity betwixt us and him; and yet for all that, the Prefents are not hitherto come, wherefore thy Sons Writings and Relations are not true. But now the Baſſa of *Boſna* hath ſent word unto the Court, That your Maſty will not ſend them, and all your doings to be but meer deceit and fraud. For which cauſe our moſt Mighty Emperor hath removed my Son from his Place in *Buda*, and rewarded the Baſſa of *Boſna* with honourable Garments, whereas my Son is for your Maſties ſake diſplaced. Now on our behalf nothing is done againſt the Peace, but our Soldiers as with a Bridle kept in; whereas on your Maſties part excuſions and harms into the Territories of our Emperor never ceaſe, eſpecially into *Boſna*, wherein your Soldiers have of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our Garrifons over-come, their great Ordnance taken, and brought hither unto the Court. Wherefore, ſeeing the cauſe ſo handeth, your Maſty is to relieve us upon two points; whereof the firſt is, That when you be minded to keep friendſhip with us as before; and to ſend hither the two laſt years Prefents, or not. And the ſecond, Whether you will ſet at liberty our Captive *Sinacack*, or no? Now if your Maſty ſhall be content to keep the League, and within theſe two Months next, to ſend the two years Prefents, alſo to diſmiſs our *Sinacack*; the League ſhall on our part be likewiſe undoubtedly kept, your Territories ſhall be in no caſe moleſted, ſuch *Chriſtian* Captives as your Maſty ſhall require, be inlarged, and a moſt firm and ſure Friendſhip by us continued. Whereas if you ſhall upon any cauſe or excuſe longer delay the ſending of thoſe honourable Prefents, and unto theſe our Demands ſend us nothing but certain vain and windy Anſwers; let God on High be therefore for ever praized; for now our moſt Mighty and Victorious Emperor, who waneſh neither Ability nor Power, hath Comanded, That we our ſelf ſhould Perſon go in this War; and putting our Confidence in the Highneſs, with the Army of the right-believing *Turks* to come into choſe Parts.

IIIIII

And

1592 And therefore assure your Majesty, that we will not fail there to encounter you, at which time shall appear unto the World, what is by God our Creator (whose Holy Name be forever blessed) in his deep Wisdom pre-ordained and set down for Us. Wherefore, seeing that all which concerneth the League, together with the safety and quiet of our People on both sides, is unto your Majesty thus declared; you are to consider the End, and to follow out good Advice; whereas if otherwise you shall be the cause of the breach of this so wholesome Peace and Unity, (which we hitherto have so sincerely and firmly kept) the excuse thereof both in this World and in the World to come, shall lie upon you. Now we request of you no more, but forthwith to send us answer of these our Letters. As for the rest, we may well expect that taketh the right way. From Constantinople the last of the Month \* *Giuma* (Zulene), in the year of our Holy Prophet Mahomet 10001.

\* Which is the 16th of March, in the year of our Lord 1593.

Yet for all these fair offers of Peace thus made by Sinan Bassa in his Letters, was his purpose nothing less than to have performed the same, seeking only to have drawn the two years Presents from the Emperor, amounting to a great sum of Money, and so nevertheless to have prosecuted the intended War; the Emperor being the only man of whom Amrath his great Master had, amongst all the Christian Princes, made choice of to exercise his force upon. Of all which things the Emperor was not ignorant, being thereof (as we said) fully before by his Ambassador advertised from Constantinople.

These Troubles of the Spring thus past, ensued the Summer much more troublesome, for Haffan, Bassa of Bosnia, chief author and devil of these Brawls, could not, for the increase of his Credit, to work what mischief he could against the Christians that bordered upon him. This great Bassa, naturally hated the Governour, or as some call him the Abbot of Sileg, a strong Castle situate upon the borders of that part of Croatia, yet holden by the Christians, where the River Rulp falleth into the famous River of Sava or Saw, (and was indeed the very Bulwark of that Country) the cause of which his hatred is reported to have been this: the year before, the Bassa had sent a Messenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliver the Castle or Monastery unto him; which Messenger for certain days the Abbot entertained with many honourable Speeches, learning in the mean time of him so much as he possibly could of the Bassa's intention, with what Power, in what Place, and with what Engines he had determined to besiege the Castle. In the mean time it was discovered, that his Steward had long before plotted with the Turk to have betrayed the Castle, and had for certain years past received of him a yearly Pension. Upon which occasion, the Abbot caught both the Messenger and his own Steward to be apprehended, and so fast-bound hand and foot, to be cast out at a Window of the Castle into the River of Sava. The Bassa seeing his Messenger not to return, sent another to the Abbot, grievously threatening him, if he did not send him back again his Messenger. Whereupon the Abbot answered, That he had dismissed him certain days before, and therefore marvelled if he were not as yet returned; nevertheless concerning his demand, That he was resolved to yield the Monastery unto the Bassa, against whose Forces he saw himself unable to hold it, requesting only that it would please him to send some men of account to receive it at his hand, for that it would be no small dishonour unto him to deliver it up unto common Soldiers. The Bas-

sa, in glad of this message, sent forthwith certain principal men of great account, hoping now without any loss to have that strong Place yielded unto him, which had so long time stood in his way. Three days after, certain Troops of Horse-men, sent from the Bassa, came to the Monastery, as was appointed, and finding the Gates open, entered, first the Noblemen, and after them five hundred others, or thereabouts; who were no less with-in the Gates, but that the Porcellus was let fall, and certain murthering Pieces (secretly placed in the Court for that purpose) discharged; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were already entered, were most miserably rent in pieces, their Heads, Arms, and Legs, flying in the Air; when presently the Garrison Soldiers, starting out of their lurking places, made a quick dispatch of all them that had escaped the fury of the great Artillery. The rest of the Turks, shut out, hearing the noise and cry of them within, turning their Horses, broke themselves to speedy flight. The great Bassa, hearing of this slaughter of his men, and how he had been deceived; wrote in great rage by his lieutenant, to raze this Monastery down to the ground, and to pluck the Abbot's skin over his ears: and so by threatening Letters gave him to understand, as followeth:

Haffan, Bassa of Bosnia, unto the Abbot of Sileg.

It is not to thee unknown, how often we have sent unto thee our Messengers with Letters, declaring unto thee our Love and good Will; requesting thee in friendly sort, and without further resistance, to yield up unto us thy Fortress of Sileg, not longer to be by thee holden. Thus which our Request thou hast so much most wilfully at thy Pleasure, opposed thyself, to our spite, on the slaughter of our men; and in so doing, hast given cause unto the great Sultan to overhinder and raze that thy Fortress, whereof thou for the Emperor's sake needs be the chief. Thinkst thou it will be for thy good, or yet well takes, that thou shalt so shamefully and perditionally circumvented and laid our Ambassadors and Servants sent unto thee? Nay, assure thyself, that if Mahomet grant us Life, we will never give over the siege of that thy Fort, wherein thou doest much trust, until I have before thy Face overthrown it, and (if thy God shall give thee alive into my hands) have plucked thy Skin over thine Ears, to the great reproach and shame of the Christians! For I am fully resolved, not to depart from this Place, but to continue the siege thereof until I have it. Take a little time yet, pass, and thou shalt see thyself on every side besieged, thy Fort with more and greater pieces of Artillery than ever, battered, and our Power strong enough to conquer, and to take thine. How hast thou hitherto put thy greatest hope and comfort in the "Banne Ercodus, in whom, by the help of Mahomet we are too much trusted. Tell us, if we are of nothing more careful, than how to get thee into our Power; which if we do, look not for any Mercy at our hands.

Neither was the Bassa unmindful of his Promise, or of the loss he had received; but in the beginning of June, with an Army of thirty thousand Horse and Foot, came and besieged the Fortress of Trenchin, which with continual Battery and often Assaults he at length took, lacked the Town, (few most part of the Inhabitants, except 800, or thereabouts of the younger sort, which he carried away with him into Captivity. And being proud of this Victory, removed thence by a Bridge which he had first made, passed over the River, and to the south of June, came and intrenched before the Monastery of Sileg; and after vainly storming given to the same, the next day caused his great Ordnance to be planted; and with great Fury thundering against the

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The threatening Letter of Haffan Bassa of Bosnia unto the Abbot of Sileg.

The Ambassadors sent unto the Turk, Bassa, in Power much like unto the Turk, Bassa.

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A great Battle betwixt the Turk and the Christians.

the Walls, in short time overthrew the new Tower, in the fall whereof two of the Christian Cannons perished. This furious Battery he maintained by the space of ten days without intermission, giving no time of rest unto the besieged; so that it seemed not possible for the Monastery to be any long time defended, if it were not with speed relieved. The Bishop of Zagabria, and Kaperus Eggenius, General of the Emperor's Forces that then were at Zagabria, gave knowledge thereof to Andrew Lord Auerberg, Governour of Caroth, craving his aid and counsel: who calling together his own Forces, raised a good number of good Horse and Foot; and called also unto him the bordering Horsemen of Karnia and Carmania; who the 17th day of June met all together not far from the Tschinewitz, and there tarried that night. The next day, passing over the River Sava near unto Zagabria, they joined themselves with the Emperor's Forces, and marched the 19th day in good order to Seline, where they expected the coming of County Serinus. The 20th day Peter Herdelius with his Horse, and the Lord Stephen Grafstein, came unto the Camp, with many of those light Horsemen, whom the Hungarians called Ujocshi. The 21st day they lodged at Gradium, still expecting the coming of the County Serinus, who, otherwise busied, could not come. The next day after, a Soldier sent from the besieged, came unto the Camp, who gave the Captains to understand, that except they made haste that day to relieve the distressed Monastery, it would undoubtedly be lost, for that the Enemy had made it assailable, and would that night give the assault; and the defendants doubting how they should be able to maintain the Place, began before his departure thence to think of composition with the Enemy. Upon which news, the Captains forthwith began to consult amongst themselves, what course to take in so doubtful and dangerous a case: where Auerberg was of opinion, that it were best to march on, and to give the Enemy Battle; with whom also agreed the Lord Redern: the rest of the Captains being of a contrary mind, for that the strength of the Christians compared to the Turk, was too weak; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whilst they yet might, than to hazard unto most manifest peril the lives of so many valiant men, at so great odds. At which counsel Auerberg was the first much opposed; but was overruled (as he was a man of great clemency) plainly first before them the necessity of the Cause, and with lively Reasons cheered up the fearful Croats; notably persuading them all in general, to put their whole trust and confidence in God, to whom it was as easy to give Victory by few, as by many; and to fight like valiant men, for their Religion, their Country, their Lives, their Wives, their Children and Friends, and whatsoever else they held dear; against that cowardly Enemy, whose valour never brought him into the field, but only the vain trust he had in his multitude; and would therefore no doubt easily be put to flight, if he should venture to 4000 men against himself but a little hardly laid out. With these and other like Reasons he prevailed so much, that they all yielded to his opinion, and with one consent resolved to go against the Enemy, and to do what they might to relieve their besieged friends. So upon a sign given, the whole Army (in number not above 4000) formation first moved, and with great cry, halted towards the Enemy; and being come within a mile of the Camp, put themselves in order of Battle. The Turk, by their Signals understanding of the approach of the Christians, brought all their Horsemen over the River of Rulp, by a Bridge which

they had made, and having put themselves in order, came on to join Battle with the Christians: who had in their Vanguard placed the Croats; and Haffan; in the left wing them of Caroth, and the Haquebushers of Karnia; all Horsemen; in the main Battle the rest of the Soldiers, with the Horsemen of Sileg, under the conduct of Siegmund Paradise; the Rearward was included with Christian Companies of the Emperor's Soldiers. The first charge upon the Enemy, the Vanguard gave the good space made a great Fight, but having for a while retired, and discouraged with the multitude of the Enemies, were even upon the point to have fled: when Auerberg (General of the Christian Army) came on with his Squadron, and not only reformed the Battle, but so resolutely charged the main Battle of the Enemy, that the Bassa was confirmed at the first to retire, and afterwards to fly, after whom all the rest of the Army followed. The Christians still keeping their array, pursued them with great speed, and coming to the new made Bridge before them, took from them that passage, to the great discomfort of themselves, who seeing the miserable slaughter of themselves, and no way to escape, ran headlong some into the River Odera, some into Rulp, and were there for the most part drowned; the rest were all slain by the Christians, before determined not to take any Prisoners. In the mean time, the Turk, that remained at the Siege, understanding of the overthrow of their fellows, set fire on their Powder and other Provision, and so in great fear broke themselves to flight: Whole Tents the Christians immediately after took, and in them nine great pieces of Artillery, and good store of great Shot of 44 Baylison of the Bassa, and many other rich Spoils, which was all carried into the Monastery of Sileg. The number of the Turks slain in this Battle, and drowned in the Rivers, is of divers diversly reported, but most agree upon 18000. And amongst them was Haffan Bassa himself, found in the River near unto the Bridge, and near unto him Mahomet-Beg, and Achmet-Beg. In other places were also found the dead Bodies of Saffer-Beg, the Bassa's Brother, Meniege, Haraman-Beg, Achmet-Beg, O perd Beg, and Golschi, the Bassa's chief Counsellors, and Masters of his Household. But of all others, the untimely death of Sivan-Beg, Amrath's Nephew, his Sisters only Son, sent thither to have learned the Feats of Arms under Haffan the great Bassa, was of the Turks most lamented. Of 40000 Turks that came over the River Gory obtained, all the Army of the Christians went falling all down upon their knees, gave unto God most hearty thanks for the same, as by hits miraculously given, and not by themselves won; and afterwards made all the show of joy and gladness they could possibly devise.

Sileg thus delivered, thrown, the Christians, and the Turk Army over the River, all forced laid siege to Petrinia, the strong new Fort of the Turk, which they for the space of five days most furiously battered; but hearing that the great Governour of Gracia (whom the Turks call the Beglerbeg of Romania) was with a great power coming to the relief of the Fort, they raised their Siege, brake up their Army, and retreated every man to his wonted charge.

Whilst these things were in doing at Petrinia, a Raft came from Constantinople to Buda, who brought wither the first news of the overthrow of Buda. Sileg 3.

the rest noted.

Eighteen thousand Turk slain.

News of the overthrow of the Turk at Sileg, brought to Buda.

1503 Sifeg; for the report thereof was not as yet come to Buda; wherefore the Bassa called unto him the Messenger, Author of so bad News, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof; who told him, That at his departure from Constantinople, nothing was there known of that loss, but that upon the way as he came, he met with divers Horsemen, but lately escaped from the slaughter, who told him of a certainty, that the Bassa was slain, and his Army destroyed. Whereunto the Bassa of Buda replied, That he was happy in his Death, for that if he had by chance escaped, he should for his Indiscretion undoubtedly have suffered some other more shameful Death at the Court.

When News of the aforesaid Victory was brought to the Emperor at Prague, he commanded publick Prayers, with thanksgiving to Almighty God to be made in all Churches; and sent a Messenger with Letters to Amurath, to know of him how he understood these insolent Proceedings of his Soldiers, and especially this late Expedition of the Bassa of Buda and his Complices, contrary to the League, yet in force betwixt them. After which Messenger he sent also the Lord Popelusz, with the yearly Present (or rather Tribute) he used to send unto the Turkish Emperor at Constantinople; yet with this charge, that when he was come as far as Comara in the Borders of Hungary, he should there stay until the return of the aforesaid Messenger; who, if he brought Tidings of Peace from Amurath, then to proceed on his Journey to the Turks Court; otherwise, to return again with his Present; as he afterwards did. For Amurath, engaged with the notable loss received at Sifeg, and grieved forward with the Tears and Prayers of his Sister (desirous of nothing more than to be revenged for the death of her Son) the Anger of August caused open War to be proclaimed against the Christian Emperor, both at Constantinople and Buda. The managing whereof he committed to Sinan Bassa, the old Enemy of the Christians, his Lieutenant-General, and perswaded of this War; who, departing from Constantinople with an Army of forty thousand, wherein were 5000 Janisaries, was by Amurath himself and the great Men of the Court brought a mile on his way; having in charge from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of Greece, the Bassas of Buda and Temeswar, and other his Sanacks and Commanders in that part of his Empire, to revenge the Death of his Nephew, and the Dishonour received at Sifeg;

This War Amurath with great Pride denounced unto the Christian Emperor, and the rest of the Princes his Confederates in this fort.

Amurath the Third, by the Grace of the great God in Heaven, the only Monarch of the World, a great and mighty God on Earth, an invincible Caesar, King of all Kings, from the East unto the West, Sultan of Babylon, Sovereign of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Hierusalem, Lord possessor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, Subverter and sworn Enemy of the Christians, and of all them that call upon the Name of Christ.

The proud and blasphemous Denunciation of War given out by Amurath against Rudolph the Christian Emperor.

WE denounce unto thee, Rudolph the Emperor, and to all the German Nation taking part with thee, unto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your Sons and Subjects; we earnestly bid (I say) by our Great God and Empire denounce unto you open War, and give you to understand; that our purpose is, with the Power of thirteen Kingdoms; and

certain hundred thousand of men, Horse and Foot, with our Turks and Turkish Army, yes, with all our Strength and Power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath ever yet seen or heard of, much less had any proof of) to besiege you in your chief and Metropolitane City, and with Fire and Sword, to persecute you and all yours, and whosoever shall join with you, to burn, destroy, and kill, and with the most exquisite Torments we can devise, to torture unto Death, and slay such Christian Captives as shall fall into our hands, or else to keep them as Dogs, Captives in perpetual Misery; to empale upon Stakes your fairest Sons and Daughters; and, to the further shame and reproach of you and yours, to kill like Dogs your Women great with Child, and the Children in their Belies; for now we are fully resolved to bring into our Subjection, you which rule but in a small Country, and by strong hand and force of Arms to keep from you your Kingdom, as also to oppress, root up, and destroy the Keys and See of Rome, together with the golden Scripture thereof; and the will prove whether your crucified Jesus will help you, and do for you as your persuade you. Believe him still, and trust in him, and hee how he hath halpen his Messengers which have put their Confidence in him; for we neither believe, neither can we endure to hear, such incomprehensible things, that he can help, which is dead so many Myddell years ago, which could not help himself, nor deliver his own Country and Inheritance from our Power, over which we have so long time reigned. These things, O ye poor and miserable of the World, we thought good to signify unto you, that you with your Princes and Confederates may know what you have to do and to look for. Given in our most Mighty and Imperial City of Constantinople, which our Angels by force of Arms took from you, and have since kept for us, when Persians, all their Citizens, refused to leave their Women and Children as they pleased, unto their Lust, to your perpetual Infamy and Shame.

Sinan, with his Army thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards Buda, but the Beglerbeg of Greece with a far greater Power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieve the Forts distressed by the Christians, as again to besiege the strong Castle or Monastery of Sifeg; which he with his huge Army at his first arrival compassed about without resistance, and with continual Batter overthrew the Walls thereof; giving no time of rest unto the Defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, and with refills Labour notably repaired, the very fearful Women bringing Tables, Stools, and whatsoever else came to hand, that might any wife help to keep the Enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slain; but what was that handful against such a Multitude? At length, the third day of September, the Turks by main force entered the Monastery and put to the Sword all the Soldiers therein; among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw into the River Rupa. One religious man there found among the rest, they did flee quick in Detestation of his Profession, and afterward cutting him in small pieces, burnt them to Ashes. So taking the spoil of all that was there to be had, and leaving a strong Garrison for the keeping of the Place, they passed over Saurus, burning the Country before them, and carrying away with them about a thousand poor Christians unto perpetual Captivity. These Invasions of the Turks, caused the Emperor to crave Aid both of the States of the Empire, and other foreign Princes; farther off, which was by some easily granted, but not so freely performed.

About this time, Peter, surnamed the Huslar, (for that he was commanded over those Horsemen, whom the Hungarians call Huslars) Captain of Pappas, the

Sifeg taken by the Turks.

Palatza yielded unto the Turks.

Alba Regalis beleaguered by the Christians.

1503 the appointment of Ferdinand, County Hardeck Governor of Rab, lay in wait for the Turks Treasurer in Hungary, who had the command of 5000 Turks; him this Hungarian took at Advantage, as he was mustering and paying certain Companies of his Soldiers, mistrusting no such dangers, and desperately charging him, slew him with divers of his men, and put the rest to flight; and so with the spoil, and some few Prisoners, he returned again to his Castle, carrying with him the Treasurer.

Now Sinan, the General, being come with his Army to Buda, resolved with himself to begin his Wars in that part of Hungary, with the siege of Vesprium. This Episcopal City was by Solyman, the great Turk, taken from the Christians in the year 1532, and again by them recovered about fourteen years after, about the year 1566; since which time until now, it had remained in the hands of the Christians. Sinan, without delay marching with his Army to Vesprium, compassed the City round, and encompassing as he saw good, planted his Battery, wherewith he continually thundered against the City. The Christians there in Garrison, easily perceiving that the City was not to be holden again to great a Power, placed divers Barrels of Gun-powder in certain Mines they had made under the Walls and Bulwarks of the Town, with Trains that should at a certain time take Fire. Which done, they departed secretly out of the City in the dead time of the Night, hoping so in the Dark to have escaped the hand of the Enemy; which they did not so secretly, but that they were by the Turks detected, and most of them slain. Ferdinand Sanaria, Governor of the City, after he had for a space valiantly defended himself, fell at last into the Enemies hand, and so was taken alive, together with one Hekirke, a German Captain. The Turks entered the City the sixth of October, striving who should get in first, for greediness of the Prey, when suddenly the Powder in the Mines took fire, and blowing up the very foundations of the Walls and Bulwarks, flew a number of the Turks that were within the Danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the City.

From Vesprium the Bassa removed with his Army to Palatza, and gave summons to the Castle; but receiving such answer as pleased him not, he laid siege unto it with all his Power. Which at the first, Peter Orszul, Captain of the Castle, cheerfully received; but being afterward without any great courage discouraged, (the Castle as yet being but little shaken, and but one man slain, and the rest of the Soldiers ready to spend their Lives in defence thereof) he sent unto the Bassa, offering to yield the Castle unto him, so that he with his Soldiers might with Bag and Baggage in safety depart. Of which his offer the Bassa accepted, and granted his Request. But he was no sooner come out of the Castle with his Soldiers, contrary to his Oath and Promise, caused them all to be cruelly slain, except only the Captain, and two other. After that, the Bassa without any great Labour, took in all the Country thereabouts, near unto the Lake of Balaton.

Now at last, though long first, about the middle of October, the Christians began to muster their Army, in number about 18000, all good and expert Soldiers, with which Power they shortly after passing over Danubius, at the first encounter with the Turks, put them to the sword, slew a great number of them, and rescued a number of poor Christian Captives.

In the latter end of this Month, County Hardeck, Governor of Rab, and General of the Huslar Army in that part of Hungary, departing from

Comara with all his Power, came and laid siege to the strong City of Alba Regalis, which by the Force of his Artillery he in short time made assailable; but in assailing the Breaches, was by the Turks there in Garrison notably repulsed. So having made sufficient proof both of the Strength and Courage of the Defendants, and perceiving no good could be done without a long siege, for which he was not as then provided, after Consultation with the rest of the Captains, he resolved to raise his Siege, which he did the second of November; removing that day but half a mile from the City, because he would be sure of all his Army. But as he was about the next day to remove, News was brought him by his Espials, that the Enemies Power was at hand, and even now almost in sight, which proved to be indeed. For the Bassa of Buda, by the command of Sinan Bassa the General, was come forth with thirteen Sanacks, and twenty thousand Soldiers, thirty Field-pieces, and five hundred Waggon laden with Victuals and other Warlike Provision, to raise the Siege, and to relieve the City; and was now even at hand, commencing directly upon the Christians; wherupon the County, assisted by the County Scrimus, the Lord Talfi, the Lord Nadasti, Peter le Huslar, and other valiant Captains of great Experience, with wonderful Celerity put his Army in order of Battle, and so courageously set forward to encounter the Enemy. The Bassa, seeing the Christians marching towards him, took the Advantage of the higher Ground, and from thence discharged his Field-pieces upon them; which, mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Christians for all that, desirous of Battle, and nothing regarding the Disadvantage of the Ground, but calling upon the Name of the Almighty, mounted the Hill, and joyning the Turks, by plain force constrained them to flee. In this Army of the Turks, being for most part Horsemen, were about five thousand foot, and many of them Janisaries, who in flying, oftentimes made stands, and wounded many, and yet nevertheless were almost all there slain, with many others; amongst whom were three great Men, the Sanacks of Strigoniun, Scithines, and Novigrade; seven Chiaus, and many other men of mark, the most valiant Captains of the Turkish Borders. The Lord Nadasti, with some others, taking view of the Turks that were slain and lost in this Battle, deemed them to have been at the least, in number eight thousand; few Prisoners were saved, all being put to the Sword, with caused Sinan to swear by his Mahomet, never more to spare any Christian. All the Turks Artillery, Waggon, and Provision, became a Prey unto the Christians; many Ensignes were there found, and Weapons of great Value. It is hard to be believed, how much the Victory encouraged the Christians, and daunted the Turks. Wherupon the County with great Joy brought back his Army to Alba Regalis, and encamped near the Bulwark called Staphole, where the Turks most feared to be assailed, Talfi, Nadasti, and some others, earnestly perswaded with the County, not to depart from the City before he had won it; but he, considering the hard time of the year, the strength of the City, (which was now full of Soldiers, by reason of them that were fled thither from the late overthrow) with the want of things necessary in his Army to maintain a longer Siege; and fearing also after long lying, to be enforced with Dishonour to forsake it, would not hearken to their Persuasions, but calling a Council, resolved to raise his Siege, and to content himself with the Victory he had already gotten; which was afterward imputed unto him for more than an oversight. So setting Fire upon the Suburbs



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# Amurath the Third,

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Sabatzka taken by the Lord Toffenbach.

urbs of the City, he rose with his Army, and departed thence the fifteenth of November, and returned to Rad.

Not long after, *Christoph* Lord *Toffenbach*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper part of *Hungary*, who lay encamped at *Calovia*, with his Army of fourteen thousand Soldiers removed thence, and marching along the Country two days, came and laid siege to *Sabatzka*, one of the *Turks* chiefest Castles in those quarters, out of which they usually did much harm among the *Christians*. This Castle of *Toffenbach*, battered in three places, and having at length made it assailable, took it by force the nineteenth of November, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* there in Garrison, in number about two hundred and fifty, and instead of them, left a strong Garrison of his own; whereby all the Country thereabouts was restored to great quietness.

Filk taken by the Lord Toffenbach.

*Sabatzka* thus taken, the *Christian* General removed with all speed to *Filk*, a strong City of the higher *Hungary*, which *Seytan* the *Turkish* Emperour took from the *Christians* in the year 1560, and placed therein a *Sannack*, under the command of the *Bassa* of *Buda*. The General encamping before this City, the next day after planted his Battery, and in most terrible manner without intermission thundered against the Walls and Gates of the City. The *Sannack*, Governour thereof, confiding in the Power of the *Christians*, got out secretly by Night with a few Soldiers, to acquaint the other *Turkish* *Sannacks* his Neighbours with the coming of the *Christians*, and the number of their Army; and further to consult with them, how the City might be relieved. The *Bassa* of *Temeswar*, with the *Sannacks* of *Gisla*, *Hadwan*, *Scamboy*, and *Scorin*, undertook the matter; and thereupon the *Bassa* sent for eight hundred *Janizaries*, of late left by *Sinan Bassa* in Garrison at *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*; who all flatly refused to go to this Service, saying, That they would not be led as Beasts to the slaughter, as were their Fellows but a little before at *Alba Regalis*; nevertheless, they enforced the *Armenians*, whom *Sinan* and his Son had brought thither, to go; but of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and *Scamboy*, were sent only fifteen hundred common Soldiers. For all that, the *Bassa*, with the *Sannacks* his Followers, firm in their former Resolution for the Relief of the distressed City, having made great Preparation, and raised an Army of 18000 strong, with many Field-pieces, by Night drew near unto *Filk*, and staid within two miles of the City. But the General of the *Christians*, with *Stephen Babor*, and the other Captains, understanding of their coming, with 7000 good Soldiers chafed out of the whole Army, went out presently against them, and the one and twentieth of November, suddenly assailing them in their Tents, overthrew them, and put them all to flight, whom the *Christians* fiercely pursued with a most terrible Execution. In this fight and flight there was slain 6000 *Turks*, and but few or none taken. The *Bassa* himself, with the *Sannack* of *Filk*, and so many others of great Name, were found amongst the Bodies of the slain *Turks*. This Victory, gained with little or no loss, yielded unto the *Christians* a rich Prey, many gorgeous Tents and fair Equipages, much Cattel, and 20 Field-pieces, with 500 Waggon laden with Victual and other Provision; all which they carried into the Camp at *Filk*, and so more bravely besieged the City than before. The same day the Lord *Palfi* and *Martin Lala* came to the Camp with six thousand Soldiers, and forthwith three Trumpeters were sent to them of the City, That if without further resistance they would forthwith yield the City, they should have leave in safety to depart with Life and Goods, although

the *Turks* had of late in like case broken their Faith with the *Christians* at *Palotta*; but if they refused his Grace, and would needs hold it out to the uttermost, then to denounce unto them all Extremities. For all this, the *Turks*, nothing dismayed, refused to yield; whereupon the battery began again afresh, and in more terrible manner than before; so that though the City was most strongly fortified both with Walls and Rampiers, yet had the *Christians* in three days space with continual battery made a fair breach into it, whereby they, in despite of the Enemy, entered without any notable loss the four and twentieth of November, rankled the City, and but a great part thereof. The same day they also took the uttermost Castle, wherein the *Sannack* Palace stood. This Castle standeth upon a very high hill, strengthened both by Art and Nature, and had in it a strong Garrison of valiant Soldiers, who spared not lustily to bestow their shot amongst their Enemies, of whom they slew a great number. Nevertheless the *Christians*, after they had for the space of two Days and two Nights, with a most furious battery shaken the Walls, by plain force entered the Castle the six and twentieth of November, and put to the Sword all the Garrison Soldiers, except such as had in good time forsaken this Castle, and retired themselves into another more inward. Who being in number, but eight hundred, with their Wives and Children, without hope of Relief, and seeing the Cannon now bent upon them, let out a white Ensign in token of Parley; which granted, it was agreed that they should depart with Life, and so much of their Goods as every one of them could carry. Upon which Agreement the Castle was yielded the eight and twentieth day of November, and the *Turks* with a safe Convoy brought unto the Place they desired. In this Castle was found a great booty, many pieces of Artillery, and much other warlike Provision, but of Victuals small store. The General, with the rest of the Captains, entering the Castle, fell down upon their Knees, and with their Hearts and Hands call up to Heaven, thanked God for their Victory, and for the recovery of that strong City; but especially for the delivery of so many *Christians* out of the *Turkish* Thraldom: for it is reported, that there were above eight hundred Country Villages (subject to the Jurisdiction of *Filk*, the poor Inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the *Turkish* Servitude, by the taking of this only City. The *Christians* forthwith repaired the Walls, Bulwarks, and Trenches, and strongly fortified every place against the Enemy; and so leaving a sufficient Garrison in the City and Castles, departed with their Army, now in number about twenty thousand, towards *Sodsch*, six miles from *Filk*. But as they were upon the way, News was brought unto the General, how that the *Turks* had for fear abandoned the Castles of *Dijerin* and *Somark*; whereupon he sent out certain Companies of Soldiers to take in both places, and so returning thither, found them indeed forsaken by the Enemy, but yet many pieces of Artillery, and other warlike Provision there still left.

In the latter end of November the General marched with his Army towards *Sesphine*, a strong Town in the Dioceses of *Agria*; but the *Turks* in that place had two or three days before prepared themselves to fight, and with their Wives, their Children, and the best of their Substance, some to *Hadwan*, some to *Buda*; and now hearing of the approach of the *Christian* Army, set Fire on the Town, and fled. The *Christians* immediately entering, did what they could to quench the Fire, and saved a great part of the Town; so leaving there a convenient Garrison, having marcht back to *Blavensitz*, which the *Turks* did also let on fire, and

Filk taken by the Lord Toffenbach.

Sesphine, Blavensitz, and Salak, abandoned by the Turks.

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The Turks in burying their dead, buried the Christians.

and betook themselves to flight. The *Christians* coming thither the next day after, namely the fourth of December, found a great part of the Town yet unburnt, wherein they left a strong Garrison; and from thence marched to *Salak*, which Town they also took, being forsaken by the Enemy, and put thereto a good Garrison. The General was of nothing more desirous than to have prosecuted this so happy a course of Victory; but such was the unkindness of a Winter weather, that he could not travel with his great Artillery, without which no great matter was to be done against the Enemy, still keeping himself in his strong hold. And his Army in that wasted and forsaken Country, began now to feel the want of Victuals, so that many had withdrawn themselves out of the Army unto their dwelling Places.

At the same time also, the Lord *Palfi* going to *Dregel* and *Palanka*, and finding them forsaken by the Enemy, furnished both Places with Garrisons of his own Men. Certain other strong Places were also this Month recovered from the *Turks*, as *Amack*, *Solocka*, *Wilke*, and others, and so much Territory gained by the *Christians*, as was in circuit thought equal with the whole *Anstria*. The joyful News of the aforesaid Victories, with the recovery of so much of the Country, and so many strong Towns and Castles, made great rejoicing both at *Vienna* and *Prague*; for which cause public Prayers, with Thanksgiving to Almighty God, were made in both Places, with many other tokens of Joy and Triumph, both there, and in divers other Places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead Bodies of the *Turks*, slain at *Alba Regalis*, buried; whereof rote such a loathsome and noisome smell, that no man could abide to come near the place, to the great trouble of the Inhabitants thereof. At length, certain *Turks* out of *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*, to the number of three hundred and fifty, met together, to have buried those loathsome Carcasses. Upon whom it chanced a Captain of the *Hussars* to light with his Horsemen, who fiercely assailing them, left most part of them there dead for others to bury, and carried away the rest Prisoners.

The *Bassa* of *Buda* had caused *Moratz*, *Sannack* of *Palotta*, to be strangled, for that he suspected him to have had Intelligence with the *Christians*; in whose room he placed another, who coming with 600 *Turks*, to take Possession of the government, was by the way set upon by *Peter* *de Thurne*, with the Garrison Soldiers of *Pappa* and *Thurne*, and slain with most part of his Followers; 35 of them were taken alive, with all the *Sannacks* rich Furniture. To end this year wical, the *Turks* in Garrison at *Perinnia*, *Sifge*, *Cahrovits*, and other Places thereabouts, met together in number about 20000 who, the 10 of December, passing over the River *Sauz*, began to spoil the Frontiers of those Countries. But before they were gone far, they were so incourted by the Lord *Grafwin*, and the Borders thereabout, that five hundred of them were left dead upon the Ground, divers of good account taken Prisoners, and almost all the rest drowned in the River; so that of all them that came over, few escaped with Life. In the latter end of this Month great numbers of Soldiers were taken up in *Saxony*, and other Places of *Germany*; whereof some were sent to *Prague*, and some to *Vienna* in *Anstria*; and in *Hungary* the *Christians* increased their Prayers, and new Supplies. In *Anstria* also a new Army was raised, and two and twenty great pieces of Artillery sent down the River of *Danubius* to *Comara*, and new Preparation made in every Place for the next years Wars.

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Amurath the Turkish Emperour, going out of the City of Constantinople January the 11th, to multer

the Army he had prepared against the *Christians* for this year, was suddenly overtaken with such a Tempest of Wind and Rain, that it is said he and his Tents, his Chariots, yea, his Horses and Men had much ado to withstand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigy) exceedingly troubled, returned with his Army into the City, and oppressed with Melancholy, cast himself down upon his Bed as a man half sick. Where falling asleep, he dreamed he saw a man of an exceeding Stature, standing with one of his feet upon the Tower of *Constantinople*, and the other over the Strait in *Asia*; who stretching out his Arms, held the Sun in one of his Arms, and the Moon in the other; whom, whilst he wondered at, the Monster with his foot took the Tower, which forthwith fell down, and in falling, overthrew the great Temple, with the Imperial Palace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noise, and much troubled with the Dream (for the *Turks* are in such Vanities very superstitious) sent for all his Wizards and Interpreters of Dreams, to know the meaning of this his so strange, or rather so melancholy Dream. Who hypocritically answered him, That so much as he had not with all his Force, as a Tempest impugned the *Christians*, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatened by that Dream, to overthrow the Tower, the Temple, and the Imperial Palace, that is to say, the Religion and Empire of the *Turks*; which main and figured Interpretation so much moved the superstitious Tyrant, that he swore from thenceforth to turn all his Forces upon the *Christians*, and not to give over War until he had done what he might to subdue them. This the *Turks* Dream, with the Interpretation thereof, and the solemn Vow he had made for the Destruction of the *Whick* was publicly read in the Churches of *Transylvania*, and many godly Exhortations made unto the People, to move them by Prayer, and all other good means, to avert that so threatening Thraldom.

Of the rich spoil taken from the *Turks*, in the late Victory near unto *Alba Regalis*, the *Christian* Captains made a Present for the Emperour and the Arch-duke *Matthias*, his Brother, which they sent by the Lords *Gall* and *Brun*; and was by them presented unto the Emperour and his Brother the eleventh of January at *Vienna*, in order as followeth; First went the Master of the Ordnance of *Italy*, on both sides attended upon with the chief Officers of the Artillery; after them were drawn thirty great pieces of Ordnance taken in the Battle. After these followed three *Turkish* Horses with rich Saddles and Furniture studded with Gold, the Stirrups and Bridles being of Silver, gilt and most curiously wrought; after them were carried 20 of the *Turks* Ensigns, three of them were very rich, and the other eight fair. Then followed the two Ambassadors aforesaid, with each of them a gilt Mace in his Hand, such as the *Turks* *Bassas* use to carry; after them were brought many Instruments of War, gilt Scimitars, Gloves, Bows and Arrows, Targets, and the *Janizaries* Drums. Two of the aforesaid Horses were presented to the Emperour, and the third to the Arch-duke. The Field-pieces brought to the Castle-gate, and orderly placed upon the Plain, were all, at such time as the rest of the Presents entered the Castle, forthwith by the Canoners discharged; and there for certain Days left upon the Plain for the People to feed their eyes upon. The Ambassadors, discharged of their Present, and rewarded by the Emperour with Chains of Gold and other Gifts, returned to the Camp. Notwithstanding that it was now deep Winter, yet many sharp Skirmishes daily passed upon the Borders betwixt the *Turks* and the *Christians*. The fifteenth of this present

A fair Present of the spoil of the Turkish Army, sent unto the Emperour.



1594 sent Month, 2000 of the *Turks* assembled together, were making an Inroad into the Country about *Fidek*; whereof the Lord *Touffenbach* having intelligence, lay in wait for them, and setting upon them leaving no such danger, flew and took of them fifteen hundred.

*Matthias*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, now Governour of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and the Countries thereabout, by the departure of *Ernestus* his Brother (but a little before by *Philip* King of *Spain* made Governour of the Low-Countries) was now also by the Emperor appointed General of the Christian Army against the *Turks*; who, to be near unto the Enemy, and to further the new War, departed the six and twentieth day of *February* from *Vienna* to *Rab*; after whom daily followed the Forces newly raised in *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, with others also sent from *Prague* and *Vienna*. He considering to what final purpose it would be to have the last year taken so many strong Towns and Castles, except the same also were well manned and furnished with all needful Provisions; by the persuasion of the Lord *Touffenbach*, sent Count *Schuko* with a thousand Horse to *Fidek*, for the more safety of that Place and the Country thereabout so lately gained from the *Turks*.

It fortune'd, that about this time, a Soldier of the *Turks* taken not far from *Dregel*, and brought into the Camp; among other things whereof he was examined, confessed, That in *Novigrade* (a strong Town and of great Importance, but one mile distant from *Vienna*, and three from *Buda*) was left but a small Garrison of about eight hundred Soldiers, who there lived in great fear to be besieged; and that the *Turks* doubting such a matter, had brought thither much Provision for the better fortifying of the Town. Upon which Intelligence the Christians began to remove with their Army, and being come betwixt *Dregel* and *Novigrade*, understood by the Country People, that it was true that the *Turks* had reported: wherefore they resolved that Night to lay siege unto the Town. So forthwith some were sent to *Dregel*, to fetch thence certain pieces of Artillery, whom certain Troops of *German* Horsemen went to meet; who used such diligence, that the eighth of *March*, a little before the rising of the Sun, the whole Army, with the great Ordnance, was come before *Novigrade*. That day the Christians spent in pitching their Tents, and incamping themselves; yet before Night they had planted certain great pieces upon an high Hill, from whence they might see into the Castle; and when the Master of the Ordnance caused three of the greatest about the going down of the Sun, to be discharged against the Castle, to give the *Turks* to understand that they wanted nothing for the siege. The same Night also the Christians cast up a great Mount in the Valley, from whence they presently sent six great shot into the Castle: but early in the Morning the Sun being yet scarce up, and all things now in readiness, they began to batter the Castle, and that Day out of ten great Pieces, discharged 300 great shot against the Castle, but to no small purpose; for the Castle was built upon a most strong Rock, fortified with high and thick Walls, and a deep Ditch heven out of the main Rock, which compassed the Castle round; and for the more strength thereof was so fortified with Pallisades made of strong Timber, as that there was no access unto the Walls, yet by the Commandment of the General, certain Companies of the Christians prepared themselves to assault the Breach, such as it was; who besides their Weapons, carrying with them dry Faggots, and setting them on fire, burnt the Pallisades in divers places, and so opened the way unto the Walls, and encouraged with the success, approached nearer, and flew divers of the *Turks* upon their Rampiers,

Who discouraged with their own weakness, and the forwardness of the Enemy, faintly defended themselves, and yet flew divers of them, beating them down from the Walls with Stones, Timber, Fire-works, and such like. This Assault given in the Night, was continued until four a Clock in the Morning, and so given over. Shortly after came the Arch-duke with a 1000 Horse into the Camp, and caused the battery to be again renewed; where by it chanced that the chief Canonier in the Castle (being a Renegade *German*) was taken with a great blow and Pain; whose death so dismayed the rest of the Defenders, that they presently let forth three white Flags in sign of parley; which for all that, the Christians seemed not to regard, but still continued their battery. The *Turks* then pitifully crying out, named two Captains, whom they desired to have sent unto them, with whom they might fall to some reasonable Composition; so for a while the battery ceased, and those Captains being sent unto the Town, brought nine of the best of the *Turks* in the City with them unto the Arch-duke; who by their Interpreter declared, That they well considered the force of the Christians, and seeing no relief to come from the *Bassa* of *Buda*, as he had promised, thought themselves to have already discharged the parts of good Soldiers, and seeing no other remedy, were contented to yield the Castle; yet so, as that with Bag and Baggage they might in safety depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palfi* (taking upon him the Person of the Arch-duke, for that he himself would not be known) answered, That so far as they had not yielded at the first summons, but holden it out to the loss of many of his Mens lives, and his great charge, they were unworthy of any favour; yet of his own Clemency he would receive them, if they would absolutely, without any farther condition, yield themselves to his mercy. This answer being reported to the *Sansack*, Governour of the Town, pleased him not, and therefore said he would still stand upon his own defence. Whereunto the Christians were about to have begun a fresh Assault; but after a new Parley, it was at last agreed, That the *Turks* yielding the Town unto the Arch-duke, should in safety depart with their Apparel and Scimiters only: With which agreement two of the *Turks* were sent back into the Castle, and the rest detained. Four hours the *Turks* in the Castle delayed the time, as men doubtful what to do; but being earnestly called upon for a resolute Answer, and seeing the Christians ready to assault again, they for fear yielded; and so 450 of them came forth, among whom was the *Sansack*, Governour of the Town, with his Wife and Daughter, the *Sansack* of *Selendre*, (sent thither to have aided him) and one *Chian*, lately come from the Court. These great men bravely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant Horses, and had in their steads other bad Jades given them to ride upon; and as they passed by, as well the Women as the Men, were searched, that they carried with them nothing more than their Cloths; if any thing else were found, it fell into the Soldiers share for good booty. This strong Town of *Novigrade* had continued in the possession of the *Turks* about sixty years, and served as it were for a Bulwark to *Pelb* and *Buda*; which now recovered out of their hands, opened a way unto their farther harms. The keeping of this Town was by the Arch-duke committed to the Lord *Rebei*, a Nobleman of *Hungary*, and Kingman to *Palfi*, with a strong Garrison, and certain Troops of *Hungars*.

The *Sansack* of *Novigrade*, after he had left the Town, coming to *Buda*, was presently apprehended by the *Bassa*, and laid in Prison; who, although he excused himself, by alleging that

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The Sansack of Novigrade hanged at Buda.

that the Town was not possibly to be holden with so small a Garrison, against so great a Power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of *Buda*, for not sending relief in time; and therefore appealed unto the further hearing of *Amurath* himself: yet all served him not, but was by the *Bassas* Commandment, in the Night hanged upon a Tree near unto the Gate of the City, and afterwards cut in pieces.

Whilst these things were in doing, the Emperor sent his Ambassador to the great Duke of *Muscovia*, the King of *Polonia*, and the Prince of *Transilvania*, to prove how they stood affected towards those, his Wars against the *Turks*, and what Aid he might procure from them. Into *Muscovia* was sent one *Warkufsch*, a Gentleman of *Silesia*; who, coming to *Musko*, found in that Court the Ambassadors of the *Tartars*, the *Perfians*, the *Polonians*, and the *Danes*. Of all these, the Ambassadors of the *Tartars* and the *Turks* could have no Audience, but were with contemptuous words rejected as Miscreants. The Emperours Ambassador was honourably entertained, and after the manner of that Country, a large proportion of Wine, Mead, Aquavite, Fleth, Fish, and Fowl of sundry sorts allowed him daily all the time of his abode. At length, having Audience, he declared unto the great Duke the cause of his coming, and in the Name of his Master, requested his Aid against the *Turks*. Whereunto the Duke answered, That he would give the Emperour towards the maintenance of his Wars against the common Enemy, 500000 Duckets, and allow him yearly 400000 during the time of that War; requesting him not to make any Peace with the *Turks*, and also promising to send him Aid of Men in this War, if he should be need. The *Perfian* Ambassador also honourably received the Emperours Ambassador, and had with him great conference concerning the Wars of the *Christians* with the *Turks*, and in his Masters Name promised the continuation of his Wars against the *Turks*, so that the Emperour would likewise promise not to have any League with him, so to give him leisure to turn all his Forces again to *Perfia*. This Ambassador, after he had almost tarried four Months in *Muscovia*, returned to the Emperour. At which time Doctor *Wacker*, the Emperours Ambassador into *Polonia*, returned also with joyful news, how that the *Polonians*, with an Army of eight and twenty thousand, had hopped the Passage of an hundred thousand *Tartars*, whom the *Turks* had sent for against the Emperour; and that if he needed, he should be aided with the *Polonian* Cossacks; but unto the rest of his Requests he could have no answer of the States of that Kingdom, for that the King was then absent in *Sweden*, and was therefore referred to be further answered at his return.

At the same time, Count *Serinus*, with three hundred Harquebutiers, and certain Troop of Horsemen, and the Footmen of *Stiria*, and the Countries thereabout, assembled to the number of ten thousand, departed from *Cantia*, to beseege *Breslava*, a Castle of the *Turks*. But they understanding before of his coming, conveyed away the best of their substance, and setting the Castle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of *March*. The Earl coming thither, took the forsaken Castle, and put therein a Garrison of his own Soldiers. In like manner he took also *Sigida*, a forsaken of the *Turks*, where he also placed a Garrison of the *Christians*. And so going on to *Raboticha*, besieged it; which Castle, although it was strongly fortified in a Marish, and could not easily have been won, was for all that, for fear, abandoned by the *Turks*; and so taken by the County; by recovery of which Places, there was a safe and easy way

laid open even to *Ziget*, the *Bassa* whereof stood in no small doubt to have been even then besieged.

*Amurath*, intending by all means he could to vex the Emperour, had determined to send his Fleet into the *Adriatique*, to beseege *Zegua*, a City of the Emperours, situate upon the Sea-coast, in the Bay *Squerra*, called in ancient time *Flavianus Sinus*, which the better to effect, he sent one of his *Chians* Ambassadors to the *Venetians*, to request them, That his Fleet might by their leave pass along the *Adriatick*, and have the use of their Ports and Harbours, as need should require. Which his request the *Venetians* hearing, refused in any case to yield thereunto; fearing (and not without cause) the unfaithfulness and treachery of the *Turks*, whose Oaths and Promises are no longer strong, or by them regarded, than standeth with their own good and profit; nevertheless, they most honourably used the Ambassadors, and so sent him away without obtaining of that he was especially sent for.

In the upper part of *Hungary*, *Christopher* Lord *Touffenbach*, the Arch-dukes Lieutenant, having gathered an Army of twenty thousand Soldiers, the sixteenth of *April* layed siege to *Hawan*, a strong Town six miles from *Buda*, fortified with a triple Ditch and Bulwarks of exceeding strength. Against which, although the *Christians* could not do much either by Mines or by Mounts, yet by reason it was environed with water, yet they to draw up all the Passages thereto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the Town. They of the Town seeing themselves thus block'd up, by secret Messengers certified the *Bassa* of *Buda* in what case they stood, praying Aid of him; who with ten thousand chosen Soldiers, which he had then in readiness, and the *Sansacks* of *Sirah*, *Gula*, *Lipka*, *Lomage*, and *Tschangrad*, with five thousand more, forthwith set forward toward *Hawan*, to raise the siege; and the last of *April*, being come within sight of the *Christian* Army, about one o'Clock in the Afternoon encamped on the side of the River *Sagiana*; but when he could not, or else durst not, for the deepness of the way, the abundance of the Water, and the nearness of the Enemy, adventure to pass the River, he retired back again to pass over at *Jasperin* (otherwise called *Jadrin*) where the River was joined with a Bridge; and not far off a good Ford also to pass over at; thinking so to have come upon the back of the *Christians*, and with more safety to have relieved the besieged Town. But *Touffenbach* perceiving his purpose, forthwith after his departure passed the River with much Difficulty, and overtaking him with his Army the next day, being the first of *May*, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, between *Zareba* and *Pisofalava*, with his great Ordnance disordered the reeward of the Enemies Battle; and coming on courageously with his whole Army, began a most cruel fight; which the *Turks* a great while endured with wonderful Resolution; but now, destitute of their wonted multitude (their greatest confidence) and hardly layed unto by the *Christians*, they in the end turned their backs and fled; whom six thousand *Hungarians* and *Germans* fiercely pursued, and had the killing of them almost to *Buda*: In this Battle the *Christians* took all the Enemies great Ordnance, with seven hundred Ensigns, and also the Castle of *Jasperin*, which the *Turks* had for fear abandoned; where in was found good store of Victuals, certain great Pieces, with much other warlike Provision. Of this so notable a Victory, *Touffenbach* by Letters presently advertised the Arch-duke, after he was again returned to the siege of *Hawan*. Which Letters; because they contain many Particularities

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and

1594 and Circumstances of this Battle, I have thought it not amiss here to insert.

**A**lthough (said he) I have by a speedy Messenger upon the very Kalends of May, certified your Excellency of the notable Victory, which God of his great Goodness gave unto us the same day over our hereditary Enemy; yet afterwards, upon diligent Inquisition we understood many Particulars of the same, which the Captives themselves, as of the Inhabitants about Zolnocke, Peth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to advertise you. The Captives themselves confess, That the Basha of Buda, with the Sanzacks of Zolnocke, Zarawack, Giula, and Tichangrad, Clippa, Genne, and others, had with great Celerity raised an Army of thirteen thousand Soldiers, amongst whom were many Tartars, with purpose to have beleagured the besieged Town of Hatwan, and upon the sudden to have oppressed us in our Tent. Filled with which hope, they in great haste came with all their Power the last of April towards Hatwan; but forasmuch as they could not pass over the River Zagajwa by reason of the height of the Water, they stayed the next day, being the first of May, conducted by the Captain of Ispartia, to a more commodious Passage, so to come the nearer unto us, and the next day in the Morning to have surpris'd us in our Tent. But our most merciful God hath averted this so great a Mischiefe from us, and turned it upon their own Heads. For as it is most constantly reported from Zolnocke, Peth, and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the same Places, there are now the thousand five hundred of the Turks slain, and as many wounded, of whom many perished, and are found dead upon the High-ways leading to Peth, and Zolnocke; of these we have sent a thousand Heads to Caffovia, and caused many of the Turks to be buried for Fear of Infection in this so great heat. Perily it was a bloody Battle, so that the old Soldiers (who have not remembred of the same) the Turks (no more in number) to have flood so long in Battle, and to have so fought it out without flying. Many Men of great Name and Place there perished and fell, amongst whom are redeemed the Sanzacks of Peth, Novigrade, and Temeske, Genne, Alavus, Boglie, Alufian, Maricau, and certain Chiaus lately sent from the Court, with the Basha's Guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant Soldiers, of whom few escaped with Life. Many fell that would have yielded great Ransome; but it was agreed upon between the Germans and the Hungarians, not to spare any of the Enemies, but to put them all to Swords and that whosoever did otherwise, it should be imputed unto him for Dishonour. So that more than fifteen common Soldiers, none were taken Prisoners, of whom we might learn how things went amongst the Turks, with other Circumstances of the Battle. We took thirteen Field-pieces, whereof four were greater than the rest, which they called Organs, and four and twenty of the smaller Sort. The Basha of Buda (whom the other three Wounds by him received) was grievously wounded in the side. Of our men were left about an hundred, and many of them most expert Soldiers; and about six hundred others grievously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them being already dead. Neither is the loss small we have received in our Horses and Armour, for there are few amongst the German Horsemen, which have not lost one, two, or three, of their Horses or Servants, whereby our Horsemen are wonderfully weakened; yet was the Victory great, to God be the Praise, to him be the Glory and Thanks therefore. Let us in the mean time prosecute the siege begun. The last Night I commanded the Water to be drawn another way, so that now our Trenches may be advanced many fathoms, and Buda is raised within two hundred paces of the Wall. We have already planted five great pieces of Artillery in one Bulwark, and hope the next Night to place five

more upon a Mount full by, and will do what shall be needful for a straight siege, and when time shall serve, undertake the Town with our great Power; God grant us therein good Success and Victory.

The Turks in Garrison at Zabola, a Fort there by, discouraged with the overthrow of their Friends, forsook the Fort; which for Strength and Greatness was comparable with Tocz or Erla; which through Place the Christians without any loss now recovered.

Whilst this valiant Captain, the Lord Teuffenbach, thus lay at the siege of Hatwan, Matthias, the Arch-duke, General of the Christian Army in Hungary, encouraged with the good Success he had at Novigrad, came with his Army (being 44000 strong) before Strigomium (sometime the Metropolitocal City of Hungary, but now of long a fine receptacle of the Turks); and the sixth of May encamped his Army about a quarter of a mile from the Castle in a most pleasant Meadow, from whence both the City and the Castle were plainly to be seen. Upon whom the Turks, out of the Castle, and three Gallies that lay upon the River, discharged certain great pieces without any great harm doing; but after the Christian Fleet was a little before Night come down the River, and with their great Ordnance began to answer them again, the Enemy ceased shooting, and lay still that Night. In the mean time it returned, that a Turkish Youth taken in a Garden thereby, and brought into the Camp and examined, confessed that the Turkish Garrison in the City, more than four hundred Janizaries, and that a new supply was daily expected from Buda. The Christians labouring that Night, were by the breaking of the Day come with their Trenches to a Hill over against the Castle, where they placed their Battery, and forthwith began to batter the City. The same day (being the twentieth of May) two and twenty Turks Heads were presented to the Arch-duke, and four men taken alive, newly sent out of the City to have viewed the Christian Camp. About Night certain Balls of Wild-fire were shot into the City, whereof one fell upon the Tower called *St. Adalbert*, and set it on fire; whereupon, first the Church, and afterward a great part of the Town fell on fire. The Sanzacks Houle, with all his Horses and Armour, and a great quantity of Powder was then burnt, and incalculable hurt done in the City. The next day the Christians had with continual battery made a breach in the Castle Wall; and adjoining unto the Wall was an high and broad sandy Rampier, which could hardly be battered; for all that the Germans gave a fierce assault to the breach, hoping to have entered by the Ruins of the Wall, but not being able to get over the sandy Rampier, were enforced with loss to retire. The day following, they began again the Battery with eighteen great pieces, when about eight a Clock in the Morning, the *Raficans* that were in the old City gave the General to understand, That if he would, at a place by them appointed, assault the greater City, to draw the Turks thither, they would in the mean time deliver unto the Christians certain little Potterns, and receive them into the old City; upon Condition, that no Violence should be done unto them or theirs. Which being so agreed upon, the Christians accordingly gave the assault the eleventh of May in the Evening, and by the help of the *Raficans* took the City; who, according to promise, were all taken to Mercy, and the Turks slain, except such as by their good hap recovered the new Condition. The keeping of this City was committed to the charge of two Companies of German Footmen, and six hundred Hungarians, with three hundred *Raficans*, and other Townsmen. Thus

The old City delivered by the *Raficans* unto the Christian Army.

1594 was the old City of Strigomium gained by the Christians, the Suburbs whereof they presently burnt, nevertheless the new Town, with the Castle, was still held by the Turks. Wherefore the Christians having cut certain Trenches and Mounts, and placed their Artillery as they thought most convenient, began again to batter the Castle, and after they had by the Fury of the Cannon made it assailable, with great Courage assailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended; so that the Christians were glad to retire, leaving behind them about an hundred and thirty of their Fellows slain in the breach. The Turks, as they before the coming of the Christians, had fortified an Hill, whereunto the Castle was something subject, called of the Christians *St. Nicholas* his Hill; this Hill to fortify, the Christians, with continual battery and assault, gained the 17th of May, and put all the Turks that alive therein to the Sword; and turning the Ordnance, from thence also battered the Castle. The two and twentieth of May, a little before the going down of the Sun, certain Ensigns of Footmen were drawn out of the Camp, to have the next day assaulted the lower Town; who, taking the benefit of the Night, attempting to have entered the Town in the dead time of the Night, were notably encountered by the Turks, falling out of the Town upon them. The Christians for all that, having enforced them to retire, prosecuted their former Resolution, and with much ado got over the uttermost Wall; but finding there, contrary to their Expectation, such a deep and broad circumference as was not possible to be passed, they stood as Men dismayed, neither could they in the Darkness of the Night well see how to get back again over the Town-ditch, but ditionally retiring (luck fall, many of them in the deep mud, and there perished. In this assault there were about a thousand of the Christians wounded and slain, and albeit that they twice or thrice renewed the assault, yet prevailed they nothing, but were still repulsed with loss. Many also of the Turkish Garrison were likewise slain, yea, the Sanzack himself hurt with a great shot, with many other wounded men sent down the River to Buda, brought thither true News of the aforesaid Assaults, and of the state of the besieged.

The *Raficans* rise up against the Turks.

In the mean time, News was brought to the Camp, That *Sinan Basha*, the old Enemy of the Christians, and the Turks great Lieutenant, coming towards Hungary with a great Army, and having by Boats conveyed over part thereof, was set upon by the *Raficans*; (these are poor oppressed Christians, dwelling on both sides of *Danubius*, who, weary of the Turkish Tyranny, and desirous of their ancient Liberty, have oftentimes taken up Arms against the Turks, as they now did, encouraged by the good Success of the Christians on the other side of Hungary) and that after divers Skirmishes, they had taken thirteen of the Turkish Vessels, wherein, besides Victuals, and certain great pieces of Artillery, they found about 4400 weight of Powder, 447 hundred of Lead, 46454 bundles of March, 1200 great shot, whereof 1205 were of 66 pound weight, and of small shot for Harquebuses, 48500, with much other warlike Provision; a great part whereof was brought into the Camp at Strigomium, and the rest reserved to future Uses. This loss troubled the great Basha, that he altered his purpose before intended for Caffovia.

The fourth of June, about five hundred Turks, sent up the River from Buda, conducted by two Sanzacks under two red and white Ensigns, landed near to *Gokera*, on the further side of *Danubius*, over against Strigomium; where, after they had a while refreshed themselves, and left some few for the more assurance of the Place, all the rest were

conveyed over the River into Strigomium; where they had been long looked for, the old Garrison being now fore weakened by the former Assault. Four days after, the Turks, encouraged with this supply, sallied out upon a sudden, and had entered one of the Forts of the Christians; but were forth again repulsed, having lost fix and twenty of their men, and twenty of their Ensigns; not far off lay a troop of Horsemen, who, if they had in time come in, not one of the Turks had escaped. Long it were to tell, how often, and in what manner the Christians assaulted this City, but were by the Turks received, that in five Assaults they lost five thousand of their Men, amongst whom were divers Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, and others of good account; three and twenty Cannons were also slain, and ten great pieces of Artillery so spoiled, as that they were no more serviceable. The Garrison of this City consisted for most part of the *Janizaries* (the Turks best soldiers) whose notable Valour in holding out of this siege, was both of their own Praises, and their Enemies, much commended; whatsoever was beaten down by Day, that they again repaired by Night, and still relieved with Victual, and things necessary from Buda, did what was possible to be done for defence of the City. About the same time certain Turks coming upon a Troop of German Horsemen, in flight flew about fifty of them, and put the rest to flight; whereupon, an alarm being given in the Camp, many ran out to the rescue of their Fellows, taking with them certain small Field-pieces. Which the Turks perceiving, began to fire; whom the Christians eagerly pursuing, were suddenly assailed by other Turks, falling out of a Fort fall by, and enforced shamefully to retire, and to leave their Field-pieces behind them. Which the Turks seizing upon, cloyed them, brake their Carriages, and made them altogether unserviceable.

All this while the Lord Teuffenbach, lying at the siege of Hatwan, about this time requested Aid of the Archduke, for that his Power was with often Confusions, Hunger, and other Difficulties always attending long sieges, so much weakened, as that he had scarcely fix thousand found Men in his Camp; to whom the Arch-duke forthwith sent twelve hundred Footmen, being lost to spare any more, for too much weakening of his own Army. *Amurath*, disdaining to see the Frontiers of his Empire in so many places impugned by the Christians, and daily to receive them to great Hurt, was fain to retire, and to leave them to great wherefore, beside the great Power of his own, which he was now about to send with *Sinan Basha* into Hungary, he had also procured from the great *Tartar*, a wonderful number of those rough and savage People to be sent into Hungary, there to join with his Army. These wild People, to the number of five thousand, according to direction given, breaking into *Padolia*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, gathered together an incredible number of Oxen and Kine; to this end and purpose, that driving them before them, they might both be assured of Victuals, and the better to come out of *Polonia*. But when they were come unto the Borders of that Country, and there found the Power of *Samsofche* the great Chancellor, and the *Polonian* Cossacks in Arms, they easily perceived that they could not pass that way without great loss. Wherefore they placed the aforesaid Herds of Cattle, some before, some behind, and some on each side of the Army, and so inclosed round about with those Cattle, as with a Trench, marched on. But when they were come near unto the *Polonians*, this rude Device served them to no other purpose than the overthrow of themselves; for the *Polonians*, discharging their great Ordnance, so terrified the

Five thousand Christians lost at the siege of Strigomium.

The Archduke sends aid to the siege of Hatwan.

1594

Strigoniun  
attacked.

Cattel, that they turned upon the *Tatars*; and overthrowing whomsoever came in their way, did exceed much harm, whom the *Polonians* immediately following, and hardly charging the confused Army, armed only with Bow and Arrows, after some small fight, put them at last to flight, and obtained of them a notable Victory, with an exceeding rich Prey. Of the *Polonians* were lost about eighteen hundred, but of the *Tatars* were slain thirty thousand. The rest retired unto *Podolia*, and passing the River *Nieper* by the way of *Transilvania*, where they did exceeding much harm, came to *Temeswar*, and so afterwards further into *Hungary*; unto whom the *Turks* sent seven hundred Horsemen, to conduct them to the Army.

But to return again to the siege of *Strigoniun*. The fourteenth day of June, the *Christians*, between eight and nine of the Clock in the Morning, with great Fury assaulted the Town in three places; which assault they most notably maintained, until it was almost three a Clock in the Afternoon. Nevertheless, the *Turks* so valiantly defended themselves, that at last the *Christians* were glad to give over the assault, and with loss to retire. The Archduke from an high place beholding the Assault, had one of his Foot-men slain fast by him with a small shot. Many of the *Turks* were also slain in this assault, and amongst them, one of the three *Sansacks* that defended the City. The Night following there arose a violent Storm, with much raging Wind, and abundance of Rain, that many thought they should never have seen day; with the Violence whereof the Archduke's Tent was overthrown, and divers others blown down, or rent in sunder, were in the Air carried from Place to Place. About the same time, the Lord *Palfi*, within the City, called up the *Christians* to take Fort, with high Mounts and strong Trenches (even in the self same place where *Sohman* lay about fifty years before, when he besieged and won *Strigoniun*) by which Fort to build, the Enemy was embarras to convey any thing up the River for the relief of the City, to the great discomfiture of the besieged; for to have hindered the breach work, the Enemy oftentimes failed out, but to no purpose. This Fort being brought to Perfection, the *Christians* took also another Fort in an Island on the further side of the River, which the *Turks* had but few days before taken from the *Christians*, and cloyed the great Pieces therein; which Fort the *Christians* now again to be furnished with a sufficient Garrison, and other great Ordnance.

Strigoniun  
force beated.

These things thus done, the Castle and the lower Town were in five divers places out of the new built Fort, the old Town, and the Island, so battered with continual shot, that a man should have said, that one Stone would not have been left upon another, but that all should have been broken down, and laid even with the Ground. The seventeenth of June, one of the *Christian* Canoners so dismounted one of the great pieces in the Castle, that the piece, together with the *Turkish* Canoner that had charge thereof, fell down out of the Castle into the Ditch. And the same day, a Malon that fled out of the Castle into the Camp, amongst other things reported. That many of the *Turks* were slain with this continual battery and often assaults, and that not past an hour before, forty of them were slain in one Chamber, and now acknowledged themselves to be indeed besieged; and to have resolved, that when they were brought to the last cast, then desperately to fall out upon the *Christians*, and so either to die in the Victory, or to make kill every man for himself as he might. Which his report seemed not altogether feigned; for about Midnight, a thousand of the *Turks* fall-

lying out of the Castle upon the Fort newly built upon the River, in hope to have surprised it, were by the *Christians* therein nobly repulsed and forced to retire; in which conflict fifty of the *Turks* were slain, and many more wounded and taken Prisoners. And the same day toward Evening, eight *Turks* of good fort being taken and brought into the Camp, confessed, That but six days before, they had seen seven Boats full of wounded and dead men sent down the River, toward *Buda*. Whereby it was easily to be gathered how bloody a siege this was unto the *Turks*, forasmuch as all those Bodies were the Bodies of men of good account and place; for the Bodies of such common Soldiers as were slain, they still threw into the River running by.

1594

The new  
built Fort  
hardly at-  
tacked by  
the *Turks*.

The Fort newly built upon the Bank of *Strigoniun*, much troubled the besieged *Turks* in *Strigoniun*, because nothing could without danger of it be sent up the River for their Relief; Wherefore they by six Messengers sent word out of the Castle to the Admiral of the *Gallies* lying below in the River, That he should at an appointed time come up the River with his Gallies as high as the Fort, and on that side at leastwise to make them as if he would assault it; at which time they of the Town would be likewise ready to fall out, and to assault it indeed on the other side by Land. The Admiral accordingly came up the River with his Gallies, and by discharging of certain great pieces, made them as if he would assault it, and so battered the Fort. But was so welcomed thereunto, that he was glad with his rent Gallies, quickly to fall down the River again further off out of danger. But whilst the thundering shot was thus flying two and two towards the River, they of the Town falling out, assaulted the Fort on the other side toward the Land, and so with great force and rate Resolution, that some of them were got up to the top of the Rampiers, and there, for the space of two hours, maintained a most cruel fight; wherein many of them were slain and wounded, and the rest enforced with flame to retire.

The *Christians* thus fill lying at the siege, and attentive to all Occasions, partly by their Epals, and partly by such as they had taken Prisoners, understood, that a new supply, both of Men and Victuals, was shortly to be put into *Strigoniun*; and therefore sent out certain Companies of Soldiers, who lying in two convenient Places, the one upon the River, the other by Land, might intercept the said supply. Both of which they did before by the provident Enemy possessed; who suddenly assailing the *Christians* coming thither, and fearing no such matter, slew some of them, and put the rest to flight; who nevertheless in their retreat, brake the Bridge which the *Turks* had made of Boats under the Castle of *Strigoniun* over *Danubius*. Of which Boats, some were carried away with the Violence of the Stream, and of the thirty fell into the hands of the *Christians*, without loss of any man more than five, who making too much haste out of a little Boat, fell into the River, and so perished. In this time, Fame, the fore-runner of all great Attempts, had brought News into the *Christian* Camps, That *Sinan Bassa*, the *Turks* great General, was coming to the relief of *Strigoniun*, of whose Power divers diversly reported. But the greater part doubting the worst, and weary of the long Siege, and of the Calamities incident thereunto, added still something to the last report, to make the danger of longer stay to seem the greater; certain it is, that the News of the coming of so great and puissant an Enemy, raised in the *Christians* great doubt in the Minds of so great a Multitude. Now were the besieged *Turks* in great wails in *Strigoniun*, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the *Sansack*

1594

Five thou-  
sand *Turks*  
slain.Havran in  
vain  
over the  
*Christi-  
ans*.Zusfenhall  
gives  
over the  
siege of  
Havran.

sack to the *Bassa* of *Buda*, declaring unto him the hard estate of the besieged, and humbly craving his promised help, without which the City could not, for want of Victuals, possibly be defended by the fainting Soldiers above three days. Which Letters being read in the Camp, caused great Preparation to be made for the continuing of the siege, and the withstanding of the Enemy, whose coming was every hour expected. All this while the great *Christians* did their best, and so ended the day, whereby many were slain, as well of the *Christians*, as of the *Turks*, and amongst others many of the Canoners.

But forasmuch as the rise of *Sinan Bassa's* coming increased daily, and the *Christian* Camp possessed with a general fear, gave unto the wile, oft Suspicion of some great Michief likely to ensue; *Matthias* the General entered into Council with *Count Ferdinand Hardack*, the Lord *Palfi*, the Lord *Ungaden*, President of the Council for the Wars, and *Erasmus Braun*, Governour of *Comara*. What was the best to be done in so dangerous a time. Who with general consent agreed betimes, before the coming of *Sinan*, to raise the siege, and to remove with the Army into some place of more safety. Which their determinate Resolution, the day following, being the six and twentieth of June, they made known to the other Princes and great Commanders in the Army; who wonderfully discontented therewith, especially the *Germans*; both only by word of mouth, but also by writing, protested against the same, as most dishonourable, and altogether made without their Knowledge or good liking. To whom the President of the Council for their further Satisfaction, declared, That the Enemy was coming with a very great Army, and even now at hand, whose strength increased daily, and withal, that the *Turks* had sent out to assault them in their Tents, was uncertain; besides that it was manifestly known unto the World, how that in the former assaults they had lost many of their best Soldiers, beside others that died in the Camp; and that the Place wherein they lay encamped, was subject to many dangers, for which so urgent Causes the General had resolved to raise his siege, and before the coming of so strong an Enemy, to remove his Army into a place of more safety. Which Reasons for all that, did not so well satisfy the *German* Princes and Commanders, but that they still urged their former Protestation, requesting his Excellency to have them excused before God and man, for that they were bound to stand fast, as to their General, did that which they thought not altogether best, and which they would not otherwise have done. For the more Evidence whereof, the said *German* Princes and great Commanders, caused their said Protestation to be solemnly conceived in Writing, which they affirmed with their Swear, and subscribed with their own hands in order as followeth: *Francis*, Duke of *Saxony*, *Augustus*, Duke of *Brunswick*, *Sebastian Schlick*, Count *Wigand Maltzan*, *Ernestus of Altan*, *Henry Phibuck*, *John Nicholas Rastworb*, *Henry Curwiger Heertrath*, *Johr Oberkaufan*, *Henry Roittrath*, *Melchior von Nothwitz*.

The Arch-  
duke his  
siege, and  
with his  
Army pos-  
sessed the  
River.

But the Archduke, with the rest, constant in their former Resolution, sent first of all a great Ordinance, and raising the siege the 28th of June, followed after with the whole Army, passing over *Danubius*, not far from *Kokara*, doubtfully expecting what counseil *Sinan* the great *Bassa* (who was then reported to be even at hand) would take. Yet before their departure, they let the old Town again, and so ended the Fort. So that the *Turks* before taken by the Enemy, which they had once purposed to have kept. This unexpected departure of the *Christians* much gladdened the besieged *Turks*; who

for want of Victuals, had not been able long to have held out. Yet lay the Lord *Teuffenbach* still at the siege of *Havran*, labouring by all means with Earth and Baggage to fill up their Ditches; which work he had now happily brought to some good Perfection. Whereof they in the Town by Letters advertised the *Bassa* of *Buda*, and that except they were within the space of three days relieved, they should be enclosed to yield the Town. Which their distress the *Bassa* considering, with speed assembled all his Forces, and so let forward to relieve them, hoping to have come upon the *Christians* before they were aware of his coming. But *Teuffenbach* understanding thereof, with five thousand chosen Horsemen went out of the Camp to meet him, and suddenly coming upon him, fearing no such thing, slew five thousand of the *Turks*, put the *Bassa* to flight, and together with the Victory, obtained an exceeding rich Prey.

Now was there no less expectation and hope of the winning or yielding up of *Havran*, than was before of *Strigoniun*; but according to the chance of War, it fell out otherwise. For *Teuffenbach* happened, and made choice of such a place, as he thought meet for the assault, was in the performing thereof notably repulsed by the *Turks*, that he was glad to retire with the loss of his belt and most resolute Soldiers; which put him out of all hope of taking the Town by force. For beside the choice of good men, he had scarce so many found men left, as might suffice to furnish his Garrisons for defence of their Frontiers; by reason that the *Hungarians* were almost all thrunk home, and of the *Germans* were left scarce two thousand. Besides that, he had oftentimes craved new Supplies of the Archduke, but all in vain; for which Cause he was glad to abandon two strong Forts he had built before *Havran*, and to leave the Town, now brought to great Extremity. Thus two notable Cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the *Christians*, and by the recovery whereof, the broken state of the afflicted *Christians* in *Hungary* had been much strengthened, were as it were again restored unto the barbarous and cruel Enemy.

Whilst the *Christians* thus lay at the siege of *Strigoniun* and *Havran*, the *Rasians* (of whom we have before spoken) striving still more and more to rid themselves from the *Turkish* Thralldom, gathered themselves together to the number of fifteen thousand, between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, under a General of their own Chuse, to leave the siege of the *Bassa* of *Temeswar* for fear of whom, a thousand went to fortify and victual *Lipsa*, doubting lest it should by them be surprised, but having done that he went for, in his return he was met with by the same *Rasians*, and twice fought withal in one day, and both times put to the worse, with the loss of the greatest part of his Army. After which Victory the *Rasians* took *Beckereke*, a strong Town standing in a Marsh four miles from *Belgrade*, and slew all the *Turks* they found therein. After that, they took a Castle called *Outade*, and dealt with the *Turks* in like manner. From thence they went and besieged *Beche*, a Castle standing upon the River *Thibens* or *Tesse*, where the Town adjoining unto it yielded presently; but they in the Castle standing a while upon their Guard, offered at last to yield also upon certain Conditions. But the *Rasians* knowing that the *Turks* thereabouts had conveyed into the Castle the best part of their Walth, and wital, that it was but weakly manned, would accept of no Conditions, but needs have it absolutely delivered up to their Pleasure. In the mean time the old *Bassa* of *Temeswar*, and his Son, knowing it to tend to their



1504 four thousand Tartarian Horsemen swam over the Danubius, between Rab and Comara, after whom followed six thousand Turks, who being with much ado got over to the farther side, suddenly surprised a Fort of the Christians next unto the River, and forthwith turning five great pieces of Ordnance which they found therein, discharged them upon the Camp of the Christians; who, terrified with the sudden accident, rose up all in Arms, and hardly charging those desperate adventures, slew many of them, effects of which seeking after booty, had dispersed themselves from their Fellows, and over the left again to take the Water, wherein most of them perished. About five days after, the Tartarians (living for the most part upon prey) swam again over the River, and upon the sudden burnt a Village in the Island, and flew certain Christians in their Tents, but being quickly encountered by the Christian Horsemen, they were easily overthrown and many of them slain; the rest, calling away their Weapons, and forking their Horses, ran head-long into the River, trusting more to their swimming than to their fighting; whom the Christians hardly pursuing, in the very River flew about two thousand of them; and by this Victory obtained many of the Tartarians' Swift Horses with their Scimitars, their Bows and Arrows, and such Ensigns as they had. All this while, Sinan Bassa, without intermission, lay thundering with sixty great pieces of battery against the City, but to little or no purpose, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, or high built Houses, or the Camp, by such random shot, as flying over the Town, fell by chance among the Tents of the Christians. And the Janizaries, intentive to all opportunities, in a great Rain, furiously, and with a most horrible cry, (as their manner is) assaulted an utter Bulwark of the Christians, which they for fear forsook, and retired themselves into the City. Upon which Bulwark so taken, the Janizaries had set up three of their Ensigns: when the Christians, alarmed of that they had done, and better advised, taking courage unto them, forthwith sallied out again, and courageously charging the Janizaries, but now crested, flew many of them, and recovered again the Bulwark.

Sinai Bassa, leaving nothing unattempted that might further his desire for the winning of the City, was now calling up a great Mount against the City; which whilst he daily furveyed, he chanced to fall sick, and therefore appointed one of the Balleis in his own stead, to oversee the work; who, whilst he was walking to and fro, hastening the work, and commanding this and that thing to be done, was taken with a flux out of the Town and slain. The fifteenth of August, certain Turks before the rising of the Sun, getting over Danubius in Boats, assaulted a Fort of the Christians; which the Soldiers that had the keeping of it, presently took and left it to the Enemy. Which John de Medeiros, lately come into the Camp with two thousand Italians, perceiving, forthwith came to the rescue of the Fort, drove out the Turks, and having slain divers of them, forced the rest into the River, where they were all drowned. At which time five thousand Tartars in another Place passing over the River into the Island, were encountered by the Lord Palfi, and the Hungars his Followers, and without any great resistance put to flight, wherein many of them were slain; the rest taking the River, were in good hope to have got over, and so to have saved themselves; but other Turks meeting them in the River, would with their Weapons have beaten them back, and flayed their flight; against whom the Tartars opposing themselves, made with them in the very River a most cruel

fight, but with such loss unto the Tartars, that of the five thousand which adventured over, few returned to carry News unto their Fellows, how they had sped. Now began great scarcity of Victuals in the City, so that the Soldiers were fain to feed upon unripe Fruit, and such other unwholesome things, whereof ensued the bloody Flux, and many other dangerous Diseases; which raging amongst them, did wonderfully confuse the Bassa's Army. Beside that, they of the City with continual fear had slain many, and amongst them a Son-in-law of the great Bassa, whose death he is reported to have taken so unpatiently, that he fell sick for Grief, but in short time after passed it over, and recovered again.

The Tartars, not yet worn by their often losses, but passing again over the River into the Island the nineteenth of this Month, were there 3000 of them slain. In the mean time, certain Companies also of the Turks, having fiercely passed the River, in another quarter assailed the Christians in their Camp; in which hurly-burly, other of the Tartars got over the River not far from Comara, hoping now at length to perform some great matter, which they had before to their cost vainly attempted; but finding the Turks overthrown before their coming, and the Christians (contrary to their expectation) in Arms ready to receive them, they were easily discomfited, and two thousand of them slain. In this conflict the Sannack of Strigomium, with two others, and many more of great account among the Turks, perished. Shortly after, the Christians rallying out of the City, flew a great number of the Turks, and to retired with small loss. Thus was the Turks Army daily diminished, till at length, the want of Victuals, with the Bloody-flux, increased, that many perished the Bassa to have raised his siege, and to have removed with his Army to some other more wholesome place, and of greater plenty; but he, reluctantly set down not to depart before he had either won the Town, or enforced them therein to yield, would not hearken to any persuasions to the contrary.

Whilst Sinan thus lay at the siege at Rab, Maximilian, the Emperour's Brother, took Crafovia, a Fortress of the Turks, upon the borders of Croatia, and put to the Sword all the Turks there in Garrison. After that, he laid siege to Petrinia, a strong Fort of the Turks, which they but a few years before had contrary to the League built in the Emperour's Territory, for the annoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding strength thereof, was thought almost impregnable. Yet such was the industry of Maximilian and his Soldiers, that what with continual battery and mines, they so terrified the Turks there in Garrison, that they for fear set fire on the Fort, and flying away by Night, made shift every man for himself as he might: Which they in the Castle of Sifeg hearing, set fire also upon it, and so left it to the Christians: Whole Example they also of Gara followed; by which so prosperous and happy Successes of Maximilian's, not the Frontiers only, but even the whole Country of Hungary, was for that time delivered of a wonderful trouble and no less danger.

The eight and twentieth day of August, twenty thousand of the Christians passing over the River by a Bridge out of the Island, and joining with them of the Town, sallied out upon the Turks Camp; the Hungarian Haidons in the forefront at the first Onset took two of the Turks Bulwarks, and having beaten out the Enemies, cloyed certain of their great pieces; but the Turks returning with greater power, enforced the Christians to retire, and recovered again their lost Bulwarks. In this conflict many were slain, as well Christians as Turks. In the mean while Thonbanse, a great Captain of the Christians,

1504 flims, and Gitschhofer, County Hardeck's Lieutenant, with fifteen hundred Hungarians and German Foot came in great Boats to have helped their Fellows, but landing somewhat too late, they were by the Enemy beaten back, and enforced with loss to retire, that many of them being not able to recover the Boats, were drowned in the River; amongst whom, Gitschhofer himself perished, and Thonbanse was deadly wounded in his Breast. Yet the Christians, not discouraged with this loss, but gathering themselves together under the very Walls of the City, gave a second assault unto the Enemy; in the forefront were the Footmen, who were by the Enemies Horsemen easily repulsed; but by the coming in of the Lord Rhinsberg, who was at the first out of the City, the Turks were divided from their Trenches, except some few, which, divided from the rest, hid themselves in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slain. In this Skirmish the Lord Palfi was grievously wounded in his Thigh. Of the Christians were slain four hundred, and of the Turks above two thousand. These conflicts endured from seven a Clock in the Morning until twelve, at which time the Christians returning into the City, and so into the Camp, amongst other spoils, carried away with them seven of the Enemies Ensigns.

No day now passing without some skirmish, at length, the ninth of September, ten thousand Turks, some in Boats, some by other means, having got over the River of Danubius into the Island of Schut, suddenly fell upon the Christians, all sleeping in security, and little fearing any such danger of whom they flew about two thousand, and after some small fight put the rest to flight. In this fight, which Lord Mathias, the Arch-duke being with, with the other Noblemen and Captains, had much ado by flight to escape. Thus, whilst every man surprised with fear, made what shift he could for himself, the Enemy in the mean time entered the Trenches, took their Tents, their great Ordnance, the Shot and Powder, and all the Money, which but a little before was brought for the Soldiers Pay; besides, about a thousand Waggon, and two hundred Boats well loaded with Provision for the Camp, and ten Gallies, wherein were an hundred and twenty pieces of great Ordnance. The loss received this day was valued at 500000 Ducats. And albeit that this Victory cost the Turks two thousand and five hundred of their lives, yet thereby they gained the mastery, both upon the River and the Land; so that now, roaming far and near, without resistance, they spoiled the Country all about, and burnt certain Country Villages not far from Vienna; so that for many miles space the Country Towns were for fear of the Enemy forsaken by the Inhabitants, of whom some were taken and slain, some carried into Captivity, and some others, (referred to a better Fortune) with such things as they had, got themselves farther off into Places of more security. And the more to increase these calamities, the Tartars shortly after passing over Danubius, next unto Albenberg, first sacked Wolfersburg, and after burnt it, with certain Towns thereabout; but adventuring to have gone farther into the Country, they were with loss enforced to return.

Whilst the Turks thus prevailed in Hungary, Cicada Bassa, the Turks Admiral then at Sea, with a Fleet of Gallies, landing his Men in divers places of Barb, did exceeding much harm, but especially in Calabria, where he upon a sudden surprised Rhegium, rased the Town, and afterwards burnt it; from thence taking his course towards Sicilia, he, in the night of Messina, landed certain of his Men; who, adventuring too far a shore, were by the Country People overthrown and put to flight. So the Turks returning again to Reggio, utterly rased what they

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Sinai Bassa, having before encouraged his Soldiers with great hope and large Promises, commanded an Assault to be given to the City of Rab; which was accordingly by them begun the twenty third of September, the Sun being as yet scarce up, and furiously maintained all that day from Morning until Night. But they of the Town so valiantly defended themselves, that at last the Turks were glad to give over the Assault, and with loss to retire. Nevertheless, the next day, the Assault was again renewed, and most desperately continued by the space of two days, wherein twelve thousand of the Turks there lost their lives, the other with shame retiring themselves into their Trenches. In few days after, the Turks by a Mine blew up one of the Bulwarks of the Town, with the fall whereof the Town-Ditch was in that place somewhat filled; whereby the Turks with all their Power attempted thrice the next day to have entered, but were by the Valour of the Defendants fully noticably with loss repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this cheerfulness and contentment of them in the Town, the Puffant Enemy ceased not with continual battery and furious assaults to attempt the City, until that at length he had gained two of the Bulwarks, from whence he might, to his great advantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen out of the battered Bulwarks and Rampiers, have access unto the Town, to the great terror of the Government (who, Whereupon County Hardeck the Governour (who, corrupted by the Turk, had of purpose many times before said that the Town could not possibly be long defended) now took occasion to enter into Council with the other Captains of the Town, (divers of whom he had already framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yielding of it

The Turk and Tartars passing over the River overthrown.

The Tartars passing over the second time overthrown.

tered.

A Ballis flung by the Turks.

A fight in the River between the Turks and the Tartars.

1504 flims, and Gitschhofer, County Hardeck's Lieutenant, with fifteen hundred Hungarians and German Foot came in great Boats to have helped their Fellows, but landing somewhat too late, they were by the Enemy beaten back, and enforced with loss to retire, that many of them being not able to recover the Boats, were drowned in the River; amongst whom, Gitschhofer himself perished, and Thonbanse was deadly wounded in his Breast. Yet the Christians, not discouraged with this loss, but gathering themselves together under the very Walls of the City, gave a second assault unto the Enemy; in the forefront were the Footmen, who were by the Enemies Horsemen easily repulsed; but by the coming in of the Lord Rhinsberg, who was at the first out of the City, the Turks were divided from their Trenches, except some few, which, divided from the rest, hid themselves in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slain. In this Skirmish the Lord Palfi was grievously wounded in his Thigh. Of the Christians were slain four hundred, and of the Turks above two thousand. These conflicts endured from seven a Clock in the Morning until twelve, at which time the Christians returning into the City, and so into the Camp, amongst other spoils, carried away with them seven of the Enemies Ensigns.

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Two thousand Turkish slain, and seventeen of their Ensigns taken.

A great flock taken by the Turks.

Twelve thousand Turkish slain.



up. And so after a little Consultation, holden more for fashion-fake, than for that he doubted what to do; resolved to send a Messenger unto the Bassa, for a Truce to be granted for a while, to see if haply in the mean time some reasonable Composition might be agreed upon. Yet the Governor, considering into what scorn and danger he should expose himself, by yielding up of so strong a Town, to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings unto the rest of the Nobility and Garrisons of Hungary, caused a public Instrument to be made in his and all the rest of the Captains Names conceived in Writing; wherein he solemnly protested unto the World, That forasmuch as it was impossible (by reason of the weakness of the Garrison) for them alone to defend the Town against so mighty an Enemy, without new Supplies instead of them that were slain, (which they had oftentimes in vain requested) they were therefore of necessity enforced to come to Composition with the Enemy. Which Protestation he made, the Governor with the chief Captains confirmed with their Hands and Seals. So after a Truce granted, and Pledges given on both sides, at length it was agreed upon, That all the Garrison Soldiers, together with the County and other Captains, should in Arms with Engines dismantled, with Bag and Baggage depart in safety, and with a safe Convey be brought to *Altenburg*. Which Agreement, though by Oath confirmed, was not on the *Turks* part altogether performed; for when the County had the 14th day of September, at ten a Clock in the Forenoon, delivered up the City to the Bassa, and the *Christians* all come out, with the County himself, with a few of his Friends, was with a Convey of *Turks* brought in safety to the appointed place; but the *Italians*, and other Garrison Soldiers that came behind, and ought to have been by the Governor protected, were, contrary to the *Turks* promise, spoiled of all that they had, and hardly escaping with Life, came that Night to *Hochstrate*, and the next day to *Altenburg*. This was *Rab*, one of the strongest Bulwarks of *Christendom*, traitorously delivered unto the most mortal Enemy of the *Christian* Religion; being even then when it was given up, victualled for a year, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for defence; all which Provision, together with the City, fell into the hands of the faithless Enemy. A loss never to have been sufficiently lamented, had it not been about four years after, even as it were miraculously again recovered, to the great rejoicing of all that side of *Christendom*, as in the Process of this History shall appear.

*Sinans*, glad of this victory, as the greatest Trophy of his Masters glory over the *Christians*, gave him speedy knowledge thereof, both by Letters and Messengers. Of whom he was for that good service highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* already in hope devoured all *Anatolia*, with the Provinces thereabout. The great Bassa, because he would not with too long lay hinder the course of this victory, without delay repaired the rent City, new fortified the battered Bulwarks, enlarged the Ditches, and filled the Cathedral Church with earth, in manner of a strong Bulwerk, whereupon he planted great store of great Ordnance: and with exceeding speed dispatched all things necessary for the holding of the place. In the mean time he sent certain *Tartars* to summon the Town and Castle of *Pappa*: which Castle and little Town (subject thereto), the *Christians* the night following set on fire, because it should not stand the Enemy in any stead for the farther troubling of the country; and so fled.

The Bassa, having at his pleasure disposed of all things in *Rab*, and leaving there four thousand *Janizaries*, and two thousand *Horsemen* in Garrison, departed thence with his Army and laid siege to *Komar*, a strong Town of that most fertile Island, which the *Hungarians* call *Seben*; about, situated within the very point thereof, about your miles from *Rab*, is on the East, South, and North, inclosed with the two Arms of *Danubius*. All these ways *Sinan* with his Fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laid hard siege unto the Town, and gave thereto divers assaults; and by Land, the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, created not both by continual battery and Mines, to shake the Walls and Bulwarks thereof. Thus was the City on all sides, both by Water and by Land, hardly laid unto. But the *Christians* within, with no less Courage defended themselves and the City, than did the *Turks* assail them; shewing indeed, that the Liberty of their Religion and Country, was unto them dearer than their Lives. *Murshid*, the Arch-duce, in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the Emperor his Brother to have this City defended; having after his late overthrow, gathered together a good Army of *German*, *Bohemian*, and *Hungarian*, resolved to go and raise the siege; and to march forward with his Army, came and encamped the 28th day of October at *Nitra*, about five miles from *Komar*. Now this *Nitra* was a little before departed from the Camp, with purpose to return home; yea, the *Turks* themselves, weary of the siege, and wanting Victual both for themselves and their Horses, began also, as men discontented, to shrink away. Which the Bassa well considering, thought it not best with his heartless Soldiers and Army, now (are weak) to persevere in the coming of the *Christians*; and therefore upon their approach he forthwith forsook the City, which he had by the space of three weeks hardly besieged, and by a Bridge made of Boats, transported his Army and Artillery over *Danubius* to *Dotis*, where he the next day after broke up his Army. Immediately after the *Turks* were thus departed, the Arch-duce arrived at *Komar*, where he with great Diligence caused the Breaches to be repaired; the Mines to be filled up, and new Bulwarks and Rampiers to be made in divers Places for the more strength of the City, leaving the charge thereof still unto the Lord *Brown* the old Governor, who in the defence thereof, had received a grievous Wound in his right Knee; of whom also in the next Page is reported. The Bassa, in time of the late siege of *Komar*, under the Colour of a Parley, had sent five *Turks* into the City to the Governor, but indeed to prove if he were by any means to be won to yield up the City, and not to hold it out to the last. The faithful Governor, having given them the hearing until they had discharged their whole Treachery, presently caused four of their Heads to be stricken off, and to be set upon long Pikes upon one of the Bulwarks for the Bassa to look upon; but the fifth (the beholder of this Tragedy) he sent back unto the Bassa, to tell him, That although he had found one in *Rab* to serve his turn, he was much deceived, if in him he thought to find County *Hardeck*, and that he withheld rather to die the Emperours faithful Servant in the blood of the *Turks*, than to betray the City committed to his Charge.

County *Hardeck*, late Governor of *Rab*, generally before suspected to have treacherously betrayed that strong Town unto the Bassa, was therefore sent for to *Vienna*, and there by the Emperours Commandment committed to Prison. Where, among many things laid to his Charge, as that he should in the beginning of the siege, negligently have

1594  
Komara  
besieged  
by Sinan  
Bassa.

County  
Hardeck  
condemned  
and  
executed  
for betray-  
ing of *Rab*.

*Sinan* Bassa  
in relief  
of *Seben*.

have suffered many things to be done by the Enemy, which afterwards, to the great damage of the Town; and that in the time of the siege, he had caused some of the Canoneers to discharge certain great Pieces against the Enemy, with Powder only, without Shot; and that seeing one Piece among the rest to do the Enemy much harm, he had caused the same to be removed, and so placed, as that it never so little or no use it belied, as if he (as it should seem) making small reckoning of the Town, should oftentimes say, That if the *Turks* should win it, he should be but one Town the richer; with divers other such things, giving just cause of suspicion. The thing that lay most heavy upon him, was the Testimony of one of *Sinan Bassa's* Chamber, who being taken young by the *Turks*, and serving in the *Balkas* Chamber, was now fled from the *Turks*; and coming to the Arch-duce in the time of his siege, declared unto him, that there was Treason in his Camp; and that he, but three days before, by the Commandment of his Master, had delivered two bags full of Ducats unto two *Christians*, of whom the one had a notable scar in his Face, and was afterwards known to have been one of the Counties Servants. Upon this and such like Proofs, the County was, after many days hearing, in open Court, by the Judgment of seven and forty Noblemen and Captains of Name, condemned of Treason, and adjudged to be hanged, his dead Body to remain upon the Gallows by the space of three days, and all his Lands and Goods to be confiscated; the rigour of which Sentence was afterwards by the Emperour mitigated, and the Traitor by him adjudged to have his right Hand (by him before given unto the Emperour in pawn of his Faith) and his Head struck off upon a Scaffold at *Vienna*, and so beheaded. Which severe sentence was afterwards accordingly put in Execution; for the tenth of June following, the Traitor being brought to the Scaffold, built of purpose in the high Street of *Vienna*, after the Sentence of his Condemnation there solemnly read, commanding himself upon his knees to the Mercy of God, with his Eyes covered, and his right Hand laid upon a Black covered with black, had both his Hand and Head so suddenly struck off by the Executioners, as that the Beholders could hardly judge which of them was first off. His dead Body with his Head and Hand, was presently by his Servant wrapp'd in a black Cloth, and layed in his Coach, which stood there by the Gallows, and was presently afterwards buried amongst his Ancestors.

The *Tartars*, but lately before departed from *Sinans* Camp, passing over *Danubius* at *Strigonium*, had purposed through the upper part of Hungary, and by the Borders of *Transilvania* and *Moldavia*, to have again returned into their Country; of whom two Companies falling into the Towns and Villages of *Palf*, were by him cut off, and utterly defeated; the rest coming unto the Borders of *Transilvania*, and finding the Passages to be set by the Prince and the Vayvod of *Valachia*, as that they could not without most manifest danger pass that way, returned again the same way they came; and having killed and burnt certain Towns and Villages in the upper Hungary about *Tokeay*, passed the River again at *Strigonium*, and wintering at *Voprinum*, *Palotta*, and other Places in the Country which is about *Rab*, lived upon the spoil of the poor distressed *Christians*, upon the Frontiers of *Anatolia*, even as far as *Meinor-Palf*.

These *Tartars* (of whom we have so often spoken) at their first coming to the Aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the *Turkish Sultan*, stayed upon the Frontiers of *Transilvania*, of purpose to have furnished that Country, and either to have thrust *Sigmund Bator*, the young Prince, out of the Go-

vernment thereof, or else to have sent him in bonds to *Constantinople*; but it was commonly reported, That he, weary of the heavy Tribute which he yearly paid unto the *Turks*, and had now after their greedy manner been divers times enhaunted, had purposed to revolt from the *Turkish Sultan*, and to enter into Confederation with the *Christian* Emperour. Which Innovation and Change, certain of the Nobility and chief Lords of *Transilvania*, fought by all means to hinder; and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entering into Conspiracy with the *Tartars*, undertook to deliver the whole Country into their Hands, and to send the Prince Prisoner to *Huf*, where the *Tartars* then lay upon the Borders encamped. Wherefore, dissembling their purpose, they cunningly persuaded the Prince, that *Siniffo*, the great Chancellor of *Polonia*, in the Confines of his Country, lay with a great Power expecting his coming, to confult with him of matters of great Importance: and the better to colour this their Treachery, they had counterfeited Letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought so effectually, that the Prince, not suspecting any such Treason, gave credit to their Persuasions, and so put himself upon his way towards the Chancellor, (as he supposed); but by the way, he was advised by some of his Friends, which had got some suspicion of the matter, not to go any farther, for that his coming was not intended by the *Polonians* his Friends, but was perfwaded) but by the *Tartars* his Enemies who lay in wait for him at *Huf*, to bereave him of his Life and Government. The Prince, astonished with the novelty of the matter, lifted unto their Persuasion, and retired with his Train to the strong Fort of *Kehweze*; where he stayed fourteen days, as if it had been only for fresh Victuals, which few days time, he gave notice to the Nobility and Governors of the Country, his Friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired unto him in Arms. But the Traitors proceeding in their purpose, caused not to persuade *Bornemissli*, who had the Leading of the Prince's Army, That to fight with the *Tartars* was a matter of no small danger; and that therefore, if he wished well to his Country, he should not have to do with them, but only their himself near unto them, and that he was not unpurposed for them; which was accordingly done, and the *Transilvanian* Army brought to fight unto the *Tartars*, as that they might hear the noise of their Drums and Trumpets. Whereby the *Tartars*, as by the Watch-word, perceiving themselves discovered, and nothing to fall out according to their Expectation, as had been unto them promised for the betraying of the Prince; they removed thence, and by another way breaking through the midst of *Transilvania*, and so into *Hungary*, rifled and burnt five hundred Villages, slew all the Males that were above twelve years of Age, and carried away the rest unto the *Turkish* Army, then lying at the siege of *Rab*. In the mean time the Traitors (when as this first Plot served them not) conspired to let up one *Balbasor Bator*, the young Prince's nephew, and with the good favour of *Amurath*, to prefer him to the Sovereign Government of that Country. Which their purpose the Prince perceiving, and doubting altogether to trust unto the fidelity of his own Subjects; writ to his Neighbours, the *Rascians*, and other his Confederates, praying their Aid in this his dangerous and doubtful Estate. Which after he had received, he appointed a general Assembly of all his States to be holden at *Clusenburgh*, and that upon a great pain to be inflicted upon all such as should not there personally appear; so at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinal *Bator*, and Stephen his Brother,

Great  
barn done  
in *Transil-*  
vania by  
the *Tar-*  
tars.





depair, by the Goodness of God, contrary to all hope, find sometime such unexpected Help and Relief, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, even to the astonishment of the World, mount up again unto a greater lustre of their State, than was that from which they before fell; it had even so by the singular Mercy of God, a noble Prince, who was the founder of the *Valachians*, not knowing which way to turn themselves. There was at *Grallima* (a City in the Confines of *Valachia*, towards the Confines of the *Hungarians* and *Turks*, where the Governor of those Borders is for the defence thereof with a strong Garrison always resident) a noble Gentleman called *Ion Michael*, Son to *Per*, the Palatine of that Country, the aforesaid *Alexander's* Predecessor; who, as he was unto the People for the Honour of his Father, the Prerogative of his Birth, the Comeliness of his Person, and Tallness of his Stature, well known, so was he for his Zeal towards the Christian Religion, his Love towards his Country, his Kindness towards his Equals, his Courtesy towards his Inferiours, his upright Dealing, his Confidence and Bounty unto them, no less Gracious; and for other the noble Virtues of his Heroical Mind, and natural Disposition for the Performance of great Matters, his deep Wisdom and quick Foresight, his sweet and pleasing Speech, of all Affection, unto all good men most dear; whose Fame, both for the Honour of his House, and his own Virtues, fill more and more increasing; and time in the Ears of *Alexander* the Vayvod, was the cause that he commanded him, as the ready, or rather natural Competitor of his State and Honour, to be secretly apprehended; and so taken out of the way; where by good Fortune having Intelligence, and care of his own Health, he safeguard of himself fled first into *Hungary*, and thence not flying long (God so directing him) went to *Constantinople* in the Year 1591, to sue for the Vayvod's Place, all the Nobility of his Country, and the Provinces thereto adjoining, secretly rejoicing thereat. About which time, the chief and most grave of the *Valachian* Nobility and Councillors prostituting themselves at the Feet of *Amurath*, most grievously complained unto him of the manifold and intolerable Injuries they had already sustained, and were still like to endure, without hope of redress, from *Alexander* their Vayvod, and the Followers of his Court; the *Turks* Garrisons and Merchants with plentiful Money, declaring his many most foul and detestable Facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his rare Virtues, as true Hero of their Province; most humbly requested *Amurath*, either to have him appointed the lawful Governour of their Country, or else some other Place by him assigned for them to dwell in, wishing any where to live, rather than under the heavy command of so merciless a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their Suit, *Michael*, his Uncle by the Mothers side, a Greek born, and a Man for his exceeding Wealth in great Favour in the *Turks* Court, (paired for no cost. So *Michael*, by the Goodness of God, was by *Amurath* with great Solemnity declared Vayvod of *Valachia*, and the oppressed and almost forlorn State of that sometime most flourishing Country by little and little well relieved (although not altogether without most sharp and violent Remedies, such as Extremities of require) began now again to lift up the head, and to aspire unto the ancient Liberty and Honour thereof. As the beginning of whole happy Sovereignty, *Alexander*, his Predecessor, in his own Conscience guilty of his evil and shameful Government of that so notable and great a Province, and now in fear to be called to account, secretly fled. But certain years after, removing to *Constantinople* with his Wife, and

there attempting divers evil means for the obtaining of the Palatine of *Moldavia*, and for those his unlawful Practices accused by the Palatine's Agent; he was by the Commandment of *Amurath* taken in his own House, and there in his princely Apparel, most miserably strangled upon *Palin* Summit by the singular Mercy of God, about six years after his departure out of *Valachia*.

*Michael* thus made Vayvod of *Valachia*, long it was not but that it fortune'd, the Reverend Father *Cornelius de Nona*, sent from Pope *Clement* the Eighth, unto the great Duke of *Muscovy*, in his return conferring with *Sigismund*, the *Transilvanian* Prince; and *Aurad*, the Palatine of *Moldavia*, informed them of the great content of divers zealous Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the War against the dangerous and common Enemy; with many grave and effectual Reasonings persuading them (but especially for that they were themselves Christians) in that Christian quarrel to join unto them their Forces also, raised in those their Countries near unto the great Rivers of *Danubius* and *Nether*; but unto *Michael*, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, he could not for divers his other important Businessness then come; whom for all that, the aforesaid *Transilvanian* Prince, *Sigismund*, his Neighbour, desirously sought to draw into the Fellowship of this War, even for the same Reason as most, wherewith he had been himself moved, that the great Reasons removing such doubts as might justly seem to hinder him from giving his consent therunto; and then by declaring the *Turkish* Infidelity daily increasing, with the infinite Grievances by them devised against the miserable *Valachians*; when as the Incursions of the *Turks* or *Tartars*, or their Palatine that way, (no less troublesome to the *Innards*) was almost every Month to be feared, their Armies, as Friends, to be in Winter and Summer received, their Soldiers to their great charges relieved, and their Commanders and Captains rewarded. *Valachia* thus impoverished, was not able (as he said) to pay the great Sum it did already owe, neither was to expect any reliefment of the evils it was wrapped in, much less was it able to suffice unto the grievous Exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards imposed. None of his Predecessors (as he said, and as truth was) had for many years now paid, for any long time, or with any Security held their State or Government; but that either by the Calumnies of the Envious, or Bribes of their ambitious Competitors; brought into Suspicion with the Sultan, they were violently thrust out, or most cruelly put to death. In brief, he said it was a wise mans part, not without most manifest and weighty Reasons, to promise unto himself better Fortune, or more continuance of his State, than had his unfortunate Predecessors before him; but warned by their Harms, betimes to provide for his own Safety. By which Persuasion he so prevailed, that the Vayvod (whose Name, whole Fame, whole Wealth and Life, together with his Subjects, was all thereby endangered) although he would not (for the weightiness of the matter) at the full yield therunto; yet assuredly promised, with his Friends, and the rest of the Nobility of his Country, to confer thereupon. Having it by the Prince plainly laid down before him, how a sufficient number of Soldiers might at all times be raised, their Pay provided, and Aid still sent him as need should be, from the *German* Emperour, or himself out of *Transylvania*; as also that *Aaron* the Palatine of *Moldavia*, would at all times be ready to combine himself unto them; that so with their united Forces they might upon the Banks of *Danubius* and *Nether*, easily repulse the Incursions both of the *Turks* and *Tartars* their Enemies; the Christian Emperour in the mean time, with

*Alexander*  
strangled  
at *Constantinople*.

with less trouble proceeding in his Wars against the *Turks* in the other side of *Hungary*. Now whilst this Plot was thus in laying, and Matters debating too and fro, not altogether without the *Turk* Suspicion; *Sinan Bassa*, coming with a great Army into *Hungary*, had taken the strong Town of *Rab*, as is before declared; with which Michalchase so much concerning the poor remainders of *Hungary*, the Vayvod, now a little moved, began more deeply to consider of his own Estate. And as he was a man of great Spirit, and no less Zeal toward his Country, grieving to see his Subjects committed to his Charge, to be so daily by the insolent *Turks*, still more and more oppressed; he (as he had before promised to the *Transilvanian*) callous, he had before offered to the State of *Valachia*, to confide with them what were left to be done for the Remedy of so great Evils, as also for the preventing of greater, not without cause then to be feared. Where, by the general Content of them all, it was agreed, rather to join with the Emperour and the other Christian Princes in Confederation, as they had been oftentimes by them requested, than longer to endure that heavy Yoke of the *Turkish* Thraldom and Slavery. Whereupon the Vayvod taking unto him two thousand of the *Hungarian* Garrison Soldiers, now before, for that purgatory, secretly laid upon the Frontiers of his Country; and calling upon the Name of Christ Jesus, in one day to begin withal, flew about to thousand of the Janizaries, (who had been in the Country proudly feared themselves) with all the rest of the *Turks*, (in the midst of their Infidelity) together with the traitorous Jews, not leaving one of them that he could come by alive, in all the open Country. And putting to drive them out of their strong holds also, and to take a more readiness of their way, he with fourteen days after, came to *Dziurdzowa*, a great Town of the *Turks* upon the Bank of *Danubius*; all which he burnt, saving the Castle: and having there made a great slaughter, and loaded with the spoil of the *Turks*, returned to *Bucharesta*, the chief Seat of his Palatine.

But long it was not after this his so great Presumption, but that he perceived the *Turks* in Revenge thereof, to seek after his Life, although he yet seemed to yield his Obedience unto *Amurath*, and to have done that he did, as enforced thereto by the Infidelity of the *Turks*, and for the necessary relief both of himself and his Subjects. For the same Town (*Rab* being, as is aforesaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the *Turks* Emirs, descended of the great Family and Stock of *Mahomet* their false Prophet, and then *Cadiliche* (a man of great Account and Place amongst the *Turks*) accompanied with 2000 chosen Soldiers, fifty of the great Sultans Chamber, and many of the *Zanli* and *Spahi*, upon the sudden came to *Bucharesta*, under the colour any self or themselves after their long march, but indeed with purpose to have taken the Vayvod, where they without Controulment, committed all kind of outrageous Villany; and taking up all the chief Houses in the City, imperiously demanded of the Vayvod (who then lay at his Palace near unto the new Monastery without the City, built without any self or themselves upon the River *Dravda*, wize) 100000 Florens for a Present, with Victuals and other necessary Provision for his Followers. And presently after, being certainly informed that he lay there but slenderly accompanied, and almost himself alone, the Emir himself on foot, with a thousand of his Soldiers, went out of the City, as if it had been told in his Pleas, and in Courtage to have seen him. Of which so suspicious a Guests coming, the Vayvod understanding, got him betimes away into the Camp of his *Hungarian* Mercenaries, which then lay but fast by; when the *Turk* thus

*Michael*, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, revolted from the *Turks*.

\* The *Turks* call all them that are defended of the Stock of their Prophet *Mahomet*, by the Name of *Emirs* or *Lords*.

deceived of the hope he had before conceived for the taking of him, craftily sent certain of his Followers, to know of him to what end he in time of Peace, did entertain such a number of *Hungarian* Soldiers; Whereunto the Vayvod cunningly answered, That they were at the first entertained for the taking of *Peter*, the Son of *Alexander*, sometime Palatine of *Moldavia*; who, although he were an Hook at *Constantinople*, yet that those Soldiers were, for their ready Service, necessarily still to be billeted in the Country, until such time as their pay might be provided. Which the *Turk* hearing, commanded the Vayvod forthwith to discharge them, as men unnecessary, and to his Subjects troublesome, promising the next day to lend him a Tun of Gold to pay them their Wages. Which feigned promise the Vayvod, somewhat thankfully to take; yet nevertheless commanded the *Hungarians* long with in Arms to stand in readiness in the Camp, for the intercepting of the *Turks*, if haply by him distressed, they should betake themselves to flight; whilst he in the mean time, with his Counters and other Soldiers, secretly assembled into a Valley thereby, came suddenly upon the *Turks* (not then dreaming of any such thing) compassed about the Inns wherein they lay, and setting fire upon them in five Places, notably forced them both with Fire and Sword, the two greatest Extremities of War; leaving now for nothing more than the just Revenge of his spoiled City, his forced Villages, and wronged Subjects. Howbeit, the *Turks* put a space right valiantly defended themselves, and by plain force (although in vain) sought to have broken through the midst of their Enemies, and so to have fled. Yea, many of them by force of the Fire driven out of their Lodgings, and tearing off their burning Cloaths, fought stark naked; and most of them which could, fled unto the Palace where the great Emir lay, there with him ready to die or live. All which their last endeavours of Desperation the Vayvod caught frustrated, with two great Pieces of Artillery opening a way for his Soldiers unto them. So that the proud Emir now in dispair (like the hunted *Caster*) threw down all of a Window, a great Chest full of Gold and precious Stones, and other Jewels of great value; if haply he might have so appeased the Vayvod's Wrath; humbly now requesting no more, but to have his Life spared; fearfully promising a large ransom for himself and those few which were yet alive with him. Howbeit, the Vayvod mindful of the manifold Injuries by them done unto him and his Subjects, and nothing mitigated or moved with the rich Spoils thrust upon him, or the large Promises the *Turks* had made him; commanded all those his Enemies now in Power, to be slain every Mothers Son; of whom his Soldiers had a wonderful rich spoil, although much more was left in the fire; and so giving thanks unto God for the Victory, rested with his People a while at quiet. Yet within less than a Month after, he sent *Abderris Kural*, his Lieutenant, with an Army to *Phech*, (a great open unwall'd Town on the farther side of *Danubius*, equally distant from *Proszek* and *Nicopolis*), from whence the *Turks*, often times passing over that frozen River into *Valachia*, had there done great harm; which Town, not inferior unto a good City, he suddenly surprized, and sacked it, and put to the Sword all the Inhabitants thereof, except such as were before his coming fled. And thortly after (the more to annoy the *Turks*) marching again over the frozen River, to have surprized *Herbowia*, a walled City, but one day's Journey from *Brailova*, he was by the way encountered upon the Ice by the *Turks*, whom he there in a great conflict

The *Cadiliche*, with the *Turk* his Followers, slain.

*Phelch* spoiled by the *Turks*.

*Herbowia* taken.

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*Michael* by *Amurath* created Vayvod of *Valachia*.

1595 overthrew; and having slain many of them, and put the rest to flight, holding on his intended Journey, took that rich City, which he rifled and burnt down to the Ground, all except the Castle, which was yet by the *Turks* valiantly defended; and so with the spoil of the City, returned again over the River, there to refresh his Soldiers, wearied with Labour and the Extremity of the Winter weather. And yet not so contented, within six days after passing again over the River, and having upon the side thereof in a great Battel overthrow the *Turks* Garrisons, took *Silistra*, a great City of *Macedonia*, built by *Constantine* the Great, (being the Seat of one of the *Turks* Sanzacks, and well inhabited with rich Merchants) which fair City he ransacked, and having slain most part of the Inhabitants, burnt it down to the Ground, as he had the other: no less Terror than Grief unto the *Turks*.

*Silistra*  
burnt.

*Amurath*  
dieth.

But whilst the aforesaid Confederation betwixt the Emperour and the *Transilvanian* Prince was

yer in hand, and the Troubles in *Valachia* thus arising, *Amurath*, the great Sultan, grievously troubled with the Stone, and anointed with the falling Sickneſs, his wonted Disease, and inwardly also tormented with the late Infelency of the Janizaries, and Revolt of the Countries of *Transilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, (no small hinderance to the proceeding of his Wars in *Hungary*) as a man both in Soul and Body tormented, with great Impatiency and Agony of Mind, departed this Life the eighteenth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1595; when he had lived one and fifty, or as some say, two and fifty years, and thereof reigned nineteen. At the time of his Death arose such a sudden and terrible Tempest at *Constantinople*, that many thought the World should even presently have been dissolved. His dead Body was not long after, with great Pomp and Solemnity, buried by *Mahomet*, his eldest Son, in a Mosque which he himself had before built at *Constantinople*.

1595

Christian Princes of  
the same time with  
Amurath the Third.

Emperours of Germany,	{	Maximilian the Second.	1565. 12.
		Rodolph the Second.	1577.
	{	Of England, { Queen Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
		Of France, { Charles the Ninth.	1560. 14.
		Henry the Third.	1574. 14.
		Henry the Fourth.	1589.
Kings,	{	Of Scotland, { James the Sixth.	1565.
Bishops of Rome.	{	Gregory the XIII.	1572. 12.
		Pius the V.	1585. 5.
		Urban the VII.	1590. 12 days.
		Gregory the XIV.	1590. 10 month, 10 days.
		Innocent the IX.	1591. 2 months & one day.
		Clement the VIII.	1592.

[illegible]

To not thy voice, nor thy dread command,  
 That make thee great, nor thy victorious hand,  
 Thine an almighty God who maketh thee so,  
 From him thou gloriest, O Saviour, on thee flow.  
 As in thy infant hands the Scepter placed,  
 As in thy vigorous youth rich honours grac'd.  
 Not for thy merits he exalted thee,  
 But that his Saviour of vengeance thou shouldst be.  
 Brought thou not then, of what is not thine own,  
 For he that ree thee up, may pull thee down.  
 Be humble in thy most triumphant state,  
 For great things sink deprecate by their own weight.  
 For feed thy self with hopes of endless date,  
 For at Fate's summons thou must see thy woe.

THE  
TURKISH  
HISTORY.

**The Second Volume.**

## Beginning from

# MAHOMET III.

And Continued to this

Present Year 1687.

7.2.2.2. *Exercises*

THE SIXTH EDITION.

$L \ 0 \ N \ D \ 0 \ N,$

Printed for *Tho. Bassett*, at the *George* near *St. Dunstan's*  
Church in *Fleetstreet*. MDCLXXXVII.



*S'quid in humanis, magnum te reddere possit:  
Quid prohibet magnis nomen inoffe tuum?  
Qui subjecta vides, tot difona regna, tot urbes:  
Et nulli cedens, sceptris superba geris.  
Cum tamen ignores, quid sit Sapientia Christi,  
Omnia quæ jactas sunt, Mahomete, nihil*

*If any thing on earth can make man great,  
Great as the greatest art thou Mahomet,  
Who overlookst the World from thy bright Throne,  
As I seeest the largest part of it thine owne.  
But since the Christian Law thou dost disdain,  
Thy labours to be truly Great, are all but vaine.*

# THE LIFE OF MAHOMET,

The Third of that Name, Seventh Emperour of the *Turky*.

1595

**T**HE Death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made known in the Court, but with wonderful secrecy concealed, not only for fear of the *Janizaries*, (who in the time of the vacancy of the Empire always do whatsoever pleases themselves) but also for that the People, having in distrust the fierce Nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath's* eldest Son, were generally better affected to *Amurath*, the younger Brother, a Prince of a more mild spirit and courteous disposition, unto whom they in heart wished those flatly honours, which could by no means, without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder Brother, and danger of the whole State, be given unto him. Ten days after came *Mahomet* in post from *Amasia* to *Constantinople*, and was there by the great Baffa, and other his mighty Favorites, saluted Emperour: which done, he presently after caused all his Brethren to be invited to a solemn Feast in the Court; wherunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their Father) came cheerfully, as men fearing no harm; but being come, were there all by his commandment most miserably strangled: and at once to rid himself of the fear of all Competitors, (the greatest torment of the Mighty) he the same day (as is reported) caused ten of his Father's Wives and Concubines, such as by whom any Issue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the Sea.

*Mahomet* saluted Emperour of the *Turky*.

He murdered his Brethren.

The *Janizaries* in a Tumult.

The *Janizaries*, and other Souldiers of the Court, not before acquainted with the Death of *Amurath*, before with the choice that the great Baffa had without their privy made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to see themselves so disappointed of such Spoils as they reckoned due unto them in the time of their Vacancy, as men discontented, rose up in a rage, and made such havoc and spoil in the Imperial City, as greater they could not well have made had there been as yet no Emperour chosen at all; and not so contented, were now even upon the point to have seized their new Emperour's Court, and to have laid violent hands upon the Person of himself, in revenge of the tyranny by him executed upon his Brethren and Fathers Wives (which inhumane cruelty the Turkish Emperours easily excuse by the name of the Policy of their State.) For the appeasing of which so dangerous a Tumult, *Mahomet* called unto him certain of the chief men among the Seditious, such as were thought to be able to do most with them, whom he sought by fair persuasions and large promises to win unto him, and by them to pacify the rest. Which served him to little or no purpose, until such time as the great Baffa themselves came out with their followers; who, with many fair persuasions, mixt with most grievous threats, and firm promise of

a general pardon, with much ado appeased the Tumult; yet for the more safety, kept all the chief Streets of the City with strong Watch and Ward. This Brawl thus overblown, a new Tent was by the Commandment of the new Emperour set up before the Temple of *Sophia*; whereto, on the right hand was placed the dead Body of the late Sultan *Amurath*, his Father, and on the left-hand the Bodies of his nineteen strangled Brethren, layd forth of purpose, as an heavy Spectacle for the People to behold; who all, not long after were, together with their Father, with great Solemnity, after the Turkish manner buried; and *Mahomet* himself (being about nine and twenty years old) now openly proclaimed great Emperour of the *Turky*, and Lord of all, from the rising of the Sun, to the going down of the same. After that, returning to his Palace, he made unto his Baffas, and other great men, a sumptuous and Royal Feast, as the manner was; but whilst in the midst of their Mirth, upon the sudden all the City was again in an uprore, and the People in Arms, in such sort, as that it was thought scarce one man would have escaped alive from that Banquet, had not the chief Baffa with his Gravity and Wisdom, and wonderful Labour, in good time appeased their Fury; and withal, to their greater Terror, caused all the great Ordnance in the City to be brought forth into the Streets ready charged, to be shot off amongst them.

1595  
The Tumult appeased.

The *Janizaries* were again in an uprore.

Divers fortresses made by the Christians upon the *Turky*.

Whilst these Troubles thus passed at *Constantinople*, upon the late Confederation made between the Emperour, the *Transilvanian* Prince, the *Polishians*, and *Moldavians*, divers fortunate Inroads and Skirmishes were by them made in the Frontiers of the *Turky's* Dominions, many strong Places were surpris'd, many rich Booties taken, and notable Exploits done, which we will briefly pass over, as the Precedents of a greater War. The City of *Wetras*, before taken by the *Turks*, was now again in the beginning of this year recovered; and the *Christians* about *Scutchie*, in number about four thousand, breaking into the *Turky's* Frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich Prey, with divers notable Captives. The like did also the *Christians* of *Vivaria*; at which time also the Garrison Souldiers of *Altenburg*, taking a Road into the Country about *Ras*, encountered with four thousand *Turks*, of whom they slew two hundred, took certain Prisoners, whom they sent, some to *Presburg*, some to *Altenburg*; and *Sinan Baffa*, the late General, returning towards *Constantinople* with much Treasure, which he had greedily scraped together in the late Wars in *Hungary*, was by the *Polishians* set upon by the way not far from *Belgrade*, and stript of all that he had, having much ado to escape himself

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1505] with some few of his Followers. The same *Valachians*, together with the *Transilvanians*, entered the conduct of their valiant Captain, *Géttin Ferenc*, entering further upon the *Turks*, took from them six of their Towns and Castles, as *Pondéle*, *Nicopolis*, *Killa*, and *Rebénichs*; and meeting with twelve thousand of the *Tartars*, who were in the Infidelity of the *Valachians*, his late Tributaries; he, their Enemies, the *Turk* Emperor was highly offended; and therefore sent one *Bogdan*, a *Valachian* born, defended of the *Palatine* House, with a great Power, to expulſe the old *Vayvod*, and to possess himſelf of that Honour, as his Tributary: promising unto him a great Kindness. *Bogdan*, thus ſupported and furniſhed, came with his power into *Valachia*, yet thought it best before he tempted any great matter, to expect the coming of the *Tartars*, left the last year in *Hungary* by *Sinan*; of whose coming the *Valachians* and *Transilvanians* having underſtanding, met them by the ways and ſent him by *Barcel* a ſumme, flew eight thousand of them, put the rest to flight, and returned: unto whom, presently after this Victory, the *Turk* Prince sent fourteen thousand Soldiers more to aid them againſt the *Turks*. But *Bogdan* underſtanding both of the Overthrow of the *Tartars*, and the coming of this new Supply, durſt not proſeſſe ſtill in his Enterprize, but kept himſelf ſtill in his Country, till longer after, by the Commandment of the *Turk* Emperor, than the *Crim Tartar*, with a great power of *Turks*, whoſe Horſe, entered into *Moldavia*, with purpose to have by Fire and Sword reduced that Country again unto the *Turks* Obedience: of whose coming, *Aaron Vayvod* of *Moldavia* having knowledge, and ſeeing by his Neighbour *Michael Vayvod* of *Valachia*, who he believed to be the ſame, that he in three diviſe Battels overthrew them, and saving ſain twelve thousand of them, enforced the *Turks* to retire againe out of his Country: and following the courſe of this Victory, presently after took *Bendari*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, *Mechins*, with ſome other Caſtles and Fortreſſes of the *Turks*, united unto the River of *Danubius*, all which he ſurrounded with his own Garrisons, and whithal took the rich County of *Bobrag*, the Inhabitants thereof willingly ſubjecting themſelves unto him, as men weary of the *Turk* Thraldom. With like good fortune, aided by the *Polonian* Collocks, he overthrew *Janiſſa*, the Son of *Bogdan*, ſometime *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, ſent inſtantly by *Mahomet* with a great Power, as a ſuccour to ſuccour the ſaid *Vayvod*, and to recover again that Country: ſo that *Aaron* courageouſly encountering at *Scarpel*, ſent him from *Danubius*, overthrew him in plain *Barrel*; and having ſlain eight thousand of his *Turks*, put him to flight, and took the ſpoil of his whole Camp. Neithert yet ſo contented, marched preſently to *Nagard*, where he put the *Turks* in a great fear, and afterwards burnt the Suburbs of the City, and ſo retired

How *Anwarath*, the late Sultan, in the beginning of these Troubles, had at *Constantinople*. But up on the Prisoner *Frederick Rorczewitz*, the Emperor's Ambassador, is before declared. This Ambassador *Sinan Bajfa* brought with him the last year, when he came into *Hungary*; who, after many Indignities by him suffered, both upon the way and at *Belgrade*, there died; five of whose Servants the false cause carried off; Kept in *Irregular Prison*, as guilty of the Master's Death. But to avert the Infamy thereof from himself. But to avert the Infamy *Belgrade* for the better managing of the Affairs of *Wars*, upon the coming of a new Treasurer from the Court, he cauled the five poor Prisoners to be brought before him, and most impudently charged

them with the Death of their Master; saying, that they should answer for the same unto God and their Emperor; and that his purpose in sending of him from *Constantinople*, was to no other end, but to have used his help in concluding a Peace between the Great Sultan and the Emperor, and so that he was to him, with all his, alibiety: but now that he was to see, that he had sent them his treacherous Servants to the Emperor, and that he had examined; and withal to tell him, That he was sent from the Great Sultan (whose Power was not by any but God only to be withstood) to befriend *Vienna*, which he could (as he said) the last year have taken, and left about that he had done *Ratis*, and that therefore it was his duty, him betime to seek for Peace, before to great a Power he should see the Field: and that for farther Instructions, he would refer them to his Son, the *Bassa* of *Buda*, to whom he sent them from *Belgrade*, together with some *Low-comer* Treasurer. Being come to *Buda*, they were thought before the *Bassa*, and amongst them the late *Emperor's* Secretary, unto whom, after he had said somewhat of the hard dealing with the Ambassador and his Followers, he declared, That he had always disliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes intreated his Father to restore their Liberty, and now at last to have obtained, that he should have desired, that his Servants might be set free; and that he was in good hope, that they should in short time be restored to their wonted Liberty: in the mean time, that one of them should go unto the Emperor's Court, and there speak with one of his Secretaries, whom he had thought he should be able to bethink himself of Peace; unto whom also he gave words, upon what Conditions he thought Peace might be procured in his hand obtained. Which were, If all the Castles and Strong-holds, taken by the Emperor's Forces in these Wars, as *Fiken*, *Seckine*, and *Nagatsch*, with their Territories, should be restored, and that he should be satisfied if the Emperor should give them thenceforth refuge, and that he should have *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachians*, and give them to the Great Sultan to be chastised as Rebels; and finally, the Emperor would at once fend unto the *Turks* Court his wonted Tribute for the years ensuing, and the yearly afterwards: so he could be content, by the assistance of his Father, to attempt to appease the fierce and angry Displeasure of the Sultan, and to further the Treaty of Peace. This he commanded the Secretary to write, and to send it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require Answer thereof: yet that he should go with this Secretary, and that if he laid *Perling* within the space of five or six weeks, he should not wait with Answer, till the self should, by his default, be returned into his subtil Deceit, and full of deceit, wherein the *Viennese* *Bassas*, both the Father and the Son, sought for nothing else but to see what confidence the Christians had in themselves, and to break the friendship made between the Emperor, the *Transilvanians*, *Moldavians*, *Valachians*; and that other Princes, whom God had made his assistance of to just a cause, hearing of a rumour of ease, might grow cold, and defer to tend for their comfort Aid. For now the *Turks* had found by experience, how hurtful and dangerous the Revolt of the Christians, and Cities of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia* was unto them, which they thought in hundred thousand Duckets, they had lost the Great Sultan's Treasury: besides that, those People, now become their Enemies, were of all other meet to intercept all manner of Provision to be brought by Land either to or from *Constantinople*, and to hinder their warlike Province. Notwithstanding this motion, the *Emperor* sent by the *Bassas*, *Singai*, the old *Bassa* in France, and

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with great Diligence at *Belgrade*, prepared all things necessary for War, and caused three Bridges to be made, whereby he might in divers Places, as he thought best, transport his Army over *Danubius* and at the same time sent for the Garrisons round about, and other Souldiers before billeted in the Country, and put in readines all things necessary for a most mortal War.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperours Court, with answer to the Letters written by the Ambassadors Secretary, at the Commandment of the Baffa; the effect whereof was, that he had received his Letters by *Perling*, and did thereby understand what had passed between the Emperor and the Reverend Father Ambafador, and that he was not ignorant of the Ambafador and *Sinan Baffa* at *Belgrade*, and also how the *Sultan* *Sinan Baffa* the Son of *Buda*; and that the Emperours Mind was never other, but that a firm Peace might have been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing else by his Ambafador at *Comstantinople*, or by others in other Places, but that such reasonable Conditions might be offered to the Sultan, as he might be able to take, and have on both sides delivered their innocent Subjects from their great and daily Calamities; which might easily have been done, if *Sinan*, the Author and Fautor of this War, had with like desire furthered the Peace. But that it was manifest to the whole World, that all Complements of friendship and civility, which the Ambafador, yea, and by the Emperours himself, by his Letters laid open unto the Sultan and his chief Baffaes, had not only nothing prevailed, but also to have been with great Contempt rejected, and the Treaty of Peace once begun, to have by the Infidelity of the Baffa of *Baffia*, been interrupted; and that notwithstanding all this, the matter should not break out into open War, his father had sent a bute into the Confinnes of *Hungary*, which was a great while laid up at *Comara*, until the Sultans Mind was known. But when all his Designs tended to War, and the *Christian* Provinces were by his Robbers on every side ravaged, the Inhabitants led out to the Field, and the Towns, Cities, Castles, Towns and Villages burnt, yea, whole Counties laid waste and solate, and all manner of Outrages were upon a mere Pride and Contempt, as it were of the whole World, exercised; then the Emperour has just taken his Refuge unto the defence of his just cause, and to have used such Remedies as are both before and after the Event of this War, and so by lawfull means to have repulged War, which he had done, but he had not the last year prolofered in his hand, but that he had received some loss; yet that *Sinan Baffa* himself and the Baffa of *Buda*, his Son, with other of the wiser sort of the *Turks*, must needs confesse that to have chanced, not by their Willdom, Policy, or Reason, but by the Infirmitie of God, by a violent Misfortune, through the Ignorance, Inexperience and Treason of such as he had put in power with the Confinnes of his Empire, without much severe Chastisement. And that no man could deny, but that great Powers of the *Turks*, had not once, but oftentimes been overthrowen and discomfited, by small handfuls of the *Christians*; therefore their Power was not to be feared, as they vainly vaunted of. But whereas it was his Son, who had suffered *Sinan*, and the Baffa his Son, are of Opinion, that the Emperour is brought to so low an ebb, that he must be glad to accept of most hard and dishonourable Conditions of Peace propounded by others; therein they are much, and deceive themselves, and they are deceived, and they should be taught by Experience know, that his Son, who thirty wethereth neither Power nor Wealth, to repair the loss received through the Treason of them he trusted, yea, and to recover whatsoever else he had

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loft; and that it should in short time be witness'd unto the whole World, by the help of God, and the defence of a most just Cause, that the Emperor was not so poor and weak as they supposed him to be. Yet, as he of his own natural Goodness and Clemency, with his own incomparable love and harm, had always sought for the Quiet and Peace of his Subjects, and to the uttermost of his Power, maintain'd the effusion of all blood, and now almost forgetting all Injuries, he could happily be mov'd to think of an honourable Peace; whereunto he was more inclin'd than to protract the War with the unpeakable harms of the Subjects on both sides. Yet above all things, it behoved Sinan to know, that he must be the cause of all Calles and Towns as have in this War been taken, and the beginning at *Whitiz* in *Croatia*, even to the last innocent Subject by them carried away into Captivity: And that the *Transilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, (People many Ages join'd and united as one People) should return to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as unto the true Birth-land, and not of late by the Prachtreich Treachery of certain rebellious Persons separated from the same) were from henceforth to be left under the Protection and Government of his Imperial Majesty, and never more to be impugned by the *Turks*. If these things were done, and the Emperor should the Injury and Dilgrace done unto him, be forgiven, and the Emperor should leave all the Princes of the World cried shame of mankind, not remain unpunished; and that his Servants in durance at *Buda* and *Constantinople*, might be reſtor'd unto their wonted Liberty, then some good form of Peace, and bounding of their Territories, might be proposed; upon agreement; without which Conditions, all talk of Peace, was vain. And God, the just and mighty Protector of such as put their Trust in him, would not fail to help his Imperial Majesty, with the rest of the Confederate Princes, in their so just a quarrel, and abate the Power of such as trust in their own Strength and Power.

This answer the Captives at *Bada*, either by Writing or by word of Mouth; and withal, earnestly to request him, both for their own Liberty and their Country, wrongfully detained at *Constantinople*. Which if he should obtain, yet to comfort themselves with that, they desired the Countess to send them a Letter, by which they might have manner receive from the Emperour such allowance, as should suffice to provide them things necessary; as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might have justly detained, and not sent him back again, but for his Oaths sake, being no lawful Prisoner. Thus the unreasonable Conditions of Peace, craftily by the *Bads* gotten, and by others answered; but by whom he knew not, no Mans Name being set thereunto.

The Emperor, not ignorant with what an Enemy he had to do, and of nothing more careful than of the Kingdom (or more truly to say, of the Reliques of the Kingdom) of *Hungary*, lying now as it were in the Lions Mouth, ceased not to pray Aid, from the Princes Electors only, but of others also farther off; yea, even as far as *Italy* and *Spain*, but especially of the King of *Poland*, as his Neighbour and Neighbour. Unto whom both he and the States of *Hungary* sent their Ambassadors, at such time as he, moved with the daily Incursions of the *Turks* and *Tartars* into the Counties adjoining upon his, bad for the safety of his own Kingdom, called the Parliament of all his States in *Feyribach* last *Christmas*. Whereof *Mahomet*, the great *Turk*, hearing, sent also two Ambassadors, in this ultimate Age, to the King and his States, to assemble, to crave his Aid in his Wars in *Hungary*; which if the King should not refuse, then to promise



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The Turk  
Ambassadors  
sent unto  
the  
Polonian  
King  
John  
the  
second

promise him to want no Coin to pay his Souldiers; and that *Mahomet*, mindful of to great a courtship, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his Occasions should require. These Ambassadors, having obtained safe conduct from *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, for their Passage through his Country, coming thither, were by the Vayvod himself honourably entertained and well come, and so brought into a fair Lodging, where they discomfited with him of many matters. But the Vayvod's Followers, grieved to see so great Honour done to these their sworn and mortal Enemies, with Weapons in their hands brake into the Room where the Ambassadors were, and without more ado flew them both; and in the same Fury setting upon the rest of the Turks their Followers, cut them all in pieces, so that of them none came into *Polonia* to do their great Master's Message, neither yet returned to *Constantinople* to carry news of the rest, but there altogether perished. Of which Outrage *Mahomet* yet understanding, was there-with wonderfully enraged, threatening all evils both to the *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, and going to wrack in those Countries, and fore taken on that side of *Hungary*, *Mahomet*, the Turkish Emperor, called home to the Count *Sinan Bassa*, his General in *Hungary*, to confer with him (as it was thought) of some great matters. In whole place he sent *Ferhat Bassa*, he who sometime had the leading of *Amurat's* great Armies against the *Poles*, who now departing from *Constantinople*, came to *Belgrade* in *April*, and there took the charge upon him. Where, at his first coming, in the night time all the Ropes and Cords of the Tents were suddenly cut in funder, and so the Tent let fall about his Ears; which some supposed to have been done by his Disgrace, by the procurement of *Cicula Bassa*, before by him wronged; or, as others thought, by the insolent Janizaries, who disliking of him, did it in delight, wishing rather to have been led by *Mahomet* himself. Now at his coming, the Famine which the last year began amongst the *Turks* was grown exceeding great, not at *Buda* and *Belgrade* only, but generally in most places of *Hungary* possessed by the *Turks*. Inasmuch, that the *Turur* Women that followed the Camp were fain to roast their own Children, and eat them. This Famine was also accompanied with a most terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* died daily: so that of fourscore five thousand *Tartars*, which came the last year into *Hungary*, now remained scarce eight thousand, the rest being all devoured with the Sword, Famine, and Pestilence.

The Plague  
and Famine  
among the  
Turks

Mahomet  
Voyvod  
of  
Valachia  
doth the  
Turks great  
harm.

Great were the harms the *Turks* still daily received from the late revolted Countries of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the Christians of those Places seeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayvod of *Valachia*, not contented with what he had already done, but entering into the *Turks* Frontiers, surprised *Scimbele*, together with the Cattle; wherein he found fourteen field pieces, amongst which were two which had upon them the Arms of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two having upon them the Arms of *Humyadi*, which Pieces he afterwards sent as a Present to the *Transylvanian* Prince. After that, he took *Drogea*, a famous Port-Town, the dwelling place of the *Turks* great Purveyor for Butter, Cheese, and Honey, and such other Provision for the Court, wherein

he found such store of the aforesaid Provision, as might well have sufficed eight thousand men for a whole year; and still adding his good Fortune, took from the *Turks* *Kilic* and *Calatone*, with the strong Castle of *S. George*, commonly called *Grigin*, and at length besieged *Laganos*.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias*, the Arch-duke, and General of the Christian Army, from the Assembly of the Nobility of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, to *Besma*, and so from thence to the Empirour his Brother at *Prague*, who appointed him General of the lower *Hungary*, and *Maximilian* his Brother General of the upper Country; giving them for their Lieutenants, unto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the Count *Charles Mansfeld*, by him sent for out of *Flanders*, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire, and *John de Medicez*, who was yet in *Hungary*, he made Master of the great Ordinance, with charge to fortify *Komara*; which he so well performed, as that it was thought nothing in strength inferior to *Rab*. All this while the Empirour ceased not, by his Ambassadors and Letters, to sollicit the Christian Princes, for the terrifying of the common Enemy put to their helping hands; and so much he prevailed with them; that out of his own hereditary Provinces, and from other Princes his Friends, he had this Spring raised a right puissant and strong Army for the defence of *Hungary*; which how it was raised, and from whom, it shall not be much from out purpose briefly to remember, as the chief strength, under God, whereby the Christian Commonwealth was this year most notably defended. Out of the higher *Saxony* came a thousand two hundred Horse-men, and out of the lower *Saxony* six hundred; from *Franconia* a thousand Horse-men; from *Suevia* four thousand Foot-men; out of the County of *Tirol*, as many as thirty thousand; out of *Bohemia* two thousand five hundred Arms, fix hundred light Horse-men, and fix thousand Foot-men; from *Silesia* a thousand five hundred Horse-men; from *Lusatia* five hundred Horse and a thousand Foot; from *Moravia* a thousand two hundred Foot; out of *Austria* four thousand Horse and fix thousand Foot; from *Hungary* five hundred Horse and a thousand Foot: from the Nobility of *Suevia* and *Franconia* four thousand Foot; from the King of *Spain* out of the Low-Countries, under the Conduct of *Charles Count Mansfeld*, two thousand Horse-men and fix thousand Foot; unto these the Bishop of *Rome* added two thousand five hundred Foot-men; the Duke of *Florence* sent five hundred Horse and three thousand Foot; the Duke of *Ferrara* a thousand five hundred Foot-men; the Duke of *Manitua* a thousand Foot; and the Duke *Vermee* five hundred Horse. All which being put together, fill up the number of fifteen thousand nine hundred Horse-men, and fifty thousand five hundred Foot. Which notable Army, raised from the power of divers Christian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chiefs, had, by the goodness of God, much better Success this Summer against the ancient Enemies of Christendome, than had the like Army the Year before, as in the process of this History shall appear.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puissant Army, *Charles Count Mansfeld*, the Son of *Peter Erneste* the old Count, from his Youth brought up in Arms, was by the King of *Spain*, at the request of the Empirour, sent with the aforesaid Forces of two thousand Horse, and fix thousand Foot out of the Low-Countries, as a Man for his approved Valour and Direction, first to manage these dangerous Wars against the *Turks* under *Matthias* the Arch-duke, as his Lieutenant-General; who having raised the appointed Forces,

The notable  
Army  
of  
Christians,  
and  
from  
whence it  
was raised.

First Bassa  
over-  
thrown in  
Valachia

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First Bassa  
over-  
thrown in  
Valachia

for most part *Wallons*, departed from *Brussels*, about the middle of *February*; and by the way taking his leave of hisaged Father at *Luxemburg*, and travelling through *Germany*, came in *March* to *Prague*, where he was by the Empirour, and the Arch-duke his Brother, most honourably entertained, and shortly after, with great Solemnity, created one of the Princes of the Empire. His Forces following after him, were by the great layed, partly by the inundation of Waters (the Rivers they were to pass over at that time rising to an unwonted height) partly by the Jealousie of some of the German Princes, who denied them Passage through their Territories, until such time as that the Empirour, by his Letters, had opened unto him the way; which Princes, for as much, stood upon their guard, and so gave him Passage.

Now ran great Rumours of the wonderful Preparations of the *Turks*, as also of the Christians; Fame, after her wonted manner, increasing the report of all things above measure: which caused the *Turks*, with exceeding care, to look to the Fortification of their frontier Towns, especially of *Rab* and *Ungespiggen*, as did the Christians to the Fortification of *Komara* and *Athenburg*. In the mean time, many hot Skirmishes passed between the Christians and the *Turks*, especially in the late revolted Countries of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*, wherein the *Turks* were still put to the worse, to the great discontentment of their Emperour.

At *Constantinople* the great Army, led forth by the valiant Captain *Gefius Ferents*, and the *Transylvanians*. And in *Valachia*, the *Turks* General entring with a great Army, was there also, by the Lord *Nadadji* and the *Valachians*, aided with the *Transylvanians*, in a great Battle discomfited and overthrown. Eight thousand of the *Turks* heads, in token of this Victory, were sent to the Emperor. *Abdulla* Sultan, the *Transylvanian* Prince, and certain Ensigns, amongst which, one was most richly garnished with precious Stones and Pearl, thought to be worth thirty thousand Dollars; which the Prince afterward restored again to *Nadadji*, offering him great Possessions in *Transylvania*, if he could have been contented thereto to have loved himself.

All this Spring the *Turks* contemned their Wars with greater Boasts and Threats than true force, giving it out, That they would in short time work Wonders both by Sea and Land. For the more credit whereof, *Marat Rays*, a notable Pirate, was sent out with twelve Gallies, who landing here and there upon the Coast of *Italy*, did much harm; and caused it to be reported in every place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater War, and that a wonderful Fleet was to follow him: which raised a great fear, as well in other places as in *Italy*. Howbeit, no such Fleet afterwards appeared; for why, the Turkish Emperour, much troubled with the Revolt of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, and the great Mortality then raging both among his Souldiers and their Horses, was not at leisure to look into the Sea, having his hands full enough with the Troubles of *Hungary*, where his men of War enjoyed little rest in the Frontiers of his Territories.

*Sigismund*, the *Transylvanian* Prince, had, upon some just causes, of late suspected *Aaron* the Vayvod of *Moldavia*, to have Intelligence not only with the *Polonians*, but also with the Cardinal *Bator*, and other his mortal Enemies, and secretly to have been about to make his Peace with *Mahomet*, and so again to fall off from him unto the *Turks*: which vehement Suspicion growing daily more and more, was about the time manifestly confirmed by certain Letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preventing whereof, the Prince caused *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his Wife

and Son to be sent as Prisoners to *Prague*; in whose Room, he, by the consent of the Nobility of the Country, placed one *Stephen Roznowa*, a wife and discreet man amongst them, and such an one as had been always faithful unto him: so, as much as in him was, providing that Country should not be rent from him, and the Union of the other. But against the secret Practices of the *Polonians*, he proceeded openly, by Letters unto the Emperour, by the Power of God, and Aid of his faithful Subjects, to redress those to great Injuries himself by the Sword.

In the midst of these Troubles came three *Chiaus*, Ambassadors from the Turkish Sultan, unto the Prince, to persuade him again to put himself into his Protection, and to give him Passage through his Country, as in former time, unto *Hungary*, promising him, that all the Injuries done by him, or his People, should be for ever forgotten and forgiven; and that he should have those three Countries of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, as his own free Inheritance, without paying any Tribute; and so to be accounted as the *Turks*' most loving friend and Vassal. What the Prince answered therunto was not known; but by his discourses afterwards it was easily to be gathered, that he hearkened not unto the deceitful Charms of the faithless Tyrant, trusting more unto the League he had with the Christian Emperour. These Ambassadors were scarce gone, but that a secret Messenger came with Letters from the Christian Emperour, in *Bulgaria* to the Prince, declaring unto him, That if he did any good Success procure him, his Wars, they would be ready to follow his Fortune, and to join hands with him against the cruel Tyrant, and to shut up all the Passages that way into *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Hungary*.

Whilst these great times thus passed in *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, one of the old Janizaries, called *Wahide Giez*, an old Souldier, but a confident bold spoken Fellow, moved, as should seem with the Discontentments of the time, came unto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, at *Constantinople*, and there openly set upon him with this rough and abrupt Speech:

How long at last, most mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thyself to be seduced and blinded by the great Bassaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou suffer thyself to be deceived, to the great danger of thyself, and hurt of thy Subjects? Seest thou not how overtimely, from thy dulcety, and cunningly, they moved only with their own covetous and ambitious Humour, have hitherto dealt with thee and thy Father? especially in that, that persuaded by them, thou hast dishonourably broken thy League, and taken up Arms against the Christian Emperour. At length open thine eyes and see their deceit, and how much they abuse thy Power. *Sinan Bassa*, who hath been himself honoured and exalted above all others, hath not by strong band honourously won *Rab*, as hath been the manner of thine Ancestors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby cast thee into a most dangerous War and infinite Troubles. O *Rab*, *Rab*! now the age of great triumph, and rejoicing, as if thereby all Christendome should in short time be taken by the Scepter. But thou art therein much deceived; thy *Barns*, thy *Store-houses*, as are *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, *Bulgaria*, and other Provinces adjoining, from whence, thy thy Imperial City of *Constantinople*, with the Country about it, thy Court, yea thy Self are to be relieved, are by this War put up; so that doubtless thou shalt in short time manifestly confound the Exultation of *Rab*, thou art not able to look for any Provision. From whence then, O most mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintain thyself, thy Court, this populous City, and

The pre-  
sumptuous  
Speech of  
one Wahide,  
an old  
Janizary,  
unto  
Mahomet  
the great  
Sultan.





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Now had the Christians with long and continual Battery fore beaten both the upper and the lower City, which Battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the Siege, and within the City their wants increased daily, having nothing left to live upon but a little Wheat and Barley, with some Horsetflesh; unto whom thus distressed, the Lord Palfi, by the commandment of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in themselves) the Ninth of August, sent two Gentlemen to the City, to do a Message from him to the Governour: who advertised thereof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Janizaries, came to the Walls to hear what they had to say; where one of the said Gentlemen in few words delivered him this short Message.

*M*ost gracious Lord, the Lord Palfi, most worthy Governour, greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to be a Captain both valiant and wise, and one that hath always courteously used such as have fallen into thine hands, hath Compassion of thy desperate Obstinacy: and therefore, whereat thou art to look or hope for nothing else but perishing Life and Destruction, he, as thy Neighbour, and a Lover of thy Vertues, adviseth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt save thy self and thine from most undoubted and imminent Death, and utter Confusion, without delay to deliver up this City, which thou canst not longer hold.

Unto whom the old Governour thus, without stay, courteously answered:

*T*hy Speech, my Friend, and thy Masters Advice, are unto me both vain. Tell the Lord Palfi, in my Name, that I cannot please him with the least fine in this City. One foot I have already in the grave, and will with the same carry these my gray Hairs into the same; and am yet contented with a most certain and undoubted Hope, that my most dread and mighty Sovereign, and my Lord Sinan Bassa, will not forsake me: yea, and that if they should write unto me, that they could find no means or way to relieve me (which I am sure they can) yet would I well, and at leisure, consider whether it were fit for me to deliver up this City or not; seeing that of this defence thereof dependeth all mine Honour and Credit. Besides that, what Reward they have on both sides that so easily deliver over the Cities they have in charge, all the World doth see.

With this Answer he sent them away. All this while the Aga of the Janizaries standing by, spoke not one word, but fighting in silence and grinding his Teeth, declared by his Countenance his Indignation and inward Grief.

In the mid-way between Buda and Strigomium, in the midst of the River of Danubius, lieth a little Island called *Pisze*, where many rich Cloisters dwell: this Island the Hungarian Heidons spoiled, and in returning thence, met with twenty four Wagons laden with Corn, going to Buda, which they took, with eight and twenty Prisoners which they brought into the Camp. The lower Town being with long and continual Battery made assailable, was by the Christians, the Thirtieth of August, in three divers places taken. The *Bavarians* were by lot to give the first Charge, who in the performing thereof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulsed by the Turks) but seconded by ones of *Reinman* and *Suevia*, plucked down a great Pallisado, filled the Ditches, removed whatsoever stood in their way, and so long fought with the Turks in the breaches, that by the coming in of the Marquess of *Burgaw* with six Companies of fresh men, they prevailed upon the En-

my, and so all together brake into the Town. In the midst of this dangerous Fight was the Marquess himself, who both with his Presence and cheerful Speech so encouraged his Soldiers, that they, as men fearing no peril, ran headlong into all danger, until they had entered the Town: there might a man have heard a most miserable Cry, especially of Women and Children throughout the City; whereas the Christians breaking in on every side, slew whoever came in their way, without respect of Age or Sex, sparing neither Woman great with Child, neither the little Children hanging at their Mothers Breasts. Yet did not the Christians stop so much attend the present Execution, as some of them did the Spoil and Prey; and especially the Hungarians, unto whom all was good Booty, even the very Hinges of the Doors and Windows; whereby many escaped into the Castle and upper Town. The Christians had not many hours possessed the Town, but that divers fires began to break out in divers places, but by what means was not at the first known: at last it was found out, that the Turks, doubting the loss of the Town, had before, where they thought best, left Gun-powder, which taking fire by Matches kindled a most horrible fire, should at a certain time for all on fire; by which means many most horrible Fires were raised in the Town, which consumed many good Buildings, and other things which might have flooded the Christians in great dread, and could hardly in a day or two be quenched.

This so joyful and Victorious law not he, by whose good direction, next unto God, it was gained, the worthy County; for he a few days before being fallen sick of a Fever, taken by drinking too much cold drink in his Heat, with immoderate pains taking in the late Battle, and so afterwards falling into a great flux with a Fever, was by the counsel of his Physicians (for the better recovering of his Health) removed to *Komara*, a place near to his end, he almost every hour enquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his Death that the lower Town was won, he thereat greatly rejoiced; and the next day, being the Fourteenth of August, towards night, quietly departed this World, to the great loss of the Christian Commonwealth, and the exceeding grief of the whole Army. A Man even from his Child-hood brought up in Arms, of Stature great, but of Courage greater, and painful above measure, not the least cause of his untimely death. All the time of this Siege he took little Rest, either by day or night, scarce to much as lie down upon his Bed in two or three hours together. The little Meat he did eat, he most part eat it standing or walking, and, sometimes on Horse-back. He was a most severe Observer of Martial Discipline, which caused him to be of his Soldiers both beloved and feared. His Bowels were with due Solemnity buried at *Komara*, where he died; but his Body was brought back again to *Luxemburg*, there to be honourably interred with his Ancestors.

About which time, *Theodore*, the great Duke of *Moscovia*, hearing of the Wars between the Emperor and the Turks, sent two Ambassadors with Letters and Presents to the Emperours; which Ambassadors coming to *Prague* the first of August, accompanied with two hundred and fifty Horse,

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County  
died at  
Koma;

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were, by the Emperours appointment, honourably received and entertained. And afterward having Audience, first delivered the Letters of Credence from the great Duke, reported to have been of this purport.

*Y*our Majesty hath sent unto us your Ambassador Nicholas Warkotke, requesting our brotherly Aid against the hereditary Enemy of all Christianity, the Turkish Sultan. Wherefore, we also desiring to live with you dear and well beloved Brother in all personal Amity and Friendship, find us bound by our faithful Counsel and Servant Michael Ivanovitch, and John Sohne; Aid out of our Treasury against the said Enemy, unto whom we have also given other things in charge to be propounded to your Majesty, requesting you to give unto them full credit in all things. Given in the great Court of our Power at Muscovy, in the year of the World 7103, and from the Nativity of Christ 1595, in the Month of April.

What things in particular these Ambassadors were sent for, was not commonly known, but among others it is said, that the *Moscovite* requested the Emperour to lend an Ambassador unto the Persian King, to draw him also into the League with them against the Turks; which Ambassador should first come into *Moscovia*, and that way to pass into *Persia*. The Presents which the great Duke sent unto the Emperour, were, an hundred and fifty thousand Florens of Gold, great store of most rich Furs, and precious Perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Fawnes, and three Leopards alive. And *Ismaim*, the Ambassador himself, presented unto the Emperour of himself, certain rich Turky, Persian, and Babylonian Hangings and Carpets, certain Timbers of Sables, with other rich Furs no less precious than Sables, so many as eight Porters could hardly carry. These Ambassadors tarried at *Prague* until the seven and twentieth day of December, and then taking their leave, returned with the Emperours answer to the Duke.

But to return again unto *Strigomium*. The Christians now possessed of the lower Town, bent their whole Battery upon the higher Town, where it fortuned the fourteenth of August, that the old Governour *Ali-Beg*, whilst he was carefully walking from Place to Place to see where most danger was, had his Arm struck off with a great shot, of which he himself died. He was as man of great Gravity, about the Age of fourscore years, and had of long time nobly both governed and defended that famous City, the loss whereof was like needful to have been unto him greater Grief than was the loss of his Life there. Much about the same time also died the Aga of the Janizaries, being before mortally wounded. Both the chief Commanders thus slain, the Janizaries with the other Soldiers and Citizens made choice of the Bassa of *Naretia* (who as is aforesaid escaped out of the lower Town into the City) for their Governour; who with heavy cheer took upon him that forlorn charge. The Christians, not ignorant of the death of these two worthy Men, in whole great and approved Valour they supplied the chief Defence of the City to have redress, were in good hope that now the rest would therefore readily hearten to some good Composition; and therefore sent a Messenger to demand if they would yet, whilst there were some Mercy left, yield the City. Who, though they had lost their chief Commanders, with the greatest part of the Garrison, and were in great wants both of Victuals and all Things else necessary for their Defence; yet their Answer was in few words, That they would hold it out even to the last man. The greatest cause of which their obstinate Resolution,

The Copy  
of the  
great  
Duke's  
Letters  
unto the  
Empe-  
ror.

Ali-Beg  
the old  
Govern-  
our of  
Strigomium  
slain with  
a great  
Shot.

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was the strict charge the Bassa of *Buda* had given them for the defence thereof; besides that, they accounted their City holy, as won by their magnificent Emperour *Solyman*, whom the Turks generally yet have in a devout remembrance, and therefore thought it a great Impiety to deliver it up unto the Christians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Arch-Duke into the Camp; and the manner of the siege, he called together into his Tent the chief Commanders, namely, the Marquess of *Burgaw*, his Cousin, *John de Medice* the Florentine, and the Lord Palfi the Hungarian; to confer with them what was further to be done for the winning of the City. Shortly after, he commanded the City to be assaulted in two Places at once, which was by the *Wallons* and *German*s courageously performed; but such was the Valour of the Defendants, that when the Christians had done what they could, they were glad at last to give over the assault and wish to retire. About this time came the Duke of *Mantua*, with the three Counties his Brethren to the siege, and now the Turks began again to draw together near unto *Buda*, there to make head for the relief of *Strigomium*, and to be revenged of the loss they had there before received. Whereof the Arch-Duke having Intelligence, sent out against them eight thousand chosen Soldiers out of the Camp, who suddenly falling upon the Turks in their Camp, who suddenly rising of the Sun made a great laughter amongst them, and took certain Prisoners, of whom the Sanzack of *Copan* was one; and so with Victory returned to the siege.

The besieged Turks in *Strigomium* understanding of this overthrow of their Friends, from whom they expected most speedy relief, and beside the Terror of the continual Battery and still flaming Assaults, pinched also with extrem want of all things; began now to faint. Wherefore the Bassa with the other Captains, overcome with the aforesaid Difficulties, and the general outcry of the fearful People, resolved with one consent to come now to parley, and upon reasonable Conditions to yield up the City; whereupon a flag of Truce was set up, and Parley craved. Which granted, the Arch-Duke after the going down of the Sun came into the lower Town, where nine of the Turks attended his coming; who entering into Parley, required that they might under safe Conveyance with Bag and Baggage depart, and so leave him the City; which the Arch-Duke would not by any means agree unto. At length, with much Intreaty, they obtained that they might upon the same Conditions depart by their sides, and so much of their Goods as they could carry upon their Backs, unto such Ships as were to be appointed for the carriage of them to *Buda*. For the performance whereof, Hostages were on both sides given; and so the next day (being the second of September) they began to come out of the City, more in number than either the Prisoners taken in the time of the siege had been, or the Christians had thought. Thirty Ships were appointed for the conveying of them down the River to *Buda*, which not lasting, many of them tarried in the City until the next day, at which time the Bassa, with the sick and wounded, failed to *Buda*, the Prisoners and Pledges on both sides being before faithfully delivered. Thus by the Goodness of God, and the good Conduct of a few valiant Christians, was *Strigomium*, the Metropolitane City of Hungary, after it had fifty two years groaned under the miserable Yoke of the Turkish Servitude, again restored unto the Christian Commonwealth; which the Christians forthwith repaired and new furnished, as was thought.

But

Strigomium  
yielded  
unto the  
Christians.

The lower  
Town taken  
by the  
Christians.

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The Ca-  
stle of  
Vicegrad  
taken by  
the Chri-  
stians.

bell for the defence thereof against the Enemy. *Al* which being done, about the midst of this Month the Arch-Duke sent eighteen thousand to besiege *Piccadra*, otherwise called *Plindenburg*, a strong Castle of the *Turks*; upon the River between *Strigimium* and *Buda*; which Castle they took. Which, when they of *Buda* understood, they were so stricken with such a fear, that many of them forsook their fort were ready to forsake the City. At length, that the *Batarians* saw their flight, was glad to come to the Gates of the City to be shut upon them, and no man suffered to pass out. This good Success of the *Christians* in these Wars, caused great rejoicing to be made in most parts of *Chriftendom*.

All this while the *Christians* were thus busied at the siege of *Strigimium*, the *Transilbanian* Prince was not idle, but in divers places did march. He succeeding much in his wars, his new Name being come to be famous unto them. It fortuned that about the same day that the County *Mansfeld* departed at *Konnara*, that the Prince at *Ala-India* with great Solemnity married *Maria Chribina*, the Daughter of the late Arch Duke *Charles*; the Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand*; her other Sister *Anna* being before married unto *Sigismund*, now King of *Poland*; for so it was agreed for the more increase of the League between these two Kingdoms, and him, that he should take to his Wife out of the House of *Austria*, which was now did. Of this Solemnity the *Turks* (his evil Neighbours) having Intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000, or more, thought as unwelcome Guests, to have come unbidden or unlooked for thereunto; but the vigilant Prince understanding of their coming, provided for his Entertainment accordingly, and fetting his Neighbours for a while apart, and coming upon them when they least looked for him, he did so overcome them, that he slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor, the whole spoil of his Enemies.

About the same time, the *Transbalkanians* also be-  
sieged *Paigat*, a Town holden by the *Turks* not  
far from *Temeswar*, where, after they had lain 12  
days, they of the Town, despairing to be able long  
to hold out, came to *Parley*, and covenanting to  
depart with *Bag* and *Baggage*, began to go out of  
the Town. But in their departure, understanding  
that the *Bassa* of *Temeswar*, with the *Voys* of  
*Lippa* and *Jenne*, were coming to their relief, they  
and those that were in the Town began to find delays,  
and those that were already gone out, began to  
return. Wherewith the *Transbalkanians* much mo-  
ved, by plain force entered the Town, and put  
them all to the Sword; and afterward turning up-  
on the *Bassa*, who with ten thousand *Turks* and  
certain Field-pieces was coming to have relieved  
the Town, had with them a cruel Batel; wherein  
most part of the *Turks* fell with small loss of the  
*Transbalkanians*; who so eagerly pursued the  
*Voys*, that the *Bassa* himself with the *Voys* of  
*Lippa* fled out of the Town, and fled away with  
the *Field-pieces*. The two *Sanzacks*,  
with divers others of good Place, were taken and  
sent Prisoners to the Prince. Not long after, about  
the latter end of *August*, the *Transbalkanians* also be-  
sieged *Lippa*, a famous City of Hungary, standing  
upon the River *Maracze*, not far from *Temeswar*,  
which the *Turks* being not able longer to hold,  
fled into the Castle; where finding themselves in  
no great safety, after three days siege they came  
to *Parley*, and so yielded, upon Condition that they  
might in safety depart with so many of their Goods  
as they could carry with them. About which time  
also the *Bassa* of *Bofna*, with ten thousand *Turks*  
and *Tartars*, went forth to have again recovered  
*Rabofca*, a frontier Town, before taken by the  
*Christians*; which the *Sirians* and the rest of the  
*Christians* dwelling thereabouts, between the two

Rivers of *Sannus* and *Drauns*, understanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenstein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of those Frontiers, overtook the said *Turks* and *Tartars* near unto *Babofca*, fought with them, and in the plain Field overthrow them.

*Mahomet*, not a little grieved with the good Success of the *Christians* in every part of *Hungary*, and above measure offended with *Ferat* *Basha*, his General, through whose Negligence all, or at least his wife most part of this had happened (as he was by the Envoy of *Sinath* *Basha* perfwaded) sent for *Ferat* home, and in his Place sent out *Sinan*. Of which the great *Sultans* Displeasure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that bef knew; even the *Sultans* Mother, and advised not to come in fight until his Peace were made. Who, nevertheless trusting to his own Innocency (the comfortablest and most dangerous and weak way the world has) and desiring not to submit, whatsoever *Sinan* should be able to charge him with, came to the Court; where he was by the Commandment of *Mahomet* shortly after strangled, and his Goods; to the value of five hundred thousand *Ducats*, confiscated.

Among the dangerous Enemies of the Christian Common-wealth, was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an *Euphrat* born, a Filibuster Son, of a rough and uncivil *Politian*, and a cruel and bloody *Prince*, who sold his Youth to the *Wart*, and brought up in the *Wars*; and yet (as his Motto was) breathing nothing but Blood and War. He had many times fortunately led the brave Armies of the *Turkish Empire* into *Poland*, *Saxony*, and *Germany*; and he is not sent by the great *Sultan Mahomet*, as the fittest man to reduce the late revolted Countries of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* to their former *Thraldom* which to do, he before he promised to take, he first purfuit Armies, by a Bridge made of Boats (after a Months Labour) (sent therein) puffed over the great River of *Danubius*, into *Valachia*; of whose coming the *Transylvanians* were so much terrified, that they durst not stand their legs, but had before so flur up the Passages of the Country, as that he could not without much danger have entered far; and were also ready with their united Forces, even at his first entrance, to give him the same *Wart*. But he was not to have such a mortal and cruel fight, with much blood

hied on both sides. Thrice revere the *Transfusions* inforced to retire, but still relieved with new Supplies, and knowing that they then carried in their Arms the welfare of their whole Country, came on fresh again, and as hardly charged the *Turks*, as they had been by them charged. Thus with doubting courage, and fluctuating valour, the *Battel* maintained from the Morning until Night, Victory with doubtful Wings hovering now over the one side, now over the other; until that at length, the *Turks*, overcome by true Valour, their *Battels* being quite disordered and broken, were now glad to seek to save themselves. In the morning, they fought the eleventh of September, besides many thousands of the common Soldiers, were slain also divers of great account amongst the *Turks*; and amongst the rest, *Halder Baffa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead even in the same place where the *Battel* was fought. He was much huffed to get over the Bridge, fell into the deep Mud, and in that general Confusion of his Army, was like enough there to have perished; but as the common Proverb goes, *Seldome lyeth the Devil dead in a Dike*, the old *Peishaw* was with much ado drawn out by them of his Guard, and so he returned forth *Mischief*. Nevertheless, the danger was so great,

*Ferat Basa* sent for to Constantinople, and there strangled:  
*Sinan Basa* sent in *Ferat's* stead.

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great, that for certain days it was commonly reported, that he was there drowned, most of his own people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the spoil of the *Turks* became Prey unto the *Christians*, as did also their great Ordnance, and many of their Ensigns; amongst which, was one green one, which they accounted religious, as fabled to their Prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greatest Distress fled, as unto their last Refuge: there was taken also all their Tents, with great abundance of Victuals, and other warlike Provision.

The old Baffa thus overthrown, full of Grief and even mad for delight, posited himself in all haste to the Court, thinking it better himself to make the best of that which was indeed nought, than to see his Country brought by the cruel and ruinous Report of others; and withal, the desire of the great Sultan with desire of Revenge, when no man too much longed after as himself: wherein he so discreetly used the matter, as that the late loss of his Country, as received by the common loss of the Christian Army, was not so much to be regretted, rather than by any default of his; and new Commission given him for the raising of another Army for the subduing of the late revolted Countries, he now came, to show his Hated unto the Sultan, and to shew his Country to the Christians, and to shew his Country to the Court with the novelty of the Sight, he caused an hundred and twelve Christian Captives, whom he had in Prison at *Belgrade*, to be brought in chains like Beasts to *Constantinople*, and to be led thro' the great Streets of that City, as the vain contentment of the Citizens, to behold the Court-gate, for the Sultan to look upon, and the Courtiers to deride; from whence they were, after many unpeakeable Indignities, conveyed to most filthy and loathsome Prisons, there to be fed with the bread of Grief.

**The Turks  
over-  
thrown  
in Croatia**

About this time, the *Turks*, under the Command of the *Baſia* of *Bofnia*, to the number of almoſt twenty thouſand, made a Road into *Croatia*, where they were by the *Chriſtians*, under the leading of the Lord *Reichenberg* and *Leuowicz*, overthrowen, and almoſt all ſlain: the *Chriſtians* following the *Chafe* even into the *Turky* Frontiers, burnt fireſt of ſix Ages, and took the Caſtle of *Varſauar*: but ſoon after, the *Turks*, ſending back ſome of their immediately ſubordinate *Generals*, ſet out on their coming in the Lord *Herberghin*, Governor of *Valeria* and *Windſparche*, and certain other Troops of Horſe-men out of *Carinhia* and the Countries thereabout, they returned, the thirteenth of September, to beſiege *Pertinia*, otherwiſe called *Petroſina*; which, becauſe they were in hope to take by ſurprize, they even at their firſt coming courageouſly lay ſiege to it. But the *Chriſtians*, ſeeing theſe with greater reſiſtance, and more diſtance, than they had before ſuppoſed to have found, and that without great Ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got over the Mountains) there was no good to be done, they were glad to give over the *Aſſault*, and with ſuch loſs as they had received, to return homeward, to conſult farther of the matter. But the *Turks* again, a fugitive Horſe-man fled from the Enemy, ſent ſome of their Troops to the *Chriſtians*, That *Kuſtan* Be, Governor of *Pertinia*, was in the late *Aſſault* wounded in the Breaſt with a ſmall Shot, and dead; and that the *Turky* in the Town, diſcouraged with his Death, and the late Overthrow of their Friends in *Croatia*, would upon the firſt fight of their abandon the Town, if they ſhould again return to beſiege it. Upon which good hope, the *Chriſtians*, preferringly reſolved to go forward again towards *Pertinia*, ſent ſome of their *Turks* (hearing of their coming) had before ſent, as the Soldier reported, for fear abandoned. So the *Chriſtians*, without Reſiſtance, entering the Town,

A mortal  
Battel be-  
twixt Si-  
nan and the  
Transilva-  
nian  
Prince.

The *Turks*  
over-  
thrown.

**Petrina** taken by the Christians.

et *Sinan* in  
in flying like  
ke to be  
drowned;

*seventh Emperor of the Turks.*

found therein some Pillage, but better store of Shot and Powder; and presently sending for certain Troops of Horse-men to pursue the flying *Turks*, took divers of them, and among the rest the late Governours Lieutenant, whom they brought back again into the Town. Thus was *Petrina* again recovered from the *Turks*, to the great quiet and safety of all that side about.

of all that thrūd the Country.

*Weghmond*, the *Transilvanian* Prince, not ignorant of the malice of old *Sin*, who he knew would not be long before he returned to the Empire of the *Polesians*, for the wife of the Prince of the *Moldavia*, from him, fought now for all means (as it flood him upon) to make him self (so strong as he could again) to many Storms arising. It fortuned, that even at the same time the *Zaculians* (now known by the name of *Scyth*) in former time a warlike people, but then tributary unto the *Turks*, bordering upon the North-east part of *Transilvania*; now wearied of the *Scyth* Thralldom, and seeing the good Success of the *Polish* and the late revolted Countries, their Neighbourhood, offered unto the Prince their Service; promising of their own charge to maintain forty thousand men in the Field during his Wars with the *Turk*, and to pay him of every houle a Dollar, with a certain quantity of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of the other Country; and further, that if God should bid him to give a Son to succeed him in his Government, they were willing they should give unto him a good fat Oxe. For this Service, they craved no more, but that they might as his Subjects live under his Protection; yet so, as to be governed by their own ancient Laws and Customs. Of which their Offer the Prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their Country, that the People sworn to the performance of the aforesaid Conditions. And having at that present but five and twenty thousand in the Field, they, without delay, sent out their Army to press out fifteen thousand more, for the filling up of the promised number of forty thousand; wherewith they came unto the Prince, who, taking a view of his Army, found himself to be now fourty thousand men strong, to welcome the *Bassaw* whither when he should come again into his Country.

Now had *Sinan*, with great speed, raised an Army of *70000* choice Soldiers, amongst whom were many whole Bands of Janissaries, the flower of the Turkish Empire. With which Power, joyful unto the Reliques of his other broken Forces, he thought himself strong enough for the subduing of the Prince, unto whom came also afterward *Hassan Basha*, the son of the great *Basha Muhamet*, one of the Turks most renowned for his arms, and many others of great name. With this Army, the old *Basha*, by a Bridge, which he with exceeding charge had made of Boats, passed over the great River, the son of the great *Basha*, called *the great River S. George* in *Palatyna*, a great way beneath that place where sometime the Emperour *Turk* built his famous Bridge of Stone, worthily accounted amongst the rare and wonderful Buildings of the World. From *Torona* he marched with his Army, to the City of *Constantinople*, the *Vayvod's* chief City, but then in the *Port* of the *Turks* where is a notable Monastery, which he called *the Castle*, fortifying it with deep Trenches and strong Bulwarks, and good store of great Ordnance, purposing to make that the Seat of his War, until he might reinforce those late revolted Countries unto the *Prince*, to which he, upon pain of his Head, had undertaken to deliver the *Prince*, both by Messages and Letters, with great

The Prince  
taketh a  
view of his  
Army.

*Sinan-Baffa*  
by a Bridge  
made of  
Boars, pas-  
seth over  
*Danubius*  
into *Vala-*  
*chia*.

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the Baffes arrival there, and having his Army in good readines, let forward to meet him, and to give him Battel. But being come unto *Valachia*, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle, descending from as high Rock thence, called the Kings Rock, and hovering over the *Christian* Army, flew about the Princes Tent, and there lighting, was taken and presented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preface of his good Fortune, holding fill on his way; and the fifteenth of *October*, being come within half a days march of *Tergovista*, he understood by two *Christians* lately escaped from the Turks, That two days before, the Turks hearing of his coming were fructen with such a general and sudden fear, that *Sinan* had much ado, either by fire means or by foul to flay the *Janissaries* from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certain Companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the Truth was, That *Sinan*, seeing the general fear of his Army, and he himself no less fearful than the rest; upon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leaving his Tents behind him for halfe, his great Ordnance, with much Victuals and other warlike Provision, carrying with him only such things as were of most value. As for the City of *Tergovista*, with the Castle which he had made of the Monastery, he committed to the keeping of *Hajfan Baffa* and *Bogdanus* the late *Vayvod*, now become a Renegade Turk, with a Garrison of 4000 chosen Souldiers, promising within a few days, if need should be, to relieve them, but fled himself in all haste with his Army to *Buchargia*, a days Journey from *Tergovista*. From whence he presently writ back again to *Hajfan Baffa*, willing him if he could to defend the Castle; but if he should think it not possible to be kept against the Power of the Prince, then betime to forsake it and to flit for himself. But these Letters being intercepted by the *Christians*, never came to the Baffes Hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the Prince coming to *Tergovista*, entered the forsaken Camp, where he found many Tents, with some Ordnance, and great store of Victuals, and without further delay summoned both the City and the Castle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Hajfan*, considering the flight of *Sinan*, the Power of the Prince, and withal, doubting, if need should be, to be relieved by *Sinan*, whom he not without cause suspected not to love him, was about some reasonable Composition to have yielded up both the City and the Castle; whereunto the Garrison Souldiers (being most part of them *Janissaries*) would not in any case give their Consent, but stood upon the defence of the Place. Whereupon the Prince began furiously to batter both the City and the Castle, and after some few hours battery, by assault took both, and put to the Sword the whole Garrison; only *Hajfan Baffa*, as Sarazacks, *Bogdanus* the Renegade was there slain among the rest. The *Christians* had there a rich Prey, besides forty two great pieces of Ordnance, and good store of all manner of warlike Provision. *Hajfan* thus taken, grievously complained, That *Sinan* had of a malicious purpose exposed him to so manifold Peril, for the grudge he bare unto his dead Father, the *Vizier Mabomet*, upon whom, because he could never be revenged, he now by sinister means had cunningly performed it upon his Son; yet he craved of the Prince to be well used, offering for his ranfome 100000 *Hungarian* Duckets. Yet whilst the Prince thus lay at *Tergovista*, came thither 4000 *Turks*, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence, sent forth to spoil the Country, and to seek after Prey, thinking in this Cave he found him still; who now falling into the Hands

of the *Christians*, were there all slain, and 60000 head of Cattel recovered, which these *Turks* had taken out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, and should by *Sinan*s appointment have been sent to *Constantinople*. For *Valachia* and *Moldavia* do so abound with Corn and Cattel, that they plentifully serve the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, not only with Corn and Fleth, but also yearly send at the least 150 Ships thither by the black Sea, laden with other kind of Victuals. Of which so great Commodities the *Turks* were now deprived, by the revolt of the aforesaid Countries.

The Prince, leaving a strong Garrison in *Tergovista*, let forward with his Army towards *Bucaresta*, hoping there to have found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the loss of *Tergovista*, and thinking himself in no good safety at *Bucaresta*, fled thence also to *Zorza*. The Prince coming to *Bucaresta*, found it abandoned by the *Turks*, and so took it without resistance, yet had therein certain field-pieces, with good store of Shot and Powder, left there by *Sinan*. Having there stayed a while for the marning of the Place, he set forwards again towards *Zorza*; and that with such speed, that he overtook great numbers of the *Turks*, all whom he put to the Sword; so that the Fields between *Bucaresta* and *Zorza*, were in many Places covered with the dead Bodies of the *Turks*. Nevertheless, he could not make so great haste, marching fill in good order, but that the fearful *Baffa*, disorderly halting, was about some fix hours or more before come to aq Bridge he had with great charge made over the River of *Danubius*.

Over the hithermost part of which Bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greatest part of his Army (before the coming of the Prince) got over into an Island in the midst of the River, wherein he had as his coming over incamped, but doubting thence to fly, with all the speed he could, got him over the other part of the Bridge also unto the farther side of the River, with so many of his Men as in so short time possibly could. Where to flay the farther pursuit of the Prince, he brake the Bridge on that side, and let it on fire; and thereby cut off also many of his own men that were not as yet come over. Whom the Prince inclosing, forced many of them into the River, where they perished; the rest flying into the Island, were by the *Christians* fiercely pursuing them, either there slain, or seeking by the other part of the Bridge to have got over, (whereof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the hinder end toward the Island now cut off by the *Christians*) were, together with the Bridge, carried away by the violence of the River, and so altogether perished. Other some of the *Christians* in the mean time took the Bridge that leadeth unto the Castle of *Zorza*, which standeth compassed about with an Arm of *Danubius*, and being very great, was kept by a Garrison of seven hundred select Souldiers. Unto which Castle the Prince presently laid siege, (the resolute Souldiers being not by any means to be perswaded to yield it up, but to hold it out even unto the last man) and after he had fore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the Sword all the Garrison Souldiers he could lay hands upon. About an hundred of these *Turks*, seeing they must needs fall into the Power of their Enemies, desperately leapt from the top of the Castle into the River, where not one of them escaped, being all either drowned or slain with small loss. In the winning of this place, hundred and fifty of the *Christians* were lost, and many wounded; but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, betwixt the eighteenth and the last of *October*, perished above six and twenty thousand. In this Cave were taken thirty nine great Pieces, with such

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The Prince returned with Victory to Alba-Julia.

The Opinion on Sinan Baffa had of the Transilvanian.

Jenna yielded to the Transilvanians.

store of Armour and other warlike Provision, as might have served for an whole Kingdom, and four thousand *Christians*, which the Women and Children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of *Valachia*, restored to their former Liberty. With whom, the Prince, after he had let all things in order, returned in great Triumph to *Tergovista*, and so afterwards to his Palace at *Alba-Julia*, where, as also at *Claudiopolis*, and other Cities through his Dominions, he caused publick Prayers, with thanksgiving unto Almighty God, to be devoutly made for so great a Victory: as did also *Michael* the *Vayvod* in *Valachia*; who in all these great Wars against the *Turks* was nothing inferior unto the *Transilvanian* himself. A greater loss than this, the Turkish Emperor received not at Land in many Years before, being by this so happy and victorious a Prince, and the Revolt of these three Countries, deprived of so much Territory as they had not from the *Christians* of long time gained. It was by some of them the better sort of the *Turks* that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baffa* should oftentimes say, That this young *Transilvanian* Prince had bereft him of all his Honour and Reputation he had with great travel got in the course of his long Life; and that although he had cicaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cause for him in these his great years, even in the winding up of all, to lose his Life together with his Goods and Honour. Now was the *Transilvanian* Prince's Name (after the overthrow of his great Baffa) become dreadful unto the *Turks*, and also famous through all *Christendome*.

Whilst this worthy Prince was thus buied in this Expedition against *Sinan*, he caused the Castle of *Jenna* (standing upon the High-way between *Temeswar* and *Gisla*) to be beset by certain of his Captains appointed to that Service, in which time he sent a party of the *Turks* Sarazacks, with a Garrison of seven hundred *Turks*, who much troubled such as passed that way. They, now brought to some Extremity, and terrified with the Success of the Prince, offered to give up the Castle, so that as Souldiers, with their Scimitars by their sides, they might in safety be brought to *Pamela*. Which their Offer being accepted of, and they now upon their way, the *Hungarian* light Horse-men that should have conducted them, informed that these *Turks* now under their charge had secret Intelligence with the *Turks* in Garrison at *Gisla* and *Temeswar*, that they should lie in Ambush for them near *Pamela*, and so cut them off by the way; for which the *Turks* whom they should have conducted, and cut the Throats of four hundred of them; and yet fill holding on their way, met with these *Turks* that lay in Ambush for them, whom they, after a sharp Skirmish, overthrew; and having slain a great many of them, put the rest to flight. By the taking of *Jenna* the ways therabouts were quietted, especially for them of *Waraden*. The Sarzack of *Jenna* reported, That *Mabomet* had a little before sent word unto his Baffas and Sarzances in *Hungary*, That such Castles and Towns as they thought were not to be defended against the *Christians*, they should betimes, as occasion served, yield them up, or forsake them; so to spare the needless loss of his good Souldiers; of whom he had, with so many Towns and strong-holds, lost no small number this Year in *Hungary*. *Jenna* thus taken, divers of the richer sort in *Temeswar*, fearing to be even presently besieged, sent their Wives and Children, with their Treasures and such other things as they made most reckoning of, out of the City, in Waggon, to be conveyed unto Places of more safety; of which Waggon, seventy were by the *Christians* (lying therabout in Garrison) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich Booty.

*Mabomet* having this year fully purposed the utter Ruine of the *Transilvanian* Prince, and the reducing of the Countries of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, unto his Obedience, by the great Baffa *Sinan* had, for the better choosing thereof, before provided, that the Crim *Tartar* (ready fill at his call) should with his own People (whereof he hath great store) and certain Bands of the *Turks*, at the same time invade *Moldavia*; and possessing himself of the Country, to place one *Sidriake* *Vayvod*, instead of *Stephen* the late *Vayvod* by the Prince, and to people the Country with his *Tartars*, in reward of his good Service, as he said; but indeed to have them always near at hand to do his Commandments in *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Transilvania*, or the other Countries of the *Christians* thereunto adjoining. The *Tartars*, according to their Appointment, came with seventy thousand *Tartars*, accompanied with their Wives and Children, to have platted themselves in the Country, at the very same time that *Sinan* came to *Tergovista*. But being come upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, to have put in Execution what he was by *Mabomet* commanded, he found there *Zemislav*, the great Chancellor of *Polonia*, ready with a strong Army to oppose himself against him, and to flay his farther Passage. Whereupon, some light Skirmishes passed between the *Tartars* and the *Polonians*; where the *Tartars* were fill put to the worse, with the loss of three thousand of their men. The *Tartar* *Cham*, with *Sidriake* the *Vayvod*, appointed by the *Turks*, finding themselves, though in number more, yet in strength inferior unto the *Polonian*, and that without his good leave he could not pass; sent unto the Chancellor to excuse that was already past, as done without their consent, by the Insolvency of their Souldiers; and to tell him, that their coming was not to fight with him, as having express Commandment from the great Sultan *Mabomet*, to go and to stir the League betwixt him and the *Polonians*, but quietly to pass by their Frontiers into *Moldavia*, and there to place *Sidriake* *Vayvod*, his Tributary, instead of *Stephen*, that now usurped the place by the appointment of the *Transilvanian*; which that they might do, they craved his leave, as Friends, to pass. Whereunto the Chancellor answered, That he was come thither, by the commandment of the King, to defend those Countries from the Invasion of such as had in them no right; and that there had of long time been an ancient League betwixt the *Polonian* Kings and *Turkish* Emperours, upon certain Conditions, which he would for his part keep inviolate, with the favour of the *Turkish* Emperour; yet so, as that the Kingdom of *Polonia* took no harm thereby, and that they might quietly live by him as their good Neighbour; which League he protested not to have been by him, but by them, infringed; as for to give them Passage, he said he could not. Messengers passing thus to and fro, and some Parle had, at last certain Articles were agreed upon, to the reasonable contentment both of the *Tartar* and of the Chancellor, (though not of *Sidriake*, disappointed thereby of his *Vayvodship*) as also of the Turkish Sultan, whose Pleasure they both seemed to have in full regard. Hereupon, the *Tartar*, with his Multitude, presently returned, leaving the Chancellor to his own designs. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chancellor had done the *Transilvanian* Prince great Service, by keeping out of the *Tartars*, and much Honour was, by many that saw least, spoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the *Transilvanian* therein any such good, at whose Glory he envied, and had with the Cardinal and his Brother, the Princes Uncles (but most deadly Enemies) secretly conspired, so much as in them was, his utter Ruine and Overthrow; wishing those

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Countries rather in the Subjection of the Turk than to see them to be honourably at liberty, governed by the Prince; such is the force of malicious Envy, the infernal Companion of worthy Vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwise a man of great Fame and Honour) began now openly to pour forth; for presently after the capture of the Tartars, he with all his Power passing over the River *Nijeter*, or *Tyros*, into *Moldavia*, even at such time as the Prince was going against *Sinan* at *Tergoviffa*, first seized upon the Castle of *Chotim*, which he furnished with his own Souldiers: and from thence marching to *Zornia*, the metropolitical City of that Province, and from thence the Vayvod, had it yielded unto him; and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole Country delivered unto him; *Stephen* the Vayvod, placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he left least any such thing, having made account of no other Enemies but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. *Stephen* the Vayvod thus driven out, and the Chancellor possessed of the Country, he presently placed one *Hieremias* Vayvod instead of *Stephen*, to hold that Honour of the *Polonian* King as his Sovereign. Yet nevertheless, to satisfy the Turk, he sent a Messenger to *Sinan Bassa*, then but newly come to *Tergoviffa*, requesting him not to take it in evil part that he had entered into *Moldavia*, and there placed a new Vayvod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mabomet* to confirm this doing, and the Vayvod by him placed; promising the Country of *Moldavia* to remain tributary still unto the Sultan, and that this new Vayvod should forthwith pay unto what this Tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far greater Tribute than he had paid the Country of *Moldavia* before. Whereunto the haughty Bassa (then fearing nothing less than that which immediately after happened, to be driven out of those Countries by the Prince) proudly answered, that it was not the great Sultan's mind that the *Polonians* should at all invade *Moldavia*, for that beside he could, without their help, reduce those Countries to his Obedience, he had given that Country unto the *Tartars*, in reward of his good Service already done in *Hungary* and other places; whose Subjects, the *Tartars*, would ere long be ready, with their Wives and Children, to take Possession of. Nevertheless the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayvod by him placed, which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan*, the Turks Champion (as is before declared) being presently after overthrown, and driven quite out of those Countries by the Prince: who, if he had not then gained the Victory, the Chancellor had not now holden *Moldavia*, but the Turk, whose Quarrel he seemed rather to favour than the Prince. The Chancellor, to colour this his Invasion, pretended that the Country of *Moldavia* did of ancient Right belong unto the Kingdom of *Polonia*; which the *Transilvanians* took to be no other but mere and open wrong. This supposed Title, such as it was, the Chancellor had so fashioned out unto the King and the States of that Kingdom, that they referred it to his Discretion to invade the Country, and the Vayvod by him placed by the Prince, to place another in his stead; and the rather to persuade them, laboured by many forced Reasons to shew the Power of the *Transilvanian* Prince to be so far inferior unto the *Turks*, that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his Dominions, and so they, together with *Moldavia*, become tributary to the *Turks*; which if it should come to pass, then should the *Polonians* have an untrusty and troublesome Neighbour: and that therefore it were better that *Moldavia* were possessed by them that were better able to defend it than was he, that so the Turk might be kept farther off from *Polonia*. Which occasion he laid was not

The Reasons pretended by the Chancellor for the Invasion of *Moldavia*.

longer to be delayed, but now became to be laid hold upon; persuading himself to find such Grace and Favour with the *Turkish* Emperor, as that he should be therewith right well contented; which was like enough for a time to be, for that the *Transilvanian* should thereby be much weakened. By these and such like Reasons, framed to serve his own turn, the Chancellor so prevailed with the King and the States of the Kingdom, that he received (as I said) full Authority to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk; the late chosen Vayvod not long after opening a way in three places for the *Tartars* into *Transilvania*, one by the Country of *Sicchia*, another by the way that leadeth to *Alba Julia*, and the third by *Radac* (as I said).

The *Transilvanian* Prince, seeing the Country of *Moldavia*, by the practice of the Chancellor, thus taken from him, and delivered from the other united Provinces, to the great weakening of his Estate; the flight of *Sinan* lent certain Companies both of Horse and Foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayvod, now driven out by the *Polonians*, to prove if he could by that means drive out the *Polonians* again, and recover his former Dignity. With this aid sent from the Prince, and others that favoured his Quarrel, he joyed a bloody Batel with the *Polonians*; but being therein by them overcome and taken, and for a space kept (as the Prince feared, to have been delivered unto the Turk, he put by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This deal dealing of the *Polonian* in *Moldavia* much grieved many good Christians, as tending to the general hurt of the Christian Commonwealth. For which cause, the Emperor, by his Ambassadors lent for that purpose unto the *Polonian*, sought to persuade him to desist from such Invasion of the *Transilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, as nothing standing with his Honour; and that some good Reconciliation might be made between the Prince and the Cardinal *Baron* and his Brother, the Prince's Uncles, Authors of all these Troubles. To which purpose also the Pope sent a Messenger with like Instructions and Letters unto the King, persuading him, not to prosecute his Wars against the Prince, but to turn his Thoughts unto a more peaceable and Christian-like course, especially with him with whom he was so near linked in *Lord*, so much the more fervently we with all your Actions to be adorned with the greatest Commendation of true Godliness and Widow, both before God and Men; whereof it proceedeth, that we are so much the more vehemently and grievously moved, if we hear any such thing of you, as may seem not agreeable to your Vertue and approved Zeal toward the Catholic Religion, or tending to the obscuring of the Glory of your Name, as is now brought unto us concerning the Affairs of *Moldavia*; whereof, not without great grief, we write unto you. And to rehearse things a little before past: with what earnestness and fervency dealt I with you, that for God's Cause, and the

The late chosen Vayvod opens three ways into the Turk and Tartars into *Transilvania*.

The Pope's Letters unto the King of *Polonia* dissuade him from invading the Prince.

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the defence of the health and liberty of the Christian Commonwealth; against the Tyranny of the *Turks*, you would combine your self with our most dearly beloved Son *Rodolph* the Emperor, and divers other Christian Princes; and that you should not let slip so notable an occasion, so worthily to deserve of God, of the Catholic Faith, and of the Christian Commonwealth in general: And albeit we then thought as well for many your own private respects, as also of your Kingdoms, That you were to be borne withal and excused if you did not now openly descend into this Confederation of the Christian Princes against the most mortal and common Enemy, neither apertly join your Forces or give aid for the repelling of his Infolency; yet we always assured our selves, that no let should in any case proceed from you, whereby either the Emperor or the other Christian Princes should be the rather hindered, justly to prosecute their Injuries, or to call off from their Necks the heavy yoke of the most cruel Tyrant; whose defence of Sovereignty is not comprised within the compass of any bound. But that you should in favour of the Turk, impugn the Catholic Princes and Defenders of the Christian Faith, and so join hands with the Enemies of the Cross of Christ, as that by your help their force and fury should be encreased, and ours not only weakened, but in the most grievous of Vices humiliated, and cast into the most vicious perils; this we have not only not thought of you, but so much as once suspected; yea and can now scarce be persuaded to believe those things to be done by you, which are reported unto us as most true and undoubted. For the report goeth, That you having Intelligence with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, have with them conspired, and namedly against our well beloved Son *Sigismund*, Prince of *Transilvania*, who with invincible Courage fighteth the Battles of the Lord; and left he should be able to abate the force and attempts of the most proud Enemy (which by the singular mercy of God he hath hitherto against his own power performed) but rather be enforced much to fear his own Estate, a new Vayvod and Prince, as it were by a triumphant Authority, and compa, to be placed in *Moldavia*, and him by the *Turks*, You, and the *Tartars* together, to be made Governour of that Country. Which unto us seemeth so new and so strange, and contrary to the good Opinion we had always conceived of you, yea and so unbecoming your Zeal and Wisdom, that for grief and admiration I had almost cried out with the Prophet, *Thou Heaven: be amazed at this, and thy Gates thereof be you exceedingly heavy*. For what could be suspected or imagined farther from the Expectation of us and all good men, or more incredible, than that *Sigismund*, the most religious King of *Polonia* and Sweden, who had always professed himself a most earnest Defender of the Catholic Religion, who was ready, even with his own Blood to redeem the Victory of the Christians, and Glory of the Cross, against the most wicked Enemies of the same, to be upon the sudden become so unlike unto himself; and (so much as it might seem) to off the hope and happy felicity of that religious War, and to do harm to a Christian and Catholic Prince, not to refuse to join in league and friendship, even with the most barbarous Nations and the *Tartars*, the perpetual enemies of himself, and of the Kingdom of *Polonia*. In which Causes, our mind is tormented with such bitter grief, that we could not but by speedy Messengers write unto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the sooner see the greatness of our grief; and we also without delay might signify unto you, what our fatherly Love towards you requesteth in so important a matter. For happily we will send one even of purpose to you concerning this cause, the care whereof grieves

us more than can well be expressed. Wherefore, most dearly beloved Son, we exhort you, and in the most effectual manner we can, advise you, and beseech you in the Lord, more attentively to consider what great displeasure both of God and Man, this your Adition and Resolution may incur, what a stain it may bring unto your Crown and Dignity. For believe us, that are to you instead of a Father in Christ, who love you not feignedly, but faithfully, and indeed as we who wish for your glory in this World, and your eternal Felicity in the World to come: believe us (I say) this doth much blemish your Fame with all Christian Kings and Princes; all men take it in evil part, and detest it as a thing monstrous, that it should by your means be wrought, that the Christian Affairs should not prosper, that an heretic Prince, who should not himself for Christ and his Country, should not have prosperous success in this religious and necessary War against the *Infidels*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, no less yours, or peradventure also more yours, and other Christian Princes Enemies, than his. But what do we say? You to hinder the proceedings of the *Transilvanian* Prince: this were happily but a small matter; nay verily, by this means not only a Christian and Catholic Prince, and valiant Champion of the Christian Faith (a Vertue both admirable and amiable in the very Enemy) but your own Brother-in-law, bound unto you with many bonds of Affinity, whose Children shall be as it were your Children Brethren, and by this means brought into great danger, exposed unto the fury of the most merciless *Turks*. What do you then most dearly beloved Son? Beware that all men, both now living, and hereafter to come, condemn you not of the greatest Inhumanity; but beware yet more, that you seem not ingrateful, not only to your own high Kinsman, but to God himself, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great Kingdoms, and so many good things; and that you provoke not him to Wrath against your self, that rejecteth and confoundeth all evil and wicked Devices; and that this mischief that you have brought upon your Brother, by the just judgment of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you and your Kingdom, which he in mercy forbid. Do you think, that the *Transilvanian* being overcome, you shall in safety live from the treachery of the *Turks*? Do you not know him to be a faithless man, which dealreth all things by his own profit, which keepeth faith with none but as (standeth with his own Commodity, who with an unsatiable desire gapeth after every Kingdom, may thrive after the Destruction of all Christendom? Think also my Son, what wrong you shall do unto the Emperor your Cousin, out of whose Imperial Blood you have begotten Sons and Heirs, and by the Grace of God shall more; but also our Dignity, and the Dignity of this Apostolical Seat, (which you have always so devoutly honoured) is thereby hurt, and your most dear Mother (which we know you of all other least would) the *Roman* Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this sacred War is at great and wonderful Charges; and our Forces, which by you ought to have been renewed and encreased, being in so unfit a time by these Sins in *Moldavia* delivered and diminished, and the Enemies on the contrary part encreased and strengthened, into what danger and distress may both our Army of the Church and the Emperor's fall! And withal, how greatly will the manner and managing of this whole War be thereby confounded, there is no man that seeth not. Yea and this moreover, which no little concerneth the Dignity of us and this Holy See, we have undertaken and certainly promised to our most dearly beloved Sons *Rodolph* and *Sigismund*, That your Royal Majesty should

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not in any thing hinder or hurt their Affairs: neither did we heretofore assure them upon a light occasion, but, moved with great reason, not only for that we deservingly ought to do to promise of you in of just a cause, but also for that it was to us into us plainly and expressly written by the Reverend Father the Bishop of S. Severus, our Apostolical Nuncio to you, whom we know to be both unto us faithful, and to you dutiful: neither can we by any means doubt thereof, because he hath writ unto us concerning so weighty a matter, that he received it even from your own Mouth. Which things so standing, seeing you of your self see the manifold Absurdities of this Fact, on every side, not to speak of the heinousness thereof, we request you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the necessary Remedies to these Hurts.

The Transilvanian Prince, your Brother-in-law, devoted to your self, and desirous of your favour, either protect with your defence, or at leastwise hurt him not; yea, hurt not the whole State of the Christian Commonwealth, and relieve not by any means the Quarrel of the Enemies of Christ. If you have any controversy with the Prince Sigismund, or desire of him any thing, refer it unto us; that is to say, unto your most loving Father: you know your Affairs to be of us favoured, and we hope, by the Power of God, that it may easily come to pass, that some convenient means may be found whereby Peace and Quietness may be confirmed between you, and good Unity grow betwixt you two Brethren our Sons, and so all the root of Bitterness and Displeasure to be utterly plucked out of your Minds. This have I writ unto you my Son, frankly, and from a sincere Heart, though truly much grieved, because you love you, and are much careful of your Honour and Good: Shew you again in Deed that you take it to, as written from your Father; and that you altogether prefer our fatherly and wholesome Exhortations before the sinister Persuasions of others. Farther concerning these matters, you shall understand by the same Bishop our Nuncio, now with you, to whom you may (as you have done) give credit in all things, as to our self.

These Letters dated from Rome the eighth day of November, were delivered to the King in December, with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope sharply reproves, as the Authors and Contrivers of this evil Michief.

The Tartar Cham, before stirred up by the Turkish Emperor Mahomet for the Invasion of Moldavia, (as is already before declared) about this time sent his Ambassador also unto the Polish King, for the Confirmation of such Articles as he had before argued upon with the Chancellor: which, because they manifestly declare the ground and purpose of his intended Expedition into Moldavia, with the foul collusion of the Chancellor with the Turks and Tartars against the Transilvanian Prince, I thought it not amiss, or from our purpose (for the more manifestation of that which is already said) here to let them down, as they are translated out of the Tartar Language.

**C**ham Kazikery unto the King of Polonia and Sweden, our Brother, one of the great Lords among the Christians, humbly boweth his Head. First, he signifies unto you, that Aaron Palatine of Moldavia was a forsaken Traitor, who, having gathered a Power of the Valchians, and joining unto him the Polishian Cossacks, spoiled the Territories of the great Sultan. But afterward, Dissention arising among them, the Hungarian Cossacks living in Valachia sent Aaron in bonds unto the King of Vienna: after him followed another Traitor called Rozwan, who also having rat-

ified certain Companies of Soldiers, began in like manner to farrage the Countreys of the Turkish Emperor thereabout; which, as soon as he had knowledge of, he writ unto me his Brother, That I should, with all possible speed, go into Valachia, to chastise these Rebels, to burn their Houses and Towns; and having with the edge of the Sword slain their men, to carry away with me their Wives and Children into Captivity. Having this in Charge, I, the great Cham of the great Territory of the great Lord Karykery, with my Brother Letikery Galga, and other my Brethren and Counsellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzas, mounting my Horse, came with mine Army into Valachia unto the River Prut, where it meeteth in another River called Coccoza: here we chanced upon a faithful Servant of yours, our Brother the Chancellor, who was also come a little before us into Valachia, with whom, after some light contention, when we began to be more tractable, he declared unto us, that he was of purpose come into Valachia to place there a new Vayvod, which (as he said) of ancient Right belonged unto the Polonians, without any wrong or prejudice therein to be done to the Countreys, and further, that he desired was, that one Jeremias, whom he had appointed Vayvod, might have the Command of that Province; and that the ancient Amity, such as was in the time of Sultan Solymán and Cham Dawleth, might be faithfully kept. Which when I had for my part fully resolved to do, and he likewise had caused the same to be done by such of his as he therefore sent unto me, we decreed together, that the Cossacks on the farther side of Nijestret (disordered and rebellious men) should be utterly rooted out, that they should not hereafter do any harm in the Territories of the great Sultan, and that the Presents usually sent unto us of long, even since the time of Sultan Solymán, should no more be detraited; and that we have hereafter done in any part of our Dominions. And therefore, when the Chancellor had promised unto us, that he would take order that these Cossacks should be utterly destroyed, I also consented, that according to the Pleasure of the Royal Majesty of your Majesty, Hieremias should hold the Vayvodship of Valachia; which I forthwith by Letters signified unto the Turkish Emperor. Now if it be so, that your Majesty shall give your Consent unto those things which we have here agreed upon with your Chancellor, you shall then for ever find brotherly Friendship with me, my Brother, and all other our Captains and Murzas; but if you shall not destroy these Cossacks, you shall not then perform the Oath and Covenants made. Those things we have commanded to be declared unto you by our Ambassador, our Brother Gianach Metagra, whom we request your Majesty courteously to entertain, and by him to send the Presents unto us; for we will not now this Year send any other. Given at the River Prut in the Year of Mahomet 1024.

After the Tartar Ambassador had delivered those Letters unto the King, with a Speech in effect to the same purpose, he in the Name of the Cham gave unto him an Horse and an Arrow for a Present: and afterward being brought to a Lodging appointed for him, was commanded and there to expect his Answer. At length his Dispatch was given him in Letters sealed up, which he took much against his Will, requesting the King to send an Ambassador unto the Cham; and farther, by word of mouth to tell him what to answer unto his Lord. But other Answer could he get none than was already delivered him in writing, and so, rewarded with a Gown furred with Sables, was dismissed without the Present requested by the Cham, or any Ambassador to accompany him.

Thus the Transilvanian Prince, on the one side mightily impugned by the Turk, and on the other,

The Presents offered by the Tartar Ambassador, due to the King of Polonia.

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by the setting on of the Turk, ready to have been no less endangered by the Invasion of the Tartars, received greater harm from the Polonians being Christians, than from both those great Mahometan Princes; the Polonian in some sort performing for the Turk what he had plotted to have been done by the Tartar; and so by the taking away of Moldavia from the Prince, not only weakened his strength, but also opened a way for the barbarous Enemies into his Country. Howbeit, much it is that the Polonians alledge for the excuse of themselves, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldavia; which, for that it cannot be better told by the great Chancellor himself, let us hear how he by his Letters answereth the matter, even unto Clement the Pope himself.

John Zamofchie unto Clement the Eighth, the Great Bishop.

Zamofchie the great Chancellor his Letters unto Clement the Pope.

**M**OST holy and blessed Father in Christ, and your most blessed Feet, and my most humble Commendations, I have by your Holiness's Letters, directed both unto the Kings Majesty and my self, understood, as well his Royal Majesty, and my most gracious Lord and Master, as also my self as his Servant, to be both accused unto your Holiness; as if by those things by us done in Moldavia, the Endeavours of the Christians had been hindered, and the Power of the Enemy confirmed. Whereto I am not with many Words to purge my self unto your Holiness, forasmuch as I assure my self your Holiness to have already fully understood both what the things were that were done in Moldavia, and how they were done; partly by the Kings Majesties Letters, and partly by his principal Secretary, for that cause especially sent unto your Holiness. Yet doubt I not to request this one thing of your Holiness, that if it hath known me for a man, I will not lay of any Capacity or Wit, but even of the least Experience in the World, or of any Religion at all; so to persuade it self of me, nothing to have been done, especially in this matter, either rashly, or to the hindrance of the Christian Commonwealth. I will not now repeat what mine Opinion was concerning the League and Confederation to be made with the rest of the Christian Princes, for the combining of their Forces against the common Enemy, especially his Sacred Majesties; as also what mine own Labour and Endeavour was in the last assembly of the States in the high Court of Parliament. Which thing, after it was even by them whom it most concerned, either delayed or neglected, or utterly cast aside, and yet his Majesty had still a great desire to do the Christian Commonwealth some good, I also to the uttermost of my Power laboured to that end; that by the common desire of the Kingdom, an Expedition might be made into Tartary, not so much in revenge of the Injuries done by that Enemy in these late years past, as so in the mean time to turn him from the Necks of the Christians, as that he should not join his Forces with the Turk; or if it pleased God to bless those our Endeavours utterly in length to root out that so great a Michief. But how it came to pass that this Expedition, so much by the King desired (yet scarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect; it is not needful for me to declare, for that I suppose your Holiness hath by others, especially your Nuncio, understood the same. In the mean time, by others also my Messengers News was brought, That Sinan Basha with a great Army was already come over Danubius; and I,

by Letters from the Vayvod of the farther Valachia was advertised, how that he, not able to encounter him, had forsaken that Province, which at the first Impression taken and almost utterly swayed by Sinan, he was now come fast upon the Transilvania, and in Moldavia the Tartar was still expected, inasmuch that Rozwan (who having taken Prisoner Aaron the Palatine, whom he cured in his House, and so himself invaded the Palatine) began now also to quake for fear, and to crave help of me, or rather to seek how he might fly away, (as not long after he did) neither having any great strength about him, or expecting any greater from the People of that Countrey, for why, that Province was brought to low by the Miserie of the former years, but especially by such as had evil governed the same, that at such time as I entered into Moldavia, I assure your Holiness there were not in it of Householders, above, yea, 15000, and those also for the most part poor Country People that were left, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had been able to have done any thing, durst Rozwan have trusted himself with them upon whom he had with all kind of Cruelty tyrannized. Chobim, a Cattle in the very Confinnes of this Kingdom, was kept with no greater Garrison than 200 Hungarians, not preserving the Confinnes neither of sufficient strength to hold the place, nor to withstand the Enemy, they also by and by followed after Rozwan. All the rest of the Province was not only unarmed, but altogether poor and naked, without any certain Government, without Count, without Strength, and without any Defence at all; two Castles only excepted; which, standing upon the Confinnes of Polonia, might have served better for the Enemy out of them to have infected us, than for the defence of Moldavia against them; so that had the Enemy once let foot into that Province, neither could it withstand a great Power have been recovered, neither being recovered, could easily have been defended against to pursue an Enemy; and that which worse was, was not it left alone, to have been consumed with that Fire, but like enough to have carried away with it Podolia also bordering upon it, with a great part of Russia. Wherefore, in this state of things, when as both that Province was in greatest danger to have been lost, and so many Enemies hovered, not more over the Heads of all Christians than over this Kingdom, what was of us to be done? I know to whom I speak these things, even unto him, not only whole divine Wisdom, but singular Love also towards my native Country is to me most known. Verily I entered into Moldavia with no great Army, yet such an one as haply (as in like case it often chanceth) Fame had made amongst the Enemies a very great one; so that Sinan, fearing if he should thrust himself with his Army into the Strights whereby he was to break into Transilvania, and so shut in by our Army, stayed his Journey; and the Tartar, who earnestly he was called upon by Sinan, (by reason of the Fame of this our Army) resolved to make himself so much the stronger. So that whilst he assembled the Nogaians Tartars and others farther off, and so from all parts raised the greatest Power he could, the matter was delayed almost unto the end of November, at which time he, with a most huge Army, accompanied with Sendiak Zelivense, and a great power of the Turks raised out of their Provinces thereby, came directly upon me in the Fields of Corone. Sendiak, the Tartar Cham's Sifters Son, now called himself the Basha of Moldavia, as did the Tartars eldest Son name himself Prince of ano-

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ther part of that Province also; for so that Country was to have been divided betwixt them, that that part which was next unto the *Tartars* Dominions should be allotted unto the *Tartars*, and the other part confining upon this Kingdom, to be governed by *Sondrak*, as *Baſſa* thereof, and so to make it the seat of a perpetual War, from whence *Podolia*, *Rusſia*, and the lesser *Polonia*, might be with continual Incurſions waſted even to this time: concerning which the *Tartars* now ſuffered their Letters, wherein they publiſhed the Power and Authority given them from the grand Signior, exhorting the People of that Country to receive the ſame. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men always, by the goodness of God, having not only the upper hand, but without any notable loſe also, yet not without great slaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had such strength, as that not only the conditions of Peace, but even the Enemies themselves might have been in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parole (they still requiring the ſame) and ſo at length unto Conditions of Peace, if ſuch were given them, as whereby this only Kingdom had without the wrong of any other been delivered from to great and sudden a danger, what reasonable man could find fault therewith, if we should have preferred the health and welfare of our Country (whereunto all good men owe all they have) before other mens Profits. But now that we are done, who have reported it was no less provided for the good of the neighbourhood Christians, yea and happily not the least for theirs, who for the ſame ſlander this Kingdom unto your Holiness: the fury of *Sinan Baſſa* was by this means repressed, who whilst he feared to be shut up in the Straits by our Army now come into *Moldavia*, and expected the *Tartars* to come, almost all the rest of the Summer idly, and without any thing doing. The *Tartar* himself was not only turned from the Bowels of Chriſtendom, whereunto he had purpoſed (as the year before) to have entered, we having with our own Breasts received his force and fury; but being brought unto Conditions, was expressly enjoyed in a most thorough pressed time, and without any more harm doing to return again into his Country by the ſelf ſame way he came, and by no other: whereby it is come to paſs, that until this day Chriſtendom hath not this year yet ſeſt the *Tartars* Weapons. But unto *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, what a ſpace and power was given for them to gather their Arms, and Forces together, and out of the ſame places to oppose them againſt the Enemy, whence our Army kept them ſafe at their Backs, and eſcaped not only *Moldavia*, but *Valachia* and *Transilvania* also of that care? Whereas if this cauſe of delay had not been objected unto the *Turks* first, and after unto the *Tartars*, not to ſay any thing of the *Turks*, the *Tartars* at the very ſelf ſame time that the *Transilvanian* Army was gone into *Valachia* againſt *Sinan*, might have broken into *Transilvania* before it could have returned home, or eſſe marching directly towards that Army, might have met with it out of *Transilvania*. As for *Moldavia*, which together with the *Moldavia* of the Chriſtian name, yet left in it, had utterly perished, it was most manifestly preferred by the coming of our Army. Which what end it would have had, if the Enemy might at his Pleasure have ragged as he did in the farther *Valachia*, thoſe most bitter remembrances in it yet at this day ſmoking, do well declare, out of which it is well known more thousands of Chriſtian Captives to have been carried away into most woful Captivity, than almost out of any other Province in all the time of theſe miſerable Wars. Which also it be thus, yet boast we not thereof, neither ſend

we any triumphant Letters unto your Holiness, nor brag we of your good Service done for the Chriſtian Commonweal; contenting our ſelves with the Conſcience of the thing it ſelf. In the mean time we are accuſed unto your Holiness; but for what cauſe? If any man complain for the taking of *Moldavia*, I will not ſay it was by them before willingly ſorſaken, whilst I was yet in the Frontiers thereof; but that this Kingdom hath a most ancient Right unto it, and is Right; that when our Kings being buſied in their Wars againſt the *Muscovites*, the *Cruſian* *Tenney* Brethren, or others; ſome others alſo troubling the ſake thereof, it for a time became a Prey unto the *Turkish* Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or renewed betwixt this Kingdom and them, was ſill excepted. That all ſuch things as the *Palatine* of *Moldavia* was of duty to perform unto the King, ſhould by him ſill be performed. Which Kings of *Polonia*, and namely *Augustus* himſelf, the laſt of the *Jagellonian* Race, appointed divers of thoſe *Palatines* themſelves. Which alſo they be things most manifest, yet having more regard unto the welfare of that Province, as a Chriſtian Country, than of our Right, we reſtored the ſame into the ſame ſlate wherein it hath been for many Years before theſe Wars. Wherefore, if any man think any thing done whereby the Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt might be calſed or ſtrengthened, or the Defenders of the Faith hindered, it is ſo far from any ſuch thing to be done, that rather (as before declared) the Enemies force is reſtrained and averted, and greater means given unto the Chriſtians aſſent to impugn them, the Enemy being at their Backs by us ſhut from them. But I fear that they have not fully informed your Holiness, how theſe things were done, who have reported unto your ſaid Holiness not only the Name of the *Turks* to have been proclaimed together with the *Polonians* in *Moldavia*, but alſo the Name of the *Tartars*, the proper Enemies of the *Polonians*, and by the Power and Decrees of them three, as it were conſederate together, things to have been ordered in *Moldavia*. Which their Complaint if it tend to that end, as if a conſederation were made with them, I frankly confeſs certain Conditions to have been given them, but ſuch as whereby is provided not only for the quiet and ſecurity of this Kingdom, but no leſs alſo for the whole Chriſtian Commonweal, as is before declared. All which things for all that, alſo they ſay, that in the good of this Kingdom, and all Chriſtendom in general, yet were they done, that they were all by me referred unto the King's Maſteſty and the States of the Kingdom; ſo that at this preſent the Kingdom is at free liberty either to join in Conſederation with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes; or if that cannot upon certain and indifferent conditions be agreed upon, yet with no mans injury or hurt to ratify this, joyned with the health and good of a great part of the Chriſtian Commonweal: only God grant that the Chriſtian Princes may leſſe ſeriously think both of this Chriſtian Conſederation againſt the common Enemy, and ſtrive alſo all together againſt the enemy whoſe ſeveral and ſundry conditions be with Miſrepports and Slanders one againſt another. They are not to aſſail the enemies ſelf, but his throat: neither is the ſeat of the war to be placed in the borders of *Polonia*, where it concerneth themſelves much to have all things rather peaceable beſide them; but let the War be undertaken with no leſs change & preparation, than if the enemy's ſeat were to be aſſailed; which ſtanding in an open and plain Country, ſhall always, without much ado, be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This have I written at large, as my purpoſe was, alſo which I moſt humbly beſeech your Holiness, with your divine

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\* Viz. to become tri-  
umphant  
the *Turks*.

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Wisdom to conſider of, and with your wonted Clemency to accept the ſame. And ſo proſtrate at your Holiness's Feet, I moſt humbly commend me to your Clemency. From *Zamoſchie* the tenth of January, 1596.

Thus much the great Chancellor, in defence of himſelf, and of that he had done in *Moldavia*; which, howsoever it contented the Pope, well I wot it nothing pleaſed the Emperour, and much leſs the *Transilvanian* Prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the Country of *Moldavia* from him.

To end this troubleſome year wiſhal, many ſharp and bloody Skirmiſhes daily paſſed in divers Places of thoſe frontier Countries, the *Turks* almost in every Place ſill going to the worſe. In the beginning of November, *Leucowus*, Governour of *Carpolia*, the ſecond time ſorſpelled *Whites* in the Frontiers of *Croatia*, where theſe Wars firſt begun, but being not able to take the Caſtle, contented himſelf as before with the ſpoil of the City, and afterward letting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted *Zalme*, and the Chriſtians in Garrison at *Scripſonius* and *Hindenburg*, now become near Neighbours unto the *Turks* at *Buda*, did with continual Inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next. And the *Turks* in *Braila*, in *Valachia*, upon the ſide of *Danubius*, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the *Vayvod*, ſorſook the City, and in ſuch haſte paſſed the River, that in that tumultuous paſſage theſe hundreds of them perished. *Sinan Baſſa*, by the *Transilvanian* Prince, driven out of *Valachia*, was not long after ſent for to *Conſtantinople*; but the crafty old Fox, not ignorant of the fierce Nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſery of *Feraz*, found occasions to delay the time to long, until that he was ſent for again, after that the third time alſo. In the mean while, he had ſo wrought by his mighty Friends in Court, and by rich Rewards, mightier than they, that at his coming to the Court he was there honourably received, as the chiefſt of the *Baſſaes*, and being afterwards offered to be diſcharged of the Wars, as men of above fourſcore years old; he reſuſed to be ſo ſaying, That he was born and brought up amongst Soldiers and martial men, and ſo wiſhed among them to dye, as not long after he did; dying as was thought of conceit of the evil ſuccesſes he had in his Wars againſt the *Transilvanian*.

His Death.

*Mahomet*, the *Turkish* Emperour, exceedingly grieved with the loſs of ſo many his Cities and ſtrong Places this year loſt, as namely *Scripſonius*, *Vicegrade*, *Silſe*, *Petrinia*, *Jenna*, *Penna*, *Tergovſka*, *Buchareſta*, *Zorza*, and many others of leſs Name; and both by Letters and Meſſengers undaunting daily of the slaughter of his People, and waſting of his Frontiers, commanded great Preparation to be made againſt the new Spring, giving it out, that he would then in Perſon himſelf, come down into *Hungary* with ſuch a Power as never had any his Predeceſſors the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, and there take moſt ſharp revenge of all his former Wrongs. Nevertheless theſe his ſo haſty deſigns were by the Plague and Famine (which then both ragged extremely in moſt parts of his Empire) and by other great occurrents of the ſame time, ſo cracked, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely well knew which way to turn himſelf firſt. For beſide theſe Troubles of the Weſt, of themſelves enough to have filled his hands, the *Germans* in the *Boſphorus*, a warlike People, moved with the good Succesſs of the Chriſtians in *Valachia* and *Hungary*, had taken up Arms againſt him, and the old *Perſian* King, but a little before dead, had

*Mahomet*  
perplexed.

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left that great Kingdom to his Son, a man of greater Spirit than was like to endure the many Injuries before done unto his Father by the *Turks*, to the great diſhonour of that Kingdom, and prejudice of himſelf. Of which things the *Baſſa* of *Tauris* gave him ample Intelligence, wiſhing him beſtides to provide for ſuch Storms; which, joyned to the reſt, filled his Head with many troubled Thoughts, whereunto we leave him until the next Spring.

The *Transilvanian* Prince, careful of his Eſtate, and not a little troubled with the differing of *Moldavia*, thought it not unfit for his Affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and diſcomſure of the *Turks*, to go in Perſon himſelf unto the Emperour, and to declare unto him the wrong done him by the *Polonian*; and further to conſult with him concerning the managing of the Wars againſt the common Enemy. So having put all things in readineſs for his Journey, he ſet forward in January, 1596, and by the way of *Caſſovia*, the fourth of February, arrived at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, where he was by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably entertained. But immediately after his coming thither he fell ſick of an Ague, which grievouſly vexed him by the ſpace of three Weeks. In the latter end of February, having ſomewhat recovered his Health, he went to the Church; where after his Devotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral Church welcomed with a moſt eloquent Oration, ſetting forth his worthy Praiſes, and further animating him unto the like Exploits againſt the common Enemy of all Chriſtianity. Whereunto he forthwith answered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo ſublimely in ſpeech, that all men marvelled that heard him; proſtrating in ſpeech, that he and his Subjects had not hitherto ſpared their Lives or Goods in defence of the common Cauſe; ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame, but adventure all for the benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal; well hoping, that the Emperour and the other Chriſtian Princes would not, as occasion ſhould require, be wanting unto him with their Forces, or the Clergy with their Prayers; which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the Power of God, but to obtain more notable Victories than he had yet againſt the *Turks*, the Enemies of God.

Whilst he yet thus lay at the Emperours Court, it ſortuned that the People called *Siculi*, offended to have their Liberties, as ſome part intruſed in the late Aſſembly of the States holden in *Transilvania* in December laſt, riſe up now in Arms in divers Places, reſuſing to yield their former Obedience to the Prince. A matter like enough to have wrought him much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to have been done without the privy of the Cardinal his Uncle; but by the Wiſdom and Courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the Government of his Country, divers of the Ringleaders of this Rebellion were apprehended, and in divers forts executed; and three hundred of their Complices, to the Terror of their Fellows, had their Noſes and Ears cut off. By which wholeſome Severity all thoſe Troubles were appeaſed, and the Country again quieted.

At the ſame time alſo the *Transilvanians* obtained of the *Turks* a notable Victory, with an exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the *Turkish* Sultan had about this time ſent a new *Baſſa* for the Government of *Timolary*, againſt the Cardinale coming the old *Baſſa*, before Governour, had in twenty five Wars gone truſted up a wonderful deal of Wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former Government, to have been, together with himſelf, with a ſtrong Convoy conducted to *Belgrade*. Of this his purpoſe the *Hungarian* *Heidons*, lying at *Lippa* and *Jenna*, having Intelligence, lay in wait for

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The *Siculi*  
rebell  
the Prince.

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The Batta  
of Temes  
war slain,  
and a great  
hooray  
taken.

for him upon the way, and in his passing by let upon him; where in a sharp conflict they overthrew the Convoy, and slew the Batta, whole Head they sent for a Present to the Princes at *Alba Julia*, and took the Spoil of the Batta's Carriages, wherein was taken a wonderful Wealth; for in the midst of the Waggon's reported to have been found twenty thousand of *Hungarian* Ducats.

In this absence also of the Prince, 10000 of the *Rafians* revolting from the *Turks*, came and offered their Service unto the Princes; whereof, the by Letters, with great speed, certified the Prince her Husband; who thereupon halted to dischase of the Emperor, and having procured both from him and the Pope the Promise of some Aid to be afterwards sent him, took of him his leave; and being honourably accompanied, departed from *Prague* to *Pienna*, where he arrived the eleventh of *March*, fitting in a princely Chariot drawn with six most beautiful Horses, the gift of the Emperor. At his coming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Country, and by *Abderamund* the Pope's Nephew, who presented him with three goodly Horses for Service, richly furnished. Him the Prince took into his Chariot, and so accompanied, entered the City, where he was with all due Honour received and joyfully entertained, and so brought unto the Emperor's Palace, where, by the learned Students of that University, was for his pleasure held before him the notable History of *Jephtha*. Having stayed there three days, and purposing to have in his Return visited his Mother-in-law at *Gries* in *Croatia*; News was brought him, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, by the letting on of *Stephen Bathori*, his Uncle, were about to break into *Transylvania*. Wherefore changing his purpose, he departed thence to *Presburg*, and so with all speed kept on his way towards *Transylvania*; where he, to the great joy and comfort of his Subjects in general, arrived in safety in the beginning of *April*.

In this while many hot Skirmishes passed betwixt the *Christians* and the *Turks* in the Frontiers of their Territories; and now the Plague and Famine which had of long raged in *Constantinople* and other places of the *Turks* Dominions, began to abate. Of which to great Calamities as had devoured many thousands of his People, the *Turkish* Emperor finding himself somewhat eased, forthwith caused the continuation of the War against the Emperor, and the *Transylvanian* Prince, to be three days together proclaimed in *Constantinople*, and a great Army to be raised to be sent into *Transylvania* and *Hungary*; giving it out, that he would, with that to pursue an Army, in Person himself come into *Hungary*. At which time it was also reported, That he had already sent his Tents and other necessary Provision before to *Hadrangul*; for now was nothing more odious in the *Turks* Court than the Name of the *Transylvanian* Prince.

Of all these things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by Letters and Epials, as also by the uniform Confession of such *Turks* as were daily taken Prisoners. For which cause, he also, with as much speed and care as he could, provided for the raising of his Army, as he had the Year before; as also for the levying of Money, and provision of all things necessary, that the Enemy at his coming might not find him unprovided. Neither spared he to pray Aid of the other *Christian* Princes his Neighbours, especially of the *Polonian*, whom he by divers times sought after to have drawn him into the Confederation with the other *Christian* Princes against the *Turk*. To which purpose he now also sent him the Bishop of *Presburg*, and the Lord *Poppelen*, his Ambassadors; as did the Pope also send him the Cardinal *Cajetane* his Legate, and the Princes Electors

also their Ambassadors: unto whom the *Polonian* gave good hearing and good words, but would not by any means be persuaded to break his League with the *Turk*, or to afford any Aid unto the *Christians*; altho the Cardinal, with many pregnant Reasons, shewed him what small assistance there was in the *Turk's* Leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his State, if the *Turk*, making Peace with the Emperor, should turn his force upon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for Friend than stood with his Front; beside the immortal Blessing of Honour, by disavowing himself from the Union of the *Christian* Princes, to hold Friendship with the *Turks* and Infidels. But all this and much more to no purpose, so resolutely was the *Polonian* set down for the keeping of the *Turks* Favour. So that of all the *Christian* Princes to near unto the devouring Enemy, none stood the *Christian* Commonweal in less head than he. Which for all that, most men imputed not so much unto the King, as to others about him, especially to *Zamolsky* the great Chancellor, by whom that State was most swayed, who was not only supposed, but openly reported to have secret Intelligence both with the *Turk* and the *Tartars*.

All this while the Lord *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigonia*, ceased not with continual Inroads to vex the *Turks*, even to the Gates of *Buda*, as did also the other *Christian* Captains in other places of the *Turks* Frontiers in *Hungary*. Near unto *Buda* were two great Country Villages, for most part inhabited by *Christians*, who having given the *Turks* Obedience unto the *Turk*, lived a miserable life for the payment of an exorbitant Tribute yearly. These poor *Christians*, weary of the *Turkish* Thraldom, and the continual spoil of their Labours by them of *Strigonia*; by secret Messengers requested the Lord *Palfi*, of Mercy, to carry them with their Goods and Cattel away into some other Christian Territory, that to they might yet live amongst *Christians*, as he had but a little before done for them of old *Buda*. Unto which their reasonable Request, the *Christian* Governour charitably hearkened; willing them against a certain appointed time to put themselves, with all their things in readiness. There was of these *Christians* about 755 Families, who with their Wives and Children, and such trash as they had pack'd up into eighty Waggon's, drawn with fourteen or fifteen Oxen a-piece, at the appointed time, about mid-night, committed themselves, with all that they had, unto the conduct of them of *Strigonia*, sent out of purpose for them; by whom they were in safety brought to *Strigonia*. Amongst them were many rich men, who brought with them good store of Coin, with an exceeding great number of Cattel. Unto these new-come *Guelts Palfi* assigned certain Fields betwixt *Strigonia* and *Visaria*, on the North-side of *Danubius*; where they so commodiously lived as was possible in so troubled an Estate of a Country.

Shortly after, 600 Garrison Souldiers of *Lippa*, seeking after Booty, and adventuring too far into the Enemies Territory, were discovered by the *Turks* Scouts, and so beset by the *Turks* and *Tartars* billeted in the Country about *Temeswar*, that there was no way left for them to escape. Which they perceived, resolved among themselves (as became valiant men) to fight it out even unto the last man; and with no less Resolution performed what they had before determin'd, for being on every side beset, and hardly charged by their Enemies, they as men before resolved to die, also came out to twenty, fought most desperately, killing for nothing else but to sell their Lives as dear as they could unto their Enemies; and so fighting were all slain, except

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Lippa be-  
sieg'd by  
the *Turks*  
and *Tar-  
tars*.

except some few which by great fortune escaped, leaving unto the Enemy a right bloody Victory. Yet by this loss of so great a Party was the Garrison of *Lippa* greatly weakened, which the Enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to besiege the Town. Which *Bardula* the Governour (a most valiant man) wisely foreseeing, sent in Post unto the *Transylvanian* Prince, to request him with all speed to send him four or five thousand good Souldiers, with which Power he doubted not, by the Help of God, to be able to defend the Town against all the Forces the Enemy was able to send against it. Unto whom the Prince without delay sent 8000, who all in safety, in good time arrived at *Lippa*; for shortly after their arrival, 40000 of the *Turks* and *Tartars* came and laid down before the Town, including it on every side, and so lay for certain days without any thing doing worth the speaking of; they of the Town in the mean time did them all the harm they could with their great shot, which they sent amongst them not sparingly; but they had not so long lain, but that News was brought into the Camp, That the *Transylvanian* Prince was with a great Power coming thither to relieve the Town; whereupon they presently rose, and retired to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from *Lippa*; where certainly understanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in short time be in such readines as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more faithfully besieged the Town than before. They had now brought with them seventeen pieces of battery, eight *Wardons* laden with Gunpowder, and forty six others laden with scaling Ladders, and other warlike Provision; thus appointed they began to batter the Town, and afterwards gave thereunto divers desperate assaults; which the *Christians* valiantly received, and fill with great slaughter requested their Enemies. For that strong Town was with Towers and Bulwarks flanking one another, so fortified, that out of them the *Christians* with their murthering pieces made great spoil of their Enemies, and still enforced them with lots to retire, no bullet almost flying in vain. In the heat of one of these assaults the Governour caused one of the Gates of the Town to be set open, having before within the Town placed sixteen great pieces at the very entrance of the same gate, charged with all kind of murthering Shot. Unto which Gate, as of mere Desperation set open by the Defendants, the *Turks* and *Tartars* desirous of revenge, came thronging as thick as might be, thinking to have thereby cured; when suddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the afore said murthering pieces cut down as with a Sitch, and so again, and the third and fourth time, before they could clear themselves of the danger thereof, their Heads, Arms, and Legs, and other rent Limbs, flying in the Air most terrible to behold. Nevertheless the Siege was by them continued, and the often assaults valiantly maintained, as if they had thereupon purposed to have engaged all their Lives. But this obstinate a Resolution was by an unexpected accident, when they least thought, converted into such a desperate fate and accomplishment, that they upon the sudden (no man form'd for it) forsook their Trenches wherein they lay encamped; and leaving behind them their Tents, their great Ordnance, and whatsoever else they had, they besook themselves to a most disorderly flight. The *Transylvanian*, who by chance were even then coming thither, pursuing them, slew divers of them, and took some others of them Prisoners. At this Siege the Batta of *Temeswar* himself was mortally wounded, and *Hamat*, Sanzack of *Gula*, with divers others of good

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place slain, and 4000 of the common Souldiers. The cause of the *Turks* so great and sudden fear was this; Whilst the Batta of *Temeswar* lay at the Siege of *Lippa*, as is aforesaid, that they were left in the City fearing no harm, lived in great Security, in the mean time the Governour of *Lugas* sent out six thousand Souldiers towards *Temeswar*, now in the absence of the Batta to seek after Booty; who coming to *Temeswar* with great speed, rifled the Suburbs of the City, slew all the *Turks* they could light upon, and let at Liberty a thousand captives; and so having trusted up their Booty, set on fire all the Suburbs, and departed. Which fire grew so great and so terrible, that it was plainly seen into the Camp at *Lippa*, making a show as if the whole City had been on a light fire: which so daunted the Hearts of the *Turks* at the Siege, that they presently fled (as is before said) leaving all that they had behind them.

The *Transylvanian* all this while busied in raising of his Army, and providing of things necessary for the maintenance of his Wars, was come into the Confines of *Hungary*, towards *Temeswar*, even as the *Turks* fled from *Lippa*. At which time certain *Hungarian* Heids that served him, getting over *Danubius*, not far from *Nicopolis*, took *Plenia*, a little Town of the *Turks*, which they ransacked and burnt, and having fled the Country thereabout above three thousand of the *Turks*, returned with a rich Prey unto the Prince.

Not long before, the *Christians* had surprised *Cliffa*, a strong frontier Town of the *Turks* in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Spalato*; which Town the *Turks* of *Byssa* sought now again to recover, and thereunto layd hard siege. For the relief whereof, *Leucowitz*, Governour of *Stiria*, and the other Provinces thereabouts belonging to the House of *Austria*, and the Governour of *Zeng*, with a Fleet of two and forty Ships, wherein they had embarked 4000 Souldiers well appointed with all things necessary, set forward toward *Cliffa*; and by the way lighting upon a Gallery of the *Venetians*, bound with certain warlike Provision towards the *Turk* Camp, took her as good Prize, and rifled her. This Fleet with a fair Wind arrived at *Siret*, near unto *Tran*, where the Governour landing his men, marched that Night part of his way toward *Cliffa*, and all the next day lay close. The Night following they set forward again, and having marched fifteen miles, came unto the Enemies Camp before day; where, setting upon the *Turks* in their Trenches, fearing no such Peril, they brought such a general fear upon the *Turks* whole Camp, that the *Turks*, as men amazed, fled some one way, some another, every man (as in such sudden fear it commonly happeneth) making shift for himself, leaving whatsoever they had in their Trenches behind them. The *Christians*, contented so to have put their Enemies to flight, fell presently to the spoil, as more desirous thereof, than by the hasty pursuit of their Enemies to put themselves in possession of an assured Victory. Which the *Turks* quickly perceiving, and from the Hills with the dawning of the day discovering the small number of the *Christians*, and how they were disordered, they gathered themselves again together, and coming down, included on every side the disordered *Christians* (greedily hunting after the spoil) and slew them downright. *Leucowitz* himself, with the Governour of *Zeng*, and some others, got into *Cliffa*, where having stayed two days, and doubting to be able to keep the Town, they secretly by Night issued out with 600 men, in hope to have recovered their Fleet; but the *Turks* suspecting such a matter, had so beset the Passages, that all that Company, *Leucowitz* had much ado himself, with three others to escape. The Enemy now again possessed of his

Plenia, a  
Town of  
the *Turks*  
sacked by  
the *Chri-  
stians*.

Cliffa, a  
strong frontier  
Town of the  
*Turks* in  
*Dalmatia*,  
not far from  
*Spalato*.

Wars pro-  
claimed in  
*Constanti-  
nople* a-  
gainst the  
Emperor  
and the  
*Transylvanian*  
Prince.

Six hundred  
of the  
Garrison  
Souldiers  
of *Lippa*  
taken by the  
*Turks*.

P P P P

Trench

1596 Trenches, layd straighter siege to the Town than before; which they of the Garrison perceiving, and now out of hope of relief, agreed with the Baffa, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and so yielded up the Town. Thus *Lissa*, one of the strongest Towns of *Dalmatia*, through the greedy covetousness of the disordered Soldiers, fell again into the hands of the *Turks*.

Sumbe-  
ken by the  
Lord *Palfi*.

About the same time, *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigoniun*, understanding of the meeting together of certain notable Adventurers of the *Turks* at *Sumbecken*, a Cattle almost in the midst way between *Strigoniun* and *Buda*, raised the greatest strength he could, and so with certain pieces of Artillery, and other things necessary for an assault, set forward from *Strigoniun* the two and twentieth of May, before the rising of the Sun, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon came to the aforesaid Cattle, whereunto he presently gave a most terrible assault, which he never gave over until he had taken it; for after he had by the space of three hours together with great danger maintained a most desperate assault, at length he with much difficulty prevailed, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* he found therein, Man, Woman, and Child; and with the rest, fifty *Tartars*, but that day came thither.

This Cattle was of great Beauty, and most pleasantly situated, whereunto the Baffa of *Buda* oftentimes for his Pleasure repaired; for which cause *Palfi* was very desirous to have taken it without spoiling; but the Fire he had therein already raised, so prevailed, that it burnt down all the goodly Buildings thereof, with great store of Victuals and other Provision, nothing remaining but what the *Christians* had saved for themselves.

The *Transilvanian* Prince, having raised a great Army for the relief of *Lissa*, being by great chance a little before his coming relieved, came and laid siege to the City of *Temesvar*; where he had no long lain, but that the *Turks* and *Tartars*, fearing to lose that so famous a City, assembled together from all places thereabouts, to the number of 40000, and so came to raise the Siege. Of whose coming the Prince hearing, rite with his Army, and went to meet them, and had with him a great and terrible Batle, the Victory for a great while hanging very doubtful, yet seeming to incline rather to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, than to the *Christians*: but at length the *Turks*, disordered with the great Artillery, and the *Transilvanians* charging them after began to give ground, and so at last to leave themselves to plain flight. In this Batle were slain of the *Turks* and *Tartars* 5000, and of the *Christians* 1500. It was for a time reported, That the Prince himself was in this Batle slain; which was not so, being referred to the further Plague of the *Turks*, and comfort of his afflicted Country. After this Victory he returned again to the Siege, which he more fraily continued than before, leaving nothing unattempted that he could possibly devise for the winning of the City. Where, whilst he yet thus lay battering the City both night and day, News was brought him, That *Giasfer Baffa* and the *Tartars* were coming with a great Army to the Relief of the Besieged. Whereupon, he considering his own strength, and the power of his Enemies, and that the Aid promised him both by the Emperor and out of *Hungary* was not yet ready, with great grief of mind raised his Siege, and retired with his Army to *Lissa*, there expecting new Supplies as well of his own as from his Friends. Whilst he yet there lay, he was certainly advertised, That the Baffa of *Natolia* (the tort-runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to *Belgrade* with fifteen thousand *Huns* and four thousand *Janisaries*, to join with the Baffa of *Buda* for the relieving of *Temesvar*; whose Forces joynted together were in

Temesvar  
besieged by  
the  
Transilvanian  
Prince

The Prince  
saileth his  
Siege.

number about threecore thousand; and that *Mahomet* himself (of whose coming had been rife report all this year) was now coming after with a far greater Power. Whereupon he departed from *Lissa*, leaving therein a strong Garrison, and then returning to *Alba-Julia*, called there an Assembly of all his States, for the repelling of so puissant an Enemy.

*Mahomet*, for the better success of his Wars in *Hungary*, had drawn forth the *Tartar* with a mighty Power; who, altho he was at the first lo unwilling to that Service (considering the great loss he had therein before received) that he would not, as he laid, lend so much as one *As* therunto; yet, overcome with great gifts, and the respect he had of the Turkish Sultan, was now ready with a strong Army upon the Frontiers in *Moldavia*, to meet him in *Hungary*: unto whom the late chosen *Vayvod* sent certain Presents, with such store of *Vidulas* as he could possibly provide for him. Yet forasmuch as he was not that way to pass without the leave of the *Polonian*, *Mahomet* had both by Letters, and divers of his Ambassadors, intreated with the *Polonian* King for his Passage; as also for the Confirmation of the ancient League he and the *Polonian* Kings, his Predecessors, had, to their good, of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperours; from which he well knew the Christian Emperour, with divers other the Christian Princes, to seek by all means to withdraw him. *Mahomet* also, not ignorant how hurtful and dangerous the Confederation betwixt *Michael* the *Vayvod* of *Valachia* and the *Polonian* was unto him and his Designs, sent unto him an Ambassador, by the shew of great dangers to deter him from the *Transilvanian*, and by many glorious Promises to allure him to submit himself again unto his Protection, and in token of his Fidelity to deliver unto the Sultan two of his Frontier Towns, such as he should require in regard whereof he should, together with the Sultan's Favour, receive golden Mountains. Whereunto the *Vayvod* answered, That as yet he was not weary of the Friendship he held with the Prince: and for the Towns he required, that they were not in his Power to give, as belonging to the Prince; unto whom he laid he would write, and tlay the Ambassador in the mean time until he had from him Answer.

The Emperour, on the other side, had with all carefulness, so far as in him was, provided that his Army might be ready to take the Field with the beginning of the Spring; but as it commonly chanceth, the speedy Proceedings of great Affairs (wherein the hands of many mighty is required) to be much hindered by delays, sometimes of one, and sometimes of another; so fell it out with him now: for albeit that his own Forces were in some good time ready, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer also far past, before the Aid promised from other Princes met together. At length, after long expectation, when some convenient number for an Army was from divers places come together at *Piemma*; they were by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, and their other Commanders, brought forth into the Field, and not far from *Altenburg* encamped, within the self-same Trenches that were the last year cut by Count *Manfield* for the safety of his Army; there to expect the coming down of the great Ordinance, and other Provision, by the River from *Piemma*, as also the rest of the Christian Forces daily looked for. From *Altenburg* the Christian Army removed to *Komara*, and not staying there long, the four and twentieth of *July* marched towards *Vacia*, otherwise called *Wexen*; but before it came thither, the *Turks* hearing of the approach of the Christians, forsook the Town, and with their Cattel and best part of their

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substance fled to *Pesth*, carrying also away with them the great Ordinance, the greatest whereof they buried by the way, which was nevertheless afterwards found out by the Christians. And although the *Turks* at their departure had let fire both upon the Town and the Cattle, yet the Christians left therein did what they might to quench the same; by whose diligence, and the help of two thousand Foot men, and certain Troops of Horsemen sent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the Town and the Cattle was preserved: the whole Army of the Christians following after, incamped in the open Field, and with the Christians men braved the *Turks* even to the Gates of *Pesth*. This so sudden a coming of the Christians brought a great fear both upon them of *Pesth* and *Buda*; inasmuch, that they sent their Wives and Children, with the chiefest of their Substance, down the River, unto places of more Safety, and farther off from danger, which was done so disorderly (as it happened in such common Fears) that many of them for haste thrust one another into the River, and so perished.

Hitherto, in the former Wars against the *Turks*, had *Matthias* been General of the Christian Armies; but now at length, *Ferdinand*, the Emperour's Uncle, Count of *Tyrol*, being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperour his Brother preferred to the Government of that rich Country and the Provinces thereabouts, not inferior to some Kingdoms; and *Masimilian*, his younger Brother, appointed General in his stead; who, departing from *Piemma* in the latter end of *July*, came into the Camp the fourth of *August*, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great Triumph received.

Now were the Christians threecore thousand strong, and having fortified *Vacia*, and therein placed a convenient Garrison, resolved by common consent to besiege *Hannau*, a strong town of the *Turks* in the upper *Hungary*. And thereupon setting with their Army from *Vacia* the thirteenth of *August*, came the fifteenth of the same Month, about noon, and fat down before the Town; and that with such speed, that they were, before seen of the *Turks*, in the Town, than that they heard any thing of their coming: informing that at the first shew of them, they of the Town took them to have been some come out to seek after Booty; and therefore falling out upon them, skirmished with them a while, until they perceived the whole Batle coming. The Christians approaching the Town, incamped themselves, as they thought most convenient, and began in three places to batter the Counterfort. This frontier Town of the *Turks*, besides that it was kept with a strong Garrison, was also strengthened with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad Counterfort and strong Pallisades. Whilst the Christians thus lay at the Siege, the *Turks* falling out of the Town brake into their Trenches, and there did great harm; and like enough they were to have done more had not the Horse-men in good time come in upon them, and enforced them to retire. In this Sally, amongst others, was one *Greis*, a notable Captain, slain, being shamefully forsaken of his own men; who for that their Cowardice, were all, in the flight of the whole Army, dismayed, and so turned out of the Camp, as men unworthy any longer to bear Arms. One morning also, as the Christians were in their Devotions in their Trenches, a Turkish Priest from out of an high Tower not far off, rallied most bitterly upon them cursing and deriding them; whereupon one of the Christian Canonets, much vexed, made a shot at the Tower, which he so well bestowed, that therewith he struck down the Tower, together with the Idolatrous Priest, as he was

Hannau  
besieged by  
the  
Christians

Cowardice  
punished.

yet railing and blaspheming. At length the Christians had with exceeding Labour and continual Battery made the Town assailable: wherewith the *Turks* discouraged, offered (but all too late) to yield up the Town upon the same conditions that they of *Strigoniun* did; whereunto they received no Answer, yea commandment was given throughout the Camp, That no man, upon pain of Death, should have any Parle with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readines for the Assault, the Christians, one day about five a clock in the afternoon assaulted the Town in four places; and after three hours hard fight, and the *Turks* had took it, with men beheading and lamenting of the Women and Children, and other fearful People, who now gave themselves all lost and forlorn. Four hours Execution was done upon all that came to hand, without respect of Age, Sex, or Condition: Women were slain great with child, and young Children hanging at their Mothers Breasts, it bowed not to cry for Mercy, the bloody Sword devouring all. The fury of the *Wallons* here exceeded, who ripped the Children out of their Mothers Wombs, and made Thongs and Points of the skins of Men and Women whom they had read quick. Which their Cruelty they afterwards excused, when they were therefore restored by pretending thereby they did chastise the *Turks* hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wonted and barbarous Cruelty to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for fear of like themselves. In this assault and fury perished of the *Turks* about four thousand, and of the Christians not past three hundred. In this Town, which was the first they ventured, was found a very rich Prey. The first that entered the Town was one *Torsky*, a notable Captain, with his Company; after whom followed *Rusfurme*, who each of them were thought, in their Entrance at the Breach, to have slain with their own hand eight or ten *Turks*.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to *Belgrade*, removed thence to come down into the Heart of *Hungary*, sending *Cicula Baffa* before him; and at length, after long looking for, the second of September arrived at *Buda*, having in his Army about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred field-pieces. From thence he presently sent 40000 to *Temesvar*, but flayed there himself with the rest of his Army.

The Christians yet lying at *Hannau*, and doubting lest the Sultan suddenly passing the River should come upon them not yet ready for Batle; departing thence, and retiring back again, came and incamped not far from *Vacia*. And albeit that the Arch-duke, before his Departure from *Hannau*, had left a convenient Garrison for the keeping of the Town; yet such was the terror of the *Turks* approach, that the next day after, they that were left in Garrison forsook the Town, and letting it on fire, followed themselves after the Camp. This coming of the Turkish Sultan to *Buda*, brought also a great fear upon them at *Piemma*, as much doubting lest he should that way have turned his Forces; which caused them both day and night to labour for the better Fortification of the City, and for the provision of all things, as if it had been for a present Siege.

But *Mahomet* was not provided for the undertaking of so long a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great Grand-father, the victorious *Solyman* had sometime received under the Walls thereof, had no purpose thereto, as having bent his thoughts quite another way. In the upper part of *Hungary* is an ancient famous City, well fortified and honoured with a Bishops See called *Agra*, not far from *Hannau*: upon this City, as the chief Fort of the Christians in those Quarters, had *Mahomet* at his

Hannau  
won by the  
Christians

Extream  
Cruelty.

*Mahomet*  
the great  
Sultan cometh  
to *Buda* with  
an Army  
of two  
hundred  
thousand.



his coming into Hungary cast his eyes, and began now that way to make head, with purpose by taking of that City, and placing there a strong Garrison, to hinder the uniting of the two Kingdoms of Hungary, and the mutual strengthening of the one the other by the way of the upper Hungary. Which the Arch-duke perceiving, lent thither forthwith the valiant Colonnell *Terzky* with a notable Company of *Irakians* and *Germans*, and a thousand other Harquebusers, who all arrived there in safety. At which time also the Lord *Tersky* sent into the City three thousand Foot-men under the conduct of County *Turne*, with good flore of warlike Provision needful for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet*, attended upon by the great Bassas, *Abraham*, *Giaffer*, *Hassan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his Army of an 150000 men, came and encamped between the two Rivers of *Arabis* and *Tiblis*. Approaching the City, he with wonderful Celicity cast up five great Mounts, and from them with such fury battered the Walls, that the Christians were glad night and day to stand in Arms for the defence thereof. And altho that the Walls were so great, and in many places were fortified, as that they were not but by a greater Garrison to be defended against to pulliant an Enemy; and that therefore the Defendants with their Honour lawfully might even the first day have let the City on fire, and retired themselves into the Castle, which was both fair and strong, and the only place to be trusted unto; yet, for the space of six days they worthily defended the whole City against the fury of the Enemies, and so it did them great harm. But seeing the danger greatly encroaching, and that the City was no longer to be holden, they let it on fire; having before conveyed all the best of their Substante, with themselves, into the Castle: which the Turks quickly perceiving, brake so suddenly into the City, as if they would, together with the Christians, have entered the Castle also; but in the attempt thereof they were notably repulsed, and many of them slain. Adjoining to the Castle was a great and strong Bulwark, against which the Turks for certain days furiously thundred with their great Ordnance, and that without intermission; and having in divers places (as he sheweth it) in the space of two days failed it 12 times, but yet without the wonderful loss of their men: and yet gave it not so over; but as men with their loss more enraged, came on again with greater fury than before, and so at last by plain force took it; and there put to the Sword all they found therein, except such as by good hap got betimes into the Castle. This Bulwark thus lost, the Christians the next day falling out, again recovered; wherein they slew a great number of the Turks, with the loss of some thirty men, and as many more wounded. The besieged now divers times, both by Letters and Messengers, craved Aid of *Maximilian* the General, giving him to understand, that they could no longer hold out for want of Shot and Powder, if they were not betimes relieved (whereof the Enemy also was not ignorant) yet were they resolved to hold it out even to the last man; altho the great Sultan had oftentimes, by Messengers sent of purpose, willed them to yield it up, with promise that they should in safety with Life and Goods depart; else they were threatening them greater extremities than was of late threatened unto the Turks at *Hatman*, if they should as obstinate men hold it out unto the last: whereunto they never answered him any thing; for *Terzky* had forbidden all Parle with the Enemy; and in the midst of the Marke-place had caused a pair of Gallies to be let up, threatening to hang him there, whosoever he were, that should once make motion of yielding up the City.

Whilst the besieged thus live in hope of Relief, the Arch-duke, upon the coming over of the Sultan towards *Agria*, having received with his Army to *Sirigium*, and there flaid forward, expecting the coming of more Aid; began now at length to let forward, and to make those few as if he had indeed purposed to have relieved his distressed Friends lo hardly beler at *Agria*. But such was the foulness of the Weather, hindering the passage of his great Ordnance (not to speak of any thing else) that in fourteen days he marched no more than twelve miles forward. Whereof the Enemy took occasion to prevail as he did in his Siege: who now hearing of the coming of the Christians, and seeing how little purpose he had so long battered the Castle, converted all his endeavours to the filling up of the Ditch of the old Castle, with Faggots, Earth, and such like matters; for the hastening of which work, *Mahomet* himself paced not to ride up and down in all places of his Army, with his Presence and cheerful Speech encouraging his men in that desperate Work. But whilst the Turks are thus busie in fulfilling his Command, the Christians falling out upon them made great slaughter of them, and put to flight *Abraham* the great Bassa, with such as were about him; after whom they so eagerly followed, that he in the flight lost his Tulipant for haste, and was there very like to have been taken. Nevertheless, the work went still forward, and was now at length, with the restless labour of so great a multitude, brought to such perfection, that the Turks thought it now no great matter by assault to enter the City; and thereupon, the tenth of October, gave unto it five separate Assaults one upon another, being still with greater slaughter of his men repulsed. But coming on again the fifth time with fresh Supplies, and greater fury than at the first, they prevailed; and to entering, put to the Sword all they found in the Castle, in number about eight hundred; and slaid of whole Heads, one of the Turks Capitanes caused to be carried unto *Mahomet* in the Camp, in the beholding whereof, he is said to have taken great Pleasure, as in the undoubted Signs of his Victory.

The old Castle thus taken, nothing remained but the new Castle, against which the Turks converted their whole Forces, wherein they repulsed not so much hope (altho their Battery were very terrible, and their Power great) as in the secret Mines wherewith they had in fourteen places undermined the Castle, and were now almost ready to be blown up. Which the besieged perceiving, and withal considering the fate wherewith they stood, and not hearing any kind of relief, relieved amongst themselves (without the consent of their chief Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yield. And thereupon altogether, as if it had been but one man, rise up in a Mutiny against their two Governours, *Faul Niar*, and *Terzky*; who at the first, by all the reasons they could devise, persuaded them from such Cowardice, putting them in mind of the Oath they had taken: which not prevailing, they afterwards upon their knees requested them, as men, to hold it out yet a while, in hope of speedy relief; yea *Terzky*, with his hands cast up, intreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yield, they should first kill him with their own hands, that he might not live to see so great a Dishonour. But what availeth Persuasion with men possessed with so great fear? And in the mean time 250 of the common Soldiers, amongst whom were many *Italians*, secretly elaping out of the Castle fled into the Camp, of whom divers were taken, and tured Turk, which added to the former fear, so much discouraged the minds of the rest, that they forthwith required to come to parle with the Enemy, and so agreed, That they might with Bag and Baggage, and their Swords by their sides, in safety depart; the great Sultan giving his Faith for the performance thereof, with *Hollages* delivered on either side. So the thirtieth of October, about Noon, the Garrison Souldiers came out of the Castle, in number about 2000; but they were not gone far, but that they were in a great Place set up by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and there in full view, some of them were slain quick, and some other of them otherwise shamefully dimembered; the Turks in the mean time upbraiding them, and saying, That Faith was not to be kept with them that had so cruelly before dealt with them of *Hatman*. This perfidious dealing much offended divots of the better sort of the Turks, inasmuch, that some of them complained thereof unto the Sultan; who as is reported) caused some of the chief Authors thereof to be put to death; and afterward, by open Proclamation commanded, that if any of the *Turks* or *Tartars* had taken any of them Prisoners, they should forthwith let them at liberty. Thus is the famous City of *Agria*, of long time a Christian Bishops Seat, now become a free Succubate for the Turks and Infidels.

Whilst *Mahomet* thus lay at the Siege of *Agria*, the Bassa of *Bosnia*, with certain other of the Sanzacks thereabouts, having raised a great Army, came and besieged *Perinia* in the Borders of *Croatia*: which he at his first coming lo furiously battered by the space of five days, that was of many thought not possible for it to hold out two so longer. In the mean time, the Lord *Herbolstein* and *Leucowitz*, with all the Power they could make out of *Croatia* and *Windismarch*, came towards *Perinia*; but having no means in lo great haste to make a Bridge over the River of *Kulp*, they retired towards *Sieff*, thence to pass over. The Turks hearing of their retire, and supposing them to be fled for fear, put six thousand Horsemen over the River to pursue them: upon whom the Christians turning, and charging them home, overthrow them; and having slain many of them, drave the rest headlong into the River, where most of them perished. The Christians nevertheless keeping on their way to *Sieff*, there the next day by a Bridge passed over the River, and so marching towards *Perinia*, and being come near unto the Town, were encountered by eight thousand Turks, whom they also put to flight; and by certain Prisoners there taken, understood that the Bassa, the day before, was slain from near the Town, and gone; which they at the first believed not, but coming thither found it so, to their good Contentment, and the great Joy of the late besieged.

*Maximilian* the General marching on fair and softly from *Sirigium*, at length, the seventeenth of October, came to *Cassiova*, four days after that *Agria* was lost; and there met with the *Tartar* Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thousand men, and forty field-pieces to aid him; of whom eight thousand were mercenary Horsemen, fifteen hundred were of the Nobility of his Country, and the rest Foot-men. The next day after, they setting forward from *Cassiova*, joynted themselves with the rest of the Army led by the Lord *Tersky* and *Palk*, and of all their united Forces made one Army, consisting now of 32000 Horse-men and 28000 Foot; who drew with them an 120 Field-pieces, and 20000 Waggon, where-with they every night encloled their Army as with a mole Trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards *Agria*, with a full resolution to give the Turks Battle, whereof the whole Army seemed to be very desirous. By the way at length they came to a fair Heath two miles long and

four broad, where they were to pass over a certain River, the Passage whereof *Giaffer Bassa* had before taken with 20000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, the rest of the Turkish Army lying still so far from *Agria*. Now the purpose of the Bassa was, to have enlarged the Passage of the River, and so to have made way for the whole Army to have afterwards passed to the other side, as most commodious for many purposes, especially for Water, whereof they lo might themselves have had plenty, and yet kept the Christians from it. But of this his purpose, by the coming of the Christians he was afterwards apprized; for the next day, being the 23<sup>th</sup> of October, they skirmished with him in divers places, especially at the Passage of the River; where, at the first Encounter he lost 300 of his men, and in the end seeing himself too weak to withstand the whole power coming on, fled to the Sultan, having lost two of his Ensigns and 20 field-pieces, but of his men none more, both for that he fled betime, and the approach of the night hindered the pursuit of the Christians, who were now become Masters both of the passage of the River, and of the place where the Bassa lay: which they finding not lo commodious for them as they had at the first supposed (especially for lack of Wood, the Weather being then extremely cold, as also hearing of the approach of the Sultan with his whole Army) they forthwith forsook the same, and retired again over the River to the place where they lay before, incloled themselves with their Waggon, as if it had been a City strongly incloled with wooden Walls. The next day, which was the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his Army, and the view of the Christians, and the sight of 3000 *Tartars* to pass the River; of whom the Christians flew a great number with their great horse, and put the rest to flight. Both the Armies were populous and strong, and covered a great deal of ground, a most goodly sight to behold: both drunk of the same River, as well the men as their Horses, and therefore kept continual watch all that night on both sides of the River, especially at the Passage. In the morning, betwixt six and seven o'clock, *Mahomet*, with his Army ranged in order of Battle, came within sight of the Christians, his Squadrons as it were covering all the Country on that side of the River, as far as the Christians could well see; and now again first part of his Army over the River; with whom the Christians skirmished from morning till night, both the Armies parted but by the River, all this while standing fast; and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both sides well wearied, and many slain, the Turks retired again over the River to the Camp; in the mean time, if it had been by consent) they retired on both sides the next day to try the fortune of a Battle; and lo Commandment was given through both the Armies, for every man, against a certain appointed time to make himself ready. So the next day, being the 26<sup>th</sup> of October, *Mahomet* brought forth his Army, and now thinking it time up not far from the Christians, and being now to draw down towards the River. Near unto this place were the ruins of an old Church, where *Mahomet* placed certain Companies of Janizaries, and 24 field-pieces, and commanded 10000 of his select Souldiers to pass the River, which they readily did. The Christians also ready for Battle, and now thinking it time up on the coming over of the Enemy to begin; with part of their Army thereunto appointed, lo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come over, that they quickly overthrew them, and not them only, but certain Companies of *Tartars* also that were in another place come over the River; and not so contented with having overcome them, but in chafe, put to flight them also, and then stood on the farther side of the River, of whom they flew a great

Agria besieged by Mahomet.

A Bulwark at the entrance of the city, failed in two days.

The old Castle taken.

Agria yielded unto the Turks.

Perinia besieged by the Turks.

Perinia relieved.

A great and long Skirmish betwixt the Turks and the Christians.

Ten thousand Turks pursued the River, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.



number, and by the coming on of the rest of the Army, took from them an 1500 great pieces of Artillery; which he put in the Cities of the Enemies Camp; that *Mahomet*, with *Ibrahim* the great Basha, seeing the discomfiture of the Army, fled in all haste towards *Agria*, shedding some tears by the way as he went, and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomet's* Garment, which he for reverence carried about him as a Relique. I drew now towards night, and the Arch-duke was about to have called a Retreat to be founded, and that day to have done no more. But the *Transilvanian* Prince, the Lord *Palfi*, and the rest, persuaded him in that to great fear of the Enemy to prosecute the Victory; and the rather, for that the *Turks* began again to make head, and to repair their disordered Battels. Wherefore the Christians fill keeping their Array, charged afresh the Front of their Enemies restored Battel, confounding 40000 men, and that with such violence, as that they in short time had slain the most part of them, and put the rest to flight; and with the like good fortune charging the body of the main Battel, forced the discouraged *Turks*, with great slaughter, into their own Camp. Now Commandment was before given throughout the Christian Army, that no man upon pain of Death should in seeking after spoil break his Array, or forsake his Place before the Victory were assuredly gotten. But they in this hot pursuit breaking order with the *Turks* in the Tents, and these killing a great number of them, and seeing in every place great store of rich spoil, contrary to the aforesaid Commandment, left the pursuit of the Enemy, and disorderly fell to the spoil of the Tents, until they came to the very Tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the mischief with a most sudden change of Fortune. For he these greatly disordered men, not now worthy the name of Soldiers, light upon a strong Squadron of resolute men, with good store of great Ordnance ready charged, which they discharged amongst the thickest of their Enemies, and rent in sunder a number of them, and after that, came on resolutely themselves, when in the mean time *Ghazal Basha*, with his Horse-men yet untouched, brake in upon them also, and with the terror of his coming brought forth a fear upon them, that they began a main to fly, especially the *Hungarians* and *German*, most buffed in the Spoil. Neither could they in that fear, by any threats or intreaty of their Commanders be persuaded to make a stand, or to make as once to look back, or to show any token of true Valour: which their hasty flight, was the overthrow not of themselves only, but of others also that would have fought, for whilst they fled head-long upon the Spur, and could not be afraid, they over-ran their own Foot-men, and so furnished the Enemies Victory. Thus far want of good order, thro the greedy covetousness of a sort of disordered men, the most notable Victory that ever the Christians were like to have had over the *Turks*, was let slip out of their hands. Many noble Gentlemen and Commanders, in seeking to save the flight of their own men, were here slain, and so all the Enemy collected the Chase scarce half a mile, yet were the Christians possessed with such a fear, that they fled mainly all over the Country, with greater shame than loss, no man pursuing them. The Arch-duke himself seeing all desperate, fled to *Cassovia*. The *Transilvanian*, and all others most orderly, retired himself towards *Transilvania*, having lost in this Battel above 1200 men, and of them never a man of name. All this loss he imputed to the Covetousness of the *Hungarians*, and Cowardice of the *German* Horse-men. The Lord *Bernheim* having charge of the great Artillery, fled also, and made shift for himself, as did *Palfi*, and in fine all the rest. Neither was the fear less amongst the *Turks* (a wonderful

thing to be spoken) than it was among the Christians: for the Night following, they, for fear of the return of the Christians, trulling up the belt of their things, fled also towards *Agria*, and it was afterwards known, that the *Turks* great Ordnance, Tents, and Baggage, stood three days in their Trenches, either altogether unguarded, or so flenderly guarded, as that they might have been easily taken by the Christians, if they would but have made head again. Yet *Mahomet* himself is reported oftentimes to have confessed the danger, and he was then in to have been taken, and all his Army destroyed, if the Christians had (as they should) pursued the Victory, and not so basely run after the Spoil: by which danger he then warned, afterwards even flunned to adventure his Person to the like Peril in the Field. In this Battel of *Koroff* (for so it is of a place thereby called) and at the Siege of *Agria*, were lost of the Christians about 20000, and of the *Turks* 60000. *Mahomet* after this Victory fortified *Agria*, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 Soldiers, and so returned to *Belgrade*.

The Basha of *Buda*, persuading himself that the *Turks* after to great an Overthrow, could not this Year to any purpose recover their Strength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of November besieged *Vachia*, in hope to have easily carried it: but finding there greater resistance than he had before imagined, and hearing that the dispersed Christians in the upper part of *Hungary* were making head for to come to the relief of the Town, he, more afraid than hard, brake up his Siege, and so returned to *Buda*; for indeed the dispersed Reliques of the late Army of the Christians were drawing together, but unarmed and unprovided, as having in the late flight flamellously cast away their Arms, and therefore could have done the Basha small harm if he had continued the Siege.

*Mahomet*, thinking it Honour enough for him to have thus won *Agria*, and driven the Christians out of the Field, divided his Army into two parts at *Belgrade*; whereof the one he billeted in the Country thereabout, to be ready for all Events, and with the other he returned to *Constantinople*: but by the way he was set upon by *Bartholus Janitschy* the *Transilvanian* Prince's Lieutenant, and the *Vayvod* of *Valachia*, who with a great Power both of Horse and Foot being got over the River *Danubius*, and secretly favoured by the Country People, lay in Ambush for him in places of advantage, and fill following in the Tail of his Army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them; and so with much trouble arrived at length at *Constantinople*, where we will for this Year leave him, until we hear of him more.

*Maximilian*, with a small Retinue, arrived at *Vienna* in the latter end of November, where he found the Viscount of *Burgun*, *Sparatzenburg*, and some other of the Commanders of his late Army: most of the rest, especially the *Italians*, being slain. The small remainder of this unfortunate Year was spent with often Skirmishes and Inroads one into another Frontiers, as the manner of War is, without any other great thing done worth the Remembrance.

*Rodolph* the Christian Emperor, notwithstanding the late discomfiture of his Army not far from *Agria*, made choice again of his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, for the managing of his Forces for his next Years Wars against the *Turk*. Whereunto the Pope by his Legate *Prin-Aldon*, recommended of his own charge to send him 10000 *Italians*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Mantua*; as did also the *German* Princes their wanted aid, with some others. All which slowly at length meeting together near unto *Posonium* and *Alemburg*, in the Months of *July* and *August*; departing thence,

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Papa taketh the Christians.

marched to *Pappa*, which after eight days hard Siege they took, and so again retired to *Adrianople*, where they took a general Muster of the Army, and afterwards, in the beginning of September, rebed themselves before the strong Town of *Rab*: where the Lord *Bernheim* approaching too near the Walls, was with a Shot slain. Nevertheless, the rest there stayed, until that hearing of the coming of *Mahomet* Basha, the *Turks* General, with his great Army, they left the Siege, and the twenty fourth day of September, passing over the River *Danubius*, into the Island *Schut* towards *Comara*, there on the North-side of the River encamped. Where they had not lain past eight days, but that the Cattle of *Doria*, standing upon the South-side of *Danubius*, were by the Basha, before their Faces, and as it were, the whole Army of the Christians in the mean time, as idle Beholders, looking on, but not daring to relieve their distressed Friends: but afterwards arising, marched to *Vachia*, where, hearing of the *Turks* coming against them from *Pappa*, they set fire on the Cattle, and so retired along the North-side of the River, until they came over against *Vicograde*, a Castle of their own, on the farther side of *Danubius*; where, by the good direction of the Lord *Gheza Basha*, a most expert Captain, and Lieutenant-General of the Army, they escaped so strongly, as that the *Turks*, after many brave Attempts given to have forced them in their Trenches, were glad with some loss to depart.

Neither went things this Year better forward with the Christians in other places, than in this side of *Hungary*: for *Sigismund* the *Transilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, besegging the strong City of *Temesvar* in *Obher*, was, by the valour of the Defenders, and the unseasonableness of the Weather, intreated to raise his Siege, and with dishonour to depart. *Michael* also, the *Vayvod* of *Valachia*, who, moved with the example and persuasions of the *Transilvanian* Prince, had revolted from the *Turks*, and done them great harm (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often Invasions and the spoil of his Country almost brought to utter Desolation, many thousands of his Subjects being by the *Turks* and *Tartars* carried away Captives, and his Towns and Castles for most part razed; to give his People a time of breathing, submitted himself again unto the *Turkish* Obedience, solemnly receiving at the hands of one of the *Turks* Chieftains (for that purpose sent from *Constantinople*) an Engise in token of his submission unto the *Turkish* Emperor, as also of his favour towards him. Which the more to assure him of, he by another honourable Messenger shortly after received from *Mahomet* the *Turkish* Emperor more kind Letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the *Vayvodship* of *Valachia* by the grand Seigneur's solemn Oath, unto *Michael* the *Vayvod*, and his Son *Peter*, then about thirteen years old, for the term of but their Lives, without disturbance, paying but the half of the old yearly Tribute by the *Turks* before demanded. So glad they were upon any condition to have reduced that Martial man with his Country unto their Obedience: and in token of further Grace, together with these Letters he received also a goodly beard and most richly furnished, with a fair Scimitar and an Horse-man's Mace, in sign of his Power and Government committed unto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and Honours the *Vayvod* seemed thankfully to accept: nevertheless, not daring too far to trust unto the *Turkish* Faith, of the small assurance whereof he had before by sufficient Experience, he still kept strong Garrisons upon the Frontiers of his Country, with such other Forces also as he was

Doria taken by the Turks.

Twenty thousand Christians slain, and three thousand *Turks*.

*Vachia* besieged by the Basha of *Buda*.

*Michael* the *Vayvod* yieldeth his Obedience unto the *Turks*, and yet refuseth to aid him against the Christians.

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wont, excusing the same to be done for fear of the *Tartars*; by whom he also excused himself for not going with the *Turk* General this Year into *Hungary*, as he was by special Messengers from the grand Seigneur himself requested, telling him, that he might not in any case do so, for fear of the *Tartars* most horrible Incursions, and the Spoils of his Country; yet knew he right well, how that they charged not to do any harm either in *Moldavia*, or *Valachia*, as they went into *Hungary*. But this wary *Vayvod* not greatly trusting either the Sultan or them, as also to himself, a Christian, to go against the Christians, his Friends and late Confederates, excused himself by the necessary care he had of his Subjects and Country, and so requested that his reasonable Excuse might be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be said hereafter. Thus passed this Year without any great thing done more than is before declared; both their great Princes, the Emperor and the *Turkish* Sultan, being warned by the late Years Work what it was to put all to the Fortune of a Battel: and therefore now, contenting themselves to have shewed their Forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this years Wars more in shews than deeds.

What great things might by the Christian Princes as Unity amongst themselves be done against the *Turk*, is by the confederate Right easily to be gathered; but especially by the notable Victory of the famous *Transilvanian* Prince *Sigismund*, who confederated with his poor oppressed Neighbours the *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, and strengthened with some small Aid from the Emperor and the *Hungarians*, most only delivered those three Countries from the heavy burden of the *Turkish* Thraldom, but vanquished also their most renowned Captains, overthrew their mighty Armies, burnt and spoiled their Countries, razed their Towns and Cities; which, as it hath been before in part declared, if it should be all particularly set down, besides that it would be tedious, so also might it haply seem almost incredible. Besides which Calamities of War (commonly more felt of the Subjects than of the Prince) the great Sultan himself found no small Wane, as well in his Coffers, as other his necessary Supplies for the maintenance of his Wars, especially in *Hungary*; the only Country of *Moldavia* before the Troubles, yielding unto him yearly a Tun of Gold, 2000 Horses for Service, 10000 great measures of Wheat with as much Barley, and a wonderful proportion of Butter, Honey, and other Victuals; the other two Provinces paying the like or more: as a yearly Tribute: whereof he had the late, to his great discontentment, by the general Revolt of these three Countries, been quite disappointed. But this so wholesome a Confederation (to the great hurt of the Christian Commonwealth, and benefit of the *Turks*) now broken, and *Moldavia* by the *Polonians* differed from the rest, and again made tributary to the *Turk*, as is before declared, and now *Valachia* also in a sort acknowledging the *Turks* Obedience, the noble *Transilvanian* Prince, who hitherto with great Cheerfulness and Courage had fought the most Christian Battels against the *Turk*, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own small Forces to be able long to defend his Country against such a man as him, left the hands should, together with himself, fall into the hands of the *Turks* or some other his Enemies, by a wonderful Change voluntarily resigned this his Country of *Transilvania* unto *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor, and his Heirs for ever: and so leaving his Wife in *Transilvania*, went himself in

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A great Tribute.

The Prince of *Transilvania* resigneth his Country unto the Emperor.

1568 to *Siefta*, there to take Possession of the Dukedoms of *Oppel* and *Ratibor*, which, together with the yearly Pension of 50000 Joachims, or the Revenues of the Bithoprick of *Draslawitz*, he had in lieu thereof received of the *Emperour*; whereupon the Possession of *Transylvania*, by the general consent of all the States of that Country, was in the beginning of this Year 1568, delivered unto the Archbishop of *Vacia*, the County *Nadafst*, and Doctor *Petzi*, the *Emperour's* Commissioners; and a solemn Oath of Obedience and Loyalty taken of them all in general; which Oath, when the Commissioners, as also the *Emperour* himself, would have perused the Prince, either not at all, or at leastwise not so suddenly to have forsaken his Country, but to have still kept the Government thereof himself yet for a year or two; well foreseeing, that the same could not so conveniently be governed by any other as by himself, a natural Prince therein born, and exceedingly beloved of his Subjects. The same Commissioners also, in June following, going into *valachia*, there took the like Oath of Obedience of *Michael* the *Yavod* and his People: who, loathing the Turkish Sovereignty, all willingly yielded themselves unto the *Emperour's* Protection. Thereupon the Commissioners, at the same time came to agreement with the *Tartars* Ambassadors, offering unto the *Emperour* Peace and Aid for the yearly Pension of 40000 Duckats, and as many Sheep-skin Gowns, their usual manner of Apparel.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in *December* last past at *Ratibor*, where the *Emperour's* Brethren, being all present, the Deputy, and in his Majesty's Name demanding a greater Aid for the maintenance of his Wars against the Turk, the common Enemy, than was by the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where, after great and long Deliberation, a large Proportion was by them all agreed upon for the defraying of the charges of those Wars and defence of the Christian Commonwealth, to be paid in three years next; and so thereupon was the Assembly dissolved. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, *Rab*, one of the strongest Fortresses of Christendom, three Years before betrayed unto the Turks by Count *Hardeck*, was now by the Witdom and Valour of *Adolphus* Baron of *Swartzenburg*, the *Emperour's* Lieutenant in the lower *Hungary*, again recovered, to the great grief of the Turks, and wonderful rejoicing of the Christians, in such sort as followeth:

This noble Gentleman the Lord *Swartzenburg*, of no less Courage than Experience, then lying at *Komara*, and still in doubt left the Turks, for no time unto him at *Rab*, should attempt something against him and his Charge, provided for his own defence all that Winter-time with a strong Garrison, keeping continual Watch and Ward, altho it were as then no time for the Enemy with any Army to keep the Field. So Winter passing, and the Spring approaching, it fortuned, that the twelfth day of March, about seven o'clock in the night, the Gates being shut, were heard near under the Walls of the Town, two men, who by their Speech seemed to be *Italians*; with great instance requesting, for the safeguard of their Lives, to be let in, for fear of the Enemies Pursuit: which by one of the Sentinels was forthwith reported unto the Governor; who, doubting it to be some subtil practice of the Enemy, commanded them there to take their Fortune until the Morning; at which time they were received into the City, and being brought before the Governor, prostrating themselves forthwith at his Feet, pitifully requested him to have compassion of their Misery, and to comfort them with his charitable Relief, that so they might

at length return again into their Country: who at the first asked them, What Country-men they were, and from whence they came at that time of the night: Whereunto they answered, That they were *Italians*, and that they had but even then escaped out of the cruel hands of the Turks at *Rab*. But desiring to know of them some News, they, after their manner, humbled themselves, shewing by their Gesture not to know any. Yet would he needs understand of them the Particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had used to escape out of that cruel Servitude, in all order as had befallen them. Where the younger of them beginning, told him, That now almost two years ago, at such time as the Christians were overthrown by the Turks under *Agria*, and every man in that confusion then seeking the belt and nearest way to save themselves; they having by flight now escaped the greatest danger of the Enemy, and so travelling over the Country towards *Vienna*, were, to their great Misfortune (by an hundred Turks come out of *Rab* to scour the Country, and to seek after Prey) taken Prisoners, and as Slaves committed to the Chain, where they had almost two years, until now, with great Patience served. These men Fugitives, by their outward appearance, seemed to be men of good Spirit and Valour; which caused the Governor the more desirous to know of them the means they had used for their escape. So the younger proceeding in his Tale, gave him to understand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had been three Months before still carefully watching to recover their lost Liberty, which now seemed to make some offer of it felt unto them: for that since the time that the *Emperour's* Army rife the last year from before the Town, they were not kept so strait, or looked unto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded; which caused them the more cheerfully to take their opportunity, and to resolve either the sooner to dye, or to set themselves at liberty. And that so one day as they were carrying certain Munition from the Palace of *Giasfer Bassa* for the Soldiers, they secretly conveyed three pieces of Cord of some reasonable bigness, therewith by night to let themselves down from the Wall, and so make their Escape: which bold Cord, that it should not be seen, and so their purpose suspected, they buried in the ground. But the Night being come for them to effect in what they had so long desired, and they coming up and down in the dark, and still finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to stay, and to defer it until the night following; which being come, and choice made of a most convenient place, they made fast the Cord above, and so thereby slid down, first the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to swim, was yet by the good direction and help of his Fellow conducted over unto the farther side of the broad and deep Ditch; and that so, in the night (so dark as that one of them could hardly see the other) they were come by chance to *Komara*, thinking to have taken the way to *Vienna*. The Governor thus fully instructed of their Escape, demanded of them further, how the strong Town of *Rab* was by the Turks governed and guarded; who told him, very evil, and with small care, especially since the Departure of the *Emperour's* Camp, and also that four Gates of the Town were filled up with Earth, which if they were broken open, would all fall into the Town-ditch, and so further them that would attempt to enter, with divers other Particularities. Whereof the Governor having well considered, thought with himself, that if by some ingenious Device he might by night write some good strength, upon the sudden enter the Town,

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it might happily be so again recovered. Upon which so great a designment he thought good, consult further with the Lord *Palfi*, whom he requested, in all haste, and with as much Secrecy as was possible, with 1600 Foot, and as many Horse as he could make, to come unto him to *Komara*. Who, upon this Advertisement, flaid not, but presently giving order unto his men, set forward by night, and the 26th of March, before day, with 1400 Foot and 120 Horse arrived at *Komara*; where they were all joyfully received, and the Gates, after they were entered, again shut fast, and so kept for fear of the Enemies secret Spies, of whom no man can be too wary, by he never so wise. Now whilst their Soldiers were refreshing themselves, in the mean time, the Governor, with the Lord *Palfi*, discoursed to the full concerning the intended Enterprize; which resolved upon, they found themselves, upon the view of their men, to have 1600 Foot of the Garrison Soldiers, and 300 Horse, all good and courageous men, and well appointed for the intended Service: who there staying two days after their coming, and many of them in the mean time (after the manner of their Religion) confessing themselves, and receiving the Sacrament, were become so courageous, as that they doubted not, in the Quarrel of the Christian Religion, to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themselves. And the more to fit them up, the Lord *Palfi* at the same time delivered unto them a notable Speech; not for all that telling them their duties were to go; but, That they were his Christian Soldiers and Brethren, under his leading both of long and late time; who, never by him deceived of their wanted Pay at such time as it was due, were now, as he hoped, forsake him. And albeit that he well knew them to have deceived at his hands a greater Contentment, nevertheless, being himself deprived of his Revenue by these late Wars, and his Possessions subject every hour unto the incursions of the Turks, could not therefore, according to his Desire, and their Deserts, then unto them the great good Will he bore them; yet now and even presently was come the time where-in they might not only abundantly enrich themselves, but also adorn their Heads with an immortal Crown of Glory, and make themselves for ever famous, by performing the most happy and glorious Exploit that ever was by valiant Soldiers attempted or achieved in that part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dear to him he accounted of the Life and Honour of every one of them, he would therefore himself, with the Lord *Swartzenburg*, (of whom proceeded all that fair Device and new Stratagem) be present with them in the Action; and that therefore they were not to think that they were led forth to any private danger, farther than the Commanders themselves, who wholly Folly were to be accounted great, if rashly and upon no good ground they should adventure their Lives and Honours together; whereof they ought not now to doubt, having by a thousand Proofs known how much they had been of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoved them so much the more to try their Valour in this piece of Service undertaken for the great benefit of the Christian Commonwealth, and the Honour of Christ Jesu, unto whom they were with one accord to make their Prayers, with his mighty hand to strengthen their Hearts, and with glorious Victory to bring to happy end the intended Exploit against his Enemies; to the honour of his Name, and the advancement of the Christian Religion and Faith. At the end of which Speech, all the Soldiers cried aloud, That they were most ready to do any their Commands, and to follow them whithersoever. So order was taken, that within

three hours they should every man be preft and ready with their Arms according to their places; and so having well refreshed themselves, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the twelfth day of March they in good order began to set forward towards *Rab*. But for that the multitude of Soldiers oftentimes giveth the Enemy warning of that is intended against him, *Palfi* gave order to one *John Strime*, his Sergeant-Major, to follow fair and softly after him, with 1700 Horse and Foot; which he well performed: and the first break of the day they began to draw towards *Rab*, and there lay close in Ambush all that day until night, about five miles short of the Town; refreshing themselves in the mean time with plenty of Victuals, which they had brought with them from *Komara*. Night (the favourer of Deceit) being come, in two hours March they began to draw near to *Rab*, and there staid about five hours; from whence they sent before them a French Engineer, a man of great Judgment, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 Duckats) having with them four Petards, Engines of Force to blow up into the Air any thing whereunto they be fastened, be it never so great and weighty; which by good chance, they found the Draw-bridge down, and the Portcullis up; for that the Turks then calling no Peril, expected every hour for certain Waggon with Provision from *Alba Regalis*. By which good hap, the Christians unperceived coming to the Gate, and thereunto fastening their Petards, in good order gave fire to the same, which presently took hold; yet were they not far gone, when there was sent a Sentinel detached, who demanding what they were, was presently answered by the violent Engines, which in a trice tore in under the Gate, with some part of the Wall and of the Fortifications near unto it. When now the Watch (but all too late) began to give the Alarm, and the Christians in the forward thrusting state, the Turks took the Gate, none of the Turks yet coming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entering. The first that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted Cry *Alla, Alla*, in such hideous manner as if they would therewith have rent the Heavens, would have flaid the Christians from their entering; but were themselves over-charged by 300 which were already entered. At which time also the *Bassa* came on with more than a thousand following him, and that with such Courage and Fury as was never greater to be seen in any Turk; where, after a most terrible fight, maintained by the space of two hours, the *Bassa* himself being slain, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thousand Christians more had leisure to enter: when straightway after came *Giasfer* the great *Bassa* with above a thousand tall Soldiers following him, all the Inhabitants also of *Rab* running after him, and that with such force, that they constrained the Christians to retire unto the Gate whereby they entered. Who, resolved rather honourably to die within the Town, than with dishonour to be forced out, there, with incredible Courage, sustained the greatest Impression of the furious Enemy; where was to be seen the true Christian Valour for the performance of so great an Exploit, well worthy of eternal Memory. But this *Bassa* also (the other being dead of a Wound in his Neck) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that sharp Conflict shewed great tokens of his Valour, was there at length slain also: both whole Heads struck off, were for a Present afterwards sent to the *Emperour* at *Prague*, with all the particularities of the whole Action. But now the Turks perceiving that their chief Commanders were slain, retired most part of them into the City: some 300 of them crept underneath one of

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Two Ballistiers being out of *Rab*, discovered the base of the Town to the Lord *Swartzenburg*.

The notable Speech of the Lord *Palfi* unto his Soldiers.

*Rab* first surprised by the Christians.

Two of the Ballistiers slain.

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the Bulwarks, where flood certain Barrels of Gunpowder, which they desperately set on fire, and so together with themselves blew up three hundred Christians that were above upon the Bulwark; the greatest loss the Christians had in all that Victory, who were otherwise supposed not to lose therein above two hundred of their men. Thus the Turks discomfited, and altogether full of fear, losing both their Force and Courage, fled in every place before the Christians, they in every corner making of them a most horrible Slaughter. The Turkish Women all this while out of their Windows and other high places, ceased not to cast down Stones, Timber, and such like things, upon the Heads of the Christians, whom they thought by all means to annoy, and to help the Turks. The bloody Execution continued all that day until night, the Christians fill finding one or other hidden in the most secret places of the City upon whom to exercise their Wrath; who, rankling also every corner thereof, were by the Wealth therein found greatly enriched. And coming to the Palace of *Gigra* the great Baffa, they found such great store of rich Furniture, as better befitted some great Prince than a Turkish Slave. There they found also Letters, written in Characters of Gold, from the Baffa of *Buda* to this Baffa, greeting him, and promising him in his behalf to deal with the grand Seigneur against the next Spring, with the first that Army should take the Field, that he might therein have some honourable place of Command, to the end he might in the Field show his greater Valour, and no longer lie idle in that strong Town. So found they there also many things written from the Great Sultan himself to this Baffa, with great store of Coin, which all fell to the Soldiers share; inasmuch, that by this so notable an Exploit so well performed, the publick State, together with the Soldiers private, was not a little bettered. There, amongst other things, were recovered three score and six pieces of Artillery, which were known to have been sometime the Emperours, and fed to be brought from *Buda*, with great store of flint and powder and other small pieces, and meal sufficient to have served 4000 men for a Year and a half, but of Wine (little used of the Turks) only four Vessels. In the Baffa's Palace was also found, with abundance of Cloth and Apparel, which was all given in spoil to the Soldiers. Thus *Rab*, one of the strongest Fortresses of Christendom, not full four years before besieged by *Sinan Baffa* with an 150000 men, by the space almost of three Months, and then at length, by the Treason of the Governor to him betrayed, was now in one night, by their immortal Glory, again restored to the Christian Commonwealth, the nineteenth day of *March*, in the Year 1598. Of which so notable a Victory the Christians rejoiced not a little both in *Hungary* and elsewhere; the great Sultan, with the Turks, no less grieving and storming, as well for the loss of the Town, before got with so small charge, as for the death of his People there slain, to the number of about six thousand and more, with the loss of scarce six hundred Christians.

Yet for all this, *Mabomet* the great Sultan ceased not to make great Provision for his Wars in *Hungary*, and that greater than before, and so with greater fury also to prosecute his wrathful Indignation to be revenged upon the Christians. Whereunto, order was given unto *Ibrahim Baffa* his Brother-in-law, and General of his Army, with all convenient speed to take the Field; which for all that fell out far otherwise; for that now thinking to have had all things in good forwardness, a great

diffention rose betwixt the Janizaries and the Spahis; the Janizaries being the best Foot-men, and the Spahis the best Horse-men of the Turkish Empire; both the faithful Keepers of the Person of their Prince, and the greatest strength of his State, whereby it cometh to pass, that in fighting forward towards the Wars, these two sorts of valiant Soldiers, the one standing upon their Strength, and the other upon their Honour, and both jealous of their Reputation and Credit, have no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and especially of late in this corruption of their martial Discipline under their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themselves, as now they did to the great hindrance of their Affairs, and trouble of the General. Inasmuch, that to appease this Tumult he was glad to put to death certain of the insolent Janizaries, refusing to let forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding farther, and thinking to have executed some others of them also, to the further terror of the rest, he was by them and their Adherents put in such fear of his Life, that to avoid the present danger, he was glad to excuse himself by his Lieutenant, laying all the blame upon him as the cause thereof; who was therefore as a Sacrifice delivered unto the Fury of the Janizaries, by whom he was presently slain, with some others of the Baffa's Followers. So these Broils, with much ado, overpass, *Ibrahim* having taken a general review of his Army at *Sophia*, there stayed, expecting Order from the Great Sultan where to begin his Wars, in *Hungary* or in *Transylvania*, for as yet that was in question; which could not well be before the beginning of *July*, by reason of the scarcity of Victuals even then arising in the Camp; for the supplying whereof, *Mabomet* himself had no small care. But this long delay was the cause that a great number of the Janizaries coming from *Hadrinople*, and hearing by the way, that the General would not as yet set forward, not knowing the cause of his lay, and doubting to be deceived of their promised Entertainment, were about to have returned back again; which known at the Court, Commandment was presently sent thence unto the General, without longer stay to let forward toward *Hungary*, which the more hastened his Departure with his Army.

In this the Turks so long delay, the Christians had good leisure to prepare their new Forces, being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might think that the Enemy slept not, knowing what Provision he had made as well in *Constantinople* as in other places. Wherefore reasonably doubting that Summer well spent, and *August* now at hand, he would not so late turn his Forces into the lower *Hungary*, they thought it best to provide for the Safety of the upper Country; and to the end the Enemy approaching those Frontiers, might there find Forces ready to encounter him, the Lord *George Baffa*, a man of great Experience and Valour, was appointed Lieutenant-General for that Country, to the great Contentment of the Soldiers in general, all shewing themselves most ready at his Command. The Lord *Swartzenburg* in the mean time remaining in the lower *Hungary* at *Rab*, with eight thousand good Soldiers; and the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Vienna* for the dispatch of *George Baffa*, and the halting of him forward for that the upper *Hungary*, to the great hurt thereof began now to feel the Incursions of the Turks and Tartars: besides that, he was afterwards to return himself to speak with the Emperour his Brother, fill expecting a Chais of the Turks by the Appointment of the Grand Seigneur, sent by the way of *Poltia* for *Prague*, to intimate with the Emperour concerning a Peace.

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A great Tumult between the Janizaries and the Spahis.

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Buda besieged by the Christians.

They of *Buda* in the mean while seeing the delay of the Turks, of whom, no one band yet appeared in those Quarters; and on the other side perceiving the great Preparation of the Imperials, and the great Garrison at *Rab* in great hands; began now to doubt some new Resolution of the Christians: wherein they were no whit deceived; for no Army of the Turks being then in field in the lower *Hungary*, and the Country plain and open, the Lord *Palfi*, with a convenient Power, and certain pieces of Battery, let forward to attempt the Enterprize, and the 10th of *October*, with 16 pieces of Artillery began to beat down the new Resolution of the Christians, and discomfite of them within; having first taken the Fort *S. Gerard*, with hope to have gained the rest also. For which cause, the Men, the Women, and all that dwell in the City, most instantly befought the Baffa, not to endure the destruction of the same, with the Inhabitants and Wealth thereof altogether; but, being not able long to hold out against so furious a Battery, in time to hearken unto some reasonable composition, that to they might yet have many at least with life depart. Whereunto, the Baffa for all that would not hearken, but put them fill in hope that they should be presently relieved. However, the Battery fill continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any Relief yet coming, they were glad, at length to abandon the City with the loss of 2000 of the Janizaries, and but 300 of the Christians slain, and 800 hurt; the rest of the Turks at the same time retiring themselves into the Castle, where they might for a space defend themselves safe. So the Lord *Palfi* possessed of the City, with all his Forces laid Siege unto the Castle; which, altho it were in some places shaken with the continual fury of the Canon, yet were the Defendants fill ready to make good the same: inasmuch, that *Palfi*, upon good hope of Success, giving thereunto a general Assault, was by their Valour informed to fore, that he might in the mean time with great labour and industry repairing the Breaches and Gaols made by the Artillery. So that *Palfi* considering the difficulty of the Assault, thought it better, by undermining, to shake the Rock whereon the Castle stood, than by a new Assault to expose so many worthy men unto to manifest a danger: which his Purpose by the Enemy discovered, was by them also, by countermining, disappointed; yet for all that were the Christians fill in good hope, by another Mine not yet by the Enemy perceived, to fort to the full of their desire; and the more, for that they law not so much bravely or flew of Courage in the Defendants as before: who now kept themselves silent and quiet, as if they had been consulting about the yielding up of the Castle, as men bereft of all hope of Relief and Succour: the Christians being now possessed of a strong Abbey and Fortlets fast by, and having broken down all the Bridges over the River *Danubius*, in such sort, as that they besieged could not receive any relief either by Land or Water. But so far as the time of the year began now to grow tedious, and the Winter Weather sharp, the Christians thought it not best there long to protrude the time; and therefore resolved to present unto the Castle another general Assault, and at the same instant to blow up the Mine: but in giving this Assault, they were again repulsed with the loss of 200 men. At which time also, a number of the Turks falling out of the Castle, courageously encountered the Christians, but not with Success answerable to their Valour, being there almost all cut in pieces: neither did the Mine take the desired Effect, but being blown up did little or no harm at all. So that the Christians, weary of their long suffering of the Extremity of the Weather, and withal considering the great Cou-

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The Christian depart from the Siege of Buda.

rage of the Defendants, were even upon the point to have risen; yet willing to give a fresh attempt by the Mine, they began again to work in the same, and in hope to prevail, began to parley with the Defendants about the giving up of the Castle: but all to little or no purpose; for that the Mine having taken no effect, and the Soldiers could hardly be drawn on through the deep and muddy Ditches to give a new Assault. In fine, seeing no hope to prevail, and hearing also of the coming of a great Army of the Turks for the relief of the besieged, they raised their Siege, and at their departure burnt the Suburbs, carrying away with them a great Booty; and the retreating towards *Wingonia*, expressed further direction where to Winter. Where, shortly after, Order was taken, that the Forces disbanded should be dispersed, some into the Garrisons, and some into the Country thereabout, to the intent they might be in the more readiness with the first of the next Spring to take the Field, or as occasion should serve to be otherwise employed.

But *Sigmund* the *Transylvanian* Prince in the mean time repenting himself of the unequal Exchange he had made with the Emperour, in disguised Apparel halting in post out of *Silefia* came to *Claufenburg* in *Transylvania*; and there was joyfully received of his Subjects, and taking of them a new Oath of Obedience, by Messengers sent of purpose certified *Maximilian* the Arch-duke (appointed by the Emperour for the Government of *Transylvania*, and now upon his way as far as *Cassovia*) of the causes of his Return, persuading him rather to convert his Forces against the Turks for the recovery of *Agria*, than to trouble himself to come any farther for *Transylvania*, now again by him, to the great contentment of his Subjects, repulsed: as did also the Princess his Wife (*Maximilian's* Cousin-German) willing him to consider what hurt and dishonour should do unto the Emperour's Majesty. Himself, the *Roman* Empire, and the whole Christian Commonwealth in general, if in so dangerous a time he should attempt any thing against the Prince her Husband, and unto him so nearly allied.

Now the Turks great Army being come into the upper *Hungary*, lay incamped under the Walls of the strong City of *Veradunum*, where that worthy Captain *George Baffa* was Lieutenant-General for the Emperour; but not having such Strength, as without further help to go against so mighty an Enemy, or to relieve the besieged City, nor as then furnished with a sufficient Garrison, he gave knowledge thereof unto *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who (as is aforesaid) with a convenient Power was but a little before come to *Cassovia*, to have gone into *Transylvania*, had he not there by the way stayed by Ambassadors from the Prince *Sigmund*, but lately before returned out of *Silefia*; and having again taken upon him the Government, by these his Ambassadors requested him no having to trouble himself with that Journey, offering to give him Aid against the Turks whensoever he should require it. The besieged nevertheless in the mean time notably defended themselves, and with certain brave Salles did the Enemy great harm; still expecting, that *Baffa* the Lieutenant, or the *Transylvanian* Prince, or *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, or they all, with their united Forces, should send them relief: unto whom they gave knowledge the Nineteenth of *October*, how that the Turks with all the Force and Fury they had used, had as yet little prevailed; being by their Valour still repulsed, and with many sharp Salles, to their great loss encountered, and some of their great Ordnance cloyed, in such sort, as that they were in

Veradunum besieged by the Turks.

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good hope to protract the time until they might by them their Friends be relieved; yet not doubting, but that the Turks, according to their worst manner, would do what they might to subdue them. According to whole expectation, the *Transilvanian* Prince, with a great Power taking the Field to have relieved them, was letted so to do by the *Tatars*, to that purpose stirred up by the Turks: so that he could by no means join his Forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the safety of his own People and Country. Yet in token of forwardness, he sent certain Companies of brave Soldiers unto the Lieutenant *Bassa*; who undertook that of 2000 good Soldiers in Garrison in the City at the beginning of the Siege, there were scarce 700 left alive, all the rest being, with continual Assaults, slain or mortally wounded, until a notable Stratagem to delude the Enemy withal: for having put his men in good order, and coming bravely on, as if he would even presently have joynted *Battel* (a thing which the Turks most desired) which they likewise with great fire were putting themselves in order of *Battel*, and wholly unsuspecting therein, he by another way the Turks least suspected cunningly thrust into the City eight hundred good Soldiers; and that done, presently retired again into his Trenches, wherein he strongly incamped, feared not all the Turks Forces: who thinking even then to have come to a day *Battel*, and fill in vain expecting the same, were turned deceived by this finess. And so they after (inforced by continual foul Weather) raised their Siege, not without great difficulty and danger (Relief lying so near at hand, and the Defendants strengthened with new Supplies) to have been longer maintained. So passed the Troubles of this Year, with no gain but great loss of the Turks, who, at their departure, left behind them, unfeathered of the Weather and fear together, with some great pieces of Artillery, being not able to convey the same by Water to *Buda*: and withal fearing greatly to be encountered by the Forces of *Bassa*, strengthened with new Supplies even then sent unto him from the Emperor.

The Arch-duke *Matthias*, *Spancrzenburg*, and the other Commanders of the Army in the lower *Hungary*, being twelve thousand strong, with the Garrison Soldiers of *Rak*, *Strigounum*, and *Komara*, in the mean time, because they would not stand idle, together with the *Hungarian* Horse-men, over-ran all the Country thereabout, even unto the Gates of *Buda*: in good hope also to have met with some advertised coming towards *Pesth* with Victuals for the relief of the Castle of *Buda*.

Whilst things thus passed in *Hungary*, *Mahomet*, to shew his Greatness, as also the more to keep the Christian Princes in suspense, sent *Cecilia* (as the Turks call him *Cigala*) *Bassa* his Admiral, with a great Fleet to *Sicily*: wherewith, being come upon the Coast of *Sicily*, he requested the Vicerey of that Kingdom to send him aboard his Fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his Mother, which dwelt in *Messina*, for that he greatly desired to see her, and to do her Honour; promising to quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Vicerey again considering how that the angry Renegade for the like Courtship to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all along the Sea-Coast; covenanting with him to send her in safety back again; sent her honourably accompanied aboard the Admiral Gally: whom *Cecilia* her Son received with great joy and triumph. And so having kept her with him one day with all the Honour that might be, according to his Promise sent her back again to *Messina*; and so without any

any harm done for her sake to any part of Christianity, peaceably returned back again with his Fleet.

Now in the mean time, *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, with good Forces of his own, because he would be doing something also, resolved to give an Attempt upon *Nicopolis*, a City of the Turks in *Bulgaria*: and so giving order to his People, caused a Bridge to be made over *Danubius* to pass that great River by. Wherewith the *Bassas* of *Sistina* and *Badana* understanding, thought it good with all their Power to disturb him in that work; and so coming, as the said Bridge was by the Vayvod's Soldiers laid over the River upon Boats, without farther stay attempted to have broken the same, to the intent that the Vayvod should not that way pass. Who halting thither with his Army, relented his Work, and enforced his *Bassas* to forsake the Exploit by them begun; where betwixt them for a space was fought a most hard Conflict, until at length the Turks were with a great Slaughter overthrown, and so glad, some here, some there, by flight as they might, to save their Lives. After which Victory, he, without less Power of the River with his whole Forces, came and incamped under the Walls of *Nicopolis*; where they of the City understanding of the late Slaughter of the Turks, and finding themselves not able to hold it out against the Force and Valour of the *Valachians*, now out of hope of any help or relief by time to come from the Turks, without any delay yielded themselves into the Power of the Vayvod; who having sacked the City and let it on fire, carried hence a great spoil and booty, with a number of the *Bulgarians* chusing out the best and most able Bodies amongst them to serve him in his Wars, and appointing the rest to inhabit and manure the wasted places of *Valachia*. And so from this Overthrow given unto the Turks by the *Valachian*, with the lacking of *Nicopolis*, running abroad, brought a general fear upon the Turks, even in the Imperial City of *Constantinople*. For the slaying wherof, *Mahomet* commanded the chief of his *Bassas*, with a great power of tumultuary Soldiers, taken up in haste, to go forthwith against the Vayvod, to slay the cause of his farther Proceedings, to the dismay of his People; himself thundring out most horrible Threats against him: who, encouraged with this late Victory, and well acquainted with the Turks manners, little regarded the same, as knowing that he was not with Words, but with Arms, to be vanquished.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor, oppressed with Melancholy to see himself at once afflicted with the Plague then raging in *Constantinople*, the bloody Wars in *Hungary*, and the horrible mortality and loss of his People in both places; and withal not ignorant of the evil Success of his Army at *Perastinum*, and of the great harm done at *Nicopolis* by the *Valachian*; yet for all that, ceased not, in what he might, to provide for so many Evils, but gave order to *Tam Bassa* with all speed to set forward (as we have said) from *Constantinople* toward *Valachia*, as from whence he feared the greatest danger: who without delay, to make the Vayvod to understand how highly he esteemed him, was dispatched with him, put himself upon the way with six hundred Janizaries towards *Hadrianople*, with purpose there to winter until the Spring, and so to expect the coming of the rest of the Army, that so with the same, united unto the Forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the last year befelleged *Veradinum*) he might be able to fight with any terrible unto his Enemies. The Christian Emperor also, at the same time rested much discontented, that his People, in to fair a way for the winning

1598

1599

The Turks again spoiled by the Vayvod.

*Buda* distressed.

*Nicopolis* sacked and burnt by the Vayvod.

1599

ning of the Castle of *Buda*, had yet failed thereof: the *Walachians* with the lack of the Lords *Satergi* and *Palfi*, and the rest of the Commanders, that it was not won; for that when they, as valiant men, offered to have done therein the uttermost of their Devoir, their Leaders had made choice, by the Spade and Mattock, rather than by the Sword, to perform the same.

But *Michael* the Vayvod, seeing the Turks not a little dismayed with the lacking of *Nicopolis*, began afresh, to their greater terror and hurt, to make new Inroads upon them, in such sort, as that he was entered a hundred miles into their Territory: against whom, *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in *Hungary*) coming with his Forces, he again retired, carrying away with him the spoil of the Country by him wasted.

They of *Buda* in the mean time fearing some sudden Assault to be given upon them, and suffering within great want of Victuals, expected long to be relieved both with Victuals and other Necessaries; understanding yet withal, that the grand Seigneur had caused to be given unto the *Polonians*, that he was raising a great Power of his best and most expert Soldiers, and had therefore sent for unto the Court all his old men of War, such as had served in the Wars of *Perfia*, to be now again employed in *Hungary*. Where the Turks in the mean time providing to relieve the distressed City of *Buda* both with Men and many other Necessaries; certain *Polish* *Hungarians* understanding by their Espials, that one of the Turks *Bassas* with 3000 Soldiers was coming thither to increase the Garrison, laid themselves close in Ambush in a place whereby the Turks were to pass; where they had not long lay'd, but that the Turks, as men without fear, carelessly passing by, were taken with such force and surprise, that in a moment, when they least thought, they were overthrown and put to flight, with the loss of many of their Horses, much Money and Jewels, and many Captains there taken Prisoners, the *Bassa* himself, with much ado, hardly escaping into the City. But shortly after, 400 Christians frowning the Country about *Buda*, and having taken a good booty of Carrel and other Pillage, returning loaded with the Prey, were by the way assailed by the Turks, and enforced to forsake the same, and to fight for their Lives; whom, for all that, they notably repelled, with the slaughter of divers of them; and so again recovering their Booty, returned with Victory. And about this time, or not long after, in the upper *Hungary*, a great power of the Turks and *Tatars* having foraged a great part of that Country, and done the Christians great harm, came before *Cosovia*, making them as if they would even presently have besieged that City: which put the Inhabitants in such a fear, that many of them, without farther Deliberation, fled thitherwith as fast as they could into the Mountains, thinking themselves more safe there than in the City. Nevertheless, by the persuasion of *George Bassa*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in those Parts, 2000 valiant and expert Soldiers flaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do; who approaching the Walls, demanded of them in the City a great Sum of Money by way of Contribution; threatening otherwise the utter Ruine and Destruction thereof. Which their proud Demand was by *Bassa* stoutly rejected, and they, with the loss of a great many of their Lives, enforced to get them farther off. Wherefore, seeing themselves not able to prevail against a City so well provided, they at last by night fled, and departed quite another way than that whereby they came, doing great harm still as they went. The free *Haiducks* of *Valachia* also, a warlike kind of People, living

for the most part upon Prey, and willing to shew force token of their Hatred toward the Turks, by certain Bridges passing over the *Danubius*, encountered with the *Bassa* of *Natolia* with a great Power of his People, and the loss of his Brother there slain also; and so afterwards over-running the Country, did there exceeding harm, and took the same *Bassa*'s Son Prisoner. Thus passed the Winter with many high Skirmishes and Incursions in divers parts of *Hungary*, and other frontier Counties; which had done great harm, had it not been before-hand well provided for by the Imperials; who in most places strengthened with new Supplies, flayed the fury of their barbarous Enemies. *Maximilian* the Arch-duke in the mean time coming from *Prague* to *Vienna*, found himself there to have in his Camp but four and twenty thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse, ready against the next Spring, (divers of the *German* Princes this year not sending thither any Aid at all, by reason of their Troubles nearer home with the *Spaniards* in the lower side of *Germany*) which made him the more to dread the Enemies coming, who he knew after his accustomed manner would that Summer appear in the Field with a far greater number. But to have holpen this want, the great Duke of *Muscovy*, about this time, by his Ambassadors, amongst other things, requested leave of the *Polonian* for forty thousand Horsemen to pass through his Country, which *Habs*-men he had determined (as he said) to send in aid of the Emperor against the Turk: which his Request the *Polonian* would by no means grant, as dangerous to his Estate. Wherefore the *Muscovite*, offended with the *Polonian*, sent other his Ambassadors unto the Emperor, by Sea; who embarked in an English Ship in the Port of *Nicholas*, and falling about the King's doms of *Sweden*, Norway, and Denmark, after long trouble at Sea, at length arrived at *Stock*, and so from thence by Land travelling to *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and *Maidenborow*, and in every place honourably entertained, came at last unto the Emperor into *Bohemia*, then lying at *Pilsna*, for that the Plague was then hot at *Prague*: where they having with great state delivered their Presents and Letters of Credence unto the Emperor, had Audience, and were by him most honourably used. Yet the *Polonian*, having thus denied the *Muscovite* Passage, suffered the Turks Ambassador, who called himself *Gabriel*, a Jew, to pass through his Country unto the Emperor, to treat with him of a Peace to be made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* coming to *Prague*, as Ambassador from the great Turk, and having no Letters of Credence to shew for his Negotiation (for that they were, as he said, upon the way taken from him by the *Polonian* Collacks, and certain of his Retinue slain) was there taken for a Spy, and so sent to *Vienna*; where, at his first Arrival he was well used in common law, but the night following being taken for a Spy in his Chamber by the Marital, was so clapt fast in Prison, with as many Irons upon him as he could bear, and all his Followers, with Gyves upon their Legs, compelled as Slaves daily to work in the Town-ditch.

About this time also, *Siegmund* the *Transilvanian* Prince, whom his Father had for the benefit of his Country and of the Christian Commonwealth, by a wonderful change gave a most manifest token of a divers and unconstant Nature, to the great wonder of the World: for having broken the Agreement made with the Emperor the last Year, and having secretly in Post returned out of *Sicily* into his Country, and again taken upon him the Government (as is before declared) and having with-

The Turks Ambassador taken for a Spy, and imprisoned at *Vienna*.

1599 al requested himself, and the *Transilvanians* his Country-men to be discharged of the Oath of Obedience and Loyalty before given unto the Emperor, and the City of *Bradenburg*, with the Country thereabout, to be again restored unto him; and the Emperor pausing thereupon, did now, (doubting of his own Ability for the keeping of that Country) in the beginning of this year 1599, by his Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Alba-Julia*, and *Stephen Pafchati* his Chancellor, sent of purpose unto the Emperor, request him to have the first Agreement again renewed, and the Principality of *Trebisins* in *Muravia* to be added unto the two Dukedoms of *Opel* and *Rathor* in *Silisia*, with fifty thousand Ducats to be yearly paid unto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a general Pardon to be given unto all the *Transilvanians* that following him had of late revolted from the Emperor, and their ancient Liberties to be again un- to every one of them confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperor's hands (as of him that saw how needful it was for him by any means to keep that strong Country in his power) the same Ambassadors forth their dispatch returned from *Prague* the nineteenth of *April*.

But *Stigliand*, in the mean time, at home, was entered into new Concepts with certain of the *Polonian* Nobility, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperor; and having sent for one of the Turks Chieftains from *Constantinople*, and for his Cousin *Adnan Batur*, the proud Cardinal, out of *Boronia*, and to meeting with these present to wear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity; who shortly after, together with the *Polonian* Ambassador, sent one of his especial Favourites to *Constantinople*, to desire leave conduct for his Ambassadors to be sent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turk. Which Messengers he sent, together with the *Polonian* Ambassador, were both courteously received in the Turks Court, and, as with an especial favour, rewarded with right sumptuous Garments, and charge given them, That the Cardinal, within three Months next, should send thither a solemn Ambassador, with the old accustomed Tribute by the Turk demanded. Yet through the Inconquancy of the Prince, the Ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foul Collusion of the *Polonian*, the Country of *Transilvania* (one of the strongest Fortresses of that side of *Christendom*) falling from the Obedience of the Emperor, and so in sort breaching the Christian Commonwealth, became again tributary unto the Turk; most good men desiring the Lightness of the one, the Ambition of the other, and the Slowness of the third.

Now the Turks of *Buda*, not able longer to endure the great Famine therein, had most earnestly requested relief from the other Turks their Friends in *Hungary*, who on all hands ran to have relieved them; but coming near thereto, could not put therein such Provision as they do by the Imperials; but about a League off diligently attended every motion of the Enemy; from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night secretly approaching one of the Gates with his Followers, thought with a Petard to have broken it open, and so to have entered. Which his Device taking no effect, as did that at *Rab*, the Gate being within strongly fortified by the Enemy, he was enforced

to depart, being also discovered by the Turks from the Wall. Now shortly after, the *Bassa* of *Buda* with six hundred Horse, issuing out of the City to have met with *Viduaks* that were coming thither, fell into an Ambush of the *Haiducks*, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, took him Prisoner, his Horse in his Chafe falling under him, whom his Souldiers seeking to rescue, there began a new Skirmish, encreasing their former Overthrow with the loss of the greatest part of them that were left: Amongst whom was the Captain of the Company of the Janizaries there, lost their Lives all. Which Conflict thus ended, the *Bassa* was with safe Conduct brought to the Camp, and there with great Threats enforced to reveal the state of his City, with other the secret designs of the Turks. Whereupon, the *Haiducks* returned again towards *Buda*, seeking by all means to stop the coming of *Viduaks* thither, so in hope at length to have gained the distressed City. But whilst they thus lay upon the Passages, behold News was brought unto them, how that the *Bassa* of *Bofnia*, with the Sanzacks of *Sigeth*, *Buquique*, *Scutellia*, and *Coppans*, with 10000 Turks, were coming to oppress them, and to open the Passages by them holden. But they knowing their own Strength, and nothing fearing so small a Force, laid not for their coming, but went to meet them, and in a place of good advantage waiting for them, upon their first appearance, with great Assurance and Courage charged them, brake their Array, and slew the greatest part of them, together with the *Bassa* himself, yet with so much ado, as that had not the Lord *Palfi* in good time sent unto their Aid certain Companies of fresh men, it was not without cause doubted but that the *Haiducks* had been put to the world, about three hundred of them having there already lost their Lives. The *Tatars* yet nevertheless, in good number, he on their way towards *Buda*, with purpose to have over-run the Country, and so have withdrawn the Imperials from the City; but forasmuch as that base Nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and spoil, the Lord *Swartzenburg's* Regiment only going against them, and encountering them, overthrew them in such sort, that part of them being there slain in fight, and part for fear driven into *Danuby*, the greater number of them there most miserably perished.

*Bofnia*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*, at the same time lay at *Cassovia*, with eighteen thousand men, doubting lest the Enemy's Army, which he heard to be at hand, should come to besiege that City. In the mean time, *Abraham Bassa*, General of the Turks Forces, came to *Solnoch* with an Army of fifty thousand strong, among whom were ten thousand Janizaries; but for all that, understanding that *Bofnia* nothing dismayed awaited his coming at *Cassovia*, not thinking it good to go any farther (his Souldiers being already weary with long travel) neither yet late there to stay so near unto his strong Enemy, retired back again unto *Belgrade*, a place of more Strength and Security; expecting a great Fleet of Ships, which charged upon the *Danubius*, were to bring *Viduaks* for the Army, as also for the relief of *Buda*. *Alba-Ragah*, and other such distressed Places, with divers great pieces for Battery, and other less Artillery upon Carriages, with a number of Ladders and other Instruments of War, declaring their purpose for the performance of some notable Exploit, all guarded with five thousand Turks, which concluded it up the River. Of all which the Imperials understanding, the Lord *Palfi* dispatched his Lieutenant with a convenient Power, and the Captain of the *Hussars* with his Followers, all good

1599  
The Turks receive a notable Overthrow upon the River of *Danubius*.

The Turks overthrow the *Bassa* of *Bofnia* there.

*Stigliand* yieldeth his Country to *Transilvania* to the Cardinal *Batur* his Cousin.

and valiant Souldiers, to cut off this Convoy; who, to make the matter fitter, suddenly assailing them, and so coming to handy blows, cut in pieces the Convoy, and killed the most of the ships, of which the greater part were there sunk in the deep River; and so took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of Gold: where, among other things of great value, there was found a-board 100000 Dollars, which were all divided amongst the Souldiers as a reward of their travel. This great overthrow once known at *Buda*, *Alba-Ragah*, as the Count the *Bassa* told them, brought them a great fear; yea the Army of *Abraham* grew thereby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their *Viduaks* and their Pay. Besides that, the Imperials over-ran all the Country thereabout, ransacking, facking, and destroying the Country Villages and Castles without Mercy, although the poor Inhabitants offered them large Contribution to have staid their Fury, which would not be accepted. Upon this notable overthrow also the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his Forces to come again to the siege of *Buda*, in hope in so great a discomfort and want of *Viduaks* to have had it delivered unto him; and for that purpose sent for certain great pieces of Artillery to *Piemra*. But whilst things went thus well in the lower *Hungary*, Colonel *Kadash* of *S. Andrews*, in the upper Country, took occasion also, upon this Overthrow of the Turks, with 500 Horse and 600 Foot, to seize himself with this small Company before *Agria*, having yet left the greatest part of his Forces at the Gates of the City; which his Company he led in Arms, and so falling out, began an hot and brave Skirmish; when suddenly the other Souldiers left in Ambush, starting out, and courageously assailing their Enemies, brake their order, and put them to flight, pursuing them at the end even to the Gates of the City: which had there been a greater force of Foot-men, it was verily thought, that the Turks (dismay'd with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the Place, and the Christians even then become Masters of the City, which had been the cause of their notable Overthrow in the Year 1596. Nevertheless, they, with great bravery and small loss retired, having slain a great number of the Turks, and carrying away with them an hundred Prisoners, with a Booty of five hundred Horse, and much other Cattel.

The free *Haiducks* also, strengthened with new Supplies, had done great harm in the Country about *Buda*, scouring freely all over it, finding none to oppose themselves against them: for which cause, the poor Christians, which yet dwelt in that Country, rose up against the Turks, promising their Obedience unto the Emperor: and moreover, to the intent they might be no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take up Arms themselves against the Enemy, and to the utmost of their Power to hinder his Passage both by Land and Water. These same *Haiducks* also had broken down all the Bridges which the Turks had made between *Buda* and *Alba-Ragah*, to the end they should not that way conveniently bring either *Viduaks* or Munition from the one place to the other: and the Lord *Palfi* and *Nadash* understanding, by their Espials, That the *Tatars*, divided into three Companies, had over-run a great part of the Country, and with a great Booty were retiring towards *Buda*, presently went out against them, and informed them to fight: which barbarous People, being incited to fight than to fight, there lost all their Lives, together with that they had before slain. After which Victory, these valiant men turning their Force against certain other

places of the Turks there by, took two of their Castles with much rich Spoil; which Castles they lacked and burnt, together with the great Town of *Zolna*, breaking down also the Bridge upon the River *Transilvania*.

Now at this time the Turks at *Buda* held themselves male-content within the City, having no Governor, their *Bassa* being before taken by the *Haiducks*, and they themselves pinched also with great want of *Viduaks*: wherefore, doubting (some sudden Attempt of the Christians, as men dismayed by their former late victory retired themselves into the Castle, a short great strength, leaving the City unto the Imperials then ready to have besieged it: but doubting of the Turks great Army which, as they heard, was marching thitherwards, the advantage thereof being come to *Moathly*, where *Sartar Bassa* was also looked for; the Report being given out, that the Turks having relieved *Buda*, would go to besiege *Cassovia* or else *Strigomum*, they stayed to go any farther, as men in doubt what to resolve upon. So were sent certain Colonels and other Captains with their Souldiers, to fortify certain Passages whereby the Turks Army was to pass: the rest in the mean time retiring, for the puissant Enemy began now to approach; as also for that they knew the great desire that *Abraham Bassa* had to recover again *Strigomum*, and had therefore sent a great number of *Tatars* to forage and waste the Country, and so suddenly having relieved *Buda* and *Agria*, there to resolve whither to turn his Forces. The Imperials in the mean time incamping near unto *Hatwan* and *Zolna*, to hinder the Turks from victualing the City, as they desired, cut off five hundred of them at their first Arrival, who to that purpose were going towards *Buda*; and took also one of the Turks Chieftains Prisoner; who, sent from *Abraham* the General, was going to *Agria* to put them in hope of their speedy Relief. They also at the same time attempted to have surprised *Zolna*; where, a good number of them, with certain Petards, approaching the Gates, in hope to have broken them open, being discovered by the Watch, were enforced to retire, leaving forty behind them slain, and carrying away with them many more of their Fellows wounded: in revenge whereof, the rest shewed their fury upon the Country thereabout, destroying the Villages, and intercepting a great deal of Munition, which, together with other *Viduaks*, they met by the way as it was going to *Buda* and *Agria*.

Summer now almost spent, *Abraham*, the great *Bassa*, in the beginning of *September*, came to *Buda* with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand strong, and from thence, in the Name of his Lord and Master, gave the Emperor to understand at *Prague*, That for the saving of further effusion of innocent Blood, and not for any fear or distrust of his own Strength and Power, he could be content to hearken unto any reasonable Conditions or Treaty of Peace. Whereunto, both these great Princes (having well wearied themselves with these long Wars, and exhausted their Treasures) seemed not now unwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the Honour to be the first creators; and the rather, for that the old Sultans, *Mahomet's* Mother (who by the weakness of her Sons Government, such as never was in any the Ottoman Kings or Emperors before, did bear the greatest Sway in his Affairs) did what the might to further the same. Wherefore, in the latter end of *September* a place was agreed upon for a Parle for Peace, which was to be in an Island in the River of *Danubius* beneath *Strigomum*; where the Lord *Swartzenburg*, *Nadash*, *Palfi*, and the Bishop of *Vacia*, a Parle for Peace, came for the Emperor; and *Amurath* the Peace.

The Turks, for fear, forsake the City at *Buda*, and fly into the Castle.

The Christians, upon the approach of the Turks great Army, retire.



1522 Baffa of Buda, with the Lieutenant-General of the *Tartars*, and some others, for the Grand Seignior; The Turks at the first, after their unreasonable manner, demanded to have *Rab*, *Strigomius*, *Fluk*, *Setchin*, and all the rest of the Towns and Castles in five Years before taken from them by the Christians, to be now again surrendered unto them, with a certain yearly Tribute by the Emperor to be paid unto the Great Sultan at *Constantinople*; as also that with his Ambassador lieger continually attending upon the Turks Court: for which they offered to deliver again unto the Emperor the City of *Agria* only. All which their proud and unreasonable Demands being by the aforesaid Commissioners on the Emperor's behalf rejected, they were contented to come to some more reasonable talk, offering to leave unto the Emperor *Rab* and *Agria* (whereof *Rab* was his own already) only for *Strigomius*, exchanging as it were *Strigomius* for *Agria*. Which when it could neither be obtained, the Parle was broken off, and nothing concluded, and so the Wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this Year between them, either on the one side or on the other; the Christians contenting themselves to have distressed the chief Cities the Turks held in *Hungary*; and the Turks no less aysayed to have relieved the same.

But whilst things thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in *Hungary*, Mahomet the Viceroy of *Valachia*, yet the Emperor's Friend and Confederate, and under his Protection, certainly informed his Life to be sought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor*, his envious Neighbour, but lately become the Prince of *Transilvania* (as is before declared:) by Commandment from the Emperor, and to be recovered by so great a wrong, as also he desired to provide for his own Safety, with an Army of threecore thousand strong suddenly entered into *Transilvania*, in most horrible manner burning the Country, and killing the People before him as he went. Where, whilst the Cardinal (who was thought to have purposed to have served him in like sort, had he not been by him prevented) was making Head against him, he in the mean time had the City of *Corona* (commonly called *Brafo*) with the strong Castle of *Fogaras*, yielded unto him: from whence he marching toward *Alba-Julia*, the 26th of October, with all his Army, before divided into three parts, but now again united, came into the Plain near *Tenitjon*, about three Leagues from *Hermantzar*; where, understanding that his Lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Baffa*, had promised to kill him; and now well assured thereof, to rid himself of that danger, with his own hands presently cut his Throat, and so dispatched him. When by and after came unto him the Pope's Nuncio, sent by a friend of the Cardinal, accompanied with another Ambassador, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the same Ambassador had Commission from the Emperor to will him forthwith to desist from Arms, and without farther delay to depart out of *Transilvania*. Which thing seeming unto the Vayvod very strange, and almost impossible, he desired to see the said Commission. Whereunto the Nuncio, before instructed, answered, That he had left it with the Cardinal. But I (said the Vayvod) have one here present from the Emperor of another purpose, which I purpose fully to put in execution; yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuncio to stay his Army. And for the mean time lying both ill and in great suspense, the Vayvod desired to know of the Nuncio, the cause why the Cardinal, forgetting himself, so troubled that Country, by intruding himself therein, to the great

1522 prejudice of them unto whom it of better Right belonged, not attending unto the Government of the Church, better befitting a Calling than the managing of Arms, to the disturbance of the Christian Peace. Whereunto he received no Answer. So the 28th of October, a day dedicated to the Commemoration of the Apostles *Simon* and *Jude*, these Messengers were sent back again unto the Cardinal, who presently returned them back unto the Vayvod with new Instructions, (being then busied with his young Son, in settling his men in order of Battle presently to go against the Cardinal) of whom they could get no other Answer, but that he was resolved forthwith to come unto the Trial of a Battle with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not past a quarter of a League the one from the other, and the same day meeting together, joyned a most terrible and cruel Battle, which for the space of five hours was with such desperate Obstinacy fought, as if they had every man vowed to overcome, as if they had every man vowed to have carried away the Victory over his Enemy, or there to have left themselves dead upon the ground; until the Cardinal's People, at length overcome in a long and bloody Fight, were utterly overthrown; amongst whom were 30000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, sent unto him from *Ibrahim Baffa* the Turks General. The Cardinal himself, seeing the discomfiture of his Army, was by some reported to have saved himself by flight; but by some others was said to have been drowned in passing a River, as he fled from the *Valachians*, that had him in chase. But the Truth was, That the Vayvod, now Master of the Field, sent out certain Troops of Horsemen divers ways fill to pursue him; and himself, with the rest of his Army, prosecuting the Victory, came to the Cardinals Camp, now by the *Transilvians* and *Turks* quite forsaken, wherein he found forty five pieces of Artillery, with great store of Coin and Wealth, beside a number of Tents and Houses, all which became unto him a Prey. From thence he marched unto *Alba-Julia*, where he was with great joy received of his Friends and Confederates there: for, though the greater part of the *Transilvians*, especially the Nobility, had, together with the Cardinal, submitted themselves unto the Turks Protection, and followed his Ensigns; yet were there divers others also, who still favoured the Emperor, and therefore rejoiced not a little of this Victory. The Vayvod after that sent his Lieutenant to *Clusioptis*, to see if they would yield also; which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Castles in divers parts of that Country, which having none to rest upon, now yielded also in such sort, that shortly after all *Transilvania* submitted it self again unto the Emperor's Obedience, and swore unto him Obedience; most of the Nobility of that Country being either slain in the Battle, or afterwards put to death by the Vayvod: amongst whom were five, which, corrupted by the Cardinal, had before undertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of November, after divers Reports of the Cardinal's Escape, his ungracious Head was for all that presented to the Vayvod: which, to the terror of others, being for a while let up in *Alba-Julia*, (where he but a little before had commanded as a Prince) was afterwards taken down, and sent for a Present from the Vayvod unto the Emperor and the Arch-dukes his Brethren; his headless Body being afterward, by the Commandment of the Vayvod, honourably buried in a Monastery at *Alba-Julia*, in the same Tomb he had before made for his Brother, beheaded by his Cousin *Sigismund Bathor*. The Cardinal's Treasure also fell into his hands, which was said to have been three millions of Gold. Thus the Country of *Transilvania*, lately before by the Cardinal yielded unto the

A terrible  
Battle betwixt  
the Vayvod  
and the Cardinal.

1522

the Obedience of the Turk, was again by this worthy Vayvod recovered and restored unto the Christian Empire; the proud Cardinal cast out and brought to Confusion, having not yet possessed these his new Honours full eight Months. His Cousin *Sigismund*, the late *Transilvanian* Prince, who most all this while had stayed at *Brafo*, and in disguised Apparel (seen *Danike*, and divers other the free Cities thereabouts; Now hearing News of the Cardinals overthrow, secretly got him away from thence into *Polonia*, to seek again his new Fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the same time uniting his Forces in the lower *Germany* with the *Strips*, and now more than thousand strong, fought by all means to reduce to many places upon those Frontiers as he could, unto the Emperours Obedience, and so took in above 100 Villages; but afterward, thinking to have surprised the Itching Cape of *Capilnar*, and by Night secretly approaching one of the Gates with a Petard, which took not the expected effect, he was discovered by the Watch, and so by the Garrison Soldiers (now raised with the alarm) repulsed, and enforced to retire with the loss of about an hundred men, and divers others wounded, all men of good account; in revenge whereof, *Swartzenburg* afterwards sent out divers Troops of Horsemen, to scourge the Country over the Country as far as *Siegh*, burned it also, and so returning, carried away from them a great Booty.

*Ibrahim Baffa*, hearing of this overthrow of the Cardinal, with all the Forces he had sent him, much troubled therewith, sent News thereof in post to *Constantinople*; the News whereof brought a general fear upon the whole Army also, insomuch that Commission was forthwith sent unto him from the great Sultan, giving him Power (if it might be) to come to some honourable Peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to *Constantinople*; whither he was thursty to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his Army, which, beside the cold season of the year, fasted great want of Bread, the Plague also then raging therein; with the death of many of his best Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, beside the wonderful Mortality of their Cattel also; in such sort that the Soldiers, not able longer to endure the famine and wants increasing, fell to robbing of one another, and so at length into mutiny; wherein, divers of them being slain and cut in pieces by their Fellows, the rest for the most part brake in funder of themselves, and so by divers ways returned home, not well trusting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being discomfited with wants and the evil Success of their Affairs, as well in *Hungary* as in *Transilvania*. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baffa, for the relief of those Evils, at his return bring any conclusion of Peace unto his great Lord and Master, as was commonly expected.

Now beside these Troubles of *Transilvania*, and the other distressed Countries, *Cosovia* (as is before call'd *Caffan*) the Son of one of the Sultanesses, brought up in the *Seraglio* according to the manner thereof, and having long served in the Wars of *Persia* and *Hungary*, and so at length made Baffa of *Caramania*, a man of great Spirit, and not able to endure the Imperfections he daily saw in the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Covetousness of the great Seignior; upon the report of the evil Success of the Affairs of *Hungary* on the one side, and the desire he saw in the *Persians* to recover their lost Fortresses, on the other, and grieved also with more particular wrongs concerning himself; as a man altogether discontented, resolved to take up Arms; and calling unto him his Soldiers, and (as he was a well spoken man) laying before them

the deformities of the present state, gallantly persuaded them, with the promise of Honour, Sovereignty, and rich Rewards, what an eating time it were to chase the great Seignior out of *Asia*, and to let themselves with all that part of the Empire at Liberty. And so even at the first having won unto him 3000 Harquebushers and 4000 Horsemen, and took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of the State. A strange matter in that tyrannical Empire. The News whereof coming in post to the Court, Commission was forthwith directed unto four of the Sanzacks of *Asia*, nearest unto him, for the speedy suppressing of that Rebellion, but even then starting, *Cosovia* understanding, and that they with ten thousand Horse and Foot were coming to suppress him; without further stay, went courageously to meet them, and so encountering of them, overthrow them with a great laughter, and took from them their Baggage with six pieces of Ordnance. And after with his People fell upon all the Castles thereabouts, giving whatsoever he desired therein for a Prey unto his Soldiers; who also much enriched themselves with the spoil of the *Jews*, as the People whom they most hated, and never rested until he had made almost all the Country of *Caramania* his own. After that, he laid siege to *Agria*, a City in the Confines of *Natalia*, which was forthwith yielded unto him. And yet not so contented, gave it out by open Proclamation, that for the reformation of the disordered state, he would ere long go to besiege the Imperial City of *Constantinople*; and that therefore all such as would follow him should of him be benefited as his Friends and Companions, threatening unto the rest most cruel Deaths and Destruction. Of which his Proceeding *Mahomet* (as then disposing himself in his Gardens of Pleasure in the Country all along the side of *Propontis*) understanding, and fearing to be there surprised, or that some sudden Innovation might be raised in the City, hastened with a few Companies, and from thence in all haste dispatched *Mahomet*, one of the Vicer Baffes, the Son of *Sinaz*, with all the Forces he could make to go against him. Who passing over into *Asia* with a great Power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a Battle with him, whom he knew to be a man of himself desperately set, and not a little favoured also even of his own Soldiers; so secretly wrought by large Promises, that *Cosovia*'s Footmen were even upon the point to have forsaken him. Which he quickly perceiving, fled forthwith through *Sirva* into the Country of *Arabia* with his Horsemen, and the Horsemen of *Sinaz* the Georgian, purposing the next Spring by the help of the *Arabians* and *Persians*, to appear in the field with greater Forces than before. After whom *Mahomet* the great Baffa following, came with his Army to *Alippo*, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebel together with the Spring. This so dangerous a Rebellion, with the Troubles of *Transilvania* and *Valachia*, were the cause that the great Sultan, seeing himself in so many places forsaken of his Subjects, was the readier to incline unto peace with the Emperor; whereunto for all that, the Emperor was not hasty to hearken, but upon honourable Conditions; as knowing that the Turk required the same not for any desire he had to live at quiet, but for that his troubled affairs both at home and elsewhere abroad so required; his Janizaries and other men of War in this his weak Government, being grown so insolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatening in their discontented humours, not only the deposing of the principal Officers about him, but of himself also, and of the banishment of the Sultaness his Mother; saying, That he had bewitched him, to the end that

None might

Mahomet  
the Vayvod with  
great Army  
enters into  
Transilvania.

The Turks  
great Army  
is well discomfited.

Cosovia  
Baffa of  
Caramania  
setteth up  
in Rebellion  
against the  
great Sultan.

The Cardinal's  
Head sent  
unto the Emperor.

Mahomet,  
one of the  
Vicer Baffes,  
leaves  
against the  
Rebel.



1599 might her self rule, which the indeed did in all his greatest Affairs. But the Rebel *Cafabin*, the next Year grown again very strong, was now come into the Field, and even ready to have given the *Baſſa Batel*: who, as he was a Man of great Wisdom and Experience, well considering with what a desperate Enemy he had to do, thought it best again to prove if his rebellious Followers might by fair means be drawn from him; and so coming near unto him, by open Proclamation promised a free and general Pardon to all such as had followed the Rebel in those Wars, if forsaking him, they should forthwith return to their dwellings, and so to the Obedience of their just and lawful Prince and Sovereign. Which general Pardon so proclaimed, was the Ruine of *Cafabin*; for that the greatest part of his Followers, now enriched with the great Booties they had gotten, and now also having free Pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at ease to live of their evil gotten Goods, leaving their Captain, with some few others which flaid with him, with little hope to be saved. So that within a few days after, *Cafabin*, thus forsaken of his Followers, was himself taken and brought to *Constantinople*, where shortly after he was with most exquisite Torments tortured to death.

1600 The Troubles of this Year thus past, *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor with the beginning of the next (which the ground yet covered with Snow, and the unseasonableness of the Weather would not suffer the Soldiers to keep the Field) caused a Diet of the Princes of the Empire to be called, to consider what help of such helps as were by them to be given against the next Spring, for the maintenance of the Wars which yet he had against the Turk; who all promised to lend their Soldiers, with their Pay, and such further Contribution as might serve for the maintenance of that defensive War against the common Enemy. At the same time, now Bishop of *Rome* (this year of Jubile) put to his helping hand, as he had divers times before, by lending thither such aid both of Men and Money as he had before promised: so that by this means great Preparation was made by the Christians for the taking of the Field with the first of the Spring. At which time the Turks began to stir; who, altho *Ibrahim Bajla* their General, by the appointment of his great Lord, was then in some Speech with the Emperor about a Peace, yet ceased not they in the mean time that this Treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their Companies scattering here and there, to do what harm they could upon the Frontiers of the Emperor's Territories; the cause why he with more speed called upon his Friends for their promised Aid. And for the better managing of this years War against the Turk, he appointed Duke *Mercury* (who had drawn a great number of French-men, both Horse and Foot, out of France) General of all his Forces, sending *Reuant Gennegaz*, a famous and famous Captain, who for his approved Valour and Experience in martial Affairs, he had sent for to Mantua) Governour into the upper Hungary. So the Soldiers, now day by day, by Companies resorting from divers parts into *Asiria*, were from thence sent unto such places as were by the Turks most molested, to go to resist their Incursions, as in many places they did. For eight thousand of the Turks going out upon the sudden to have surprised *Pappa*, were by the Garrison Soldiers of that place encountered and overthrown. And on the other side, whilst *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke was assembling his People in *Croatia*, for the defence of that Country against the Incursions of the Enemy, six thousand Turks, without resistance, entering the same as far as *Bucacari*, and burning the Country Villages as they went, had

1600 taken many Prisoners with a great Booty of Cattel, and so (to merry and out of fear) being about to have returned, were suddenly let upon by the Country *Serins*, in certain fit and troublesome Passages, where they least feared any such force, and overcharged also with their Prey, were (they easily by him for the most part overthrown, and the rest put to flight, and so the Prisoners, with all the rest of the Booty, again recovered. At which time also one of the Imperial Colonels, with fifteen hundred Horse, making an Inroad into the Country about *Alba-Regalis*, and meeting with the *Turks* and *Tartars* thereabouts, flew six hundred of them, and took divers of their Captains Prisoners. Six thousand other *Tartars* also at this time returning out of Hungary home towards their own Country, were by the *Cossacks*, near unto the black Sea, let upon with such force, that many of them being slain, the rest for fear ran into the Sea, leaving all the Prey they had got in Hungary unto their Enemies. In the heat of these Broils, the noble Lord *Papp*, Governour of *Strigomium*, a Man that all his Life long had done great Service for his Prince and Country, and whom we have so often in this History remembered, died the three and twentieth of March, in his Castle at *Bienburg*, to the great Grief of many, especially the Hungarians his Country-men. And for that *Strigomium* (so near unto the Enemy) required in his stead, to have a right valiant and courageous Governour, the Emperor appointed the Lord *Swarsenberg* to that Charge; the Fame still running, that *Brabant Basse* would come thither to lead a great Army he was in providing, if the Peace were not forward; which was now still less and less hoped for, by reason of his proud and insolent Demands.

But whilst these Troubles, with such others, too long to rehearse, thus passed in divers parts of this miserable Country of Hungary, 1600 French-men and *Wallons* in Garrison at *Pappa* (a strong frontier Town of the Emperor's in the lower Hungary) for want of Pay began to mutiny: for which cause, it was thought good to the chief Commanders, to have them thence removed, and others placed in their room. Which they perceiving, and wishing knowing themselves too strong for the rest of the Garrison all Hungarians and *Almans*, not Partakers of their Conspiracy; they first resolved to thrust their own Captains out of the Town, as lets unto their desires; and then laying hands upon *Michael Maranti* the Pay-master, and other the Hungarian and Dutch Commanders, with their Soldiers took from them their Weapons, and cast the said *Maranti* with the other Captains, and some of the better sort of their Soldiers, into Irons, exacting of the rest, as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about 1000 Persons, 1000 Ducats; threatening otherwise to deliver them into the hands of the Turks; and that altho *Maranti* offered for his Liberty eighteen hundred Ducats, yet would they not be so contented, but spoiling both him and the rest of all they had, with their Apparel and Weapons furnished such Turks as were there Prisoners, and so sent them away to *Alba-Regalis*; and afterwards, rifling every man's House as if they had been Enemies, took from them all what they pleased themselves; and that which worst was, to increase these Outrages, compacted with the Turks of *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, for the Pay which they said the Emperor owed them, to deliver them the Town; certifying them withal, how that the Lord *Swarsenberg* within two days was coming with Money to give them Contentment; saying, if he came into the Town, to deliver him with the same into their hands; or, to be the more sure of him, they might, if they so pleased, intercept him

The Death of the Lord Papp.

The French-men and Wallons mutiny in Pappa.

Pappa offered unto the Turks by the Mutineers.

1600 him at the Passage *Zefnegh*, whereby he must needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpose, they sent an Ensign of the Emperours, as is taken unto the Turks at *Alba-Regalis*, who for all that, altogether believed them not, yet willing further to try them, sent them for *Hollas*, two *Chiaus*; from whence the Rebels sent also two others of the better sort of them to *Alba-Regalis*; with Conclusion, that the five and twentieth of June at the furthest, the Money should be paid, and the Town delivered. For the receiving whereof, and for fear of some hidden Treachery, the *Turks* and *Tartars* began to make themselves strong; the Imperials also doing what they might for the appeasing of so dangerous a Tumult. So the tenth of June, the Lord *Swarsenberg*, with two thousand Horse and Foot, came within two miles of the Town, and from thence sent twenty four Horse-men to dissuade the Rebels from yielding the Town unto the Turks, and to tell them that they should shortly receive their pay, who shamefully deriding them, sent them back again as wiles as they came; so that *Swarsenberg*, perceiving himself with so small forces to be able to do nothing against them, neither yet by fair means to persuade them, retired again to *Rab*, until some greater strength were come unto him. Immediately after, Doctor *Peterson*, Counsellor for the Wars, a man of great Authority, Gravity, and Wildom, was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with four hundred Horse, conducted to *Pappa*, to see if he by his Discretion could have dissuaded them from their so unskillful purpose, for the yielding of the Town unto the Enemy. But when he was only refused to hear, although he spake unto them most kindly, but also bent their Muskets and Harquebuses upon him, threatening to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When shortly after, twenty of the Hungarians, imprisoned in a Cellar in the Town, brake out, and came out to *Rab*, crying in News thither, that the French-men and *Wallons* at *Pappa*, were at variance amongst themselves about the yielding up of the Town unto the Turks, (some better minded than the rest, not willing to consent thereto) inasmuch, that they in the Castle forth at them in the Town, and they again at them in the Castle; and that they had already received from the Turks twenty thousand Ducats, with some provision of Victuals, and were shortly after to receive from them the rest of the Money promised them, and so to deliver the Town. For preventing whereof, the Lord *Swarsenberg*, the two and twentieth of June, sent the Lord *Sharpenstein* with a French Colonel, 3000 Soldiers, certain *Rebards*, and a number of scaling Ladders towards *Pappa*; whom the false Rebels suffered peaceably to enter the Town the four and twentieth of June, still encouraging them to come on; calling them their Country-men and Brethren, and in token of Friendship shaking them by the hands, telling them, that altho *Maranti* offered for their Pay, they desired no more. But having now received in many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deal with, shutting thereof out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in despatch called upon the *high Dutches* to come on in like manner. Three hundred of these Rebels at the same time had laid themselves in ambush by a Mill fast without the Town, who, by the *Wallons* and *Haiducks* without discovered, were also by them charged; upon whom for all that, by reason of the short out of the Town, they could do no good; but having lost three hundred men, and amongst them *Hambhal Kralcz*, the Lord *Sharpenstein's* Lieutenant General, and one *Del la Margole* the chief Engineer, they retired; which loss the desperate Rebels (if it had been in their choice) had wished rather to have happened unto the Dutches than to the *Wallons* or

1600 Hungarians. About three days after, three of these Rebels being by chance taken Prisoners by the Imperials, and brought to *Rab*, were not only appalled, but also trimmed after the Turkish fashion, as men not desiring longer to be accounted Christians, the rest of their Fellows in the Town also imitating the Turks fashions, as well in their Apparel as in their manner of Service; yet for all that would not these metamorphosed Monstrous yield the Town unto the Turks, before they had the full sum by them agreed upon; the *Baſſa of Bofnia* being commanded from the Grand Signior in all haste to provide it for them, and so to receive of them the Town. Nevertheless, for their more strength and more credit with the Turks, they received into the Town one Ensign of the Turks, with certain Wagons of Victuals, brought thither with so strong a Convoy as that the Imperials durst not meddle therewith; in which Wagons (being Hungarians and Dutch Men, Women, and Children, Prisoners to *Alba-Regalis*; being all of them glad to be so sent away, in hope to find more Favour and Countenance at the hands of their Enemies than they had found with these renegade Christian-Messengers unto the Governour of *Alba-Regalis*; to know his full Resolution; which Messengers (conducted by certain Turks of great account) were upon the way by the free *Haiducks* all intercepted, and the Messengers taken, with an hundred Turks more. In the mean while, *Michael Maranti*, before imprisoned by the Rebels in *Pappa*, by Letters secretly advertised the Lord *Swarsenberg* of a certain place, whereby he might (as he himself held the Town, and the rather, for that the Rebels were at variance amongst themselves. Who thereupon, the twelfth of July, came to *Pappa* with nine thousand Horse and Foot; but disappointed of his purpose for entering the Town, hardly nevertheless delayed the time; upon whom the Mutineers many times desperately sallied out, and right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were still, without any notable loss, by their Enemies (too strong for them) beaten back again into the Town. In one of which sallies it occurred one of their Captains to be taken, who, to the terror of the rest, was presently slain quick, and his Head and Skin upon a Pike set up before the Town, for his Fellows to behold. But the Lord *Swarsenberg*, still more and more prevailing upon them, they sent secretly for Aid to the Turks; whereof he for all that getting Intelligence, sent also to three Regiments of Soldiers more to come unto him to the Siege; by whose coming he well strengthened, and bringing his approaches nearer the Town, took from the Rebels the Mill, a strength which they very unwillingly lost, as in hope thereby to have the more easily received Aid from the Turks, who having made preparation to have relieved them, were let to do so by the rifling of the Water, which had spoiled all the Provision for day and relief at the Bridge of *Eſſe*, as also hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their Trenches even to the Town Ditches, out of which they had let out all the Water; where, some of the Townsmen escaping out of the Town, declared how that the mutinous Soldiers within laboured both day and night to fortify the Town, but to be in their work much letted by the continual sallies of the Imperials; as also, that they now had neither Bread nor Wine, nor other Victuals left, more than a little Salt, and therefore Horse, of which they had already begun to eat, as any that which they had left was not altogether so valiant, yet that they had resolved to die by the Hands

1600 of the Soldiers, as men expecting no other Mercy. Yet shortly after, viz. the ninth and twentieth of July, they desperately fell upon the Trenches of *Malspergich*, a Dutch Captain; of whose Soldiers they slew many, being drunk, and driving the rest out of their Trenches, raised a great Alarm. Which the Lord *Sparsenburg* hearing, halted thither to the Refuge; where, with an unlucky Musquet-shot he was struck in the Head and slain: whereof the Rebels got knowledge the same evening; and *Del la Mata* their General, in reward of that Service gave unto them that had made that Sally a thousand Dollars to be divided among them. The dead Body of that so worthy a man, as had done great Service for the Christian Commonwealth, was afterwards with great Solemnity brought to *Rab*, and there honourably interred. The like desperate Sally they made again the next day, and slew of the Imperialists an hundred and thirty, and took certain Prisoners: and in retiring back again into the Town, cried aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yield the Town, they would eat Christians, whereof *Marotti* should be the first.

The Lord *Sparsenburg* thus slain, the Government of the Army was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke committed to the Lord *Kedern*, a Noble man, both valiant and learned; who, although he were very sickly, came unto the Camp before *Pappa* the eighth of August; where, understanding that the Rebels now brought unto Extremity, had a purpose by night to fly away and to be gone, he caused a more vigilant and strong Watch to be kept, when lo, according to his Expectation, the next night after, about two hours before day they began to issue out; whereof the Watch giving knowledge to the General, they were indeed suffered to go out as unperceived, but presently after their heels were sent out the Lord *Kedern*, and the Earl of *Thurn*, with 200 *Hussars*, and after them the chief Colonel and County *Solms*, with part of their Horse-men also, who in three divers places overtaking them near unto a great Wood called *Packem*, flew most part of them; *Del la Mata*, their chief Captain or King-leader, being slain by the chief Colonel, because he would not yield, and his Head afterwards by him presented unto the General in the Camp; 200 *Wallons*, the *Hussars* under the leading of the Lord *Nadassi*, County *Solms*, and County *Thurn*, found out in the Woods; who albeit that they for a space made great resistance, yet in the end were inticed to yield, and to follow their Enemies were brought into the Camp. The *Hussars* also, upon another Passage light upon other 200 more of these rebellious *Wallons*, who, because they stood strongly upon their Guard, and were more desperately set than the rest, the General sent out other 200 of the Colonnels Horse-men upon them, by whom, and the *Hussars*, they were almost all slain; and of the rest of them also were slain in coming out of the Town, and in the Marishes thereabout. Their General's Lieutenant, with such other of their principal Commanders as were taken; were by the Lord *Kedern* Commandment delivered unto the Provost Martial; the rest of the rebellious Traitors he, at the request of the Soldiers, divided into divers parts of the Army, there, to the terror of others, to be executed, from whom the Soldiers could hardly be persuaded even for the present to hold their hands. But afterwards having brought them to *Rab*, and leave given them to do with them their Pleasure, they as far exceeded in the cruel manner of their Execution, as had they before in their outrageous Dealings, especially the *Hungarians* and *Wallons*, notwithstanding most of them were of the *Wallon* Countries. Some

1600 of them they impaled, some they broke upon the Wheel; some of their Skins they cut off their Bodies as it were into Thongs, and so poured into the Wounds Vinegar, Salt, and Pepper: from some others they cut off their Privities, some they rolled, and some they put into the *Tenalia*; upon some they dropped molten Pitch, and then calling Gun-powder upon them, so burnt them to death; other some they hanged upon iron Hooks, and some they put in the ground up to the Chin, and for their disposal, with iron Burrs, bowled at their Heads; on all which Torments, no sign of Compassion was to be seen, the Tormentors, to make their Pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them; the miserable Wretches, in the mean time, confessing the heinousness of their Offence, and craving for Death as a Favour. A most horrible thing it was to see, how whilst some were thus tortured, others were brought to see the misery they themselves were by and to endure. Amongst the rest of these exquisite Torments, one *Peter Orly* caused one of the Mutineers to be sewed up in the Belly of a Mare, with his Head hanging out; and to be rolled; in which miserable Torment, he lived three hours, and then died; after which, he caused the loathsome Body to be rolled, to be given to them that lay farving upon the Wheel, to eat. Thus was the dangerous Mutiny at *Pappa*, with much ado ended, and that strong Town, which to have been left, preferred: the Rebels themselves being become a dreadful example to all Posterity, for all them to look upon that shall attempt the like Villany.

Now at this same time also, though neither the Christians nor the Turks had as then any great Army in the Field, yet many an hot and bloody Skirmish passed daily betwixt them in one place or other of *Hungary*, all which to recount, as it would be much tedious to us, I desire to pass by; all over, were greatly to wrong those worthy Persons by whom they were not, without their great Adventure, done. Amongst the rest, one *Nicholas Horbath*, County *Serinus's* Lieutenant, with 150 Soldiers, and *Andrew Thuffi*, another great Commander, going forth to seek for Booby *Thuffi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the surprising of certain *Haiducks* then gone out, flaid fast in a secret place until he might hear farther News, *Horbath* another way still going on. Now it appeared, that the Bassa of *Siegh* having been abroad, in returning home; by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him overtook him, and slew most of his men, *Horbath* himself by flight hardly escaping. But *Thuffi*, hearing this Skirmish, as lying close not far off, and now halting thither to have been Partaker thereof, found the Bassa yet in the Field on foot, viewing the Bodies of the slain; upon whom he came so suddenly and with such Force, as that the Bassa, with his disordered men, had much ado to take Horse, and so with other great resistance to berate himself to flight; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely following, flew many of the Turks; and amongst the rest the Bassa himself, whose Head, presently cut off, *Horbath* sent to the County *Serinus*, who shortly after, by *Thuffi* himself, sent to *Matthias* the Arch-duke. This Bassa was a man of great Strength and Courage, a most expert and adventurous Captain, about thirty six years old; and for his Valour, of a common Soldier; created a Bassa, by the Great Sultan. His Head being brought to *Vienna*, and shewed to the Bassa of *Buda*, then their Prisoner, and he demanded whether he knew it or not, fighting answered, that he knew it was so; and that it was the Head of the Bassa of *Siegh*, a braver man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire, earnestly wishing to know how he was

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was slain. But not long after, the Adventurers out of *Komara*, *Strigomion*, and other places thereabout, having made a great Party, and taken a great Booby from the Turks at a Fair at *Comara*, and by *Tra* and *Ejfe*, thinking to have passed *Danubius* in hope of a greater Booby, seven hundred of them being passed the River, were by the new Bassa of *Siegh* and others, with five thousand Turks, in six hot Skirmish overthrown; yet not without their great loss also: the Bassa himself, with two other *Sanzacks* and five hundred Turks, being there slain, and but fifty of the Christian Adventurers left dead in the place, the rest disordered retiring to their Boats, being for most part drowned in the *Danubius*. The free *Haiducks* also surprised *Jula*, and let iron fires, in which Confusion the Turks flying into the Castle, for haste thrust one another from the Bridge into the Castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a man might have gone dry foot over upon the bodies of the dead. They took there also six hundred Prisoners, with much other Booby, and delivered two hundred Christians which were there Captives. And albeit that these *Haiducks* after this Exploit done, were hardly pursued by the Turks from other places, yet they in safety retired with such Booby as they had already gotten.

But now to leave these the Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, as the fore-runners of greater ere long to ensue, let us again look back into *Transylvania* and *Polachia*, to see how *Micheis*, to say now in the mean time behaved himself there. The Cardinal *Barbor* overthrown and slain, and the Country of *Transylvania* again brought under the Emperor's Obedience; the Vayvod by his Ambassadors gave him forthwith to understand of all his Proceedings, with the whole Success thereof, as also of a purpose he had to invade *Moldavia*; for that it was commonly reported, and also believed, That *Sigismund* the late Prince (not a little moved with the death of the Cardinal his Cousin, and the Revolt of his Country) aided by the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, the *Polonians*, and *Moldavians*, would now attempt some great matter for the recovery of *Transylvania*: all which, was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for that divers of his Spies being taken, some at *Clusenburgh*, some at *Nessen*, beside the Letters that were found about them from him unto the Nobility and States of *Transylvania*, (persuading them to revolt from the Vayvod unto him, and that his meaning was thereby to come with a great Army out of *Polonia* for the repelling of him) they also of themselves confessed. How that *Sigismund*, in disguised Apparel, had himself been in *Transylvania*, to confer with divers his secret Friends concerning that matter. Which his Ambassadors the Emperor honourably entertained, and by them confirmed unto the Vayvod the Government of *Transylvania*, sending also unto him divers honourable Presents, forbidding him nevertheless to invade *Moldavia*, for fear of raising a new and dangerous War against the *Polonians* also, under whose Protection and the *Turks* the Palatine thereof then rested. According unto which Commandment the Vayvod layed his intended Expedition; yet sending some good part of his Forces unto the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, for fear of *Sigismund*, whom he heard to be hatching some mischief in *Polonia*, and even then to lie upon the Frontiers of that Country. Some few months thus passing, *Hosfain Aga* (a grave reverend old man, and much employed by the Turkish Sultan) with five other Turks of good account, Ambassadors from the Great Sultan, and a great Retinue following him, came to *Grontha* in *Transylvania*, where the Vayvod then lay. Of whose coming the Vayvod hearing, with four thousand Horse-

men most bravely mounted, went half a mile out of the City to meet them; the Foot-men in the mean time on both sides of the Street standing in good order, from the Gate of the City whereby they were to enter, even unto the Vayvod's Lodging, where stood also his Guard all in red and white Silk. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their Horses, with great reverence saluting the one the other: when presently the Ambassador embracing the Vayvod, ungirt his Scimitar, and in the like Horses richly furnished, told them about him, so richly garnished with Gold and precious Stones, as that no part of the Scabbard was therefore to be seen: besides this, he presented him with a fair Plume of black Hears Feathers mixed with some white, (a right goodly Ornament, in form of a great bush) which the Vayvod would not in the Field put upon his Head, although he were thereunto by the Ambassador most earnestly requested, but caused it to be carried before him: he also presented him with two very fair red Ensigns, in token of the Turks favour and protection; the one for himself, and the other for his son *Petrarfo*; moreover, he gave unto him two exceeding fair *Polonians*, the Vayvod four others, and a most fair Faulcon. The Vayvod himself was most bravely mounted, and (after the manner of his Country) had ten very fair spare Horses led before him. At whole Entrance into the Town, all the great Ordinance was discharged, with great Volleys of small Shot; and to the Ambassadors followed on the left hand of the Vayvod, being brought to his Lodging, had six of his chief Followers every one of them presented with a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold: in requital whereof, the Ambassador rewarded an hundred of the Vayvod's Followers every one of them with good suit of Apparel: with this Ambassador of the Turks was also sent the Ambassador, whom the Vayvod in like manner honourably entertained. These Ambassadors (as was thought) did what they might to have drawn this worthy and renowned Man, together with the Counties of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*, from the Emperor unto the Turks Obedience: howbeit, he seldom or never spake with them, but that either before or after he had Conference with the Lords *Ungnad* and *Zeekel* (the Emperor's Commissioners) concerning their Requests; always protesting unto them, not to yield to any thing without the Emperor's Consent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* advertised, and that he was not by any thing yet said or done to be removed from the Emperor, gave him by the same Ambassadors to understand, How that he was in some Speech with the Emperor concerning Peace (as indeed he then was by Messengers from the Bassa at *Presburg*) which if it forced to effect, that then it should be well; but if not, that then it should be good for him, whilst yet he had time, wisely to consider of his own Estate, and to submit himself upon his Protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vain praise of a certain foolish Constancy, to adventure himself, with all that he had, unto most certain Danger and Destruction: promising him in recompence of that his Loyalty, to give unto him for ever, the Counties of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*; and at his need to furnish him both with Men and Money; offering moreover to make him a great Commander in his Army in *Hungary*, and the Bassa of *Temeswar*, as his Friend, to be at all times ready with fifty thousand Horse, and as need should be, to assist him against the Emperor, referring unto himself whatsoever he should more win for him: for all which Bounty and Kindness requiring only to have him unto him loyal. All which his

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The Lord Sparsenburg slain.

Pappa abandoned by the Ministers.

Jula surprised and burnt by the free Haiducks.

The Government of Transylvania confirmed unto the Vayvod by the Emperor.

Two Bassa sent to Matthias the Vayvod.

1600 large offers the Vayvod little regarding, declared the same unto the Emperours Commissioners: yet still protesting never to flart, but to stand fast for the Christian Emperour. Notwithstanding, as a man desirous to better his estate, he took hereupon occasion to requell of the Emperour the Countrey of *Transilvania*, by him so lately taken in, unto him and his Son, in Inheritance for ever; with such frontier Towns as in former time belonged unto *Transilvania*: and that whatsoever he should win from the *Turks*, might be his and his Sons. He also requested, that his Treasurers and Dignities, in former time granted by his Imperial Majesty, unto *Sigismund* the late Prince, might now be bestowed upon himself; and for his Service done, to be furnished with Money for the payment of his Souldiers: And that the Emperour, with the other Princes of the Empire, should assure him, That if he were taken by the *Turks*, they should ransom him; but in case he were by the great power of the *Turk* driven out of those Countreys, then, by the Emperours appointment, to have some convenient Place allotted for him in the upper *Hungary* to live in, with the yearly pension of an hundred thousand Dollars. All which his requests, if it would please him to grant, he promised this year to do so much against the *Turks*, as had not been done in an hundred years before; with vaunt, that if he had had the Employment of the Money which was spent in the time of this War, he would not have doubted but to have brought all the Countreys from the *Euxine* (or black Sea) to *Buda*, *Alba-Rogatz*, and *Salnack*, under the Emperours Dominion. A large promise indeed, but hardly to have been performed by a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whilst things stood in discourse after the Cardinals Death, *Sigismund*, the late Prince, in the mean time supported by the *Polonians*, with the Aid of the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, and the *Moldavians*, was ready to have indeed triumphed over the *Tartars*, (as the fore-runners of his great power) were already entered the Country, and had out of the Frontiers thereof carried away some booty. Whereof the Vayvod understanding, in great haste assembled his forces out of all places, which in short time was grown to some good hand, the Country People, together with the free *Habsks* (an adventurous and resolute kind of Souldiers) in great number daily resorting unto him. So being now eight thousand strong, and most of them brave and lusty men, he with them and twenty pieces of Artillery, removed to *Gronath* the four and twentieth day of *April*, sending part of his Army (which every day more and more increased) before him to *Neszen*, where all his forces being assembled to the number of almost fifty thousand Horse and Foot, he with great Ceremony paid the rough and high Mountains into *Moldavia*, without resistance, but yet not without some trouble, his Souldiers by the way being glad sometimes to cut the Leaves of the Trees, the Enemy having of purpose before carried away whatsoever he could that might have yielded him relief. Of whose speedy coming and great strength, *Sigismund* and *Jeremias* the Vayvod of *Moldavia* hearing, and upon the reasonable estimate of their own Forces, finding themselves too weak to encounter him, retired themselves out of *Moldavia* into the Frontiers of *Polonia*, there to gather greater strength, and so to meet him; for as yet *Jeremias* the Vayvod had not received from the *Turk* such Forces as were unto him promised, and as he still expected. *Michael* the Vayvod in the mean time (his Enemies thus fled) with Fire and Sword entering into *Moldavia*, took in the greatest part thereof, the fearful Country People still yielding unto him as he went; and the rather, for that *Jeremias* their Vayvod (placed by the *Polonian*, but

tributary unto the *Turk*) had laid upon them a most grievous Imposition, as upon every man a Duckat a Month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in *Moldavia*, *Michael* the Vayvod (having still in his Company one of the Emperours Commissioners in *Transilvania*, most trusty Servants, who might faithfully report unto them the whole manner of his Proceedings) after the departure of *Sigismund* and *Jeremias*, his Enemies, flattered not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the Confines of *Polonia*, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth day found them by the Castle *Obino*, near unto the River *Nesler*, being thirty thousand strong, *Polonians*, *Moldavians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*; with whom he joyntly a most fierce and cruel Battle, which begun about ten a Clock before Noon, was with great Courage, but greater Obstinacy on both sides, maintained until the Evening. At which time the Fortune of the *Valachian* prevailed, his Enemies at last betook themselves to flight, of whom there were slain eight thousand, beside many others of them drowned in the River *Nesler*: where, of the *Valachians* were lost two thousand onely. Concerning *Sigismund* and *Jeremias*, divers reports were after this overthrow given out; some saying that they were slain, and some, that they were flying drowned; howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight escaped, to the greater trouble of themselves, as of their afflicted Countreys also. *Michael*, after this so notable a Victory, taking in the rest of *Moldavia*, caused the People to swear their Obedience unto the Emperour, himself, and his Son, to the great offence of the *Polonians*: yet as (they took it) wronged therein; but especially of the great Chancellor, an old Enemy unto the House of *Austria*. Whereof ensued greater Troubles in those frontier Countreys than before, to the further effusion of more Christian Blood, much better to have been employed against that fatal Enemy, in defence of the Christian Commonwealth. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier Countreys of *Transilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the sure Bulwarks of that side of Christendom, and most exposed unto the Fury of the common Enemy, were now once again united under the Obedience of the Emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Christian Common-weal, and hurt of the *Turks*; if they might have to continued, as God wot, they did not long.

Now the Vayvod, notwithstanding this so great a Victory, well considering that he of himself could hardly keep this new gained Province of *Moldavia* against the Power of the *Turk*, (prejudging that to him it belonged as his own to give to whom he pleased:) as also against the *Polonians*, (not more desirous to restore *Jeremias* again into *Moldavia*, than the Prince *Sigismund* into *Transilvania*) without the help of some other more mighty Prince whom he might rest upon; by his Ambassadors (sent for that purpose) offered the sovereignty of all those three Countreys unto the Emperour, with Condition, that he should appoint him perpetual Governour of the same under him. The Emperour also understood, how that *Mahomet* the great *Turk* had not long before again sent unto him another of his *Chans*, commanding him without delay to restore the Countrey of *Transilvania* unto the Prince *Sigismund* (unto whom he was by the Mediation of the King of *Polonia* now before reconciled) threatening otherwise, with Fire and Sword to destroy *Valachia*, and by force of Arms to deprive him both of *Transilvania* and his Life together. Wherefore the Emperour, doubting lest the Vayvod, either for fear, or for the better securing of his own estate, should to his Prejudice fall to some agreement with the *Turk*, yielded to that

*Sigismund* and the *Moldavian* overthrown by the Vayvod.

*Moldavia* subdued by *Michael*.

The *Transilvanians* rebel.

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that his Ambassadors had of him requested; with Condition, that he should be bound, as need should require, to serve with his People against the *Turk*; and that in *Transilvania*, near unto his own Person, should be always resident one of the Emperours Commissioners, as Superintendent over the whole Countrey. Wherewith the Vayvod being contented, the Emperour sent thither Doctor *Piszen* with six thousand Souldiers, and a great Sum of Money to pay the Vayvod's Souldiers, as he had before requested; and to take of them an Oath, That they should from thenceforth become his Majesties Souldiers, as Superintendents over the Countrey by the Emperour sent, the Vayvod being with great Honour, as unto him of all others most welcome. Nevertheless, being again returned into *Transilvania*, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppress the People of the Countrey, and in some sort to tyrannise over them; using great severity against the Nobility also, especially such as he knew to have taken part before with the Cardinal, or now to have with *Sigismund* his Cousin, or any way to have favoured his Quarrel. All which he did without the consent or good liking of *Piszen*, contrary to his Promise made. No more to imbrue his hands in the blood of the Nobility of *Transilvania*, without the Knowledge or Consent of his Imperial Majesty, or the Superintendent by him appointed; which for all that, if he had not done, he could not possibly have kept them (dissuading to be governed by him) under his Obedience. Nevertheless, the *Transilvanians*, taking it in evil part to be so oppressed, and the Nobility almost extinguished, yea and indeed to be as all ruled by him, by general Consent, as if it had been but one man, rise all up in Arms against him; inso much, that he finding himself with his *Valachians* and other his Favourites too weak for them, retired with all such as would follow him, into the Mountains; and from thence sent presently for Aid unto the Lord *George Basta* (a worthy Captain, and then the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*) for the subduing of these rebellious People, and the reducing of them to their former Obedience. Who, by Letters from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, at the instance of the Vayvod, commanded to do, with about 6000 Horse and Foot, and eight Field-pieces, removed from *Cassovia* in the upper *Hungary* the fourth of September. Where, by the way, came unto him Ambassadors also from the People of *Transilvania*, now up in Arms, and Confederate also against the Vayvod; who in like manner also requested his Aid, pretending themselves to be the Emperours most loyal Subjects, but not under the Government of such a Tyrant as was the Vayvod; alleging and exaggerating many his most cruel Actions, and clearly protesting, That for the present want of a good Governour, they were informed, for the safeguard of their Lives, to band themselves together: which if happily it might be (as any thing prejudicial unto the Emperours claim in any thing pertaining unto the Emperours Aid and interest) which he with great toil and cost had procured in that Province, it was against their Wills, as enforced by necessity to do that they did in defence of themselves. Which Ambassadors so sent from the People, *Basta* with all speed dispatched away back again, comforting them, without farther hit to expect his Arrival in *Transilvania*; as all yet covenanteding withal. That they should before conceive into writing the Oath of their Fidelity and Allegiance unto his Imperial Majesty. Now might many and important Considerations trouble the Mind of *Basta* in so doubtful a case. To give Aid unto the Vayvod against the People, was the express Order from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, the Emperours Lieutenant-General; but to aid the

*Michael* against *Transilvanians*.

People confederate against him, as they had requested, seemed now both more profitable and honest, especially having most certain Tokens of the small and doubtful Faith of the Vayvod; who, only by disputation intertended in that Province, was not so careful of another man's; neither seeming to have regard to *Piszen*, or of his own word given for no longer imbruing his hands in the Blood of the Nobility of *Transilvania*, without the Emperours knowledge and leave; upon which Promise was likewise grounded the Arch-dukes Order for giving of him Aid: so that such breach of his Faith, and contempt of *Piszen*, had kindled the Conspiracy of the People against him, detaching of all other Health than that which by force of Arms they could procure unto themselves. To stand doubtful himself, or to hold others in suspense, until that by Courtiers in this new case he might receive new Instructions from the Emperour or the Arch-duke, had in it too much danger, as giving leisure to each Party to make hides, and to increase thelander of the last Year. That he might so easily (and especially from the *Valachians*) have assured that Province to his Majesty, had been not been an heartless man of no Resolution, even such an one as durst not look upon a Cat, (as some had said) all which might not a little prick an honourable Mind. To take part with the People confederate against the Vayvod, if it should not happily fall out at the first Encounter, might betwixt the two Contentants give an entrance unto a third, either the *Turk* or the *Polonian*, in the favour of *Bathor*: but if it should turn to the quite contrary, and so himself to lose the day; then he saw himself void of all defence against the malicious, especially in that the world commonly measureth the Widom often in any Affairs according to the Success thereof, than which nothing can be more unfeasible, but above all others, in matters of War. In this so troubled a Tempest of contrary Winds, of power to have driven a right good Mariner out of his Course, *Basta* laid hand upon the Helm of good-meanning, and spread the Sails of discretion, as taught him in matters of War to be lawfull for a General to depart even from the Instructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means leading to that end: especially when the present Occasion lo required, which the Prince could not with reason before comprehend, as depending on the most mighty Fortune of War, which sufficeth not so much delay as to expect Counsel from far. So in this Ambiguity *Basta* resolved to joyn himself unto the Confederates, most, in his Judgment, concerning his Imperial Majesty, as being the uttermost folly of his (so great cost and charge, to keep the Countrey of *Transilvania* at his Devotion, which consisted in the People, and not in the Woods or Mountains: the matter being not great by what means forever it were done, so that it were honourable and honest.

Upon this Desire *Basta* set forward, and the 14th day arrived at *Torda*, and there joynted himself unto the Confederates, to the great wonder of the Vayvod, in whose help he was sent: where, reporting himself one day, consulting and considering of their Forces, about 12000 strong, with four Field-pieces, besides eight of his own, with the six thousand Souldiers he brought with him, in all about eighteen thousand, he determined not to give leisure unto the Vayvod to call unto him farther help, having now with him about twenty thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, with seven and twenty Field-pieces; amongst whom were divers of the *Siechi*, in hope of their ancient Liberty. Men of good account and fort, with a mixture of the *Coffacks*, *Valachians*, *Raficans*, and *Servians*, People of *Pref*, serving only to spoil: whom

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*Basta* ca-  
reth part  
with the  
*Transilvanians* against the  
Vayvod in  
whole Aid  
was sent.

whom *Baſta* knew to be far inferior in Courage to his twelve thousand Foot and fix thousand Horſe; not only for the Valour of his own Men, accuſtomed unto the frontier Service, but alſo for the Confederates, who engaged with their Goods, Lives, and Honour, and deſirous to be revenged of the Vayvod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two days march came within fight of the Vayvod; who having ſent out certain great Troops of Horſe-men to take view of the Enemy, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet out on *Mirſia*, a Village ſit by, out of which they had before drawn certain ſmall Field-pieces into the Camp.

*Mirſia* is a Village two Leagues on this ſide of *Alba-Julia*, directly upon the High-way, ſtretching from the ſide of *Maracra* navigable River, unto the foot of an Hill; along which the River runs, ſometimes nearer, and ſometimes farther off; together with the rifing of the Hill, maketh an unequal lift of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut up as it were into a narrow Throat, as in the ſelf ſame place where the aforeſaid Village ſtandeth, and where the Vayvod lay incamped in a place of great Advantage, behind a great Trench drawn from the River, croſs that little place of ground betwixt the Mountain and the River. On this ſide, which from *Mirſia* the farther a man goeth, the farther the Plane enlargeth, *Baſta* incamping cloſe unto the Village, oppoſed againſt the coming of the Enemy three great *Corps de gar*, two of them *Hungarians*, towards the Hill, favoured with Church, and the third toward the River, of the *Almain* Foot-men, under the Charge of County *Tomaſo Camilli* of *Breſcia*, Serjeant-Major of the Field, with all the Artillery; who, as in a place near and very open unto the Enemy, there-increnched himſelf, approaching ſo cloſe to the Enemy both on the one ſide and the other. Towards the evening of the ſelf ſame ſeventeenth day, came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenia*, with Letters from the Vayvod, containing, That having underſtood of his Arrival in the Camp of the Conſpirators, he now farther deſired to know whether it were by the Content and Commandment of the Emperor or not; and how it came to paſs that he would do, conſidering the divers chances of War, the Sword hanging as it were even over his Head if he ſhould chance to loſe the Battel? Whereunto *Baſta* answered, That the morrow following he would hear him the Authority he had from the Emperor (alluding to the Imperial Standard he carried with him), and that as concerning the Fortune and Danger to enſue, he referred that wholly unto the Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty, the juſt Judge of all Controverſies. But in the mean time he exhorted him to leave that Province he had ſo evil governed unto his Imperial Maſteſty, as he was in duty bound; promiſing him free Paſſage into *Valachia*, and giving him time to conſider, after which time it ſhould be free for every Man to do for himſelf what he could. Which Answer the Vayvod having read, inflamed with diſdain, with many proud Words, full of Threats and Diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently cauſed, by the Sound of the Drum and Trumpet, the Battel to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta*, after he had aſſured his Camp, having not only ſent, but gone himſelf to have the council of his own Eyes, for his better underſtanding how the Enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any Exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the Trench before the Front, and in part along the ſide of the Enemies Camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing

ground on the left hand, whereunto all the Plane betwixt the Enemies Camp and the Village was ſubject, thought it beſt to remove, and make a ſhort Retreat about the ſpace of an *Italian* mile; according to the commodiouſneſs of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an Emperor, not altogether ſo well acquainted with martial Stratagems, to gain a notable Victory. This his purpoſe propounded in Council, was greatly diſliked of the Captains of the Confederates; unto whom it ſeemed more ſafe to ſtand before the Vayvod, yet lying in his Strength, than to retire before the face of an Enemy ſo ſtrong and adventurous; for that ſuch a Retreat accounted to the manner of that Country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight; and to break his Order and aſſile, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own People, and to encourage his Enemies. But *Baſta*, the better to perſuade them, promiſed therefore to them a more cunning kind of flight than was yet unto them known; and declared the aſſurance that he in his own Perſon, with all the *Almains*, in the Retreat would give them in that Retreat, in ſuch fort, as that they ſhould not loſe to ſuch a man, much leſs they needed to fear to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a place, his purpoſe being only to give the Plane unto the Enemy, wherein to ſlew himſelf in the open Field. The Retreat being agreed upon, the Morning following, being the 28th. of September, the three *Corps de guard*, (before ſpoke of) were betwixt called back, and the Baggage ſent away; after which following the *Confederates* and *Hungarians*, the *Almains* in the Retreat inclining the great Ordnance.

The Vayvod, aware of their Departure, ſent forthwith a great Troop of Horſe-men, eſpecially of the *Cofacks*, to take view of them, and to ſtir-miſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by the Company of Musketeers in the Retreat, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harm; although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great Contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his Deſigns as might bring them all to their wiſhed Effect. But when he ſaw the great Artillery upon the Carriages to come out of the Village, a certain ſign that the Enemy ſet forward with all his Forces, he marched fair and ſoftly to give him hope to overtake him; and ſo retired as far as he thought good to the Village, having before thought of a convenient place wherein his People might, with room enough, upon advantage ſtay; whereas about half a mile from him, and as far from the Village, he might ſee the Enemy march with his People in order of Battel: then began he to march towards him alſo; and perceiving the Enemy to come on in one open, thick Front, by reaſon of the ſtrainneſs of the place, having on the right hand towards the River placed as it were all his Horſemen, and towards the Mountain his Foot-men alone, and 500 Foot placed aloſt without any Artillery, as it were, would have done, having planted ſome below at the foot of the Hill in the way, and in the midſt, even before the Front of the Battel, where the Horſe-men came after the Foot-men; he alſo placed his Squadron in one Front only, to the intent not to be incloſed by the Enemy on the flank of his Army. The body of his main Battel conſiſted of one great Squadron of about 3000 *Almain* Foot-men, flanked on each ſide with 150 *Troops of Siſſia*; before the Squadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe Wing of three hundred Musketeers; in the right Wing towards the Hill he placed a Company of Land ſoldiers, with two Squads of the Country-Footmen; and in the Wing towards the River one Squadron of *Transilvania* Foot-

The Battel of *Mirſia* betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod and *Baſta* the Emperor's Lieutenant.

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Foot-men, and two of Launces, for that the Enemy was at that time very ſtrong in Horſe-men; the *Cofacks*, Archers, and Harquebutiers, he placed in the Rearward; of his great Artillery he would make no uſe, for that having not much, he would not ſtand upon the defence thereof, but deſired rather, with all speed, to come to the Sword with the Enemy, unacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot; and well the leſs fir, by reaſon of their light Armour. And therefore he thought it beſt fir to ſet forward his Squadron of *Almains* to give the charge, bending towards the right hand, and ſet forward the thickets of the Foot-men towards the Artillery at the foot of the Hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the Enemies Infantry. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great Squadron of about 3000 Launces, which ſeemed to ſtand upon that Wing to give the firſt charge, he gave order unto *Rodion*, his Lieutenant, and Colonel of the *Rutters*, which had the leading of the left Wing, that he ſhould at a certain ſign given, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great Squadron. So his People being fir in order, and the manner of proceeding fir down, he putting on his Helmet, with chearful Countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſlew unto the Vayvod, that his Truncheon could do more than his Scimitar; and himſelf ſetting forward betwixt the Squadron of the *Almain* Foot-men and the Wing of the Musketeers, about two hours after Noon, marched fair and ſoftly towards the Enemy; who without moving, expected the diſcharging of their Artillery, and ſaw the nearer that the Enemy came unto it, the leſs harm it did him, by ſhooting either over or ſhort in the Field, which eaſily aſcended. The Wing of Musketeers went directly to give a charge unto the Artillery; and the Squadron toward the foot of the Hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be encouraged to ſpend their fir Volleys, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all aſſont, juſt upon the ſign given; and ſo with his *Almain* Foot-men, and the *Rutters* on the right hand, enſloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the Enemies Foot-men. As which very inſtant, the *Rutters* on the left hand alſo ſo courageouſly charged upon the three thouſand Launces, that better could not have been deſired of any band of moſt old and expert Soldiers. The Launces retiring without any hurt, and the fir Volley diſcharged, forced the Infantry, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the Wings charging, there enſued preſently a great laughter and overthrow, on the ſorry of *Baſta*'s men being ſlain, and as many hurt; where of the Enemies were loſt in the battel ten thouſand; and greater had the laughter been, if the Village and approach of the Night had not covered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the Victors that followed them. Which victory, by the remembrance of the great Victory that *Scipio Africanus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlain of the *Romans*, but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the Wings ſtood for a time doubtful) there being loſt of the Enemies above fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the Plans of the Country reported) twenty thouſand ſlain in this Battel. By this Victory *Baſta* recovered many Enſigns and much Armour, before ſent by the Emperor unto the Vayvod, together with all his Tents and Baggage. And preſently after the overthrow, there were many Troops of Horſe-men ſent out every way with Proclamation, to call the Lives of the *Sieſis* as ſhort as they could down their Arms; of whom, many were ſent Priſoners unto divers Places, eſpecially to *Roga-*

*Michael* the Vayvod overthrow.

*ras*, a ſtrong Town towards *Valachia*. As for the Vayvod himſelf, he with certa in *Cofacks* eſcaped by flight.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Camilli* to inform the Emperor of all the Particularities of the Succes of that Expedition; who ſeemed to be therewith pleaſed, yet neither gave Reward unto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that he had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in Writing before approved his Reſolution and Motion made in favour of the Confederates. Saying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gave order unto the *Chiahi*, to ſend out a Thouſand Horſemen to purſue the flying Vayvod; who, inſtead of ſo doing, joining themſelves with other their Conſorts, ſetled themſelves to raniſack *Alba-Julia*, under the Colour, that there was the Vayvod's Wealth and Subſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citizen; which wrought ſeemed unto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards, with all his Camp, and ſo ſtayed one day not far from thence, to have given ſome redreſs unto the [po] that had happened; yet was all that his Labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater fort and chiefſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more Wiſdom as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any terms of Severity, with hope of doing any good. So he reſolv'd to have ſent ſome towards *Rogara* (whether he heard ſay the Vayvod was come with new Forces out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*) and in fix days march came to *Gibinina*, where he received certain News, That the great Chanceller of *Poſonia* and *Sigismund* (ſometimes the *Empereur* of *Polonia*) were with a ſtrong Army upon the Frontier of *Moldavia*, having ſent before them *Moſey* the *Scibulan*, with about eight thouſand of the *Sieſis* (his Soldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeen. Which Advancement interrupted the Courſe of *Baſta*'s Victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the Enemy, and to leave behind him a doubt of ſo great Importance; and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelf of the Aid of the Country-people, in caſe that *Sigismund* their old Prince were once ſent in *Transilvania*. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to provide for all Events as he ſhould ſee need; and ſo reſolved to ſend the *Chiahi*, and one *Leſtanus Pili*, to Parley with *Moſey*, who made a ſhew of no great Moment of his good will towards the Confederates. In the mean time, came two Meſſengers from the Vayvod, offering in his Name, that he ſhould do whatever were in the behalf of the Emperor to be impoſed upon him. Unto whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the chief of the Council propounded; Firſt, That he ſhould for ever reſign all the claim he had or might have into the Country of *Transilvania*; then, That he altogether with his Army, ſhould give his Oath of Fidelity unto his Imperial Maſteſty; alſo, That he ſhould forthwith towards *Valachia* go with his Army unto the Frontier of *Alba-Julia*, to ſlay the *Polonians* from farther entrance; and moreover, to give his Wife and little Son in Hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which Meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Teſcheli*, to receive the Oath and promiſed Hoſtages, unto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the *Bishop* of *Alba-Julia*, ſo that the Vayvod, having before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in *Transilvania*; although

The *Chiahi* was the chief man, and ſo it was, the Ring-leader of the *Transilvanians* into Rebel-ion.

A Recon-ſtitution made be- tween the Vayvod, and *Baſta*.

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three thousand five hundred of *Suleika*, now brought to 20000 could not be persuaded longer to stay without their Pay before hand, the Pay of their Country being already spent; and the rest drawn out of the Garrisons of the upper *Hungary*, or else there pressed, were at a certain time to return. Yet nevertheless he attempted in some sort to satisfy their Request, for not grieving of the Countess, by requelling of them to deliver unto him some strong Place, wherinto he putting his men into Garrison, they might to fly without any farther charge or trouble to the Country, living upon their own Wages. Which, when he could not obtain, and withal considering, that if those few of his People which yet remained could be persuaded to stay with him, the retaining of them might give occasion unto the devious of new Stirs, upon every the least disorder of the Souldiers, to alter the matter at their pleasure, (as had hapned unto the eight thousand *Almains* of *Castalia*, driven sometimes out of that Country under the colour of some Involence by them committed, also others had been the chief doers thereof, namely, about some twenty *Polonians*) he resolved of all these things to give notice to the Court, and so fair and softly to march with his Souldiers unto the Confines of that Country, and to save his eight pieces of Artillery, with his other Munition, in *Savva Vinar* Castle, a strong Fortress a good way from the Confines, which, together with the strong Castle of *Kuray*, *Aga Leche*, an *Albanesse*, and General of the *Vayvod's* Horse-men, delivered to *Zaphel* Captain of *Zacemar*, one of his Majesties Commissioners; who there provided for the Governour *Bassa*, his familiar Favourite; also the *Transilvanians* had with great Promises sought to have crossed their delivery of the aforesaid Castles, and to have had them in their own Power.

The Decree of the Court is not always to be deemed by the event of the thing done.

Wherefore *Bassa*, not deceived, but by necessity enforced, yielded that he could not hold, and gave that he could not fill, making a virtue of Necessity; deceived in the event of the matter which he had propounded unto himself from the beginning, for the assurance of that Country to the Emperor; by an excusable error, if it be true that some wife men lay, nothing to be more unreasonable than by the Event of Matters to judge of their Willom by whom they were managed; which consisteth not in divining before of the certainty of the Event, but in the reasonable Conjecture thereof, by the means leading thereunto, than which nothing is more deceitful, as not depending from our own Actions only, but from other mens also more grois and unreasonable; none knowing better how much the Willom of Man deceiveth it self, than those which are unto themselves true Witnesses of the event of their own Conclusions. Nevertheless the matter was afterward so well handled by *Bassa*, *Peizen*, and others the Emperor's great Favourites in *Transilvania*, that in a Diet holden by the *Transilvanians*, he was with a convenient Guard again by them received as the Emperor's Lieutenant, until further Order was by him taken for the Government and Alliance of that Country: the *Chicks* and his Complices faintly consenting thereto, as not greatly pleased therewith. Neither had *Bassa* much cause to be proud of such his Government, having thereof no longer assurance than pleased that fickle People to afford him; yet fish no better could be had, he must take it as he might, deeming it better in some sort for the present to hold it for the Emperor, than not at all; with which his weak State, amongst more Enemies than Friends, we will for a while leave him.

But whilst things thus passed (as we have said) in *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, (the Treaty for Peace betwixt the Emperor and the Turk being vani-

ed into Smoak,) *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turks General in *Hungary*, having all the last Winter made great preparation for the Invasion of the Emperor's Territories, and the doing of some notable Enterprise for the recovery of his Reputation, somewhat impaired by the evil success of the last Years Wars; and even in these his greatest Preparations of this Year, not a little troubled by the Mutiny of the Janizaries and Spahs for want of their Pay, at *Constantinople*, as also with the Rebellion in *Caramania*: now at length in the latter end of *August* (by order from the Grand Seigneur, his great Lord and Master) began to set forward with his Army from *Belgrade*, supposed to be above two hundred thousand men strong. And coming to *Bahofa*, a strong Fortress of the Christians in the north *Hungary*, lay down before it, and having planted his Artillery, furiously battered it, with purpose to have the next day assaulted it: but the Captain of the Castle, considering the weakness of his Garrison to withstand so puissant an Enemy, and that the Walls to be already fore shaken with the fury of the great Ordinance, came to a reasonable Composition with the *Bassa*, and so delivered unto him the place. Which Exploit done, and the Castle to him surrendered, he marched from thence to *Caniffa*, a strong Town in the Frontiers of *Stiria*, of which men before spoiled a Place impregnable; for that it was situated in a very high hill, and furnished with a strong Garrison of valiant Souldiers, part *Hungarians* and part *Almains*: after this strong Town *Ibrahim* the great *Bassa* especially longed, to so free those Frontiers of the Turks from the often Incurfions that the Garrison Souldiers of that place made therein; as also by the taking of that Town a Fortress from the Christians, to open a more safe and free Passage for the Turks into *Austria*, to the indangering of other places of the Empire also farther off. Wherefore incamping his great Army on the side of the Marsh which compassed the Isle round whereon the Town stood, he began with Faggots and Earth to fill up the Marsh, so to pass over his Army; they in the Town in the mean time not ceasing with their thundering Shot to disturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that, proceeding in their Work, had brought it now almost close unto the Island, where, whilst they were about to have landed, they were by the Souldiers of the Garrison so encountered, that they slew a number of their men, as well Janizaries as others, with two of their best Captains also, they were by plain Valour enforced to retire. But preparing themselves against the next day with a greater force to have again returned unto the Assault of the Isle, they saw the Imperial Army now at their Backs, and come to near them, that with their Artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no small fear, seeing themselves inclosed betwixt the Town and the Camp, and both out of the one and the other to receive no small hurt, as well with the small Shot as the great; besides that, out of the Camp divers whole Bands sometimes failed, discharging great Volleys of Shot into their Trenches. In the Imperial Army were about two and forty thousand Horse and Foot, men of divers Nations, under the leading of *Duke Mercurio*, now General of the Emperor's Forces in *Hungary*; with whom were also the Lords *Nadafli*, *Elphin*, *Bachman*, and the Governour of *Croatia*, with divers other famous Captains, come thither for the relief of *Caniffa*, a place of so great Importance for the defence of that side of the Country, and to help that it fell not into the Power of the barbarous Enemy. But *Ibrahim Bassa*, understanding by his Espials the small number of the Christians; and well knowing how much he was too

*Caniffa* besieged by the Turks.

1600 The Band bewixt the Christians and the Turks before *Caniffa*.

strong for them by reason of his great Multitude, went out against them, and finding them as ready as himself, joyned Battle with them, with great slaughter of men both on the one side and the other: which bloody Fight (the Victory yet standing doubtful, but in all mens Judgment more inclining unto the Christians than to the Turks) was at length, by the coming on of the night, broken off. At which time, the Christians retired themselves into their Trenches, the Turks stood all the night in the Field with their Weapons in their hands, as fearing to have been again in the night by their Enemies assailed. Mean while the Christian Captains in the Camp, at variance amongst themselves, and so not now to be commanded by *Duke Mercurio* their General; at such time as the Turks, presuming on their Multitude, dared them to Battle the next day, could by no means be persuaded to go out against them, or once to fit out of their Trenches. Insumuch that the General of the *Tartars* thereupon taking Courage, made an Inroad into the Country thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggon laden with Victuals going unto the Christian Camp, slew the Convoy that guarded them, and so carried them quite away. Whereby such want arose in the Christian Camp, that having not what to eat, and out of hope of any new Supply of Relief in time to come, they were grown almost to disbelieve and despair, whilst they could not so secretly be done, but that it was by the Turks perceived, who presently following after them in the Tail of the Army, cut off about three thousand of them, with certain pieces of great Ordinance, and most part of the Baggage; the rest of the Army in the mean time retiring farther off into places of more safety. From this Victory the Turks returned again to the Siege of *Caniffa*, where, after a few days, the Garrison Souldiers, now out of hope to be in good time relieved, suddenly fell into Mutiny, refusing any longer to defend the Town, now hardly laid unto by the Turks; and the rather, for that divers of the *Hungarians* were already fled out of the Town unto the *Bassa*, having (as it was thought) revealed unto him the whole estate of the besieged: so that now there was no remedy but that the Town must be delivered unto the Enemy, although *Paradisi*, with some other of the Captains, did what they might (as they said afterwards) to have persuaded the contrary. Whereupon they came to Parle with the *Bassa*, and covenanting with him, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and with a safe Convoy be brought over the River *Mur*, promised to yield unto him the Town: all which the *Bassa* granted, fearing how to have been able to have kept the Field, if they should for any long time have holden out. Winter now fast approaching. So the two and twentieth of *October* the Town was unto the *Bassa* right cowardly delivered, and the Garrison Souldiers with their Baggage in a hundred Waggon lent them by the Turks, safely conducted over the *Mur*, as was unto them promised. After the Agreement made for the yielding up of the Town, the *Bassa* in a Courtsey sent unto *Paradisi* the Governour a very rich Gown of Cloth of Gold; which albeit that he refused, yet was it afterwards laid to his Charge as a Presumption of some treacherous Colusion betwixt him and the *Bassa* for the betraying of the Town, which it was thought he might much longer have kept. *Ibrahim* now thus satisfied, the Town he so much desired, fortified it more strongly than ever it was before; and for the more assurance thereof, put into it a strong Garrison of four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, all old expert Souldiers. And immediately after, without resistance, foraged the Country round

*Stiria* foraged by the Turks.

about *Caniffa*, burning all before him as he went; the poor Christian Inhabitants flitting as fast as thus with the Spoil of the Country well pleased his Souldiers, he, desirous to have the same again in time re-peopled, as thereby to yield unto the Turks the more Profit, laid their farther Outrage, upon great pain forbidding the same; by open Proclamations in every place set up, inviting the Christians, without fear of farther harm, to return again into the Country, where, submitting them unto the Great Sultans Obedience, they should under his Protection safely dwell, without any Tribute to be of them exacted for the space of three Years next following. Which Proclamations were in his Name thus published:

*Ibrahim Bassa*, to the Inhabitants of the Country about *Caniffa*, greeting.

WE *Ibrahim Bassa*, by the Grace of God, Vicer, and Conful unto the most puissant and invincible Sultan Mahomet, Emperour of the Turks, unto all the Inhabitants of the Marches about *Caniffa*, and the rest of the Country of *Seitzmark*, from the greatest unto the least, greeting: Whereas we have willingly heard, that some of you, willing to submit yourselves to the great Sultan, and to sever unto him Fidelity, are again returned unto your old Dwellings: We promise and assure you, upon the Faith of the laid Emperour, That whatsoever shall be found near unto the Fortresses of *Caniffa*, now belonging unto the great Sultan, with all Reverence submitting himself at his Subjects, under his Government, acknowledging him for his Sovereign, shall enjoy more Privileges than ever he did before, and also be protected in the same. And for that we know that your Houses are for the most part destroyed, as also your Possessions, you shall therefore for these three years next following be exempted and free from all Tributes and Charges whatsoever, to the intent you may the better recover your selves. Of which Grace if you shall willingly accept, we promise you, that neither you, your Wives, or Children, shall be in any thing wronged, or your Goods in any part impaired, but so much as you please may in safety return into your own old Dwellings, giving before knowledge thereof unto the Governour of this our Fortres. Given in our Camp after the Conquest of *Caniffa*.

Many of these poor Country People before fled for fear of the Turks, and not knowing where to bestow themselves, now upon this Proclamation returned again to their ancient dwelling Places, there to begin the World again under the Turkish Obedience. But for that County *Serinus* was the Man whom of all others in that Country the great *Bassa* sought after, as him whom he most feared after his Departure to trouble this his new Conquest, and to seek to be revenged; having in this to general a Calamity of *Stiria*, his Country, lost twenty Villages of his own, quite burnt by the Turks, and the People most dead or else taken Prisoners: the *Bassa* having many times before sought to have persuaded him to have yielded his Obedience unto the Turkish Sultan, and now in hope unto *So* great loss to bring him in, before he were come into the utter ruin of all his Fortunes, (now by the loss of *Caniffa*, and the entrance of the Turks into *Stiria*, not a little endangered) writ unto him as followeth:

WE *Ibrahim Bassa*, chief of the Vicer Basses; and Conful unto the most puissant Sultan Mahomet; to the County *Serinus* I sendeth greeting. We have oftentimes heretofore written unto thee concerning the matter thou knowest of: but what the cause is that

*Ibrahim Bassa* Viceroy of the Sultan.

*Ibrahim Bassa* Viceroy of the Sultan.



1600 that we received no Answer, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to the Duke again, That if yet thou couldst be content to begin the matter aright, and to submit thyself unto our Protection, we will be ready to receive thee. Thou seest, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both upon thee and thine, which thou wouldst never believe. Nevertheless, for the laying of the further effusion of the Blood as well of thy Subjects as of ours, and to come to some good determination, it is high time for thee to lay thine Hand upon thy Heart, and to consider how much more it concerneth thee than us, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more unto thee than ours. What our Affection is towards thee, Hieronym the Vayvod can tell thee. Fare thee well. From our Camp after the Conquest of Canisla, the seventh of November, 1600.

Ibrahim  
Bassa re-  
turneth  
with his  
Army to  
Belgrade.

But these Letters being also, as the rest, answered with Silence, the great Bassa having disposed of all as he thought best at Canisla, and in the County thereabout, returned with his Army to Belgrade, there to Winter: having before fully certified the great Sultan of his proceeding, and the Success of this War; vaunting after his vain manner, the next Spring to besiege Vienna also, if it should please him so to command. Of all which things Mahomet understanding, and not a little therewith pleased, caused great Triumphs to be made by the space of four days at Constantinople, and in token of Love and favour, sent a rich Robe of Cloak of Gold, with a leading staff, all set with Pearl and precious Stones, unto the Bassa, yet lying at Belgrade.

This loss of Canisla much troubled all that side of Christendom, especially them of the Territories belonging unto the House of Austria, in a fort dismay'd to see the Turks so easily potent at Town, before they thought almost invulnerable, and the strongest defence of all that Country against the furious Impetions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a most safe and sure Recapture, all men with one Voice blaming the discord of the Captains in the Imperial Army, for so retiring without any good doing, but above all detesting the Cowardise of *Parsifor*, who known to have in the Town a strong Garrison, with good store of Munition and Victuals (as was supposed) had so basely delivered the same unto the Enemy, not doing the utmost of his Devour as had becomen him for the defence thereof: whereas if he had done, happily in the mean time the City and its fortifications (which no other Relief had been) Winter being now come, might have enforced the Turks to have raised their Siege. Whereupon, he was for this so foul a Fact, by the Emperor's Commandment, apprehended and cast in Prison at Vienna, where after he had long lain, and his Cause oftentimes examined, he was the next year following committed of Felony and Cowardise, and on the 15th day of October executed, having first his Hand at four strokes of the Executioner struck off, and after that his Head; with him was also in like manner executed his Ensign-Beater; and after them his Lieutenant with the Mayor of the Town, who both found fault to a flake, had first their Tongues cut out, and afterwards their Heads chopp'd off.

Parasifor  
executed  
for the  
yielding  
up of Canisla  
to the  
Turks.

Now the Rebellion being raised in Caramania by *Cushbin* Bassa (as is aforesaid) was not with his Death altogether appeased. Also *Orfa*, a great City of that Country (which having tasted the sweetness of Liberty in the time of *Cushbin*) yet still holding out against *Mahomet*, the great Bassa the Sultan's Lieutenant-General there. At which time also a Companion of *Cushbin* the late Rebel, called the *Scrivano*, and one of his greatest Favourites, seeing how hardly not only *Cushbin* himself, but

the rest of his Followers, had been handled by the Turks, began to make Head, and to call unto him all such as loved their Liberty: unto the sweet Name whereof, so many were in short time come about him, as that out of them he formed such an Army, as made him now dreadful unto the Turks his Enemies. Against whom, *Mahomet Bassa* going with all his Power to have opposed him, found him with those his rebellious Followers so courageous (for the desire they all had to break out of the Ottoman Slavery, and to live in such Liberty as was promised them by their Captain and General) that joining Battel with them, he received of them a notable Overthrow; in which, that fearing to have lost his whole Army, he was fain to retire, and to send out Commissioners for the raising of greater Forces. Sultan Mahomet in the mean time, whether it was for fear of this new Rebellion, or for that he understood of the Ambassadors sent from the *Perfian* unto the Christian Princes, began to suspect lest that King should break the League he had with him, and so to his further trouble take up Arms also against him. Wherefore, upon a Turkish Ride, he sent an Ambassador unto *Perfia*, to give the King to understand, That for the more assurance of the League betwixt them, he demanded to have one of his Sons sent unto him in Hostage, as a Pledge of his Fathers Faith. Which to provide a Demand, the *Perfian* King took in such disdain, that he commanded in his Rage the Ambassador to be forthwith slain; but that his fury being by his grave Counsellors somewhat appeased, he remitted the Severity of this his rigorous Command, and sparing his Life, was contented, that in despite and contempt of him that had sent him, he should be put to the *Bastinado* only: and so grievously threatened, sent back again unto his Master. Who having received this shameful Answer, and in doubt of some farther matter from that angry King, commanded new and strong Garrisons to be put in all his strong holds confining upon the *Perfian* Kingdom.

This troublesome Year of *Jubile* thus past, the Emperor much troubled with the loss of Canisla, and in doubt of worse to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Bassa*, whom for all that he trusted not, did still treat with him concerning Peace) and feeling also to the great need he had of greater Aid to withstand the mighty Power of the Turk, with great intancy requested Aid of the Pope and of the other Princes of Italy: who, considering also how much it concerned the rest of the Christian Commonwealth, to have the Frontiers of Hungary defended, confederated unto the Emperor's Request; and so the Pope with the beginning of the Spring sent him eight thousand Soldiers in Pay, under the leading of *Io Francesco Adorandino* his Nephew their General, who with the like charge had now sent him over the Year 1599. King *Philip* also, at the instance of the Emperor, gave Order unto the County *Fuemes* to lend into *Croatia* certain Bands of *Dutchies*, who, by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to *Millain*. The great Duke of *Florence* also, sent unto him two thousand Soldiers, under the leading of *Franco de Monte*; with whom also, by his Appointment, went the Lord *Jo. de Medicis*, whom *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke forthwith requested for to be Master of his Camp: thither came also the Duke of *Mantua* with an honourable Company both of Horse and Foot, being forthwith by the Arch-duke made his Lieutenant-General. And so whilst these People assembled together into *Croatia*, the Emperor sent also another good Army into Hungary, drawn for most part out of *Germany*, which under the leading of the Arch-duke *Matthias* his Brother, and the Duke *Mercury* his Lieutenant-General,

The Turks  
insidi-  
ous evil  
increased  
by the  
King of  
Perfia.

The Aid  
sent out  
by the Em-  
peror.

1601

1601 went into those Parts to withstand the Turk. A third Army he also made of the Imperialists, which, strengthened with the Forces of *Duo Ferrant Guszaga*, Governour of the upper Hungary, joined themselves with *Bassa* for the Recovery of *Transilvania*, out of which he had been of late driven, as shall hereafter be declared.

And so whilst these Armies were in preparing, many hot Skirmishes passed in Hungary betwixt the Christians and the Turks, the loss falling sometimes to the one side and sometime to the other. But the time now came that Soldiers might well take at *Belgrade*, whilst he was yet increasing of a difficulted Peace, and *Hajfian*, one of the Vice Ambassadors, by Mahomet appointed General in Hungary in his place, yet delaying his coming, the Peace for Peace laid aside (as never induced by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to dally off the time to their own more advantage) Duke *Mercury*, General of the Emperor's Forces, taking to himself the fit and Opportunity, came with his Army from *Komara* (where he had lain expecting the Event of the Peace) and laid Siege to *Abas Regalia*, one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of Hungary; which, seated in the midst of a Marsh, was thought almost impregnable, being hardly to be approached but by the Suburbs; which, strengthened and defended by the Marsh, served the City instead of three walls, and within which stood also the City itself, well defended with a good Wall and a Ditch. This City, the Duke for certain days continually battered, as if he had purposed at length to have taken it by assault: but, in the mean time certainly informed by a Fugitive (but lately fled out of the City) that the broad Lake which encompassed the City over against the Place where he lay, was not to be surprised, but that it was to be passed, (contrary to the Opinion both of the Turks Captives, and of the natural Inhabitants, whom he had upon that Point examined) and that the Turks, presuming upon the strength thereof, and thinking themselves on that side safe, had turned almost all their Care and Forces unto that side of the City which was now by him battered, without regard of any great Peril to be from the other side feared; he appointed the Lord *Ruffworm* with his Soldiers to make Proof if the *Siege* Suburbs (for so they were called) on the aforesaid side of the City, so little regarded by the Turks, might be taken, and so to fill up those Suburbs being taken, the City could long hold out: for the undertaking of which Enterprize *Ruffworm* was, both by the captive Turks and Country People thereby dwelling, much discouraged, they all with one consent affirming, That albeit he should find no other Difficulties in the attempt thereof, yet the Lake itself was not possible to be passed: who nevertheless, altogether trusting them, sent certain of his Men secretly to try the matter; who having done so, brought him word, That the Lake was undoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be passed.

Alba Regalia besieged by Duke Mercury.

Ibrahim Bassa's death at Belgrade.

Whereupon, he with 1200 select Soldiers, with every one of them a good Baggon on his Back behind his Arms, showed by Example how he did went on, they all following him. It is almost a thing incredible, to tell what these adventurous men endured, plunged in the deep Mud among the Flags and Bulrushes, going still up in Water and Mud unto the Waite, even where the Marsh was the thal-

lowest; where also if one misstepped but a step, he was by and by over Head and Ears, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his Fellows presently holden; yet at length by God's help, having with the loss but of six or seven men, a little before day got over, the Duke by an appointed Sign advertised thereof, with greater Strife and Tumult than at any time before, assailed that side of the City where he lay, as if even then and there he had only meant to have engaged his whole Forces for the winning thereof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruffworm* on the other side with his resolute Soldiers, with Ladders provided for the purpose, scaled the Walls of the Suburbs, and almost unperceived, recovered the top thereof, (the Turks being at the same time wholly bent for the defence of the other side of the City, where most fit and apparent danger was) and so being got into the Suburbs, with a great and terrible Cry assailed the Turks, who, surprised with an exceeding Fear, and not well knowing which way to turn themselves, without any great Resistance fled into the City, the Christians following them at the heels, and making of them a great slaughter. In which so great a confusion, even where was least feared, the Duke by other his Soldiers took the rest of the Suburbs, as he had before determined, the Turks there also for fear forsaking them, and retiring with all the haste they could unto their Fellows in the City, there to live or dye together. The Christians in these Suburbs, besides much other rich Prey, took also fourteen great pieces of Artillery, with good store of Shot and Powder. The Suburbs (the greatest Strength of the City) thus happily taken, the Duke again summoned the City, requiring to have it delivered unto him; whereunto the Turks gave no other Answer but by their Pieces, which they discharged upon the Christians for perwounding them to yield. Whereupon the Duke much displeased, sent them word, That he would find them other manner of Messengers to morrow, and by God's help sup with them in the City, altho he were not unto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his Promise; for the next day, having out of the Suburbs, by the fury of his Artillery, made two fair Breaches in the City, he by the Ruines thereof, with great slaughter of the Enemy, entered the City, albeit that the Turks did what they might to have defended the same, by casting down upon the Christians, as they entered, Darts, Wild-fire, and such like things, usually provided for such purpose. But feeling now no remedy, but that they must needs give place to the fortune of their Enemies, they fled again into their Houses, there to defend themselves, or else to die; many of which Houses they had before of purpose so undermined, as that they could easily overthrow them, and so overwhelm as many as should come within the danger of them. It is a strange a Relocation was by many of them as desperately perished; inasmuch, that the goodly Church, the Palace, with many other sumptuous Buildings, were left unto the Christians all rent and torn, not much better than rude heaps of Rubbish and Stones. However, the Bassa, upon promise of Life, yielded himself, and was by the Soldiers brought unto the Camp; the rest of the Soldiers being (as in such case it commonly happeneth) all or most of them put to the Sword. The greatest part of the Prey fell unto the *Wallons*, who by heaps breaking into the richest Houses, not only took what themselves light upon, but stripped the *German* also of such things as they had by chance gotten, to their great beating and grief: yet these ravenous and irreligious men not to contented, opened the Tombs of the *Hungarian* Kings,

The Suburbs of Alba Regalia besieged by the Lord Ruffworm.

Alba Regalia taken by the Christians.





1601 ple, and fill by them more and more followed; to maintain the reputation of his Credit, came now again this year with a great Power into the Field, to meet with *Mabomet*, the great *Baſſa*, and General of the Turks Army; who, with fifty thousand good Soldiers (a Power thought ſufficient to have rectified him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *ſerviano* joining Batel, in a great Fight cut in under a great part of the *Baſſa's* Army, and ſo became Maſter of the Field, foraged all the Countries adjoining almoſt as far as *Alpeſſo* ſtill calling the People unto Liberty, and cauling them to be proclaimed the true Defender of the *Mabometan* Faith, and of the Liberty of thoſe Countries with him combined; in ſuch fort, as that it now flood the great Turk upon to fend another great Army to the Aid of *Mabomet* the diſcomfited *Baſſa*. With whom alſo, the *ſerviano* (preſuming of his former Fortune) coming to a day of Batel, and overcharged with the multitude of his Enemies, was at the firſt Encounter, with his People, put to the worſte: but forthwith by his good direction having repaired his diſordered Batel, and thereby given as it were new Courage to his fainting Soldiers, he with a great Slaughter diſordered alſo the *Baſſa's* Army. Yet having not any other firm place, they reſt left upon, more than the Favour and Reputation he held with theſe his rebellious Followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to adventure too far (not knowing how preſently to repair his Loſſes) but contenting himſelf with what he had already done, retired with his Army into the ſtrength of the Mountains, there to live upon the Spoil of the Countries adjoining, and the next Year to do more harm than ever he had done before.

The Janizaries in Murdery at Conſtantinople.

Befide all which former Troubles, the Plague alſo this year raged in *Conſtantinople* and many other Places of the Turkiſh Empire. At which time alſo, the Janizaries at *Conſtantinople* having received ſome Diligence by ſome of the Great Sultan's Favourites, and with great Inſolency requiring to have their Heads, cauſed their Aga, well accompanied, preſumptuouſly to enter into the Scraglio to prefer this their Requeſt; whom *Mabomet*, to the terror of the reſt, cauſed for his Preſumption to be taken into the miſſile of the Spahis, and by ſo them to be cut in pieces, which was no done without the great Slaughter of the Spahis themſelves alſo, ſlain by the Janizaries. Whereupon the other Janizaries ariſing up in Arms alſo, and even now ready to have revenged the Death of their Captain, were yet by the Wiſdom of *Casala Baſſa*, beſeeching amongſt them a great Sum of Money, again appeaſed, without farther harm done. Which their ſo great Inſolency *Mabomet* imputing unto their excheſive drinking of Wine, contrary to their Law of the great Prophet; by the perſuaſion of the Muſli, commanded all ſuch as had any Wine in their Houſes in the neceſſity of *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, upon the pain of Death to bring it out and ſell it, except the Ambaſſadors of the Queen's Majesty of England, the French King, and of the State of Venice; ſo that as ſome report, Wine for a ſpace ran down the Channels of the Streets in *Conſtantinople*, as if it had been Water after a great thaw of Rain.

1602 *Siſimouth*, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, now of late again poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania* (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelf of the keeping thereof; for that he, with the *Tranſilvanians* of his Faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſſa*; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new Supplies both of men and all things else neceſſary for the War, from the Emperor, was now with a great Power already entred into *Tranſilvania*;

1602 the *Polonians* buſied in the Wars of *Suevia*, and the Turks with their other greater Affairs, neither of them ſending him their promiſed Aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelf in that neweſs of his Eſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelf every day to loſe one place or other, and fearing alſo left his Soldiers for want of Pay ſhould in ſhew time quite forſake him, and go over to *Baſſa*, he thought it beſt, betimes and whiſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogether become deſperate, otherwiſe to provide for his Eſtate, eſpecially having ſmall Truſt in the Turks, to whom he had been before ſo great an Enemy. Wherefore he dealt with *Baſſa* for a Truce of Callation for ſix Months, until Ambaſſadors might be ſent unto the Emperor, to intreat with him for ſome good Attainment. Wherewith *Baſſa* being content, and the Ambaſſadors ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperor, that *Siſimouth*, to make an end of all theſe Troubles, was contented to beſeek of his Imperial Maſtrey, to reſign unto *Baſſa* his Lieutenant all ſuch places as he yet held in *Tranſilvania*, upon ſuch like Conditions he had about three Years before made with him; and ſo in all, and for all, to ſubmit himſelf unto his Maſtrey. Which intended Surrender of the Prince's being breuted in *Tranſilvania*, *Zachel* *Wiſſer* his Lieutenant (and now in Field with him) (forces) not able to endure or to hear that that noble Province ſhould again fall into the hands of the *Germans*; encouraging his Soldiers, went upon the ſudden to aſſail *Baſſa*, in hope to have found him unprovided, and ſo diſcomfiting his Army, to have driven the Imperials quite out of *Tranſilvania*; but he an old and expert Commander, perceiving the firſt moving of the *Tranſilvanians*, with great Celerity put his Army in good order, and ſo joynted Batel with them; wherein he with the loſs of ſome five hundred men overthrow *Maſſer*, with his Army of *Tranſilvanians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, having ſlain above three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight; *Maſſer* himſelf with ſome few others being now glad to take their Refuge into the Frontiers of the Turks Territories towards *Temeſwar*. But when *Siſimouth* underſtood what his Lieutenant had, without his knowledge, done, he in token of his own Innocency went himſelf unto the Imperial Camp, accompanied only by certain of his Gentlemen, and thereunto *Baſſa* excuſed himſelf of that which was by his Lieutenant againſt his Will, and without his Privy doing, frankly offering to perform whatever was on his part to be performed, according to the Agreement made betwixt the Emperor and him. And ſo preſently calling his Garrisons out of all ſuch ſtrong Places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendered them to *Baſſa*; and ſo forthwith, honourably accompanied, put himſelf upon his way towards the Emperor. After whole Departure out of *Tranſilvania*, all that Province voluntarily, and without more ado, yielded to *Baſſa* as to the Emperor's Lieutenant; who preſently called an Aſſembly of all the Nobility of the Country, taking of them an Oath for their Obedience and Loyalty unto the Emperor. Thus by the Wiſdom and Proweſs of this worthy Commander, is the Country of *Tranſilvania* once again brought under the Emperor's Obedience; a matter of far greater Importance than to have won the ſtrongest City the Turk holdeth in Hungary.

But whiſt theſe things paſſed in *Tranſilvania*, great troubles ariſe in *Valachia* (the Country next adjoining) for that the People of that Province not able longer to endure the great Inſolency of the Turks (who after the Death of *Michael* had by their Power made one *Jeremias* Tyrant there) by a general conſent took up Arms, and pro-

1601 proclaiming one *Radull* (a favorite of the Emperours) Vayvod, chafed *Jeremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the Country; who flying unto *Simon*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, his Friend, by his means, and the help of the Turks, returning unto *Valachia*, drove out thence *Radull* again; who being now at this preſent with *Baſſa*, with about ten thouſand *Valachians*, his Followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that he was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania*) to help him with his Forces for the recovery of *Valachia*. And *Baſſa* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, for the Emperor to have that ſo near a Province to friend, eaſily yielded to his requeſt; and gave him a great Regiment of his old approved Soldiers, and ſo ſent him away to recover his Eſtate: with whom (at his entrance into *Valachia*) the *Moldavians* meeting with a great Power both of his own, and of the Turks, came thither in the favour of *Hieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloody Batel, the glory whereof fell unto *Radull*, he carrying away the Victory. In which Batel, two of the Turks *Baſſes* were there ſlain, with a great number of others, both of the *Moldavians* and *Turks*. After which Victory *Radull* recovered again the Sovereignty of *Valachia*, for which he was beholding to *Baſſa*; and thoſtly after with the ſame Aid cut in pieces a great power of the *Tartars*, that were coming to have aided the *Moldavians*.

Troubles in Hungary.

Now in the mean time in Hungary alſo paſſed many an hot Skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whole Garrisons at *Buda*, and in other places in the lower Hungary, attempting to have ſurprized *Alba-Regalis*, diſcomfited by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, County *Soroc* underſtanding by his Eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred Waggon, with Munition and Victuals, were going to *Caſſia*, upon the ſudden ſet upon them, and having ſlain and put to flight the Convoy that guarded them, carried the Waggon, with all that was in them, away with him. And thoſtly after, the free *Haiducks* of *Comara*, in a great party going out towards *Buda* to ſeek after Booty, and having taken threeſcore Turks Priſoners, and ſo with them about to have returned home; underſtanding by the way, that *Alba-Regalis* the *Baſſa* of *Buda*, and now Governor of *Poſſa*, was with a ſmall retinue about to come down the River *Danubius* from *Buda*, towards *Belgrade*, there to meet the Viſer *Baſſa*, but then coming into Hungary, they flew all the Priſoners, and having got two ſmall Boats, about fifteen miles beneath *Buda*, lay in wait for the *Baſſa*; who, according to their Expectation, coming down the River, was by theſe Adventurers ſuddenly aſſailed, and of his thirty followers having fourteen ſlain, being himſelf alſo ſhot in two places of his Body, was there with a great Booty taken, and ſo brought to *Comara*, and thoſtly after preſented unto *Matthias* the Arch-duke at *Pleſen*, who amongſt other things, certainly enforcing that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great Army by the commandment of the great Sultan *Mabomet*, coming to beſiege *Alba-Regalis*, and that he was now upon his way as far as *Belgrade*; preſently ſent thither the County *Tiſan*, Governor thereof, who with much ado got into the City, the Turks having already taken all the Paſſages, to have hindered the Chriſtians from putting in either Men or Munition, more than was therein already. However, the County now got in there, and being no leſs good Engineer than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the City to labour upon the Rampiers; ſo that beſide the natural Situation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort

Ali Baſſa taken Priſoner.

1601 time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt men's Judgment it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſomeſtime the great *Tis* Butler, but after the taking of *Agria*, made *Baſſa* of *Buda*, which great place he held but three Months, being by the Envy and Ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, removed thence, and made Governor of *Poſſa*; from whence now going down the River to *Belgrade*, it was his Fortune to be thus taken by the *Haiducks*, unto whoſe he offered for his Ranſom three hundred thouſand *Suldanies*; and had with him when he was taken, ſeventy thouſand *Duckats*.

A great Ranſom offered by *Ali Baſſa*.

*Mabomet* the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſs of *Alba-Regalis* (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt year) and now relieved for the recovery of the ſame, to engage, it ſhould need be, a great part of his Forces; had now the lead of an hundred and fifty thouſand troops, to meet at *Hadiplane* for that purpoſe, under the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa*, one of the chief Viſiers, to be ſent into Hungary. Who by the way of *Belgrade* coming to *Buda*, and from thence to *Alba-Regalis*, there the twentieth of Auguſt incamped (as he had oftentimes before threatened) with the multitude of his Tents covering all the Country round about, as if it had been a white Snow; where having well entrenched himſelf, and planted his Artillery, he began a moſt terrible and furious Battery, in ſuch fort as if he had not meant to have made a breach only, but to have beaten the City even from the face of the Earth, which ſeem now to tremble under his feet, and the Clouds to rend with the thundring of his great Ordnance; and for that the Maſſiſh and deep Ditches were a great let unto his Men for to come unto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his Pioneers to be filled up (a work though almoſt impoſſible) and ſo brought on his Men to aſſault the Countercamp, which the Governor had cauſed to be made before the City for better defence thereof; which aſſault coſt him much Blood, by reaſon of the wonderful Valour of the defendants; yet in the end the great number of the Turks prevailing, the Chriſtians were infected to forſake it and retire into the City; but thoſtly after falling out again, they with ſuch force aſſailed the Turks now got within the Countercamp, that having ſlain moſt part of them that were entered, they forced the other out again; at the brute whereof, an alarm being raised throughout the Camp, infinite numbers of the barbarous Enemies came running thither with ſuch ſavage Fury, that without regard of their Lives, they as deſperate men preſſing till on, fell twice as many as before; ſo inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long and bloody fight, and on every ſide charged, or rather overwhelmed with the Enemies force, were glad again, but not without great loſs, to abandon the place. With which ſcramiſhes, and divers others that they had, the number of the Defendants was greatly diminiſhed, to keep a weak City, ſhewing as yet the Ruins of the late Siege, when it was by the Chriſtians won; the breaches thereof being but civil repaired, and the Mines yet gapping, requiring great and ſtrong Fortification to ſold out and endure any long Siege againſt to ſuſtain an Enemy. Yet was not the Courage of the valiant County *Tiſan* the Italian Governor, any whither weakened, but by his Letters gave the Arch-duke *Matthias*, to underſtand in what caſe things flood with them in the City: requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him relief, for that otherwiſe the City, ſo weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the Garrison Soldiers being already ſlain in the defence thereof, and divers of the Hungarians forſaking the Walls, daily flying unto the Turks Camp; promiſing yet nevertheless himſelf to do the

*Alba-Regalis* beſieged by the Turks.

Great Troubles in *Valachia*.





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The City of Pesth taken by the Christians.

gained the Walls, the Turks yet dreaming of no such matter. But hereupon began a terrible Outcry, the Turks standing as men astonished, especially now feeling the Christians Weapons in their Bodies, before they knew they were got into the City. In this great Amaze, such of them as could, fled into the strongell Towers, the rest hid themselves in Cellars and other the most secret corners they could find, out of which they were afterwards by the Christians drawn and slain. They which were retired also into the Towers and other strong places of the City, feeling the great Ordnance bent upon them, and not at all in hope of Relief, offered to yield; requesting only, that they might with their Wives and Children with Life depart; promising for that favour so shewed them, to persuade them of *Buda* also in like manner to yield. Upon which Promise, that their Request was granted, and the Lord *Nadasti* with certain other Captains, sent with some of these Citizens of *Pesth*, with their Wives and Children, to *Buda*; who coming thither, according to their Promise most earnestly requested them of *Buda* to yield, for that they were not now to expect any further help, and that by their foolish Obstinacy they should be the cause of the death of them, their Friends, their Wives, and Children. Unto whom also, to move them the more, the Lord *Nadasti* promised in the Name of General, That they should all, excepting some of their chief Commanders, in safety depart. Howbeit, they of *Buda* would not hearken thereunto, but stood still upon their Guard. In this City of *Pesth*, well inhabited with Turkish Merchants, the Christians found great store of Wealth, which all became a Prey unto the Soldiers, with a thousand Horfes for Service, many great Pieces of Artillery, and much other warlike Provision.

The upper City and Castle of Buda besieged by the Christians.

*Pesth* thus won, and a strong Garrison left therein, they returned again over the River to besiege the Castle and upper City of *Buda*, which they attempted by undermining the same, as also by Battery, having placed some of their great Ordnance so high, that they could at their pleasure foot in to the middle of the Streets of the City; wherefore they much troubled the Turks, not a little before discouraged with the loss of *Pesth*; thundering also at the same time with their other Batteries in divers places of the Walls both of the Castle and of the City. Where understanding that the Turks Garrisons of the frontier Towns and Castles thereabouts (hearing of the Siege) were coming to the relief of their distressed Friends, they sent out their Horsemen, with some part of their Foot-men against them; who meeting with them, gave them a great Overthrow, and so with Victory returned again unto the rest of the Army lying at the Siege, being still in hope either by Force or Composition to become Masters of the City.

But whilst they lay in this hope, and having the twelfth of October brought their Approaches nearer unto the Walls, had their minds altered, notable pieces of Battery, with purpose the next day with all their Power to have assaulted the City; behold, the Vicer Bassa hearing (by the way as he was going to *Belgrade*, and so to *Constantinople*) that the City of *Pesth* was won, and *Buda* besieged, changing his Mind, returned in haste with such Forces as he had yet left, and so unlooked for, came and sat down before *Pesth*, being not then above five and twenty thousand strong, but those all for the most part old and expert Soldiers. But whilst the Bassa thus lay at the Siege of *Pesth* on the one side of the River, and the Imperials at the Siege of *Buda* on the other, divers brave Attempts were in both Places given both on the one side and the other. The Christians in *Pesth*

besieged by the Turks, having amongst them divers brave Captains, and desirous of Honour, one day under their Conduct fell out of the City to skirmish with the Turks; and coming with them to the Sword, by plain Valour disordered them, and incited them to fly, and so allured with the sweetness of the Victory, pursued them even to the Trenches, from whence a great Squadron of the Turks Horse-men and Harquebushers at the same instant issuing out, and with their Multitude overcharging the Imperials, constrained them of force to retire: in which Retreat, County *Mesudmian Martinsengo* (one of these Adventurers) doing what he might, both with his Valour and Direction, to have stayed the disordered Retreat of the Christians, was with many others slain; whereupon the rest discouraged, took their Refuge towards the City. Which they of the Garrison beholding, sent out certain Companies to relieve them; by whose coming out, the fury of the Turks was not only repressed, but they also even unto their Trenches again repulsed. Shortly after which, the Lord *Rusinsheim*, with the other Christian Captains on the other side of the River, having with continual Battery made such a breach into the Castle, as that the same seemed to be now assailable, in good order came on with certain Companies of their Foot-men appointed for that Service, and so courageously assailed the Breach, where the Turks, who before had expected this Assault, having in best fort they could repaired the Breach, and on both sides thereof placed divers murdering Pieces, with great force of dangerous new-work; at such time as the first Companies of the Christians fought courageously to have entered the breach, overwhelmed them with their deadly Fire, and so rent them with their murdering shot, that they no faster entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and slain; with the fight whereof, they which were appointed to second them nothing discouraged, but seeking desperately to have entered, and with the taking of the Castle, and slaughter of the Turks, were themselves in like sort welcomed. So that now a thousand of them being lost, the Captains considering how much the loss of so many brave Soldiers concerned the whole Enterprize taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loss of the greatest part of them, they caused a Retreat to be sounded, and so the Assault for that time to be given over.

But long it was not that the Vicer Bassa (thus retired as aforesaid) had lain before *Pesth*, but that by reason of his sudden Return great Wounds began to arise in his Camp; his Soldiers for want of Food being glad to eat their dead Horfes, a pound of Bread being sold for two Hungarian Dukats, and a bullock of Oats for five, and yet hardly so to be gotten: which Wants in that so wasted a Country still more and more increasing, and many of his Soldiers secretly stealing away from him, he had much ado, by all the means he could use, to persuade them there to stay eight days longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done than some few weak Attempts given, and some light Skirmishes made, rather for Fashions sake than for any hope of prevailing, and the want of all things still increasing; he with the rest of the Commanders, fearing some sudden mischief to be done them by the hungry and discontented Soldiers, the 6. of November, causing his Baggage to be trussed up in the dead time of the dark and silent Night, stole with his Army, and so in haste retired directly to *Belgrade*, leaving behind him his Camp three hundred dead Horfes, not yet eaten by his hunger starved Soldiers. Immediately after whole departure, the Lord *Nadasti*, and some other

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A notable Skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

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other of the Commanders in the Army with 5000 Soldiers and certain great Pieces of Artillery, some by Land, some by Water, went down along the River to *Adom*, a fair well built Town upon the Bank of *Danubius*, about four Hungarian miles from *Buda*, and serving as it were for a Store-house for the Garrison there, which Town *Nadasti* summoned by his *Hajdars* sent before, requiring to have it delivered unto him: which they of the Town at the first refused to do; but afterwards feeling a far greater Power come, provided of great Ordnance and all things else requisite for a Siege, they with the rest of the Garrison, who had before also offered to yield the Town, so that they might with Bag and Baggage in safety depart; which they did, the Christians conducting them as far as *Feldmar*; which Castle was also at the first Summons, by the persuasion of them of *Adom*, delivered unto them; for they of the Castle, by them informed of the great Strength of the Imperials, and of the store of great Ordnance they had brought with them, and that they stood therewith but fast by, were easily persuaded to hearken to their Friends, and so yielded. Which done, the free *Hajdicks* the same night surprised also the Castle of *Pasz*; from whence the Christians still marching on along the River, took in also the City of *Tobols*.

But whilst *Nadasti*, with the rest, were thus busied in taking these Castles and Towns along the South-side of *Danubius*, they in the Camp at *Buda* were advertised of the new Designs of the Turks Lieutenants and Captains thereabout, for the relief of the Besieged; as that the Bassa of *Bispha*, with the Governor of *Seged*, and others, had assembled an Army of thirty thousand for the raising of the Siege. Wherefore the Christians doubting as they lay at the Siege disposed, to be by them oppressed; leaving their Tents in their Trenches, gathered themselves together in the Water-City; which the Turks out of the upper City quickly perceiving, as feeling themselves now at some more liberty, presently falling out, took both the Trenches and the Tents to fill, with no small laughter of such as were left for the keeping of them; and so possessed of the Trenches and the Tents, held them by the space of two hours, until they were by strong hand by the Christians beaten out, so with some loss enforced again to retire into the City. The Lord *Nadasti* also, with the rest that had taken the aforesaid Castles and Towns upon the side of *Danubius*, making a Road towards *Alba Regalis*, in their Return within a mile of *Buda*, light upon a thousand Turks there gathered together, most part of whom they flew; and having put the rest to flight, took some fifty of them Prisoners. At which time also another of the Imperial Colonells meeting with certain other Companies of the Turks coming to the relief of the besieged, not far from *Buda*, flew most part of them, took an hundred and threecore of them Prisoners, with a number of their other rich Booty, all which he afterwards brought into the Camp. Neither were they at the Siege in the mean time idle, their great Artillery still thundering against the Walls both of the Castle and the City: so that by the fury of the Cannon having beaten down a strong Tower next unto the *Danubius*, not far from the Kings Stable, they were a little before Night about to have there entered, when suddenly flew a Tempest of Wind and Rain arise, as that they could not possibly use their Pieces, or well any other Weapon; so that the Heavens as it were then fighting for the Enemy, they were enforced for that time to give over the Assault before. Which Storm was no sooner ended, but that two thousand of the Turks, both Horse and Foot, to keep the Christians otherwise busied, suddenly issuing out of the City, charged upon

The Vicer Bassa rallied his Soldiers.

on the *Sirian* Horse-men; who presently relieved by the men at Arms, so welcomed them, that having lost an hundred and threecore of their men, they were glad with more speed to retire than they came out. But feeling some of the Christians that so busily pursued them, some slain, and some hurt from the Walls, talking heart again, the next day (being the Eleventh of November) they fell out again; where about that a great number of them were slain, yet fell they out again the third day also, and were again by the County *Thorne*, with great loss of their men, beaten back the City; where in pursuing of them, the Christians were by certain Janissaries (hid close for that purpose) suddenly assailed and dangerously galled, the County himself being hurt in his left Arm, and some other Captains slain. In all which Salies, although the Turks were still put to the worse, yet thereby they gained time in some good sort to repair again their Breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the Siege, certainly informed that a world of the fierce and rude *Tartars*, by the Incitement of the Turk, (having made themselves way through *Valachia*) were coming as far as *Temsevar* to relieve *Buda*; thought it not best (especially now that Winter was come) to abide the coming of that so great a Northern Tempest, but betimes, whilst they had yet space, to raise their Siege and be gone; which they did the sixteenth of November, leaving the Water-City, with all that they had got about *Buda*, again unto the Enemy; only *Pesth* they furnished with Victuals and all things else necessary, for the defence thereof, and left the Garrison, for the defence thereof, against the barbarous Enemy. As for *Adom*, it was strengthened with a Garrison of Hungarians only, with their Wages offered to be paid before-hand; which for all that, they refused to accept; alledging, that for the great danger this Place was exposed to above others, they could not safely take their Oath for the defence thereof; yet offering wishal, to undertake the Charge, and to do what befamed valiant Soldiers, in such sort, as that all men should well understand, that nothing evil should happen thereunto their default or negligence.

The Siege of *Buda*, for fear of the *Tartars*, thus given over, and the Imperials departed and gone, the Turks forthwith came down out of the higher City into the lower, declaring their Joy for the recovery thereof, by the often thundering of their great Ordnance, with divers other Signs of Triumph. But whilst in their Jollity they spared not by the mouth of the Cannon to send commendation to them of *Pesth*, they themselves again received the like; but in such rude manner, that the Turks, wearied with such Greetings, requested them to spare their Shot and Powder, and quietly to live by them as became Neighbours for that Winter until the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this Strife should be ended by their Impetuous, the weaker yielding not the stronger either the one or the other City. Yet for all this their great Joy, their cheer in *Buda* was not great, Victuals by this Siege being come to scarce, that it was by the Turks feared, that if the Christians had there longer lain, they should for very want have been enforced to have yielded the City: of which their need their Friends were able for having made what Provision they were able for their Relief, were with a great Convoy bringing the same towards *Buda*; whereof the Garrisons of *Komar* and *Strigonium* having Intelligence, went presently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid-way betwixt *Alba Regalis* and *Buda*, overthrew the Convoy, and carried away all that Provision of Victuals; like unbidden Guests making them

The Siege of Buda, for fear of the Tartars given over by the Christians.

Uuuuuu lyes



1602

Mahomet much troubled with the Strians.

selves merry with that which was never provided for them.

These doubtful Wars of Hungary, with the general Revolt of Transylvania, much troubled Mahomet the great Sultan; but nothing like unto the Wars he had in Asia against the Strians and the Rebels his Followers; the evil Success whereof (as most dangerous to his State) so much threatened his haughty mind, as that it would scarce suffer him to think of any thing else. For the Rebel, encouraged with the success of his last years Wars, and still growing stronger and stronger, by reason of the great number which, allured with the sweet name of Liberty, hope of Prey, or the good Entertainment by him given, daily more and more resorted unto his Camp) had this Year over-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in Asia, putting all to Fire and Sword that stood in his way, ransacking also divers walled and fenced Cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more easily do, for that the Janizaries of Aleppo and Damascus, with many other their Parakees and Favourites, which might greatly have hindered his Proceedings, were at the same time also up in Arms, and together by the Fists amongst themselves, to the great benefit of the Strians; who, in the midst of the course of these his desired Fortunes, fell sick of a natural Disease, and so died. By whose Death the Rebellion was no whit appeased, (as commonly in like case it falleth out, and was then of many expected) but in short time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before.

The Death of the Strians.

The Strians' youngest Brother takes upon him the leading of the Rebels in his Brother's stead.

Hajjan Bassa is slain and his Army overthrown by the Rebels.

Wars his Brother had before him taken in hand. Against whom Hajjan Bassa, by Commandment from the Grand Seignior, sent an Army, hoping to have oppressed him, and so to have quenched that fire at length met with him, that was easy enough to be found, and joyning Battle with him, was by him in a great and bloody Fight overthrown and slain, together with his whole Army, except such as by speedy flight saved themselves from the fury of their fierce Enemies. So that Mahomet the Great Sultan, now informed to employ his best Commanders and Soldiers into those parts for the subduing of him, for that cause called Mahomet the Vifier Bassa out of Hungary to serve against this new Rebel; who in the mean time following the course of his Victory made havock of all as he went, taking upon his own title all such Tributes as was in those Countries, and others also farther off, due unto the great Sultan; having at last exacted only of the City of Ancyra and the Country thereabout, 3000000 Ducats; so by exacting of great sums of Money from the Country People (such as he by his Enemies had upon great Treaties for the maintenance of his Wars.

Now, the Mahomet the Turkish Emperor had called home Mahomet the Vifier Bassa out of Hungary, to go against the Rebels in Asia, (as is aforesaid) yet had he before provided, that for the better advantage of his Towns and Territories in Hungary, the Tatar Han with a great number of his Cossacks should even against that time come down into that Country. Which rough and needy People, dwelling near unto the Fens of Meotis, for Pay or Prey always ready to do the Ottoman Empires Service, feting forward under the leading of their great Han himself, and of his two Sons, and by plain force breaking through the Turkish Army, and without great loss to their men (being fought with by the Palachians and free Haiducks a whole day) were now in the latter end of December with

their huge Companies come into Hungary; the Han himself with forty thousand to *Quisque Ecclia*, and his Sons with twenty thousand more into *Pellege* (a fertile Country lying between the great Rivers *Sauus* and *Dravus*) where they spoiled all as well the Turks as the other poor Christians, pretending all that frontier Country, with the whole Command thereof, to be given unto them by Mahomet the Turkish Emperor, in reward of their good Service. But long they lay not there quiet, but that, to them for what they thought they owed the Christians thereabout to *visual Canisla* for the Turks; and so breaking into *Stiria*, not far from *Caramant* (the nearest Fortresses of the Christians towards *Canisla*) carried away above two thousand Christians Captives; and shortly after surpassing *Reschmet*, a great and populous Town, flew most part of the Inhabitants, and carried away the rest Prisoners. Other some of them also at the same time making an Inroad to *Szarvar*, and having burnt twenty Villages down to the ground, carried away thence about a thousand Souls into most miserable Captivity and Thralldom. They also at their first coming relieved them of *Buda*, the Lord *Nadasti* with his *Hussars*, who before kept them from *Visuals*, not being able for the great number of them, now longer to do. By them also the Turks encouraged, took and burnt certain places possessed by the Christians near unto *Buda*, putting them all to the Sword that they found therein. So that the poor puny of Hungary (never to be sufficiently pitied) with the rest of the Countries and Provinces belonging unto the House of *Austria*, and confining upon the Turk, were not so much ealed by the calling home of the Vifier Bassa with his Army, as they were now annoyed by the coming of these rough *Tatars*, a People wholly, even from their Infancy, given to the spoil. Against whom, at that time, the Christians, beside their ordinary Garrisons, began now, even in the depth of Winter, to oppose some other of their Forces also; the Palatine of *Rhine* sending ten Companies of Horse-men to *Poffonim*, from thence to be sent to *Szarvar* for the defence of *Stiria*; and *Calanite* (but lately knighted by the Emperor) for his part raising four hundred Horse, a thousand *Hussars*, and three thousand of the free *Haiducks*, for the repelling of those *Tatars*; the Duke of *Branswick* also at that time, for the same Service, sending thither a thousand Horse, with two thousand Foot, against those sworn Enemies of the Christian Religion.

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The Troubles of this Year thus overpast, *Alba Regali* being by the Christians lost, *Pelb* with several other Places won, *Transylvania* recovered, *Buda* besieged, the Vifier Bassa returned, and the *Tatars* came into Hungary, January with a sharp Frost began to open the next Year; by force whereof, the Rivers in many places, but especially the more easterly Countries, were not only frozen over, but firmed rather even wholly turned into Ice; *Danubius*, that great River (for all his swift course) being then also (as it is often) so hard frozen, that Men and Carts might safely pass to and fro thereupon. Which so hard a Season for all that did no whit freeze, but rather encrease the hot desires of the greedy Turks, still breathing after the utter Spoil and Ruine of the Christians dwelling near unto them. For which purpose, they even in this dead time of the Year, and extremity of Nature (which commonly affordeth unto most mortal Enemies a Cessation from Arms) out of their Garrisons of *Sigeth*, *Buda*, *Canisla*, *Alba Regali*, *Babors*, and such other Places, raised an Army of eighteen thousand strong, to have foraged and over-run the Christians, with their Territories confining upon them; *Quermany*, with the Coun-

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Calanite in Arms against the Turks.

Country thereabout, being the Places by them assigned to have felt the first force of their Insults and rage. Of which their Designs, *Calanite*, Governour for the Emperor in those Parts, understanding; to prevent the fame, and to meet with their Forces, with all speed put into the Suburbs of *Quermany* a thousand *Reitters*, and two thousand *Landknights*; and in the Burroughs thereof laded the Regiment of the Country *Reingrave*, with six Companies of the *Cossacks*, four thousand *Haiducks*, four hundred Carabins, French, and *Wallons*, two hundred Horse of the Regiment of *Calanite*; with whom was *Calanite* himself, commanding over all these Troops a man for his Worth every way answerable unto his charge. Who, for the more assurance of this Country, over which the Enemy now hovered, commanded all the Inhabitants thereabout to take up Arms; and withal, with good and strong Barriadoes to strengthen the ways, and stop up the Passages into their Country, which they right cheerfully performed, with their Weapons in one hand, and their Spades and Shovels in the other. Of which their so great Resolution the Turks understanding, changed their purpose. For they considering the assured danger they were to undergo, in forcing of these Troops, standing upon the Walls of their Defence, and frong in their Resolution, changed their former design, for the invading of *Quermany*, (where they for the space of five Weeks together had by the Christians been expected) and upon a new Resolution marched along by *Roguesburg*, with purpose to have loaded themselves with the Spoil of the Country thereabout. Which their new Design, caused *Calanite* to gather together his Forces to crook and frustrate them therein; which he did by favour of the River, which both strengthened him against their Incursions, and was well to be defended. But the Turks, whose Purpose was not to fight, but to have robbed and spoiled the Country at their Pleasure, finding now, contrary to their Expectation, such strong Resistance, and their Designs disturbed, in fine, gave over the Enterprize, and so again retired; contenting themselves to gather a Convoy of *Visuals* to put into *Canisla*, which then lay in great extremity for want thereof. Which *Visuals* they drew out of the Villages thereabout, and so came to *Babors*, to march to *Canisla*, a Town most commodious for such an Assembly, and for the relieving of *Canisla*. Of this their purpose *Calanite* (who parted for no cost) by his Elipsals advertised, even he which before was appointed as a Prey unto his Enemies, began now to plot with himself, that they should become a Prey unto him: their Cowardice, by so many precedent Effects declared, had given him the means to adventure upon them, and the hope to overthrow them. A necessary Consideration in Martial Affairs, for Commanders to put in execution their Designs, at what price soever; for that it is better to lose in the performance of them, with the preservation of their Reputation, than otherwise to gain with the loss thereof; for that it preserved, still striketh a fear of their Valour into the minds of their Enemies, oftentimes overcome even with this their apprehension thereof; whereas otherwise they might happily overcome, in the assurance by them conceived of their Enemies Cowardice.

The Turcs for the first time cowardly retire.

Calanite lies in Ambush for the Turks.

Upon which Resolution, this brave Colonel, the four and twentieth of March with his Troops marched towards little *Komara*, about two Leagues from *Canisla*, and lay with them close in Ambush in the Woods near unto two Marbles, over which the Turks had made two Bridges to pass the great Artillery and Waggonage upon; the Turks being well near 20000 strong, and our men but 8200,

whereof there were 2200 Horse-men, and 6000 Foot, a small number in comparison of their Enemies. But whilst that rion stood, he this close in Ambush, with a purpose to do some notable Exploit, let us in the mean time run to *Pelb*, to see what there in the mean time passed.

The Turks, after the loss of *Pelb*, much grieved to have this Impulse so near their Hearts, fought to break it to our hurt, employing all their Treachery to gain our Garrison, and with their Forces to dislodge them of *Visuals*. And this Christian Army was no sooner risen from before *Buda*, but that the Turks came down again into their base Town, which they found much ruined and in evil estate. But the joy of their Conquest buried in it all the object of their Sorrow, and the feeling of their Grief; the lesser Passions always giving place unto the greater, and Sorrow finding no place at all in the midst of their immoderate Joy. Whereof they gave a number of Testimonies, by the thundring of their great Ordnance, by Fires of Joy and Volleys of small Shot; all which their fury, they discharged upon them of *Pelb*; who with the like countenance required them, sending them back again Bullets for Bullets. Which now became a common Exercise among the Canoneers, passing the time in these Actions, more upon a bravery than to any purpose, small harm being done thereby either on the one side or on the other: in such sort, that in the end the Turks, better advised, requested our men to cease from such shooting, as they on their part would do like wise, and to expect the end of the Negotiation of Peace, of a certain begun (as they said) betwixt their Princes; but meaning indeed by this means to spare their Powder, Shot, and Pains, and to reserve them to their better use.

And yet for all this triumphant Joy, the Turks in *Buda* were in great want of *Visuals*, the late Siege having devoured all their Provisions, and no new supply thereof as yet come unto them; in which, that their greatness care was now how to come by *Visuals*, without which they must needs forsake their City. Of which their so great necessity, the other Garrisons in the places thereabout advertised, assembled themselves to take order therefore, and having provided 200 Waggones, loaded with all manner of necessary Provisions at *Alba Regali*, with a Convoy of 6000 Soldiers, put themselves upon the way toward *Buda*. Of all which their Proceedings the Garrison of *Strigonia* having got understanding, and joyning unto all having got the Garrison of *Komara*, met with them upon the way between *Alba Regali* and *Buda*, and charged them; and so with great confidence on both sides came to handy blows, the Turks being in number stronger, and our men in Valour and resolution; the Waggoners in the mean time standing still, as the motive of the Charge, and appointed for a Prey unto the Victors. But our Horse-men, being for the most part *Hussars*, well acquainted with such charge, with their divers Counters greatly troubled the Enemies, our Foot-men in the mean time charging them also with a number of the same Arms, and like Courage defending themselves, and many of them being slain, and the Waggoners gained from them, gave place unto their Valour, and so were almost all cut in pieces. The Waggoners thus surprised, were divided as a rich Booty among the Victors; forty whereof were sent unto the Garrison at *Pelb*; who were well content that the Enemies Travel and Wealth had been gathered for their good, and without their own Pains to place themselves with the fruit of their Enemies Labours. But what should we say? The most true Resolutions are sometimes by Chances crossed, and Tem-

The Turcs carrying a Convoy of Visuals to Buda overthrown by the Christians.

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pests otherwhilse overtake us, even in the entrance of the desired River. The Turks of *Buda*, understanding of the brute of this medley, and that it was for their Bread, posited in haste to have succoured their Troops, and arrived at the same time that our men victoriously led along by the River of *Danubius* the Waggon they had before gained. At the sight of which Object, they, animated with the hunger after the *Viduals*, and with desire to be revenged upon the men, charged them. But our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious, and Possessors of their Enemies Booty, seeing these new-come Enemies so furiously to charge them, daunted with the presence of all, and with the consideration thereof only posited, but thought themselves of nothing else, but how to save themselves, and to leave their Honour, Booty, and the Field, all as Spoils unto their Enemies. The furious Countenance of the Turks, and their number mounting ours by 1500, so bereft them of their resolution for to fight for their Lives and forsake them, accounting themselves happy enough if they might but save themselves. And the Turks without farther pushing of them, contented to have recovered their *Viduals*, left them, and so returned homeward, driving their Waggon along the Bank of *Danubius*. But see the Wind, which by and by changed, and having the River in sudden Tempest undertaken even at the entrance of the Port to swallow up both the one and the other, sent the Garrison of *Pesth* upon them of *Buda*, to slay them. Great changes of Fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh Men with fables, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their expectation. These Turks, slaying upon their Return by the coming of these new-come Adversaries, did even as ours had done before. For, not willing to prefer their Goods before their Life, and more greedy of *Vidual* than of *Battel*, they quitted their prize, and retired. For our men, in number two thousand, were seized of a Forest about the midst of the way whereby the Turks were to pass, and which they could by no means shun; and, divided into two Companies, kept themselves close there in Ambush, resolutely attending for the coming of their Enemies. Of which their Purpose the Turks not aware, and still pressing on forward, found themselves hardly charged, and recovered from them they were so hardly charged, one of our Companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks, indolent betwixt them, and in so great and sudden a fear not knowing against whom to defend themselves, without any great Resistance betook themselves to flight, leaving their Waggon, and calling away the *Arms*; yea so, that a number of them were left dead upon the place, some others of them taken Prisoners, and the rest chased even unto the Gates of their City. But our men being *Victors*, with the Waggon, and a number of Prisoners, returned home, and by the mouth of their great Artillery gave a thousand Testimonies to their Victory unto the fortifical Cowards: who themselves also carried the heavy *Nessus* thereof unto the rest of their Fellows that up within the City of *Buda*.

But see again the change of Fortune, constant only in Unconstancy, as the Sequel shortly after shewed. *Danubius*, that great River, was then also (as is often) so hard frozen, that Men and Carts might now safely pass to and fro thereupon. In which so hard season, the Turks in Garrison at *Buda*, having once upon the frozen River braved the Christians in *Pesth*, and the two and twentieth of *January* in like bravery coming out the second time, were by the Garrison Soldiers of *Pesth* put to flight, and by two hundred of the most forward

and valiant Soldiers hardly pursued; upon whom, not only they which fled, but others of the Turks also out of *Buda* in greater number returning, chased them likewise back again even to the Bridge, whereby they were to have passed into the City; which now drawn up for fear of great harm from such a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to have entered at the heels of the flying Soldiers, the poor Souls so flurried out, and too weak for such a multitude as then had them in chase, were there even in their Friends fight every man slain, the Turks themselves with little harm returning to *Buda*.

Neither long lasted the joy of this Victory; for within a few days after, one *Lentow*, a Captain of the Christian Garrison in *Pesth*, more grieved than the rest with the loss of so many valiant men, and some of them his Friends and Companions also; certainly understanding that certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, with two of their greatest Commanders, and a great Train of gallant Gentlemen, were, for their Pleasure, the next day about to go unto the hot Baths near unto *Buda*, and taking with him threefold Musketeers, the Night before secretly upon the Ice passed over the River, and so not far from the Baths lay close in Ambush, expecting the coming of their desired Prey. In which Expectance they lay not long, but these Turks, who were then in the Baths, as if they could have willed, and in those pleasant Baths merrily bathed and laced themselves: Fools to seek after the Pleasures of Peace amidst the Gulf of the mileries of War, and evil advised to assure themselves of fair Weather in a Storm so near at hand. For in the midst of all their Delights these resolute men came suddenly upon them, not fearing any such danger, and slew all the men, sparing none but one Boy and the Gentlemen; who in the time of the Conflict, naked as they were, ran as fast as they could into the City, Fear having in them overcome the modesty of their Sex. Which Exploit done, the Captain, leaving the Turks slain in the Bath (now become red with their Blood) returned with his Soldiers, laden with the rich Booty, and merrily sporting at the naked Gentlemen: with whose fearful Cry they of *Buda* stirred up, sent out certain of their Garrison after them, but to no purpose; for why, they were in safety before got home. By continuance of this Frost, by reason whereof the Turks could not pass down the River, the Soldiers in Garrison at *Pesth* were driven to fight wants, as that Dogs and Cats were accounted good meat among them; the Turks their Enemies still roaming about in the Fields to keep them from *Viduals*, and to increase their Need.

Of these Necessities the Turks of *Buda* were Partakers also, hunger-starved as were the other, but yet every day in the field to seek relief. They knew right well, that Hunger was hard to be deceived, being still in Action and vigilant: and therefore they sought some means how to deceive our men, fill attending upon them, and so to assure themselves of *Viduals*. To which end they gave it out, and made these as if they would have besieged the Fort of *Adom*, distant about two Leagues from *Buda*: Under the colour whereof, they received into their City a Convoy of fifty Waggon laden with *Viduals* and Munition; which our men hindered not, for that they had no suspicion of any such purpose of theirs. With which Relief the Turks encouraged, gave knowledge thereof unto their overthwart Neighbours in *Pesth* by a thousand great Shot, which they in thundering manner sent over the River unto them, as from men of Courage, and devoid of fear. Howbeit, that this Action was more vain than

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The Garrison Soldiers of *Pesth* overthrown by the Turks of *Buda*.

The Turks in bathing themselves at *Buda* by them of *Pesth* surprised and slain.

Great want of *Viduals* in *Pesth*.

*Buda* visited.

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The Turks forced to forsake *Palotta*, themselves overthrown.

profitable unto the Turks, who, for the dilpence of their Shot and Powder, gained not so much as the Life of one Soldier, nor one Stone out of the Walls of *Pesth*. Upon this Jollity, these false Garrison Soldiers of *Buda* shortly after thought to have upon the sudden surprised *Palotta*, a small Castle of the Christians, by Night, but being in good time discovered, were deceived of their hope, and were the Life of an hundred men, and their men, informed to retire; unto whom *Gaspar Hornad*, Captain of the Castle, by a Country *Picant*, before sworn to do the Errand, sent a little Pot full of Salt, and a Bottle of Wine, willing them (in derision) with that Salt to season the Venison they had taken in their late Conquest, and to empty that Bottle to quench their thirst, and to cheer them up after their late Laufeg.

This Jeer more provoked these Enemies, galled so to hear of their shame and loss in such sort, that in revenge thereof, they discharged a shower of thundering great shot and small Bullets upon the Garrison of *Pesth*, which in great abundance fell out of the Cloud of their Range. But all to small purpose; for that their Cannons being evil cased, overthrew the Town, carrying with their thundering Bullets more fear than they did hurt; yea, that woe was the Ruin made by their great Battery fell upon their own City. For while they were thus thundering, Fire, by Negligence of the Canoners, fell into one of the Towers of *Palotta*, which was a thing hold of another, and so running along, as if it had been by a Train of purpose laid, burnt out with such force, that it overthrew a long piece of the Wall of *Buda*, which in the fall thereof overwhelmed a great number of the Soldiers near unto it. The noise of this Thunder-clap was great, and the force thereof terrible, so that it revived them of *Pesth* with some good hope, by this Breach to force the Place, the Turks being from thence retired. Upon which Occasion, the Governour of *Pesth* resolved to give an assault unto the Place, and to make use of the means that Fortune, without his Pain or Travail, had put into his hand. Whereupon, taking with him a thousand *Almaines*, and three hundred *Hungarians*, he forthwith (in hope of good Success) marched toward the Breach; and happily had prevailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a Company of Turks, who gave an Alarm unto them of the upper Town, who upon that the approach, manned their Walls, and with great speed repaired the Breach. Now all that they of *Pesth* could do, was to revenge themselves upon these Turks whom they had met withal, upon which there all slain, except some few, whom they saved, and carried Prisoners to *Pesth*, to be by them instructed of the Enemies Affairs.

About this time, *Radul Vayvod* of *Valachia* advertised, that the Turks in Garrison at *Silistria* were gone abroad into the Country to seek after Booty and *Viduals*, with his Soldiers passed forthwith over the River *Danubius* upon the Ice, to surprise the Town, now barred of the Garrison; whose men, for the desire of the Riches of the place, and for fear left the Garrison Soldiers should return before they had gained the place, with redoubled Force and Courage so assailed the Town, that the Turks dismayed, and deeming the number of the Christians that so furiously assailed them to be greater than indeed it was, by reason of the greatness of the Enterprise by them taken in hand, after some small resistance, left the way open for them to enter; who forthwith over the dead Bodies of their Enemies thrust into the Town, took the whole spoil thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a Town well peopled) and so let fire upon it, to the intent that it should no more

serve for a place for the Enemy to retire unto. This *Vayvod* thus victorious and rich, returned with his Soldiers laden with Spoils of their Enemies, before that the Turks could gather themselves together to hinder their retreat. About unto *George Bajla*, who was then in *Transylvania* in Arms against the Turks, for his part of the Booty he sent him thirteen of the Enemies Ensigns.

But our Troops are now too long in their Ambush, where the valiant *Calovite* holdeth them close, attending the coming of the Turks, and of their Convoy to *Canisla*; now we must draw them out of their Sentinels, and see what Effects their Designs shall bring forth. These brave Soldiers had now lain three days in their Ambushes without discovering of any Enemy, until that the fixth of *March* three Ensigns fell into their Hands, whom the Turks had sent forth before, to discover what the Enemies were then abroad in the field. But these faithful Infidels so taken, would not by any means discover any thing hurtful unto their Friends, or profitable for ours; So that in fine, the General, moved with their Obstinacy, commanded one of their Heads to be struck off, to terrify the other two, and by force to draw from them that which fair Intreaty and Persuasion could not. The other two that were yet alive dismayed with this Spectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at last constrained to confess, that they were the Enemies sent forth to view the Country, to see if the Christians had any force there, able to let their Cannons and Wagons to enter into *Canisla*; which not appearing, and they reporting unto their Companions, that the Country was clear, that then within two days after the Convoy was to pass even by the same place where they then lay, to be put before day. Our men thus informed of the Enemies Designs, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired themselves into their Ambushes, attending for their hoped Prey, in such sort, that our men in their Conceits held the Victory now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter was, that within two hours after the taking of these Spies, the *Haiducks* layed without the principal Ambushado, and hidden in the thickets and bushes, discovered a Corner of Horsemen, with five Ensigns of the Turks, come out of *Canisla*, marching to meet with the Convoy, in safety to conduct the same into the Town. At which overture the *Hungarians* awaked, gave knowledge unto the General of the arrival of the Enemy; to the end he might resolve what was best in that case to be done. Which Opportunity *Calovite* embracing, and making much of time, put his Horsemen in good order, to inclose the Turks between the Marsh and the Wood, and to cut them off in inclosed in pieces. The Turks having discovered nothing but the Marshes and the Woods, held on their way, and so as men having their Hands and Feet bound, fell into the Power of their Enemies. For being come into the danger, the Christian *Carabins* charged them into the head of their Companies as they marched, and disordered them; The *Hungarians* fell upon their flanks, which they opened; and the Horse-men pressed them at their backs. These poor miserable men so inclosed, not knowing against whom first to defend themselves, and seeing death upon every side of them, became as beasts to be sacrificed unto the fury of the Christians. The small resistance that they made delivered not the name of a fight, being all slain, and having themselves not slain one man; layed by heaps upon another, not having overthrowen so much as one of their Enemies; in such sort, that of six hundred men that were there

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Three of the Turks Spies taken.

The Turks by *Calovite* overthrown.

The Convoy of *Viduals* again recovered from the Christians by the Garrison of *Buda*.

The same Convoy of *Viduals* recovered from the Turks by the Garrison of *Pesth*.

*Silistria* spoiled by the *Vayvod* of *Valachia*.

1603 there together, there were not four of them saved. Their Horsemen which followed them, seeing them surprised, instead of relieving them, shamefully fled; and thinking by flight to save themselves, whilst that their Companions were in mauling, preferred their Lives before their Honour: For it be a shame for Soldiers in flight to flee with the safety of their Friends, it must needs be an irreparable dishonour to flee and leave them to the slaughter. But our *Carahins*, taking the occasion for their Advantage, no more spared their Horses in the pursuit of these Infidels, than they had done their Hands in the defeating of their Fellows; but pursuing against their Fugitives, slew a number of such of them as were well mounted, and pursued the rest even to the Gates of *Camissa*. Those of the Town at this Tumult raised an Alarm, shot off their great Artillery, and discharged many Volleys of small shot against our men, as well to stay the pursuit of our men, and to save their own, as to give warning unto them that were to bring the Convoy, that our men were in the Field, ready to surprise them. But during this fight, three of the Turks Horsemen falling well mounted, and exceeding hardy, adventurous to pass by our Troops, and upon the four to men with them which were bringing of the Convoy, and to give them warning of the overthrow, and that they should again return to *Babaz*. Which they for brave an attempt Fortune favoured, as not willing to frustrate the defect of so well deserving Valour. And the Turks upon the way with the Convoy, now upon this Advertisement returned, and retired themselves again into the Castle from whence they came.

But our men, advertised of this their retreat, and as it were deceived of the hope by them conceived for the intercepting of the Convoy, undertook an exploit much more haughty, brave, and dangerous: for forthwith they made head toward *Babaz*, with a Resolution to carry the place; and though they were almost sixteen miles from it, yet they resolved to go thither, and to make themselves Masters thereof. And so marching cheerfully on, therein used such diligence, that about nine of the Clock at night they arrived at the place; whither they were no sooner come, but that they did what they might to damn their Enemies, to strike up their Drums, to remove their Artillery, to rattle with their Arms, to keep a fire with their Souldiers, and to make the noise, not of a small, but of a puissant and great Army. But the Turks, in number twice so many as were our men, and within a good and strong place, were not with such a brute to be carried away, but standing fast upon their Guard and Resolution, prepared themselves for fight, and how to receive our men, if they should attempt to assault them. Now whilst the Alarm thus sounded, our Companions advanced themselves, repeating oftentimes the name of *Tejus*, and making themselves ready for to fight. This Skirmish began with a thousand Cannon Thumps, which the Turks cast, and their Souldiers fill playing from the Curtain of their Walls, so that the Castle seemed as if it had been a Mountain of Fire. All which Terrors no whit stayed the hope of our resolute Foot-men, who passing thwart their flaming Thawes, marched along the counter-scarp of the Ditch toward the Gate of the Town, to have broken open and forced the same. The

1603 Turks at the same time were come forth out of the Town, making their assault as if they would have fallen forth upon our men, and have fought with them. But at the same instant that they charged the front of our Foot-men, they were by them fo encountered and beaten back, that having lost some of their men, they were glad again to retire into the Town; where they did their endeavour to defend themselves, not daring afterward to fight without the Favour of their Walls; within which it stood them upon to have both Courage and Power, being still furiously assailed by our men, who, planted upon the Town Ditch, with their Muskets and Harquebuses fo played the Turks upon their Walls, and in their holes, as that they durst not show themselves, or look out for the showers of Lead which they thundered upon them. And assuredly, if our men had then had Instruments wherewith to have opened the Gates or the Walls, as well as their Muskets and Harquebuses, had made a breach into the Resolution of the Turks, the Town had undoubtedly been ours; but this design being not before foreseen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in Execution; so that, for want of Petards and of scaling Ladders, the place remained still the Turks, and saved it self out of our hands. In fine, our men having been four hours in fight before it, both doing and receiving harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were informed to found a retreat, and to leave it.

In which retreat, the Christians burnt certain Villages of the Enemies, rather to show that they had been there, than for any their Valour therein; seeing that things infensible, which follow the order of their Nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them without reason. This done, they of purpose retired to little *Comara*; for the long time they had kept the field, the divers Exploits by them done against the Enemies, and the common report of the vanquished, had stirred up the Enemies, so that they began now on every side by heaps to flock together to swallow them up, and even now pressed upon their retreat. So *Colonnas*, in despite of the Enemy, in safety brought back his Souldiers; and being entered into *Comara*, caused the Heads of the principal of the slain Enemies to be set upon the Pikes of the Palliades, and upon a great Pine-tree standing before the Town, for this purpose, had almost all the Branches lopped off. An action learned from the Cruelty of the Turks, and now done by the Christians, more to astonish and deter them from this their cruel Custom, than for any Glory or Profit ensuing thereby; seeing that to tyrannize upon a dead body, is but a sign of Cowardice, and an Action altogether unprofitable.

This done, our men departed from this Castle, as men worn, and almost spent with Travel and Weariness, but yet more with Famine. For why, they, thinking to have executed but that design which had put them in Arms, and that in so short a time also, had taken no Provision of Victuals, with them; so that they were all pined with Hunger, overcome with Watching, and half dead with Labour. Their Horses also in like sort languished, the Country being alike cruel both to the one and to the other. For beside that it was unfruitful for such as held the field (all the Fruits thereof being gathered together and carried into the Town by the Men of War) it was not possible for our men to forage, or to seek for Victual there, and to come to an happy end of their design, for that they had raised an alarm abroad in the Country, and fo perhaps might themselves have become a Prey unto them, whom they ought to prey upon. Which was the cause that our Souldiers had for the space

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The notable Resolution of *Colonnas*.

1603 of three days eaten nothing but Crabs and Acorns, which they found in the Woods which covered their Ambushes; so that being now come into this Castle, they devoured a world of Victuals, and requested every one of them to return again unto their Garrisons; their Bodies weakened with Hunger, being scarce able to bear their Arms. But that was not all; for departing from little *Comara*, they were advertised, that the Turks shut up the ways whereby they were to make their retreat home; in hope easily to overcome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the Bodies which travel already had spent. However, the great Courage of our men frustrated this the Enemies Design, and saved themselves. But so far off was it that this Advertisement dismayed *Colonnas*, that even to the contrary it the more increased his Courage, as appointed for his Glory; being glad to have such an occasion offered him for the showing of his Valour, although it were through the midst of Danger, Death, and Slaughter. So that instead of flinching the Combat, whereas it was reported, that the Turks with great assurance marched near unto a Castle of the Christians, to make head upon a Passage whereby our men were to retire; he turned head toward the same place, with a firm Resolution, with true Valour upon the sudden to encounter the Enemy, which had thought to have surprised him by Cowardice. And the Souldiers, weakened with Hunger, although they well apprehended the Danger of this Design, yet, relying upon the great Resolution of their General, and considering that Necessity they had to go farther for their safety, upon a good Courage were content to follow whithersoever their General would; who led them directly unto the aforesaid Castle, where it was expected that the Turks should have charged them. But being come thither, there was no body to be seen; and yet our men, as hungry as they were, flayed there one day in ambush, expecting the coming of their Enemies; who, for all that, having no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gave them Time and Liberty in safety to retire themselves every man unto his own Garrison, to refresh themselves, and to recover their Strength.

But now whilst our Men of War, after these Troubles in *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, repose themselves; let us in the mean time take our Journey to *Constantinople*, and go unto the Marriage of *Hassan Basha*, one of the Vissers of the Grand Signiory, and last year General of the Turks Army in *Hungary*.

At such time as he departed from this great City, to go unto the Conquest of *Alba-Regalis*, *Mabomet* the Turkish Emperor, resolved to set all upon the regaining of this City, caused to be presented unto him a Crown and a Sword, the one in reward of his Valour, if he returned with Victory from this exploit; the other in Remission of his Cowardice, if he failed in the performance thereof; promising him indeed his Sister in Marriage, amongst other the glorious Rewards and Trophies of his Victory; and threatening him with Death, as a Punishment amongst the Grievs of his Dishonour. But it came to pass, that by the Cowardice of our men, he came unto the effect of his desire (as is aforesaid) and took the City, which promised unto him the glorious Triumph in *Constantinople*. And under the sweet influence of this Planet he returned to *Constantinople*, where he found all things in readiness for the satisfying of his Expectation, and the Advancement of his Glory. He is magnificently received of his Prince, greatly flattered by all the Nobility, and with devout reverence posthume honoured of the People. And as he had happily discharged his Charge, he

found in like manner all things prepared and in readiness for the performance of the promise of the Grand Seigneur, his Lord and Master, who had caused them to be in most sumptuous manner provided for the solemnizing of the Marriage, and the contentment of the Basha. But nothing now wanting that he could have desired or wished, more than the very solemnizing of the Marriage it self, and that also every day of all men expected; the

*Janizaries* and *Spahis*, with the other Souldiers of the Court, to the number of five and twenty thousand, even upon the fudden, when as no such thing was feared, came, and in Arms presented themselves before the Palace, and the Tribunal, held the chief Administration of Justice in the Turkish Palace, the first four days in every week; and having set Guards at the Court Gates, the more fully to execute what they were before resolved upon, proudly demanded to have Audience for certain of the *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all, to deliver unto the great Bashes their Grievances, and the Causes of their Assembly. Who, as soon as they were entered into the *Divano* before the Bashes, (of whom the most courageous of them was not without fear, as looking for nothing but for present death) they at the first demanded to have *Hassan Basha* delivered unto them; Who, thinking that his Head should have served for a Sacrifice to pacify their Fury; as a man altogether dismayed, wan and pale, passed through this numerous Multitude, to have gone unto the great Sultan, professing of his own Innocency, and calling upon his Prophet *Mabomet*, to discover unto them the truth of all things. But they, after a thousand Injuries and Reproaches by them heaped upon him, rudely demanded of him, whence it proceeded, that whilst he with a great part of the Forces of the Empire was buffed in *Hungary*, for the recovering of *Alba-Regalis*, there was in the mean time no good order taken for the suppressing of the Rebel in *Alba*; who by his difference was (as they said) now grown so proud, as with Ensigns displayed to come within three or four days Journey of *Constantinople*, the Imperial feet of the Ottoman Emperours. Whereunto he in so small fear answered,

That he for his part had done his Duty, as well whilst he had the charge of the Army in *Alba*, as now of late, whilst he had the charge against the Christians in *Hungary*; as even the Enemies themselves could witness. But seeing himself even ready to die, he yet requested them, that his guideless Death might be unto the State in general profitable; and in discharging of his Conscience, to declare unto them the Causes of this Conquest and Neglect for the suppressing of the *Alban* Rebel, which they were so desirous to know. It proceeded (as he said) only from the evil Government of the Grand Sultans Mother (who then all commanded) and from the negligent carelessness which with much skill to exors in the State, unto, yet hearing him to excuse himself, and to lay the blame there where they were well content it should rest; they gave him leave to go to the great Sultan, to request him that they might speak with him; and further to deal with him, that they might have the Head of them who had been the cause of this dishonourable Service, or otherwise cowardly behaved themselves in the managing of the Wars against the Rebels in *Alba*. Threatening him withall, That if he failed to perform this his charge, he should not fail to feel the heavy Effects of their just Fury. An heavy charge, yet glad was the Basha to undergo the lame, to rid himself out of their hands, where he saw himself in great danger, amongst them, most of whom had

The *Spahis* and *Janizaries* in military discipline Audience of the great Bashes.*Hassan Basha* in great fear of his Life.Bashir in vain beaten by *Colonnas*.*Colonnas* retreateth to *Comara*.*Hassan Basha* after the winning of *Alba-Regalis*, honourably received at *Constantinople*.

fours.

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*Hasan Basha perceived the Great Sultan to give way unto the Janizaries, and to grant them their Request.*

Sometimes served under him, than amongst so many his most mortal Enemies; but what Remedy he must now do or die therefore; for which he was the more to be excused. So in great fear coming unto the great Sultan, almost as fearful as himingling unto him the great danger like even if he, the Sultan, himself as fearful as himingling unto him, by the Mutiny of his best Soldiers, and Guards of his Person; perceiving him, he came to appease their Fury, before they had embred themselves with Blood; for fear of further danger like enough to enlure, as they were his own Person, as unto the rest of his most faithful and truly Comfeller, from such furious headstrong men, up in tumult with their Arms in their Hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the Greatness of his Estate to do any thing as thereunto forced by his Subjects, left in to doing the increase their Involency; that yet nevertheless, in this Action, being altogether extraordinary, he was not to reft upon that point; for that these mutinous Soldiers turned not their Weapons (as they pretended) against his Imperial Power and Sovereignty, but rather to the contrary, against the Contemners thereof, seeking to be revenged upon them that had done him such evil Service for the maintenance of the innocent and disloyal. And the Punishment of the innocent and disloyal. And that therefore the Justice of the Cause requiring and covering the Malice of the Fact, he was of Opinion, That it were best for him to yield a little unto the Zeal of these his best Soldiers, and to satisfy their just desire, although they were very evil and unlawful means sought for the same. And therefore advised his Majesty, in some sort to satisfy the just Complaints of these men, armed for the Revenge of his Honour; and to chastise the chief Commanders of his Asian Forces, such as by whole Treachery or Cowardice his Service being neglected, had armed these men against him; with the same hand punishing such as had wronged his Majesty in Honour, and appeasing the discontented for the good of his Service. *Mahomet* thus by the Basha persuaded, as also to shew himself in his Majesty unto these his discontented Subjects, one part of their desire; the Necessity of the Cause requiring, in his Imperial Seat presented himself unto them, accompanied with the *Mafis*, (the great *Mahometan* Priest) and some few others of the Reverend Doctors of their Law; who, by the Sultan commanded to sit down, and the Balfas standing up (so great the respect is to men of that sort, even in a barbarous Nation of so small respect) the chief of the tedious stepping forth, demanded leave to speak both for himself and the rest. Which being granted, he boldly thus began;

**M**ost happy and mighty Emperor, we the Spahies and Janizaries, thy obedient Slaves, full of Grief and Discontentment to lose a great part of thine Empire in danger to live, desire to know of thee the cause why thy Greatness didst not remedy it, and implore that the Rebels Coups in Asia are unto thee unknown, seeing they have been so hardy as to come in Arms so near unto thy Imperial City, the Place of thine abode, and that without any let or resistance. They desire to know if all this hath been made known unto thee, and whether thou wilt take upon thyself the care of the Government of thy great Monarchy, or no; which through the negligent carelessness and evil Government of some by thee put in trust, is like unto a body with great and well proportioned Members, but of little or no Strength or Power. Or else, that thou, void of care, canst be content that all should be dispersed, and so every man to take unto himself what he can lay hands of, as the Rebels do in Asia.

Now let no man marvel at this presumptuous rude Speech of a proud *Janizary*, unto his Sovereign; for why, they are the men which may most boldly speak in *Turkey*, they the chief of *Turk's* Empire, the Great *Sultans* Children acknowledging no other Father but them; nay rather, the Great *Turk* himself is their Creator; they raise him up and confirm him in the Empire; they are his greatest Strength, and unto them he is most beholden. If *Mahomet* were with so insolent a Speech much moved, he was not only to be excused, but blamed; howbeit, being belted with such a furious tumult with Weapons in their hands, and having no means to withstand their Fury, he wisely dissembled his inward Choler, and with a fair Countenance, and a Majesty full of Mildness, with the best and calmest words he could devise, sought to appease them; imputing the Disorder and evil Success of his Affairs unto the unfaithfulness of his Ministers, and the concealing of the Truth thereof from him. Saying moreover, That before this their Complaint he had resolved to reform these Matters, and to take from them all Occasions of Discontentment, or for them to use any such Speech as was not becoming them; whose Obedience and Respect of loyal Duty unto him their Sovereign, should have been an Example unto the rest of his Subjects. Upon which Speech, they fiercely demanded of *Hasan Basha*, Why he had not given an account unto his Majesty, of the Rebels proceeding in *Asia*. Who answered, That he had never failed of his Duty therein, but that he had been always hindered so to by the *Capit-Aga's* saying, That it was not needful to trouble him their Sovereign therewith, (having committed their Matters to others) but to reform and amend them as well as they might otherwise, without giving of him any such distaste concerning these Matters. And further, That the cause of all these Disorders proceeded from the Emperor's Mother, the *Capit-Aga*, and some few others, unto whom he had commended the managing of those his Affairs. With which his answer the Mutineers more moved, furiously said, That they were their assembled to demand the heads of such Offenders; being resolved to take another course, if he should refuse to grant it them; I meaning thereby to make a new Emperor. Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan answered, That it was no Reason, neither that he would for their Humours put such as they demanded innocently to death; but willed them to reft themselves contented, until it might by order of Justice be tyed whether they had deserved death or no, and that then he would give them even his own Son, if he were found culpable. But the Mutineers, constant in their Resolution, again replied, That he had not by Justice put his Brethren to death, but for the Preservation of the State; and that those whom they so demanded were so guilty of that wherewith they were charged, as that they should not have an orderly Tryal; That the Laws, how just soever, should be unprofitable, and Justice Injury, if they were not by them to be punished; and that therefore it must needs be so, or else that they would take therein a course themselves. As for the Emperor's Mother, they were contented that she should be confined unto some place farther off, and no more to meddle in Matters of State. A strange thing it was, to see so great a Prince so to be forced by the Sedition and Mutiny of his Subjects, to deliver to great an Officer of his Court as was the *Capit-Aga*, with such others as they required, to be used at their Discretion. But the violent Resolution of these most insolent men to stop the Mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wisely to yield to what they demanded; causing the *Capit-Aga*, and the others

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*Sultan Mahomet with mild Words, seeking to appease the mutinous Soldiers of the Court.*

*Hasan Basha exclaimeth, and layeth upon the Emperor's Mother, and the Capit-Aga.*

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*The Capit-Aga, with some others, executed.*

*Mahomet glad to give way unto his mutinous Soldiers.*

*Other Gradation of Sultan Mahomet.*

*Mahomet Basha by the Janizaries.*

*The Success of the Rebels in Asia.*

others to be brought forth; who presented themselves unto their fury as men already half dead. *Mahomet* did what he might to have saved them, but the Mutineers with a great and dreadful Clamour still cried out to have them dispatched; neither could they be appeased until they saw their Heads thrum from their Bodies. For the lots of whom, so dear unto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieved; and to be in some part revenged, commanded the Executioner to be called, and to be sent unto some of the chief Balfas (whom he knew to be much beloved and respected of the Janizaries, and whom he could have been content to have been rid of) as he had done unto the *Capit-Aga* and the rest; but then the murmuring and mutiny of the Janizaries was in such sort increased, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was so far from having patience to temper his Choler, and by giving way to appease them. The Emperor, the Sultan's Mother, for all that was not then confined, but referred to the farther troubling of the State.

With like Tyranny, and no less Injustice, *Mahomet* but a few days before had caused *Capin*, one of his great Balfas, to be beheaded; but whether it were for the desire he had of his Wealth and Riches, or for the envy of his Honour and Valour, was uncertain; howbeit, the former Cause seemed unto many to be the more probable, for that *Mahomet*, immediately after his death, took the whole Spoil of his Wealth, and seized upon all his Goods except 400000 Duckats, which *Capin* Basha, Father of the dead *Basha*, had and he carried off. While his purloining, *Mahomet* having discovered (as the eye of the covetous man is always fixed upon his Prey) demanded one day of the Basha, if it were true that he had retained unto himself those 400000 Duckats? Which Fact the Basha, partly for fear, and partly for Covetousness, cantly denied, and swore himself to be guilty of such Crimes, and wherewith, he was forthwith taken, and thinking by lying to have saved his Life, was for the Truth put to death, without any farther Examination of the matter, having his Head struck off. Such is the small assurance, even of the greatest that live in Tyranny Courts. Neither rested his greedy mind so contented with the Basha's Blood; for why, that served but for a few, it was his worldly work that cure, which was all forthwith laid upon, rifled, and carried away, to satisfy in effect the greedy Appetite of the hungry Tyrant, who changed the Dowry and Succellion of the Wife and Children of the dead Basha, into Bonds, Chains, Punsions, and Slavery.

*Mahomet*, another Basha, with these Cruelties dismayed, and perceiving the like evil hap and danger to hang over his own Head that had overwhelmed *Capin* and his Son, resolved to have provided for himself against this mischief, by flying unto the Rebels in *Asia*. But this his purpose discovered by certain Spies (with serve as means to open a way unto the Turks cruelty) and he, with one of the chief Followers of *Capin Basha*, taken by the Janizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

But whilst these things thus passed at Constantinople, the Rebels with all diligence prosecuted their Rebellion in *Asia*, and bent their Forces against the great Town there. Their Arms were exceeding great, every man joining himself unto the first Forces which were in good Estate, being not as yet by any greater Power repressed, and rich with the Spoils that they had taken. These men had besieged *Angora*, a great and strong Town in *Asia*, and seemed resolutely set down for the carrying thereof. Whereof the Citizens being afraid, and out of hope of Relief, came to Parle, offering unto them a Sum of Money to redeem themselves and their City; and so in fine agreed to give

them 200000 Duckats; upon the ready payment whereof, the Rebels, without more ado, presently retired.

Shortly after, the new Captains of *Sultan Mahomet* arrived there also, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeasing of the Soldiers of the Court, who would needs make it Treason, and put to Death the Citizens, for having given such Money as is aforesaid, unto the Rebels, who it were done for the Preservation of the Lives of the Citizens, to be respected in the horrors of the Law; or that Life were to become a Slave unto Riches, and Riches not made for the use of Man's Life. Well, needs they would for this supposed Treason (as they pretended) have put them to death, and lacked their City; but indeed all was in their greedy fury to have carried away that which the Rebels had in their Mercy left them. These poor Citizens, with this to cruel a Resolution dismayed, and out of all hope of finding favour at such merciless men's hands, resolved now to hazard all, and so upon the sudden taking up Arms, stood upon their own defence. Hereupon arose a great and cruel Fight between these Soldiers and the Citizens, both the Subjects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the same Superstition; but the one side, armed with Pride and Covetousness, and the other with Necessity and Despair; howbeit, at last the juster Cause prevailing, the Citizens overcame these new-come Soldiers, and having slain a great number of them, chased them out of the City. This evil Entrance into their Charges, given them by the Subjects themselves, increased the Rebels Courage, so that they, being in number forty thousand, under the leading of one of the *Tartar* Hosts Brethren, befieged *Bursa*, a great and rich City, being the Store-house for the warlike Provision of *Asia*, and the Place whereunto the Turks Custom-Taxes, and Subsidies of *Asia* were brought, and there kept. These men, after certain days befieged in the Siege, and great Resistance made by the befieged, at length by force carried the Place, slew the Inhabitants, and lacked the City. Which Exploit, grading their Fortune with Honour and Boory, increased also their Power and Reputation; so that re-doubled on all sides, and increased with Courage and Spoils, *Mahomet* dismayed, resolved by fair means to appease them, and to entreat with them of Peace. This good Fortune had drawn unto their part the Governor of *Babylon*, either weary of the Service of the Turk, or seduced by the Ruine of the State in general, to increase his own Power; whose Revolt greatly increased the Rebels Power, and diminished the Grand Seigneur's. Beside these *Milaphs* also, the great Shaugh of *Persia* (commonly called the *Sophi*) thrusting himself into the Disorders, to make for Gain, and to fish (as they say) in a troubled Water, had now taken *Corbey*, a strong Town upon the Borders of the Turks Empire, and was making himself ready for new Conquests. All which Temples arising as it were in one together, called *Mahomet* to strike *Asia*, and mangle his Imperial Dignity and Honour, to make for Peace, with which indeed could not be great in such weakness of his nature, neither brave in such his great want of Courage. For great Dignities and Honours, without Valour to maintain them, are but like rich Garments which cover Bodies almost rotten, but heal them not. *Mahomet*, desirous to come to some good agreement with his rebellious Subjects, as he might (but not without his great dishonour) obtained the same granting to them all their Demands, disarming them by yielding unto them, and not by Valour; and giving

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*The Turks together by the ears amongst themselves.*

unto

1603 unto *Zellah*, one of their Chieftains, the most honourable place of the *Baia* of *Bofra*, to content his Army, and to bind him thenceforth to do his Service. The ready way by sufficiency to increase the difloyal Subjects Courage, instead of stopping their Fury by the severity of Justice; for to grace a Rebel with Offices of Authority, is but to arm him with lawful Power, for him the better to undertake whatsoever shall bid fit his Appetite and Desire, upon the hope of his own private and certain Profit or Advancement.

*Mabomet* their Captains and Men of War, seeing this dishonourable Peace of their Prince, and Prefecture of the Rebels, honoured with Honours and Dignities, instead of Pains and Punishments which they should of right have for their Rebellion induced; began to enter into great Murmuring and Discontentment against their great Sultan. They considered his unjust dealing and base fear, in advancing the Rebels unto such Honours and Dignities, as of right belonged unto his most faithful and loyal Officers and Servants; by such their unworthy Preferments making them Slaves unto his Enemies, and Vassals unto the Rebels; they, to their dishonour and loss, by their Infidelity and Treachery, enjoying the Honours and Preferehes of right due to their faithful and loyal Servants. What dangerous Perfidious transported them to far, from their Allegiance and Duty, as to undertake a greater and more perilous matter against his Crown and Dignity, than had the Rebels before by taking up of Arms in the Field against him, whereunto the assured knowledge they had of his Cowardice encouraged them also; so that this Resolution was thrust him out of his Imperial Seat, and he, as up to his eldest Son, called also *Mabomet*, in his Place. These are the ordinary Effects of Injustice and Cowardice, the overthrow of Princes; their Injustice through Cruelty aiming all Creatures against them; and their Cowardice through Contempt dispensing with every man for his Duty, so that he must be just, that will keep his Subjects in order; and valiant, that must hold them in awe.

Unto these Discontentments these Mutineers joynd also (as I said) the foolishness, effeminateness, and sufficiency of *Mabomet*, unfit to deal in matters of Estate, and altogether unable to manage Arms. He was too cowardly, as they thought, to repress their Valour by force; and too feeble, to frustrate their Designs by Wisdom; which not a little incouraged them in that their to deperate and dangerous a Resolution. They drew also into their Plot the Sultan's *Mabomet*, his chief Wife, and Mother to the young Prince, who, blinded with Ambition (of the base of great Spirit) had not the hap to reject their Perfidious, as dangerous unto her and her Son, but shutting her Eyes against the due Consideration of Loyalty and Duty, cast both her self and her Son headlong into the midst of most deperate Dangers.

This Project (of no less importance, than of the deposing of one of the greatest Monarchs of the World) resolved upon, some of these men, according to the manner of the Turks, joining Superstition unto their Designs, consulted with an Astrologer, concerning the Success of the Actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to install in his Fathers Imperial Throne. This man, to be executed in his Trumpeches, seeing that to deceive is the chief point of his Art, erected the figure of the Princes Nativty, consulted with his Spirits, considered the celestial Bodies, and in fine, arrived at the point of his Judgment, for the good and welfare of the Prince; and thereupon dispatched an Eunuch towards the Sultaness, with these pleasing

Speeches, That the should be of good courage and in assured hope that the young Prince her Son, within a few days should have the Imperial Crown set upon his Head, and the Royal Scepter put into his hand; his Art (as he said) promising unto him these Honours, by the Favour of the Celestial Bodies, of whom he had learned these News; and by the Conference with Spirits, from whom he had this assurance. But O the vain and foolish Knowledge of Man against the Power of God, unto the second Cause, that which altogether belongeth unto his own Power; robbing him of his own Providence, which extendeth over all, to give the same unto Creatures, which neither have their own Being, neither are able of themselves to bring forth, or to work any Effects at all without it; and that more is, to give certain credit unto the Enemy of all Faith and Belief, even to the Father of leading, who taketh as much Glory in falsehood, as God himself doth in truth; as being the proper mark of his Power. For it chanced that these Letters, sent by the Eunuch to the Sultaness, were intercepted and brought unto *Mabomet* the Great Sultan, whom they most concerned; whereupon it so fell out, that he which took upon him to foretell the long Life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foresee the end of his own Life, which followed him fast, even at the heels, being himself by the Commandment of the great Sultan, with the young Prince, the Eunuchs, and fifty others of the Conspirators, and last at all, consenting unto the Conspiracy, most cruelly strangled, and the Sultaness her self drowned. Howbeit, some report this young Prince to have been strangled upon suspicion of conspiring against his Father, with the Rebels of *Asia*; which after his Death being found not to be the Cause, which put that Sulpicion into *Mabomet*'s Head, to have been therefore worthily hanged. But with these Contentments taken from the Croffes of our Enemies, let us again return unto *Hungary*.

The last year ended with the great brute of the coming of the *Tartar* *Han*, with a great Army into *Hungary*, and now he had dispatched his Ambassadors towards the King of *Polonia*, to demand of him Tribute, and passage through his Country. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of *Polonia* required him again with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly answering of his Threats with a refusal, caused the proud *Tartar* to blune his intended course, and for fear of being defeated by the *Polonians* in passing through their Country, (as the *Tartars* had often been) before he could come into *Hungary*, took another way, and turned with his Army toward *Valachia*. Of whose coming, *Radin* the Vayvod was under standing, and that beside the foraging of his Country, they had a purpose to displace him, and to set up another Vayvod in his stead; with great diligence gathered together the greatest Power that he could, and so marched unto the Borders of his Country, there to attend the coming of these *Tartars*, and to stay them from passing. Which in effect fell out according to his desire, for the barbarous People being arrived, and attempting with all their force to have entered, were by this little Army encountered; which, commanding the Country, took all the advantages of the strait passages, and there notably repulsed the great Enemy. Two of the greatest Leaders fell out fortunately unto the *Valachians*, who thereupon slew about 10000 of the *Tartars*; whose advantage for all that still came on, and at the third encounter so long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the *Valachians*, while

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1603 whole Fortune furcharged, began then to change, the hardy being constrained to bow under the multitude, and valor forced to yield unto number. Which was not done without a long and cruel fight, both Armies encountering with great Courage and Fury, the one for the defence of their Country, and the other for an entrance unto their Conquests. Howbeit, the strong Enemy at length prevailed, and entering into *Valachia*, brought in with Ruine, Death, and Destruction.

The *Tartars*, having by force thus opened themselves a way through *Valachia*, and grievously spoiled the Country, were come with their Army to *Quinque Ecclesie*, a Town in *Hungary*, to join their Forces with *Hafsan* *Bassa*, now after his Marriage returned into this Country with a great Army to continue his Charge, who caused the *Tartars* to be mustered in his Presence, and found them to be forty thousand strong. Men of great Courage against the weak, but meer Cowards before the Courageous; who, instead of assaulting the Walls of any strong Town, fell upon the Cottages of poor Country Villages, ransacking and pillaging the poor Inhabitants, as well in the Villages of the Territories subject unto the Turks, as in the Territories of the Christians; constraining the poor People, contrary to their Conscience, and to the Prejudice of their Faith, to swear to serve the Turk; Besides that, they enforced them to furnish them with all warlike Provision, and Munition, which they put into *Canisla*, a burg, a while after that our men had defeated the Garrison there. Neither were they so contented, all the Neighbours being thereabout subjected to this Tempest; for they passed into *Stiria* with their Families, and over-ran a part of that Province, spoiling it of Men, Cattel, and Goods; leaving instead of them, Desolation, Misery, and Death; and carried away with them two thousand poor Christians for Slaves, whom they sold unto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From thence they went into the Country of *Savary*, embroiling themselves with the Blood of the Christians, rifting their Villages, and after that burning them, carrying away with them a thousand Christian Captives into most miserable Bondage and Slavery. Which cruel Outrages, afterward thrust the valiant Colonel *Collo-nis* into the Field, against these barbarous People, to flay their Incurtions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthy Commander had but a few days before been troubled in appeasing the French Hostemen in Garrison in the Villages about *Rouquesburg*, risen up in Mutiny for their Pay; whose hot, and moved Spirits, he by his Wisdom so calmed, as that they were content again to be sworn to the Emperor, and so joynd themselves unto the Army of *Collo-nis*, which was then 10000 good men strong.

In the mean time, the *Tartars*, greedy of Prey, and still seeking after Booty, ransack'd and spoiled five and twenty Country Villages about *Veradin*, all which they afterward burned also, carrying away with them a great Booty both of Men and Cattel; no man resisting them. At which time, other Companies of them also invaded the Country *Seranie*'s Iland as far as *Rachenburg*, made in it great spoil, as had their Fellows elsewhere; and beside other Booty, carried away with them two thousand Christian Captives. These outrages of the *Tartars* stirred the Country on the one side, and *Collo-nis* on the other; who courageously opposing themselves against these Barbarians, for a time stay'd their Incurtions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, sufficient enough, for the Valour thereof, to have overthrow that of their Enemies, for number dread-

The Tartars in Hungary.

Great spoil made by the Tartars in Hungary, Stiria, and Slavonia.

Collo-nis opposeth his Forces against the Tartars.

Divers had Con- flicts be- twixt the Tartars and the Valachians, in their passage through Valachia.

ful. This made them to turn their course another way into *Scalonia*, being in number five and thirty thousand men, leaving nothing behind them there but Death and Detolation, for the number of Prisoners and great Booties which they carried thence. Amongst other their spoils, it was their Fortune by the way to meet with fix hundred of the Christian Soldiers, of whom not one escaped their hands, but were slain every Mothers Son. At length it so fortun'd, that certain of their Troops in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the Country *Serin*, who with his Followers still hovered aloof off, for fear to be of their great Multitude overwhelmed; a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his Soldiers overthrow and all cut in pieces, and a number of Christian Captives by them taken, delivered unto Chains, and set at Liberty. Which exploit, was greater for the fear it brought upon the Enemy, than for the slaughter there made. For the *Tartars*, still in doubt to meet again with the Christian Troops (who left not one of them behind that they could light on) were glad now to keep themselves closer together, and so did a great deal the less harm than when they, without fear roamed up and down at their Pleasure; so that even by this little Victory the Country received some Comfort, and the Earl great Honour; small helps being infinite Treasures in time of Need, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The Garrison Soldiers of *Canisla*, of late defeated by *Collo-nis*, in going to meet the Convoy coming towards them with Viduals (as is before declared) the rest of the *Tartars*, desirous to be revenged were consulting of the means how to bring the same to pass. It fortun'd, that at the same time there was a fugitive Christian Soldier in the Town, who made news of a man male-content, desirous to turn Turk; of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he seem'd to know much of the Designs of the Christians, and the means how to cross them; whereof he so assured them, as if the matter had been now already done, promising to bring them even into the midst of the Christian Camp, and to deliver it into their Hands and Power. Howbeit, his meaning was nothing less; for seeing the Turks much busied with the coming in of the Viduals into the Castle, brought into the Town after the overthrow of their fellows before sent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intensive to that Business; knowing the place in the Castle where the Powder and Munition lay, he at the same time, by a Train lay'd Fire thereunto, and afterward, amidst much tumult and fire of the Town, and came to the Wall, got himself up by a loop-hole in the Wall, in ambush, expecting the Opportunity to perform some notable exploit upon the Success of so dangerous an adventure, whereunto he had before been made privy. Neither laid the fire any thing of the accustomed violence thereof, but seemed rather to redouble the same, it had so suddenly consumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Persons. All the place felt the Fury thereof; the Cannons, Canoners, Soldiers, and whatsoever else, was subject unto this dreadful blast; it was shaken and rumbled up and down, yet the fire burst out of the Castle, and burnt the greatest part of the Town also. There was a Confusion of fear, mishap, and misery together, the Terror whereof caus'd many of the Turks to cast themselves over the Walls, in hope so to have saved their Lives; but whilst

The Tartars are preferred by Country Serin.

A notable exploit done by a fugitive Christian.

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A fair Opportunity for the recovery of *Camilla*, overlaid through the dilatory of the French and Wallians.

The *Tartars* defeated by the *Hussars* of the Lord *Nadashi*.

they thought for have escaped the Danger of the Fire, as they presently fell upon the edge of the Street, for meeting with the Soldiers of *Colonnio*, (who lying in ambush near thereby, awaited the opportunity in that to confound a Tumult, to have leaped upon the place) they were all either taken Prisoners, or slain. But few the hap, how one cross chance of Fortune overthrew this so notable a Design, as had it been well followed, might in one moment have recovered that strong Place, which had before for the space of many days endured the greatest Forces of the *Othoman* Emperor; neither was then so lost, but through the infamous Treachery of our own men.

You have heard before, how that *Colonnio* had by his Perfidiousness, rather than by his Effects, appeased the *French-men* and *Wallians*, up in mutiny for their Pay, so that by him persuaded, they had again given their Oath of Fidelity unto the Emperor, and to follow his Army. But now, when occasion served, and held out as it were both her Arms unto the Christians, for the regaining and conquest of *Prague* and *Wallia*, the greatest part of *Colonnio's* strength, injuriously refused her to join an Officer; and at such time as they should rather have fought naked, then have failed in their Duty, (it being to have gained a most great and rich Conquest) for want of Pay (as they pretended) turned their backs, and being by no great intreaty or persuasions to be moved, the Discouragement of the rest, who were better minded, and their own eternal Infamy, withdrew themselves from the Army. So that *Colonnio*, rather by the wicked unfaithfulness of his own dilatory Soldiers, than by the Valour of his Enemies, disappointed of his purpose, was to his great Discontentment, contrary to that he hoped, enforced to retire without any thing without.

While this Exploit, so well begun, but evil performed, was in hand, the *Turks* and *Tartars* assembled together, made a cruel spoil in the Country about *Kab*, even almost unto the Gates of the Town, carrying away with them a great number both of Men and Beasts. In fine, it chanced that the *Hussars* of the Lord *Nadashi* came that way, who understanding what had happened, with all speed made after these Robbers, overtook them in their retreat near unto *Alba-Regalia*, slew a great number of them, and enforced the rest to leave a great part of their Prey behind them. With which Booty, recovered even out of the Lyons Mouth, they returned to the City, where the poor Hungarians and Country People, with Tears standing in their Eyes, requested to have again their own Goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurse of barbarous Cruelty, had so hardened the Hearts of these men of War, as that they were not to be moved to restore them their Cattel again, but that they must redeem them for present Money, which they did and so received them.

Now the Noble *Colonnio*, seeing himself so shamefully forsaken of his own Soldiers, and disappointed of his purpose, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* in great numbers coming to the relief and repairing of this so sore shaken a Town; and out of hope to do any good therein, full of Grief and Indignation returned towards *Comara*. And however, that evil hap had cruelly frustrated the glory of his Enterprize, yet the Heavens, in despite of Fortunes wrong, left not this noble and valiant Captain altogether without Honour, but as amorous of his Vertues and Valour, presented unto him in this Winter of Fortunes disservice, some Triumph of Glory. For upon the way, as he was returning home, he met with 2000 *Turks*, whom, after some small resistance he cut all in pieces; miserable Sacrifices, appointed unto the fury of his wrath. In this

fight their Ensigns were all taken, and a number of Prisoners, the chief of whom, together with their Ensigns, he sent to *Prague*, as a Present for the Emperor, and a token of his good Service.

The report then was, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, with their united Forces, had foraged *Sclavonia*, taken divers strong Holds, burnt a number of Villages, and carried away eight thousand Christians Prisoners, beside a great number slain with the Sword, or consumed with Fire, and all the Cattel of the Country driven away; and that being with this booty come to *Quinque Ecclesie*, they had there received Command with *Mahomet Baffa*, to besiege *Comara*, and that all the Commanders of the *Turks* Army were thereupon resolved. All which reports no whit dismayed the Valiant *Colonnio*, or any thing altered his Designs; but having fortified *Comara*, against the intended Siege of the *Turks*, and taken from thence four Culverins, according to a former purpose by himself intended, resolved now to take from the *Turks* the Castle of *Logna* and *Boulowanar*, the Garrisons whereof greatly annoyed the Territories of the Christians, and hindered the Defence of the rest of the Country. These two Castles are situate upon a great Marsh which separateth *Hungary* from *Rascia*, (it being to have gained Bounders of *Hungary*, and strong enough to be defended against a small Army.

Upon which Resolution he set forward with his small and valiant Power, and they arrived within the sight of *Logna*, a Castle well manned, and furnished with all things necessary for the defence thereof. The Army lodged, *Colonnio* with a Drum summoned the besieged to yield up the Place, with Promises of Countreife if they should now accept of the same whilst it was offered them; which they stoutly refused to do, fearing to the contrary. That they would die and live within those their Walls. *Colonnio* seeing them so resolved, first caused a Mill to be assailed, which placed over against the Castle, and well fortified, served it instead of a Bulwark, and seemed hard to be taken; howbeit his men, loth to have their good Fortune even in the beginning checked, gave thereunto no brave assault, that after the Enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became Masters of the Place, carried it, and therein lodged; but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to stand them in small stead, they set it on fire, and afterward planted four Culverins in battery before the Castle. But as they were thus busied, the *Turks* courageously sallied out upon them, not doubting to adventure themselves for the hope they had to be in short time by their great Army relieved. In this fall they met affront with the *Haiducks*, whom they fiercely charged, and so gauged them, that having slain thirty of them, they retired without any loss; forthwith discharging so many thundering Shots and Arrows upon our men, as that they well knew not how to save themselves from the danger of them, in such sort, that all the ways to approach the place being stopped, they began to devise how to set the Castle on fire; which they by certain Fire-works attempted, but to small purpose, the fire being no sooner kindled, but that it was forthwith blown by the *Turks* quenched. This done, and our men disappointed of their hope, they devised to set fire upon the timber which joined the Palliade to the Castle stretched toward the Port. Which their attempt forced but to small effect also, the fire burning but flowly to do the Enemies any great harm. All which Devices failing, they resolved by plain force to assault the Castle, and to scale the same; which Enterprize resolved upon, the *Haiducks* carrying before them certain strong and thick Planks of Wood,

The Castle of *Logna* was besieged by *Colonnio*.

The Castle of *Logna* was besieged by the Christians taken and sacked.

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Notable resistance made by the besieged *Turks*.

instead of Targuets, to defend them from the small Shot and Arrows of their Enemies; by this Device gained the Palliade placed upon the Ditch; and being there in some safety, with their Muskets and Harquebuses to apply the besieged, and that they drove them from their Garrisons, and made that they durst no more show themselves upon the Walls. And immediately after, two Companies of the *Haiducks* placed ten Ladders against one of the Towers of the Castle, and so with their Ensigns in their hands courageously mounted the Ladders, in hope to have gained the Place; but the *Turks*, as men resolved to live and dye in their Castle, valiantly repulsed those *Haiducks*, and by force drew in unto them from off the Ladders, the two Ensign-bearers of the *Haiducks*, whose Heads they cut off, and cast them down unto their fellows, which were yet coming up the Ladders; and the two Ensigns so gained upon the Walls, they placed in the midst of them, as the Trophies of the Spoils of them who would have possessed them. With which so great Courage of the Enemies, and death of their fellows, our men not a little dismayed, kept themselves close at the foot of the Wall, as afraid any farther to force the Place, which to their loss they saw stored with such valiant men to defend it.

*Colonnio*, perceiving this discourtesy of these men, and well assured that the Castle was not but by Valour to be won, immediately drew out of every Company of the County *Ringrave*, certain of the best and most resolute Soldiers to renew the Assault: Which is honourable a Charge they cheerfully undertook. Which the Ladders they gan forthwith to mount the Ladders. Which the *Haiducks* beholding, again took courage, and partly ashamed of themselves, and partly to be partakers of the Spoil and Prey, if they should prevail, did what they might for the winning of the Place, striving now who should do best. Which Assault was with such fury and scale of men maintained, that the *Turks* not able longer to withstand so great Forces, were constrained to yield both themselves and their Castle unto the fury of their angry Enemies. Which Castle indeed cost much Christian Blood, but yet more of the *Turks*; for the *Haiducks*, armed with rage and revenge, slew almost all in the Castle, as well *Rascians* as *Turks*, and took the rest Prisoners. Among others, there was an *Hungarian* Renegade there taken, whom for haste they beheaded, being not able to impale him, the ordinary punishment for such faithless Mercenaries. But during this spoil, made by men chafed with fury, the Wind and Fire were on their part exercising of their rage also. For the Fire which they had cast upon the Palliade, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increased with the Wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, having burnt the Palliade, got hold of the Castle also; whereunto the Soldiers (loaded with Prey and Booty, the things they most desired) had no regard at all; so that the Fire utterly consumed the Castle, with whatsoever else had escaped their greedy hands.

The *Turks* in Garrison at *Boulowanar* (a Fort built by a League distant from this burnt Castle) seeing these Flames of Fire, and doubting what might befall themselves, began to consult what course were best for them to take, as either to attend the coming of the Enemy, and so to abide the chance of War, or else betimes to provide for themselves by flight; the Consideration of their Honour and Duty persuaded them to stay, but the rutile of their Neighbours, as strong and valiant as themselves, persuaded them otherwise. In fine, the care of the Preservation of their Lives pre-

vailed, and the Resolution was, that they should fly. And so putting all their Household stuff and Goods into certain Boats, there ready upon the Lake, they by the midst thereof fled; foolishly perceiving themselves, that our men coming thither, and finding nothing there, would not long there stay, but be gone as whole departure they might, as they thought, return again unto their wellings, and in the mean time hide themselves in the Marsh, until that the Enemy were past. But our men coming thither, and finding no man in the Castle, neither yet any thing else that could well be carried away, wondered to see that there were any men near unto the Castle, who might have been an Example to others to stand upon their Guard and defence, they fought out every Corner thereof, to find out whither the *Turks* were fled. At last, after much diligent search, they found certain Boats which the *Turks* had sunk in the Channel near unto the Castle Gate, which caused them to think that they were fled by Water, and happily were in some place not far off. These Boats were forthwith drawn up out of the Water, and found furnished with Oars and such other things as belonged unto them. Which done, *Colonnio* chose out certain of the most valiant and resolute of the *Haiducks*, whom he commanded in those Boats to follow after the *Turks* in the Lake. Who, accustomed to such Exploits, and not ignorant of the Places and Secrets of their Country, went aboard and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone past two Leagues upon the Lake, but that they discovered a party of the fugitives hid in a little Island, awaiting the end of this Tempest. The *Turks* discerned with the sight of these men, and driven by necessity to stand upon their Guard, welcomed them with certain little faulcon shot, which they brought with them in their Boats, thinking to have hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with such Musket to be moved therewith; besides that, the desire of the Booty, which was by the *Turks* brought out of the Castle into the Lake, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; so that all fear of Danger set apart, they landed in the Isle. Whom lo landing, the *Turks* with great Courage received; so that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for so small a number on both sides to be believed. The *Turks* had not number holding the Balance of the Victory. But in the end, the chief of the *Turks*, and he which was their Governour in *Boulowanar*, slain, the rest discouraged, came to Parley, yielding themselves, with their Wives and Children, and all that they had, as a Prey unto the Victors. The Prisoners were brought back again unto the Castle, until the next day, that our men having taken a good and strong Garrison of four hundred *Haiducks*, and two hundred *Hussars* into *Boulowanar*, with their Prisoners and their Booty returned toward *Comara*; where they, notwithstanding divers Reports of the affinity of the *Turks* Garrisons for the surprising of them upon the way, in safety arrived with a rich Booty, and a number of Wagons loaded with the Spoils of their Enemies. The Emperor had for his part thirteen Ensigns, beside the Places won, which being nigh unto *Camilla*, much bridled the Spoilings and Incursions of that Garrison.

But leaving these endless Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, let us now again look into *Transylvania*, to see what they there do. *Mojess* the Rebel, by *Baffa* the Emperours Lieutenant (as we have before said) overthrow, and disappointed of his hope, betook himself unto a strong Castle of his own,

The *Turks* for fear of the *Castle* of *Boulowanar* were driven out.

The *Turks* fled out of the *Castle* of *Boulowanar*, furnished with provisions and overthrown.

*Mojess* by *Baffa* overthrow, and disappointed of his hope, betook himself unto a strong Castle of his own.



own, called *Solomfe*, there in fear attending the final Success of his Affairs. *Bajla* in the mean time being as vile to make use of his Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the same, subdued the rest of the Country, repelled the Rebels, stopped the way of Sedition, and put *Mosley* in despair of all Safety. Who seeing himself brought unto such Extremity, offered to yield his Castle unto the Turks, and to without further acquainting of any man with his purpose, thrust himself, with his Wife and Family, and all the rest of his Substance, into *Temeswar*, a strong City of the Turks not far off from the Castle, where he was in good hope to make a Prey of the great Wealth of this new-come Fugitive; who had not there long stayed, but that he had persuaded the Captain of *Givaflyar*, a strong frontier Castle thereby, to deliver the same to the Turks, and that without the Privy of the Garrison, for that he doubted that they would get knowledge thereof, put their Captain in remembrance of his Duty, beseeching him not to draw such an Infamy both upon himself and them, by committing to foul a Fact. But afterward finding him reluctantly let down for the betraying of the Castle, they suddenly laid hands upon him, and struck off his Head; and to with the Blood of their traitorous Captain having averted the eminent danger, with great Honour held the Place.

*Mosley's* now, as he thought, in safety at *Temeswar*, yet still plotting how to trouble the State of *Transylvania*, and raise new Sins therein, and to that end sent a number of Spies with Letters of Credence unto the principal men of that Country, assuring them of great and sufficient Aid from the great Turk, if they would but take up Arms for their Liberty (as he termed it) and shew themselves in Field against the Imperials. Neither was *Bajla* in the mean time careless of him, or negligent in his to weigh Affairs; but knowing that he, as a notorious Rebel, had yielded his Castle unto the Turks, and was himself retired unto *Temeswar*, forthwith made choice of six thousand of the best Souldiers in his whole Army, and to set forwards there in Garrison desired, in hope to frustrate his Designs. For why, they thought that their Castle, seated upon a steep high Hill, fortified with good and strong Walls, environed with a broad and deep Ditch, and not subject unto Battery, could not, but with much labour, great danger, and long time be gained out of their hands, it being impossible (as they supposed) for their Enemies to make a breach, or find an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men seeing the Strength of the Place, and the difficulty to force it, stood at the first as men dismayed at the foot of the Hill where the Castle stood; yet more discouraged with the impracticability of the place, than with the Valour of the Defendants. But what cannot Industry and Valour do? In seeking about to find some means to make them of their Courage and Valour, they discovered a little sharp steep Hill over against the Castle, from the top whereof the Castle was to be battered, and the besieged distressed; but to bring the Cannon thither, and especially with Horles, was impossible, by reason of the steep roughness of the Ascent thereunto, with broken and hanging Rocks, over-grown with Trees and Bushes, as if it had been another *Alps*, not but with Fire and Vinegar to be opened: yet in a fine, our men resolving to gain the Place, did themselves not, and by force of hand drew their Cannon up to the top of the Hill; and having planted it over against the middle of their Enemies great Ordnance,

began to batter the Castle: which done, they day and night made their Approaches, fortified their Forts and Trenches, brought on their warlike Munitions, and put all things in such order, that they would even by plain force have carried the Place. But the Turks more admitting the valourous Resolution of our men, than resolving themselves upon their Resistance, being not many in number within the place, and seeing themselves to have to do with men of invincible Courage, laying aside both their Hope and Weapons, craved to come to a Parley. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they should deliver up the Castle, leaving behind them their great Ordnance, their Munition and Ensigns, and to with their Arms and Lives only saved, to depart. A great and glorious Conquest got with small charge; only by Religion gained by our men, without peril: those being indeed the true Victories, which neither draw Blood out of the Veins, nor Tears out of the Eyes.

This strong Place so gained, contrary to the common Opinion conceived thereof, led the whole Province as it were by the hand unto the Obedience of the Emperor; in such sort, that *Bajla* having called together all the principal men of *Transylvania*, declared unto them the Justice of his Cause, the Right of the Emperor, with the Malice and Treachery of the Turks and Rebels; how they might live in assurance with the one, and become miserable with the others; That the Emperor was always armed for their Defence and Health, desiring nothing but their Welfare and Preservation; whereas their Enemies to the contrary, fought altogether their Ruine and Decay: That as they were not to expect light flames of Fire out of the Sea, no more they were to look for Aid from those their mortal Enemies, whom they knew to have before desired to have put them all to death, and to have given their Country unto the *Tartars* their Enemies; That this Disaster had not now been to fall upon them, either ever have been by them perceived, without the Aid of the Emperor; who opposing himself against this Fire, had quenched it and put it out; preserving them with his great charge, and saving them even in the midst of their greatest Perils and Dangers: That they should therefore remember these his so great Benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publick Faith, which bindeth us to the reward of good Deeds; and that all the recompence that the Emperor desired, was the new resistance, forbearance concerning their own good; inasmuch, that he desired nothing of them but their Obedience, for being bound to defend them and preserve them by his Power; whereby it should come to pass, that he should be satisfied for his Travels, and they preserved from their Enemies; the Prince and his Subjects together jointly working their mutual Health and Welfare; each of them according unto their Propriety, for that this mutual performance of Duty preserved the Scepter for the good government of their Estate. Whereunto their Answer was, That they beforesaid him that their Country might be relieved from the cruel and bloody of the men of War, and delivered from the intolerable Burthens of Tributes, which so heavily oppressed it; that these Objects and Inconveniences could not keep them constant in their Obedience, seeing that they both felt them, and received them from the hand of them, to whom they had yielded their Obedience, in hope to have been by them relieved; that the new feeling of the Wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the Object of their Harms still kept both their Eyes and their Minds occupied upon them, who were the causes thereof; so that they could not well, either look upon them or make reckoning of them,

The Castle of Solomfe by the Turks yielded up to Bajla.

Bajla's Admonitions to them of Transylvania.

them; That therefore it would please him to ease them of their Grievances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 *Hungarian* Ducats yearly for to stay his men of War, and would furnish them with all Provisions necessary, it being a thing more honourable and profitable also unto a Prince moderately to use his Subjects means to keep his State in perpetuity, than through Covetousness to devour them in one day, in their loss to undo himself for ever. This their Offer was by *Bajla* accepted, and the mind of the Emperor, at this Contentment given them, kept in their faithful Allegiance and Loyalty unto the Emperor.

But whilst *Bajla* thus travelled for the quieting of *Transylvania*, *Mosley* the Rebel, in the mean time, was for his part no less busied for the disturbing thereof again; inasmuch, that having by the appointment of the *Viceroy* *Bajla* received ten thousand *Tartars* in his Aid, and assisted with a great number of *Turks*, he, with Ensigns displayed, entered into *Transylvania*, protesting there to dye, or to be revenged of *Bajla*, who had before chased him out thence. And the better to effect this troublesome Design, he now had made choice of a most fit time for the Performance thereof, *Bajla* upon the Trust he had of the publick Faith which he came to take of the *Transylvanians*, for their Allegiance unto the Emperor, which assured him from all Sins and Tumults in that Province, being with a small Power come from *Clandopolis* in *Hungary*, and there lying at *Wifefburg*, upon the Conquest of *Hungary*. Which his Journey, and necessity of his Presence in *Hungary* for the defence thereof, had caused the *Transylvanians* to believe, that he should for that Year lay in *Hungary*, as General of the Emperor's Army there. Upon which Persuasion he had his Absence, many of them began to hold up their heads, and to entertain high Concepts of new Sins, whereunto the high Births had prepared them, and now by his Presence not a little encouraged; inasmuch, that many, as well of the Nobility as others, joynted themselves unto him, and his increased Army, against the Imperials.

*Mosley* with his Power being come into the Province, first forced a Castle, about three Leagues distant from *Wifefburg*, and flew all the Garrison therein. Which Exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the absence of *Bajla*; and seeing himself now the absolute Master of the Field, which he had his his, he was the more resistance, foraged, robbed, and spoiled, with his men loaded with Booty, he besieged *Wifefburg*, a little Town upon the confines of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, neither by Air nor by Nature strong, but exposed as a Prey unto him that it is in the Field strongest, if Succours be not at hand to relieve it. Howbeit, weak as it was, it held out three Weeks Siege, and having a breach made in the Walls, endured two Assaults against all the Forces of the Rebel. After which, he besieged, thinking themselves to have sufficiently discharged their Duty in holding out so long, and enduring so much, and out of hope to be relieved by the weak Forces of *Bajla*, came to parley with the Enemy, and their Lives and Goods saved, yielded unto him the Town, and so departed themselves to *Varadin*.

Now albeit that there were no great Forces of the Emperor's on foot in *Transylvania*, yet the hungry *Haiducks* for all that failed not to follow these Wars, even amidst the great Clouds of their Enemy, and were ever taking of some Prey or Booty from the Enemy, the chief and almost the only means whereby they live. In which doing, as they benefited themselves (the chief Motives of their Adventures) so they not a little eased the Country, by repelling the Excursions and Pilla-

New Enterprises by the Rebel Mosley in Transylvania.

He with Englishmen played into Transylvania.

Wifefburg besieged by Mosley.

Wifefburg yielded to Mosley.

The Answer of the Transylvanians unto the Admonitions of Bajla.

ges of the Turks, whereof the Country had endured the fury. Where, amongst other Prisoners by them taken, it was their Fortune to light upon a Chieftain of the Turks come from *Constantinople*, going toward the Rebel *Mosley* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*. Who, by them examined, confessed, That *Mosley* was a man in great Grace and Reputation with his Lord and Master the great Seignior; and that he was sent to assure him thereof, as also of all the needful Assistance of his Prince, if he should faithfully and effectually serve him in *Transylvania*, and bring it under his Subjection and Power, as he had promised and sworn. In which doing, he should not want the credit of a noble and faithful Servant towards him, but should further obtain thereby the honour to be the Lieutenant General of his Army in this Province; the great Sultan (as he said) having means as easie as words to advance his faithful Servitors, who might draw more good Fortunes in one hour out of this infinite source of Felicity and Greatness, than they could in a thousand years out of the poverty of the Princes of *Europe*. He said also, That the great Sultan had on foot an Army of a hundred and fifty thousand men strong, for the Conquest of *Peth* and *Sirigium*, furnished with all things necessary, which had now already turned head toward *Hungary*, had it not been for the Rebellion of some of his dishonourable Subjects, whom for all that he would in short time chastise, and so turn his whole Forces upon the Emperor.

*Mosley*, proud of his late Conquest, and having found a great deal of great Ordnance in *Wifefburg*, resolved to prosecute his Victory, and to beseege *Bajla* in *Somsonian*, wherein he had thrust himself, with the rest of his small Forces: but *Bajla*, better acquainted with martial Affairs than he, and knowing that a General, departed from his Charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chief Defence, hath lost his Credit and Reputation with his Friends, and they also in hope of Safety from him thought it best first to take order for the strengthening of the Place, so to put *Mosley* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward, as he might to provide for the safety of himself and his. Wherefore he in good time advertised the Governor of *Cassovia* (who was nearest unto him) of *Mosley's* Designs, and of the necessity whereunto he was himself incited. Who forthwith conceiving the consequence of so great an Exploit, as concerned both the loss of the Place, and of so great a Commander as was *Bajla*, a loss irreparable; presently commanded five Companies of Horse-men to fence thereof. These Horse-men, either afraid of the Rebels Army, or else favouring his Proceedings, without respect of that they had in charge, or of their Honour (things dearer unto men of Worth than their Lives) without any Attempt at all given, returned again to *Cassovia*; having with their Pilferage and Quarries by the way much offended and provoked the Country of the Country People by him spoiled. But being now better advised, and repenting themselves of their Faults, and craving Pardon of their Governour, who was about with the rest of his Power to have cut them in pieces, they offered him for satisfaction six of the principal Authors of their Difloyalty; who were all forthwith executed, and their Quarters by the High ways side. But *Bajla*, by their Treachery, lay in the mean time without incour, forsaken by his Friends, and the Place wherein he lay in danger to be taken: when the *Transylvanians*, dwelling near thereby, moved to relieve him, as well for fear of the Turks Bondage, as for the Tyranny of *Mosley*; one of whose Secretaries, with Letters of

A General besieged Ioseth his Reputation.

Bajla praysh Aid of the Governour of Cassovia.

of





1603

The Turks  
unreasonably  
demands  
break off  
all the  
Treaty of  
Peace.

down upon Resolutions so far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperor would have been glad of Peace upon any Condition) after their proud manner, unreasonably demanded to have *Transilvania*, *Strigoniun*, and *Pesth* returned unto them; for which they offered to deliver unto the Emperor, *Agria* and *Cassifa*, Peble for Pearls. So that upon Propositions so far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both sides as they came, to try by Arms that which by Talk and Conference they could not agree upon. But as all the Turks Treaties of Peace with the Christians are indeed but false fives, so the Emperor's Propositions to him to now also it was known, that they in the mean time, whilst this Treaty of Peace was in hand, gathered together great force both of Men and Munition at *Belgrade*, wherewith to arm a great Convoy of *Viduats*, which they had thought during this Interparley for Peace to have put into *Buda*. But *Mohomet* understanding thereof, ceased further to intreat of Peace, which with the false threat thereof did but hurt and deceive the Christians, and betook himself again to his Arms (his and their safety and self refuge) resolving with the other Captains and Commanders of the Army to do what they might for the crossing and hindering of the Turkish purpose for the putting of *Viduats* into *Buda*; whereto there was now such want, that the Turks in Garrison there having already eaten all their Horses, and for *Viduats* rifled the Governours Houles, were resolved to abandon the City, if they should not be within five more days relieved.

Now upon this Resolution for the keeping of the Turks from the retreating of *Buda*, the Christians, for the more assurance of their purpose, prepared therefore both by Water and by Land, embarking their Foot-men upon the River, under the Conduct of Colonel *Almeine* and *Sulze*, the one Governour of *Strigoniun*, and the other of *Pesth*; whilst the *Colonnels* with the *Janizaries*, scouting along the Banks of the River of *Danubius*, took the charge by Land. And so it fortuned, that upon the two and twentieth day of *August*, he with his Horsemen, near unto the Village of *Mohatich*, (famous for the death of King *Ledy*) fell upon the head of the Turks Army, led by the *Bassa Murat*, consisting of six thousand Turks, two thousand of them being *Janizaries*, who altogether lay encamped upon an even plain, very commodious for our Horsemen, who let slip neither the Time nor the Opportunity of so great an advantage offered them, but forthwith charged them; where, after a number of notable Charges both given and received, which still abated both the Numbers and Courage of the Turks, they at last retired toward the Body of their Army, and that in such haste, as that they retreated little differed from a speedy flight. After whom *Colonnels* followed, with like heat as he had charged them; but evil followed by his Friends, who evil performed their charge, seeking after the Spoil instead of pursuing the Enemies; the Turks perceiving the small number that pursued them, turned upon them, and so began again not only to make strong resistance, but even right hardly to charge them. Who to by them pressed with no less Courage than Power, were now glad themselves to retire instead of pursuing the Victory; but yet so, as that the retreat was made without any great loss therein received. However, the Turks were a little encouraged with this change of Fortune, and perceiving themselves too strong for their Enemies that charged them, came on to fight and so courageously, as that in fine they had defeated the Christians, had not the *Haiducks* out of their Boats from the River in good time come refectively to their relief. Which Cloud

the Turks perceiving, ready to pour forth a great Tempest upon their Heads, and not daring to abide the same, again retired, leaving the Christians *Viduats* both in the first and last charge; who, not content with the retreat of the Turks, furiously charged them, and pursued them even unto their great Camp, and so returned, carrying back with them both the Glory of the Field, and the Spoil of their Enemies.

In this Conflict, the red Corner of *Murat Bassa*, the Cognizance of his great Command, was taken, with two Field-pieces seven hundred Turks were dead upon the Place, and five hundred more taken Prisoners; amongst whom was *Saxar Beg*, who being a man of understanding, and who the Christians examined, confessed, That *Hassan Bassa*, the day before this Conflict, came into the Camp, and there honourably dined with the great *Cham*; with whom, after their great cheer, he entering into Discourse of many great Matters, and among the rest, concerning his return into his Country; was much against the same, until such time as they had new *Viduats* *Buda*, whereunto he was (as he said) both in Honour and in Duty bound to give his assistance, the loss of this good place being of so great importance unto the great Sultan. That otherwise his Aid had been to him in his last Charge, but that his People having devoured so much *Viduats* and performed nothing, if he should now at this time fail to do his Prince Service, who could never think either Valour or Fidelity to be in him, if he should fail in such Actions as wherein his Valour and Fidelity should appear; all things having no other Credit and Reputation, but according unto their Effects. And that therefore he should resolve to see the end of this Exploit, which required every mans helping hand for the Performance thereof, considering the Forces of the Enemy in readiness to hinder the same. Moreover, he assured them, that the *Bassas* purpose was to new fortify *Hofburg*, *Pest*, and *Kaslo*, for their Castles, and necessary for this Action, and to go to the siege of *Pesth*; and that done, to besiege *Strigoniun*; which for all that he doubted to win this year, as well by reason of the approach of Winter, as for that a great part of his Forces were far off, and not easily in a little time to be assembled together. That the *Tartars* were yet a great way from the Camp, where the *Bassas* of *Asia* and *Caramania* were within a few days expected; the one of them leading with him the reconciled Rebels of *Asia*, and the other six thousand *Janizaries*. Which his Confession, although it were not altogether true, yet it carried shew of some Probability, as time by proof afterward declared.

Some of our men were in this charge slain also, but few in comparison of the Turks, who there lost some of their best men. It was noted, that in this Conflict the *Souldiers* of *Colonnels Sulze*, had ill behaved themselves, refusing to pursue the Enemy being in flight, whether it were for that they saw some ambush laid for them, or for that they disdaind to follow the General *Colonnels*; the reasons perhaps for which the *Colonnels* slayed them from the pursuit of the Enemy, but to evil purpose; for being out of order at such a time as the Turks turning back, renewed the fight, they had been all slain and cut in pieces, had not the *Haiducks* in good time (as we said) come on to their rescue. As for *Colonnels*, he most bravely bare himself in this Conflict, so much as in him was, urging his good Fortune, for the obtaining of a full Victory; sometime performing the part of a good Captain, and sometime of a valiant *Souldier*; sometime forcing the charge, and again slaying his men in their retreat; insum, that oftentimes he lost, as amongst his Enemies, and again returning by Grace

The Turks  
Affairs and  
Designs made  
known un-  
to the  
Christians  
by *Saxar*  
Beg, by their  
own taken  
Prisoners.

The great  
and brave  
endeavour  
of *Colonnels*  
to have  
obtained the  
Victory over  
the Turks.

1603

A great  
and rich  
Booty loft  
through the  
negligence  
of the Chris-  
tians.

Grace of God, he escaped Death, as it were by Miracle, and from being taken Prisoner, by chance. Into neither of which dangers he could have fallen without the danger of the whole Army which, next unto God, was for the Safety thereof beheld, into the Valour of him, their to brave a Leader. But God in his Wisdom createth not such worthy men, but by his Providence also to preserve them; wonder it were otherwise, that ever such worthy men should return from amongst the midst of so many desperate Dangers, Death as it were envying at their Lives, and their Enemies forbidding them the Victory, and their own Spills and Overthrow. And without doubt, had the rest of the Christians after his Example prosecuted their good Fortune, and done what good *Souldiers* should of Duty have done, their Enemies had been quite overthrown, and they themselves had been both victorious and rich; where now for lack of good Resolution, the Victory was almost equal. For beside the Spoils by them gotten, they might have carried away with them a whole Years Pay, due to the Garrison of *Buda*, which the Turks (put into a fear, and careful only of their Lives) had left in their Camp; which they afterward again recovered, upon the recovery of their Force and Courage of this Manner, with much more, was all appointed as a Prey unto the good Fortune of the Men, had their Valour had the Courage to have gone to fetch it; but failing of their endeavour in so glorious an Action, Fortune failed them also of her Bounty.

Now at length the Army of the Christians was met together, about the fourth of September, wherein the Lord *Russinow* commanded as General; who, desirous to understand of the Turks Affairs and Designs, sent forth two of his most trusty and expert *Souldiers* to perform that piece of Service; who in Turks Apparel being got into the Turks Army, were there eight days undiscovered and unsuspected of any. Where, after that, they roaming up and down, had taken a full view of the Turks Army, and in what they might discovered their Designs, they returning back, declared unto the General what they had both there heard and seen; as, That the Turks Army was very great, but yet not such as that which the last Year they besieged *Pesth*; That the Turks lay incamped at large, and not close together, which caused their Army to seem the greater, taking up for the lodgment thereof half a League, being well provided of Cannon and other Field-pieces; That *Hassan Bassa* commanded therein as General, having brought with him twelve thousand *Janizaries*, beside his *Horsemen*, and the reconciled Rebels of *Asia*, which were daily looked for, the Leader of whom was not known; some thinking it to be him who had always commanded them, being a most valiant Man, and expert Commander; but some other deeming him to be but one of his Captains that had forsaken him, (as right he was) a right valiant man also, but not of so great Experience as he: That the great *Tartar Han*, came to aid the Turks in their Wars in Hungary, was to the great discontentment of *Hassan Bassa* the Turks General) now already returned towards his own Country (with such Booby and Prisoners as he had got from the poor Christians) to suppress a Rebellion there raised by a young *Tartar* Prince, his Nephew, who, by his Uncle the great Han, given in Hostage unto Sultan *Mohomet*, and kept at *Constantinople* as in Prison, having found means to make an Escape, and to return into *Tartary*, was about to trouble his Uncles Affairs, in hope now in his Absence to mount unto the Throne of his Father; and that the *Tartar*, being come to the Bank of *Danubius*, and by the Turks denied Boats to pass over the Ri-

ver in, and with many railing and opprobrious Speeches, by them charged for his departure as a Coward, had found means to make a floating Bridge of great Faggots, whereby he passed his Foot-men over the River, his Horse-men swimming over the same; and it was by great Journeys returning home, boasting by the way as he went, that he had rejected and trodden under foot all the Prayers and Requests of *Hassan Bassa*, entreating him yet to stay a while in Hungary for the Service of the great Sultan his Master. Besides that, That they had seen six great Vessels upon the River of *Danubius*, with ten thousand following of them, manned with three thousand *Souldiers* well armed, and men of good foot, three hundred of them being *Janizaries*, appointed to safe Conduct the Munition to be brought up the River, and to serve for a Convoy unto the other Vessels that were to follow them with *Viduats*, if happily the Christians should attempt to do any thing against them in fine, That the Turks Army could not this Year possibly be great, by reason of many great Lets wherewith the great Sultan was this Year troubled; which much abated both the Courage and Hope of his Captains, who, hanging their Heads, came unwillingly to these Vassals, accounting themselves happy if they might in this Expedition take *Pesth*, Colonnels, that they might not return so much discouraged, as they came daunted and discouraged. With which News the Christians were so much encouraged to encounter with the Turks, as if they had been assured to fight with men already discouraged and out of Heart.

In the mean time, the *Hussars* of *Strigoniun*, always ready for Fight, by good fortune got forth, met with four hundred Turks seeking for Forrage; who encountering together, at the first made a most brave and gallant Fight, every one of them willing, That their private Success might be the beginning of their general Victory. But the *Hussars*, being both more numerous in that manner skirmishing and sudden Encounter, and also of greater Courage, at length brake the Turks Ranks, of whom, six score lay dead upon the ground, most of the rest were taken Prisoners, with an hundred and thirty good and servicable Horses, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their Victory was increased. Colonnels *Sulze* also, with three hundred men, marching out from the Camp, came to discover an hundred of those brave Horse-men which but newly came out of *Asia* with *Zelally* the Rebel; who having never seen the Army of the Christians, nor yet felt of their Forces, were, with three hundred *Janizaries*, upon a Bravery, come over the River of *Danubius*, to take a view of the Christian Camp; for the drawing on of whom, the pollicit Colonnels had sent forth fifty of his Horse-men a great way from the rest of his Troop, as it were to discover the Country thereabout. These Fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turks, as it if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking they had have had a great hand over that so small a number, when upon the sudden, *Sulze*, with the rest of his Company coming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his own men, and discouraged the Turks; who, surprised with fear, thinking the Christians to be more in number than indeed they were, having left some fifty of their men dead upon the place, as men dismayed and void of Understanding, fled. In which Flight, such as were not by the Christians slain, were in the River of *Danubius* drowned, whereto, they for fear all headlong plunged themselves.

All these little Conflicts served but as Sparks to kindle the great Fire by the *Bassa* intended; his first Purpose being to put a Convoy of *Viduats*

The Turks  
over-  
thrown by  
the Garrison  
of *Strigoniun*.

The Turks  
defeated  
by Colonnels  
*Sulze*.

A notable  
Encounter  
of *Colonnels*  
upon the  
Advantage  
of the  
Turks  
Army.

*Colonnels*  
in good  
time re-  
ceived by  
the *Haiducks*.





1603  
Many  
Italian  
Renegades  
hanged.

The Turks  
Army  
diminished  
and discor-  
raged.

many more Prisoners, amongst whom were found above fourscore Italian Renegades, who brought into the Camp, were, as Enemies unto God, in a Martial Court all condemned to be hanged, and so accordingly executed, leaving the Captain himself, who, for the regard of his Place, was beheaded.

Shortly after, the great Basha ailing with his Army, came in the beginning of October and incamped near *Buda*, both for the Preservation of the Place, and the safety of his Army, now greatly diminished both in Number and Courage. For it was certainly known by divers Fugitives from the Turks, that in these many Conflicts they had lost a number of their best Soldiers, but especially of their Janizaries. So that the Basha, for the supplying of that Defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his best Souldiers, the proper Arms of the Janizaries, he entertained into the Rooms and pay of the Janizaries that were dead and slain; the rest of his Army for the most part consisting of bare and feeble, bafe raw Souldiers. Besides this, that all the Army was full of Mourning and Lamentation, the Souldiers in all Places bewailing the loss of their Brethren, their Friends and Companions; so that instead of their wonted Threats and bravery, nothing was to be heard but sighing and complaining. And moreover, that the general Opinion conceived of the greatness of the Christian Army, (imagined to be much greater and stronger than indeed it was) had struck such a fear into the minds of the Turks that they were reolved, *Buda* being once viallued, to return home, all their other proud Designs for this year set apart; which was the cause that they had dislodged with their Army, and drawn near unto the City, the better to attend to the new vialluing thereof, and so to be gone; accounting themselves right happy, if they might but perform that good piece of Service and save themselves.

The Chri-  
stians with  
their Ar-  
my follow  
the Turk.

The Christians, before in doubt lest the Turks should have besieged *Peth*, as they had before given it forth they would, and seeing them now to be risen with their Army and incamped near unto *Buda*, resolved to follow them, and in what they might to cross their Designs; and thereupon leaving *Peth*, as now out of danger, they rose also, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Isle of *Vicgrade*, betwixt the said Fort and *Vachia*; where they layed four days, and then by a Bridge which they made upon the *Danube*, whereby to pass from the Isle where the *Italians* lay in Garrisons, unto the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, kept by the *Lansquenets*, they with the whole Army passed the River, and so came and incamped before the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the Enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two Armies was plain and open, without Woods, Bushes, or Rivers, to hinder the joining of a set Battle. In which to fit a Place, the Christians encouraged with the fear of their Enemies, and the diminishing of their Number and Courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous rising, as by other Advancements) were desirous in so favourable Occasions to have given them Battle; and for the desire, five days after that the Christians were incamped on that side of the River. This Battle of the Turks came marching on, within half a Quarter of a League of the Christians;

which they would not have done, had upon the Confidence of a greater number followers of them, having behind them ten thousand men both Horse and Foot, laid as close as they possibly could a little out of the way. Now the Christians, thinking of no other Force ready to fight, but those which appeared in their sight, sent forth 12 hundred men against these five thousand Turks, to skirmish with them, until the whole Army were put into order, even for a general Battle that day to have been fought; if the Turks should accept thereof; whereunto the General, the Colonels, Captains, and Army with great Cheerfulness marching on foot at this loud alarm of their common defence, which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewise disposed for the producing of the same. But they be the extraordinary favours of Fortune, when fit Occasions joyn themselves with brave Resolutions, and such Resolutions with means to effect the same. This is the lot of many most noble Trophies, which most commonly fail, either for lack of fit Occasion, or for lack of good Resolution for the performance of them. But as most men judge of other men Conceits by their own Inclination, so the Christians themselves, reolved to give Battle, thought the Turks their Enemies to have been of the same Resolution; and those five thousand men to have been the head of the avauit-guard, followed with the whole Army, coming to draw them out to skirmish until the coming on of the rest of their Force. Howbeit their design was quite contrary to this the Christians hope, for their purpose was only to train them out into their Ambushes, to withhold danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpose they gave sufficient Testimony, and cause of suspect; for that the Skirmish having continued three hours, with some loss on both sides, the Turkish Army appeared not; and these five thousand Turks now in Skirmish, by little and little raising, fought on to have drawn the Christians into the danger of their Ambush. Which their manner of fight caused the Christians to suspect the matter; for it was not like, that five thousand men should give ground to twelve hundred, if they had not had some secret meaning therein, which they sought to effect to their more advantage. Which caused the Christian *Carabins* which followed them, not to be too earnest in pursuing of them, and more closely to serve themselves together, the better to indure the flock of their Enemies, if they should charge them. Neither were they in that provident fear deceived; for the Turks, seeing their purpose discovered, and themselves now out of hope to effect the same, upon the sudden made a stand, and so presently coming on, hardly charged the foremost of our *Carabins*; who, as men half surprised, to see themselves so readily and resolutely charged, by men who but now made flew as if they would have fled, were not able so valiantly to receive the charge (considering the great number of them by whom they were charged); but that some few of them were overthrown and slain, with some of the *Hungarians* amongst them. Howbeit they made good resistance, and right valiantly repulled their Enemies, of whom they flew a good number also. The praise in this Conflict was great, every one charging to shew himself brave and courageous in the head of his own Army. But new Supplies still coming in, the Turks in fine thrunk back and retired, having left three hundred of their Fellows dead upon the Place, accompanied with an hundred of the Christians; the rest were slain likewise. Now upon the retreat on both sides, every man by his conceit appointed the next day for the general day of Battle; the brig-

The Turks  
seek to  
draw the  
Christians  
into the  
danger of  
their Ar-  
mish.

1603

The Turks  
refuse to  
come to  
a general  
Battle with  
the Chri-  
stians.

Enslaver,  
what man-  
ner of Sol-  
diers they  
are among  
the Turks.

ging Speeches of the Turks giving the Christians occasion to think; for why, they seldom or never refuse Battle, being offered them by the Christians, as well for the Confidence they commonly have in their multitude, as for the desire they have of the inevitable Predetermination of men to Life or Death; accounting it amongst them an eternal infamy, to refuse any Combat against the Christians; which, howsoever it fall out, should sort to their Advantage, by vanquishing, gaining the Fruits of their Victory; and by losing their Lives in Battle, to gain the glory of Heaven being vainly perswaded, no mens Souls do go more readily unto Heaven, than the Souls of such as dye in Battle against the Christians. Such Effects old superstitious Opinions are able to work in the Minds of men, even to the desperate adventuring and spending of their Lives. Howbeit, that this Effect for this time withstood, that their men, with all their Advantages, as much feared the danger as any other poor faint-hearted men; and that a strong apprehension of fear is able to prevail against all Customs and Perfections, they never to old, as also against all other Accidents whatsoever. For why, the Turks, contenting themselves with the great Brags and vain Threats, came not forth according to their Promise, neither could by any means be drawn to adventure themselves unto the hazard of a general Battle. The loss of their great and choicest men discouraged and deterred them from adventuring all to the hazard of to great a Peril. For (as I have said) almost all their Janizaries and most valiant Souldiers were dead or slain, and the rest, men of small Spirit or Courage, reolved that little which was in them, for the safeguard of themselves, and not for the gaining of any notable Victory. They had also in their often Conflicts lost all their *Hacks*, which were desperate and of whom they fought on Horseback, without saddle, having only a little piece of Tapstry upon their Horses Backs, and by the readiness of their Horses, do for a long time in one fort maintain their fight. They carry light Darts made of ftrait and fair Canes, excellently well made, and strongly armed; and their handy Weapons are good Sabres, or broad and sharp Cut-throats. These men a great while fought most valiantly in the last Combats, but in fine, were all slain, except some few which cast themselves into *Danubius*, and were there drowned. The loss of which men much discouraged the Turks; for why, their Service stood them in great need in receiving the Enemies Charges, and with their Bodies covering of the Turks Squadrons in their greatest Perils and Combats. Howbeit the Turks received not these Losses without returning of some part thereof to us again; for *Collobate* had a little before fallen into great danger of his Person, and lost some of his Followers in an Enterprize of great Moment, had the Effect answered unto the Project thereof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Isle of *Vicgrade*, he caused eight great field-pieces to be so placed, as that therewith he so much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to have forsaken the Place. And the more to force them to do, the second of October he embarked himself with six hundred *Haidaks* upon the *Danubius*, and so by Night with great silence landed near unto the Enemies, thinking to upon the sudden to have surprised them. Which for all that, could not so secretly be done, by reason of the coming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who therewith upon great perswaded out of their Trenches, and with all their Force and Power charged him. Against whom he made head, rather upon a brave and constant

Collobate  
in governing  
about to  
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the Turks,  
but was  
repulsed,  
and him-  
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gered.

A Conflict  
betwixt  
the Turks  
and the  
Christians.

Resolution, than upon any Confidence he had in his own Force, nor having men now to withstand the least part of his Enemies. Which his so great Resolution to abate the Turks Fury, as that they stood a good while in doubt to charge upon to relieve him. The Field-pieces which he had brought over with him into the Isle, he took with him to good purpose, beating them back with their murdering Bullets, who with their number thought to have overwhelmed him. Which good help, opposed against the number of the Enemies, for a time balanced the Victory, and wrought the death of many of our good souldiers. This manner of fight indured the space of two hours, maintained more by Resolution, than by Strength and Power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number prevailing, the Christians therewith rather oppressed than vanquished, forsaking their Field-pieces, disorderly retired toward their Boats. After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that push flew 400 of the *Haidaks*, the rest with much ado recovering their Boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the Fury of their Enemy. Which loss happened not to unto the Christians, but that it was mingled with some loss of the Turks also; of whom, the most forward and courageous were in that fight slain, as was afterwards known by certain Prisoners of theirs afterward taken, who made report of the Losses by them there received. The Turks, by this so desperate and dangerous attempt warned, to prevent the like for the time to come, call up great Trenches in the Isle along the Bank of *Danubius*, therein placing certain Janizaries and other their best Souldiers, who there lay until the dislodgement of the Camp, to go to lie before *Buda*.

The Turks had before built a Bridge of Boats at *Lamscin*, which gave them Passage unto *Stiria*, where they did great harm; for the strengthening thereof, they had placed at both ends thereof a strong Fort, well furnished both with Men and Munition. This Bridge, so commodious for the Turks, and hurtful to the Christians, *Tranquellus*, Governour of *Stiria*, and a great Commander in those parts, with his *Stirian* Troops, and some good Aid brought unto him by the County *Stiria*, undertook to break. Upon which Resolution, he upon the sudden approached one of the aforesaid Forts, and so right furiously assailed the same, before they in the Fort were well aware of his coming. In which doing, he caused the greatest noise and stir that was possible to be made with Trummers, Drums, and clattering of Armour, as if it had been some great assault. Which Action, the more to terrify the besieged, Which so great and dreadful noise, joyned unto to brave attempt, with so great Courage begun, struck such a Terror into the Minds of the Turks, that they without any great resistance quitted the place, and fled over the Bridge to the other Fort. Of which forsaken Fort the Christians became Masters, and with all speed prosecuting their good Fortune, presently drew out thereof three Cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, having no other place of Refuge to fly unto, nor hope of safety but in their last Valour, so well belaboured themselves, as that the Christians had much ado to force them. Howbeit, a breach being made by the Fury of the Cannon, and scaling ladders let up, the Fort was on every side assaulted; which the Turks for the space of five hours so valiantly endured, as that it was hard to say who should prevail or have the better. In this Assault, there were many on both sides slain, the Turks not being able to overcome but with the loss both of their Lives and Honour; nor the Christians able to retire without

losing

The Bridge  
of Lamscin  
taken and  
broken by  
the Govern-  
ment of  
Stiria.

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1603 losing the fruit of that their so great and rich an Enterprise; so that the assault was with great Resolution on both sides maintained, the Turks fighting for their Lives, and the Christians for their Honour; until that at last, the Turks, with much slaughter overcome, the Fort was by the Christians taken, and most of the Turks therein being slain, and the rest taken Prisoners, both the Forts were forthwith razed, and the Bridge broken, which before served for an outlet, the Turks for the Turks to forage, and spoil the Christian Territories by. The Boats whereof the Bridge was made were all burnt, and some great Ordnance therein found broken in pieces and cast into the River.

At the same time *Lugase*, a Place of great Importance to the Service of the Emperour, and so near unto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabout, but that it might from thence be discovered and known, was by the *Transilvanians* delivered to *Bassa*, General for the Emperour in that Country. From which place, he sending out certain Scouts toward *Belgrade*, they brought it to him that certain Prisoners, who being examined, laid, that *Hassan Bassa*, the Turks General in *Hungary*, had writ to *Giasfer Bassa*, the Governour of *Temeswar*, That he should only attend to the Preservation of his own, without attempting any thing further against the Christians, the present estate of their Affairs so requiring; and that having received the answer, that he was for this year to return, in hope of some good Peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour.

The two Armies of the Turks and the Christians lay still near the one of them unto the other, the Turks careful of the revictualling of *Buda*, and the Christians still endeavouring to the danger, and desirous in what they might to hinder and frustrate the same. Which, because they could no way better do, than by offering of them Battle; they thereupon generally resolved, upon a *Friday*, being the seventeenth of *October*, the day by them assigned for the Battle (having by the shooting off of three great Cannons, given warning unto the Soldiers throughout the Camp, for the preparing of themselves first toward God, and then to the Service of their Prince) after they had well refreshed themselves, in good order took the field, and so issued ready ranged there, either to give or accept of Battle. Before whom, the County *Ragava* was sent forth with his Regiment, about half the way betwixt the two Armies, to discover the moving of the Enemy, and to receive his first charge if occasion should so require. Whole Scouts before sent forth, about Noon discovered a Troop of Horse-men come out of the Turks Camp, about some hundred they had to do, but to them unknown; whom the Scouts supposing to have been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almost surpris'd, hastily retired back again, and by their hasty retreat put the whole Army in an alarm, which came bravely marching on, in hope now to have come to try the matter by true Valour, and by the Fortune of a general Battle to have made that day forever famous by their Victory and the overthrow of their proud Enemies. And in the heat of their so great Courage, like enough it was for them to have performed the same, had the Turks had but so much Courage in them as to have met them in the Field, as was well hoped they now would. But they, with their former Losses discouraged, and resolved only upon the safeguard of themselves, and the victualling of *Buda*, had no mind to enter into these honourable Lists, but kept themselves close within the covert of their Tent,

1603 and the strength of their Trenches. And so the Christians, with a false alarm moved, and having for the most part of the day in vain expected the coming forth of their Enemies, returned into their Camp deceived of their Expedition.

The same day there was an *Allegiance* taken, whom they which took 'him thought to have been a Turk, howbeit he was found to be one of their own men; by whom they were better informed for the Counting of the Turks, of their purpose for the flouting of Battle, and of their Resolution for the keeping of themselves within the safeguard of their Trenches; and that they so did, as well for the losses they had before received, as for divers other unlucky accidents, which caused them to misdoom some evil success in the end and winding up of this their Expedition. Nevertheless, the Christians, not greatly trusting to these Reports, still kept their Army in readiness, to give their Enemies Battle upon the least occasion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cause of fear, the Turks having no desire at all to come to a general Battle, so that instead of great Effects there were expected, the time passed but in light Skirmishes and vain Alarms betwixt the two Armies, until that at length the Turks, having by the River sufficiently stored the City of *Buda* with Victuals, the great *Bassa* secretly by Night stole with his Army, and so retired toward *Belgrade*. Which for a while differed not from a cowardly flight, being with such silence made under the covert of the Night, as that the Christians had thereof no perceiving until they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of *Buda*, and some other few places of the Turks in *Hungary*, was all that the great *Bassa* did this year with his great Army; whereas at his first coming it was given out, that he would thenceforth take both *Strigonia* and *Pozsh* from the *Croatians*.

The next day, the hasty and sudden departure of the Enemy being perceived, the General of the Christians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the Army, to consult with them, what were best to be done in so unexpected an occurrence: Of whom, some were of Opinion, That it was best forthwith in all haste to pursue these fearful Enemies; others, for many Reasons dissuading the same, and others withal, propounding some other notable Exploits to be taken in hand. But in Conclusion, the safest point was resolved upon, which was, not to hazard any of their Troops in pursuing of their flying Enemies, who were hardly to be overtaken; but now immediately after their departure to attempt the taking in of some one of their strong holds; where, amongst others that were propounded, *Harsan* was thought to be the most necessary Place, being so seated, as that beside the great harm it did to the Christians thereabout, it much hindered both Advancements and Victuals to be brought unto *Pozsh*. Which Exploit resolved upon, they forthwith razed the Fort of *St. Andrew*, and the Fort by them built in the life of *Viegrad*, because they should not stand the Turks in any stead after their departure, and so with all their Power for forward toward *Harsan*. This Town is seated beyond the River of *Danubius* toward the North, about eight Leagues from *Buda*, crossing the way to *Transilvania* and *Galicia*, upon a fair and even Plain, near unto a great and deep Marish, and was sometime defended with good and strong Walls, with a Cattle, and three large and deep Ditches, for a long time in the Power of the Turks, and which was now a great while held out against the valiant Baron *Teufsenbach*, by whom it was most fraudly in vain besieged; until that afterward it was again besieged by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, the Emperours

Brother,

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*Harsan* taken and dismantled by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, in the year 1594.

*Harsan* again fortified by the Turks.

*Harsan* besieged by the Christians.

*Grafid*, General of the *Italians*, slain.

The Christians after the departure of the Turks, resolve to besiege *Harsan*.

Brother, then General of his Army in *Hungary*, in the year 1594, whom he was to have followed on tomorrow after it had for a certain space been by the Turks notably defended; who, considering the harm this place did unto the Emperours Territories, by reason of the situation thereof, wherein a great and strong Garrison of the Turks always lying, foraged all the Christian Territories as far as the River *Vague*, yea, and was wont to carry thence as far as *Strigonia*, and by spoiling of all that side of *Hungary*, caused the Country to pay Contribution as far as *Ternavie*, standing within four Leagues of the Mountains which separate *Hungary* and *Moravia*; all irreparable Losses to the Christians, and hardly to be avoided; for which Reasons he caused it to be dismantled, and to be made unserviceable for the Wars. After which time for all that, the Turks, for the commodiousness of the Place, had with great Labour again new fortified the same, with Walls made with great Piles of Wood and Paggots, with Earth rammed in betwixt them; a stronger kind of fortification, and better able to withstand the Fury of the Cannon, than are Walls of Stone; in which fort the Turks use most commonly to fortify such Places as they mean to defend, and which oftentimes cost much for the Christians to gain the same from them.

This Place thus fortified, and both with Men and Munition well furnished, and with all things needful stored, was able to endure a great long Siege; whereunto the Garrison therein was as resolutely set down, as were the Christians to attempt it; where now, at their first coming unto it, a part of the *Italian* Regiment, assisted with three hundred *Lansquenets*, under the leading of *Count Szekes*, and *Grafid*, General of the *Italians*, were appointed to go before the rest of the Army, and to begin to make the Approaches; which they did by forcing of a Water-mill, driven by the Water of the Marish, not past a Musquet shot from the Town. Wherein while they were busied, the Turks falling out of the Town, came to fight hand to hand with the Christians, and had with them a sharp Combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the Place, and of their Lives, and the Christians for the gaining of the same, and for their Honour. Which for contrary a Resolution in that Conflict, cost the lives of many; amongst others, the life of *Grafid*, General of the *Italians*, there slain with a Harquebule shot, unto the great hurt of the whole Army, but especially of the *Italians*, now deprived of so great and expert a Commander. At last, for all that, the Turks were enforced confidently to retire again into the Town, having in this fallily lost a number of their men also. The Christians nevertheless, having driven the Turks back into the Town, went forward with their Business in making their Approaches, and placing their Gabions to cover their Cannon; wherein the Turks with their great and small shot did them great harm, but especially with their murthering pieces, charged with Nails and other small pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Russworm* with the rest of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted so near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without most manifest danger and loss, any more fallily out to trouble the Christians in their Works. The first Inconvenience the besieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was soon taken from them, the Cannon right furiously battering the Walls in the mean space. Wherewith the Turks discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not best for them to expect either whilst a Breach were made, or an

Assault given, but by Parly to prevent these Dangers, it chose it to come to some easier Composition, while yet their Troops in their whole strength. And so Parly by the Turks demanded, and by the Christians granted, and Hostages for the fury thereof on both sides given, they sent two of the chief men amongst them to intreat of the same; who at the first demanded, that their Lives and Liberty should be secured, and that they should depart. Whereunto the Christians, who were given them, they should only with their Lives and Liberty be gone, with some few hundreds of their worth Horses, of Courtship given them, to carry them to such place as they meant to retire themselves unto, and to deliver into the hands of the Christians all such Renegades as were in Town.

Now the besieged Turks, carrying yet the marks of the Cruelty by the *Wallons* exercised upon them in the former Siege, when as the same Town was by force taken, and filled with dead Bodies of all Ages and Sexes, and doubting now this second Shipwreck, with like misery threatened unto them by the Christian General, if they should expect the dreadful event of a general assault, accepted of these hard Conditions, seeing no better could be obtained; and so covenanting, that they with their Families, their Lives and Liberties saved, might with a safe Convoy be conducted unto some place of safety within their own Territory, they promised to give unto the Turks, in full Agreement, on both sides resolved upon, that full of *Sorow* and *Heaviness*, with their Families departing out of the Town the 25th of *November*, were by Colonel *Andass*, with certain *Hussars*, safely conducted to *Solot*. The Christians entering the Town, found there a great store of Victuals and Munition, the Houses full of Corn, and gave the *Wallons*, and the Shops filled with Weapons, Shot, and Powder, with 24 pieces of great Ordnance ready mounted, which might have well sufficed for the defence of the place. But all these things are but Accessories unto one principal, that is to say, to Resolution, without which they are but of small force, and with which they are able to do much. Beside that, the place itself thus furnished well considered, seemed almost impossible to have been forced; but especially now that Winter was come on, which might have brought a thousand Storms and Difficulties, by the Christians not to have been endured; so that every man beholding the same, with his Eyes cast up towards heaven, gave God the Praise, for taking away the Turks Courages in their so great Advantages, and increasing of the Christians in their no less Difficulties; unto whom the glory of this Victory was wholly attributed, seeing that contrary to all appearance and mans forces, he had given to the Christians the Victory, who may able by their own forces to have been gained. But God, which in his Providence from Heaven beholdeth all things upon Earth, disposeth of the same as he pleaseth best for his Glory, and the welfare of his; so that in this Action he was the only Pilot which brought this our Ship into the Haven of Health; for the Hairs of our Heary are herein numbered, and even the least Creatures upon Earth are by him regarded.

Into this new gained Town the Christian General put a good and strong Garrison of a thousand *Lansquenets*, and 500 *Hungarians*, part Horse-men, and part Foot-men, for the keeping of the Place and of the Country thereabout; which done, he retired with his Army toward *Pozsh*, which he retook with Victuals, and strength again the Troops of the Colonels, *Coltonis*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there billeted to pass the Winter, and to preserve the place against the Devices and Enterprises of the Turks of *Buda*, who were still devising and practising for the regaining thereof.

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The

1603

The Turks taken and dismantled by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, in the year 1594.

*Harsan* again fortified by the Turks.

1603

Eighty  
Turks  
Renegades  
hanged.The Turks  
Army  
greatly  
diminished  
and discou-  
raged.

many more Prisoners, amongst whom were found above fourscore Italian Renegades, who, brought into the Camp, were, as Enemies unto God, in a Martial Court all condemned to be hanged, and accordingly executed, leaving the Captain himself, who, for the regard of his Place, was beheaded.

Shortly after, the great Batta arising with his Army, came in the beginning of October and incamped near Buda, both for the Preservation of the Place, and the safety of his Army, now greatly diminished both in Number and Courage. For it was certainly known by divers Fugitives from the Turks, that in these many Conflicts they had lost a number of their best Soldiers, but especially of their Janizaries. So that the Batta, for the supplying of that Defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his best Soldiers, whom, armed with Muskets and Scimitars, the proper Arms of the Janizaries, he entertained into the Rooms and Pay of the Janizaries for the most part consisting of bare and feeble, bare raw Soldiers. Besides this, that all the Army was full of Mourning and Lamentation, the Soldiers in all Places bewailing the loss of their Brethren, their Friends and Companions; so that instead of their wonted Threats and bravery, nothing was to be heard but sighing and complaining. And moreover, that the general Opinion conceived of the greatness of the Christian Army, (imagined to be much greater and stronger than indeed it was) had struck such fear into the minds of the Turks, as that they were resolved, Buda being once victualled, to return home, all their other proud Designs for this year left apart; which was the cause that they had dislodged with their Army, and drawn near unto the City, the better to attend to the new victuals, and so to be gone; accounting themselves right happy, if they might but perform that good piece of Service and save themselves.

The Christians, before in doubt lest the Turks should have besieged Pesth, as they had before given it forth they would, and seeing them now to be risen with their Army and incamped near unto Buda, resolved to follow them, and in what they might to cross their Designs; and thereupon leaving Pesth, as now out of danger, they rose aloft, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Isle of *Viegrad*, between the said Pesth and *Vachia*; where they stayed four days, and then by a Bridge which they made upon the *Danubius*, whereby they passed from the Isle where the *Italians* lay in Garrison unto the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, kept by the *Languesnets*, they with the whole Army passed the River, and so came and incamped before the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the Enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two Armies was plain and open, without Woods, Bushes, or Rivers, to hinder the joining of a set Battle. In which to fit a Place, the Christians encouraged, with the fear of their Enemies, and the diminishing of their Number and Courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous rising, as by other Advancements) were desirous in so favourable Occasions to have given them Battle; and for the desire they had thereof, were come thither to seek to it, which the Turks on the other side sought as much to shun, not daring to adventure themselves unto a Battle of a general Battle, for all the brags they had made. Nevertheless, very flame-arming them with some Resolution, they put forth into the field a Battalion of five thousand men, five days after that the Christians were incamped on that side of the River. This Battle of the Turks came marching on, within half a quarter of a League of the Christians;

which they would not have done but upon the Confidence of a greater number following of them, having behind them ten thousand men both Horse and Foot, laid as close as they possibly could a little out of the way. Now the Christians, thinking of no other Forces ready to fight, but those which appeared in their fighting, sent forth 12 hundred men against these five thousand Turks, who were into order, until the whole Army were into order, even for a general Battle that day to have been fought, if the Turks should accept thereof; whereunto the General, the Colonels, Captains, and Soldiers in general, were fully inclined, the whole Army with great Cheerfulness marching on foot at this loud alarm of their common desire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewise disposed for the producing of the same. But they be the extraordinary favours of Fortune, when fit Occasions join themselves with brave Resolutions, and such Resolutions with means to effect the same. This is the lot of many most noble Trophies, which most commonly fail, either for lack of fit Occasion, or for lack of good Resolution for the performance of them. But as most men judge of other men's Concepts by their own Inclination, so the Christians themselves, resolved to give Battle, thought the Turks their Enemies to have been of the same Resolution; and those five thousand men to have been the head of the avant-guard, followed with the whole Army, coming to draw them out to skirmish until the coming on of the rest of their Forces. Howbeit their design was quite contrary to this the Christians hope, for their purpose was only to train them out into their Ambushes, to withhold danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpose they gave sufficient Testimony, and cause of suspect; for that the Skirmish having continued three hours, with some loss on both sides, the Turks Army appeared not; and these five thousand Turks now in Skirmish, by little and little retiring, sought to have drawn the Christians into the danger of their Ambush. Which their manner of fight caused the Christians to suspect the matter; for it was not like, that five thousand men should give ground to twelve hundred, if they had not had some secret meaning therein, which they sought to effect to their more advantage. Which caused the Christian *Carabins* which followed them not to be too earnest in pursuing of them, and more closely to serve themselves together, the better to endure the shock of their Enemies, if they should charge them. Neither were they in that their provident fear deceived; for the Turks, seeing their purpose discovered, and themselves now out of hope to effect the same, upon the sudden made a stand, and so presently coming on, hardly charged the foremost of our *Carabins*, who, as men half surprised, to see themselves so readily and resolutely charged, by men who but now made show as if they would have fled, were not able to stand to receive the charge (considering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that some few of them were overthrown and slain, with some of the *Hungarians* amongst them. Howbeit they made good resistance, and right valiantly repulsed their Enemies, of whom they slew a good number also. The praise in this Conflict was great, every one desiring to show himself brave and courageous in the head of his own Army. But new Supplies still coming in, the Turks in fine shrunk back and retired, having left three hundred of their Fellows dead upon the Place, accompanied with an hundred of the Christians there slain likewise. Now upon the return on both sides, every man in his conceit appointed the next day for the general day of Battle; the brag-

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The Christians  
resolved to  
give the  
Turks Battle.The Turks  
feared to  
draw the  
Christians  
into the  
danger of  
their Ambush.

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The Turks  
feared to  
come to  
a general  
Battle with  
the Christians.Erasther,  
what manner  
of Soldiers  
they are among  
the Turks.Cunning in  
governing  
about to  
surprise  
the Turks,  
with loss  
repulsed,  
and himself  
indangered.A Conflict  
between  
the Turks  
and the  
Christians.

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ging Speeches of the Turks giving the Christians occasion so to do as for war, they seldom or neverstart Battle, being offered them by the Christians, as well for the Confidence they commonly have in their multitude, as for the foolish opinion they have of the inevitable Predetermination of men to Life or Death; accounting it amongst them an eternal infamy, to refuse any Combat against the Christians; which, howsoever it fall out, should fort to their Advantage, by vanquishing, gaining the Fruits of their Victory; and by losing of their Lives in Battle, to gain the Joys of Heaven; being vainly persuaded, no men's Souls do go more readily unto Heaven, than the Souls of such as dye in Battle against the Christians. Such Effects old superstitious Opinions are able to work in the Minds of men, even to the desperate adventuring and spending of their Lives. Howbeit, that this Effect for this time withstood, that these men, as these Advantages, as much feared the danger as any other poor faint-hearted men; and that a strong apprehension of fear is able to prevail against all Customs and Persuasions, be they never so old, as also against all other Accidents whatsoever. For why, the Turks, contenting themselves with their great Brags and vain Threats, came not forth according to their Promise, neither could by any means be drawn to adventure themselves into the hazard of a general Battle. The loss of their great and choicest men discouraged and deterred them from adventuring all to the hazard of so great a Peril. For (as I have said) almost all their Janizaries and most valiant Soldiers were dead or slain, and the rest, men of small Spirit or Courage, relieved that little which was in them, for the safeguard of themselves, and not for the gaining of any notable Victory. They had also in the last of the day, lost with great loss, a desperate kind of Soldiers fighting on Horseback, without Saddles, having only a little piece of Tapstry upon their Horses Backs, and by the readiness of their Horses, do for a long time in one sort maintain their fight. They carry light Darts made of ftrait and fair Canes, excellently well made, and strongly armed; and their handy Weapons are good Sabres, or broad and sharp Cut-throats. These men a great while fought most valiantly in the last Combats, but in fine, were all slain, except some few which cast themselves into *Danubius*, and were there drowned. The loss of which men much discouraged the Turks; for why, their Service stood them in great stead in receiving the Enemies Charges, and with their Bodies covering of the Turks Squadrons in their greatest Perils and Combats. Howbeit the Turks received not these Losses without coming to some part thereof to us again; for *Calovinus* had a little before fallen into great danger of his Person, and lost some of his Followers in an Enterprize of great Moment, had the Effect answered unto the Profit thereof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Isle of *Viegrad*, he caused eight great field-pieces to be so placed, as that therewith he so much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to have forsaken the Place. And the more to force them to do so, the second of October he embarked himself with six hundred *Haidnicks* upon the *Danubius*, and so by Night with great silence landed near unto the Enemies, thinking so upon the sudden to have surprised them. Which for all that, could not so secretly be done, by reason of the coming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who therewith with great praise issued out of their Trenches, and with all their Force and Power charged him. Against whom he made head, rather upon a brave and constant

Resolution, than upon any Confidence he had in his own Forces, nor having men enough to withstand the least part of his Enemies. Which his so great Resolution so abated the Turks Fury, as that they stood a good while in doubt to charge men so resolved. The Field-pieces which he had brought over with him into the Isle, then served him to good purpose, beating them back with their murthering Bullets, who with their number thought to have overwhelmed him. Which good help opposed against the number of the Enemies, for a time balanced the Victory, and wrought the death of many on both sides. This manner of fight endured the space of two hours, maintained more by Resolution, than by Strength and Power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number prevailing, the Christians therewith rather oppressed than vanquished, forsaking their field-pieces, disorderly retired toward their Boats. After which the Turks eagerly following, in that pursuit lost 400 of the *Haidnicks*, the rest with much ado recovering their Boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the Fury of their Enemy. Which loss happened not so unto the Christians, but that it was mingled with some loss of the Turks also, of whom, the most forward and courageous were in that fight slain, as was afterwards known by certain Prisoners of the Turks afterwards taken, who made report of the Losses by them there received. The Turks, by this so desperate and dangerous an attempt warned, to prevent the like for the time to come, cast up great Trenches in the Isle along the Bank of *Danubius*, therein placing certain Janizaries and other their best Soldiers, who there lay until the dislodgement of the Camp, to go to lie before Buda.

The Turks had before built a Bridge of Boats at *Amagias*, which gave Passage into *Stiria*, where they did great harm; for the strengthening whereof, they had built at both ends thereof a strong Fort, well furnished both with Men and Munition. This Bridge, so commodious for the Turks, and hurtful to the Christians, *Trammelforff*, Governour of *Stiria*, and a great Commander in those parts, with his *Stirian* Troops, and some good Aid brought unto him by the Country *Seign*, undertook to break. Upon which Resolution on he upon the sudden approached one of the aforesaid Forts, and so right valiantly assailed the same, before they in the Fort were well aware of his coming. In which doing, he caused the greatest noise and stir that was possible to be made with Trumpets, Drums, and clattering of Armour, as if it had been some great Army employed in that Action, the more to terrify the besieged. Which so great and dreadful a noise, joined unto the brave attempt, with so great Courage begun, struck such a Terror into the Minds of the Turks, that they without any great resistance quitted the place, and fled over the Bridge to the other Fort. Of which forsaken Fort the Christians became Masters, and with all speed prosecuting their good Fortune, presently drew out thereof three Cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, having no other place of Refuge to fly unto, nor hope of safety by their last Valour, so well behaved themselves, as that the Christians had much ado to force them. Howbeit, a breach being made by the Fury of the Cannon, and scaling-ladders set up, the Fort was on every side assaulted; which the Turks for the space of five hours so valiantly endured, as that it was hard to say who should prevail or have the better. In this Assault were many on both sides slain, the Turks not being able to be overcome but with the loss both of their Lives and Honour; nor the Christians able to retire without

The Bridge of  
Lamfain  
taken and broken  
by the Govern-  
ment of  
Stiria.

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loving the fruit of that their so great and rich an Enterprise; so that the assault was with great Resolution on both sides maintained, the Turks fighting for their Lives, and the Christians for their Honour; until that at last, the Turks, with much slaughter overcome, the Fort was by the Christians taken, and most of the Turks therein being slain, and the rest taken Prisoners, both the Forts were forthwith razed, and the Bridge broken, which before had served for an ordinary passage for the Turks to forage and spoil the Christian Territories by. The Boats whereof the Bridge was made were all burnt, and some great Ordnance therein found broken in pieces and cast into the River.

At the same time *Lugase*, a Place of great Importance for the Service of the Emperor, and so near unto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it might from thence be discovered and known, was by the *Transilvanians* delivered to *Balka*, General for the Emperor in that Country. From which place, he sending out certain Scouts toward *Belgrade*, they brought in with them certain Prisoners; who being examined, said, that *Hassan Bassa*, the Turks General in *Hungary*, had writ to *Gisler Bassa*, the Governour of *Temevar*, That he should only attend to the Preservation of his own, without attempting any thing further against the Christians, the present Affairs of the Affairs to requiring; and that having revivified *Buda*, his purpose was for this year to return, in hope of some good Peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The two Armies of the Turks and the Christians lay still near the one of them unto the other, the Turks, careful for the revivification of *Buda*, and the Christians still intensive to their doings, and desirous in what they might to hinder and frustrate the same. Which because they could not way better do, but by offering of them Battle, they thereupon generally resolved, upon a *Friday*, being the seventeenth of *October*, the day by them assigned for the Battle (having by the shooting off of three great Cannons, given warning unto the Soldiers throughout the Camp, for the preparing of themselves first toward God, and then to the Service of their Prince) after they had well refreshed themselves, in good order took the field, and so stood ready ranged there, either to give or accept of Battle. Before whom, the County *Rin-grave* was sent forth with his Regiment, about half the way betwixt the two Armies, to discover the moving of the Enemy, and to receive his first charge if occasion should so require. Whole Scouts before sent forth, about Noon discovered a Troop of Horse-men come out of the Turks Camp, about some business they had to do, but to whom the unknown, the Scouts supposed to have been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almost surprised, hastily retired back again, and by their hasty retreat put the whole Army in an alarm, which came bravely marching on, in hope now to have come to try the matter by true Valour, and by the Fortune of a general Battle to have made that day for ever famous by their Victory and the overthrow of their proud Enemies. And in the heat of their so great Courage, like enough it was for them to have performed the fame, had the Turks had but so much Courage in them as to have met them in the Field, as was well hoped they now would. But they, with their former Losses discouraged, and resolved only upon the safeguard of themselves, and the victualing of *Buda*, had no mind to enter into these honourable Lifts, but kept themselves close within the covert of their Tents,

and the strength of their Trenches. And so the Christians, with a false alarm moved, and having for the most part of the day in vain expected the coming forth of their Enemies, returned into their Camp deceived of their Expectation.

The same day there was an Espie taken, whom they which took him thought to have been a Turk, howbeit he was found to be one of their own men; by whom they were better informed of the Cowardice of the Turks, of their purpose for the shamming of Battle, and of their Resolution for the keeping of themselves within the safeguard of their Trenches; and that they so did, as well for the losses they had before received, as for divers other unlucky accidents, which canied them to mildoubt some evil success in the end and winding up of this their Expedition. Nevertheless, the Christians, not greatly trusting to these Reports, still kept their Army in readiness, to give their Enemies Battle upon the least occasion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cause of fear, the Turks having no desire at all to come to a general Battle; so that instead of great Effects that were expected, the time passed but in light Skirmishes and vain Alarms betwixt the two Armies, until that at length the Turks, having by the River sufficiently stored the City of *Buda* with Victuals, the great *Bassa* secretly by Night rode with his Army, and so retired toward *Belgrade*. Which so late a retreat differed not from a cowardly flight, being with such silence made under the dark covert of the Night, as that the Christians had thereof no perceiving until they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of *Buda*, and some other few places of the Turks in *Hungary*, was all that the great *Bassa* did this year with his great Army; whereas at his first coming it was given out, that he would therewith take both *Strigomium* and *Pesh* from the Christians.

The next day, the daily and sudden departure of the Enemy being perceived, the General of the Christians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the Army, to consult with them, what were best to be done in so unexpected an occurrence; Of whom, some were of Opinion, That it was best forthwith in all haste to pursue these fearful Enemies; others, for many Reasons dissuading the fame, and others withal, propounding some other notable Exploits to be taken in hand. But in Consensus, the safest point was resolved upon, which was, not to hazard any of their Troops in pursuing of their flying Enemies, who were hardly to be overtaken; but now immediately after their departure to attempt the taking in of some one of their strong holds; where, amongst others that were propounded, *Hatwan* was thought to be the most necessary Place, being so seated, as that beside the great harm it did to the Christians therein, it much hindered both Advancements and Victuals to be brought unto *Pesh*. Whose Exploit resolved upon, they forthwith razed the Fort of *St. Andrew*, and the Fort by them built in the life of *Veigrade*, because they should not stand the Turks in any feed after their departure, and so with all their Power set forward toward *Hatwan*. This Town is seated beyond the River of *Danubius* toward the North, about eight Leagues from *Buda*, crossing the way to *Transilvania* and *Callovnia*, upon a fair and even Plain, near unto a great and deep Marsh, and was formerly defended with good and strong Walls, with a Cattle, and three large and deep Ditches, for a long time in the Power of the Turks, and which, without loss, a great while held out against the valiant Baron *Tesfenbach*, by whom it was most bravely in vain besieged; until that afterward it was again besieged by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, the Emperours

Brother,

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Hassan taken and disinclined by Maximilian the Arch-duke, in the year 1594

Brother, then General of his Army in *Hungary*, in the year 1594, unto whom it was by Composition surrendered, after it had for a certain space been by the Turks notably defended; who, considering the harm this place did unto the Emperours Territories, by reason of the fortification thereof, which was a great and strong Garrison of the Turks always lying, foraged all the Christian Territories as far as the River *Vagne*, yea, and oftentimes took Booties as far as *Strigomium*, and by spoiling of all that side of *Hungary*, caused the Country to pay Contribution as far as *Ternavie*, standing within four Leagues of the Mountains which separate *Hungary* and *Moravia*; all irreparable Losses to the Christians, and hardly to be avoided; for which Reasons he caused it then to be dismantled, and to be made all serviceable for the Wars. After that time for all that, the Turks, for the commodiousness of the Place, had with great Labour again new fortified the same, with Walls made with great Piles of Wood and Faggots, with Earth rammed in betwixt them; a stronger kind of fortification, and better able to withstand the Fury of the Cannon, than are Walls of Stone; in which sort the Turks use most commonly to fortify such Places as they mean to defend, and with oftentimes cost much for the Christians to gain the same from them.

Hatwan again fortified by the Turks.

This Place thus fortified, and both with Men and Munition well furnished, and with all things needful stored, was able to endure a great and long Siege; whereunto the Garrison therein was as resolutely set down, as were the Christians to attempt it; where now, at their first coming unto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, assisted with three thousand *Langens*, under the leading of County *Sabze*, and *Grafeld*, General of the *Italians*, were appointed to go before the rest of the Army, and to begin to make the Approaches; which they did by forcing of a Water-mill, driven by the Water of the Marsh, not past a Mulequet shot from the Town. Wherein while they were busied, the Turks lallying out of the Town, came to fight hand to hand with the Christians, and had with them a sharp Combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the Place, and of their Lives, and the Christians for the gaining of the same, and for their Honour. Which so contrary a Resolution in that Conflict, cost the Lives of many; and amongst others, the Life of *Grafeld*, General of the *Italians*, there slain with a Harquebuse shot, unto the great hurt of the whole Army, but especially of the *Italians*, now deprived of great and expert a Commander. At last, for all that, the Turks were enforced confidently to retire again into the Town, having in this lally shot a number of their men aloft. The Christians nevertheless, having driven the Turks back into the Town, went forward with their Business in making their Approaches, and placing their Gabions to cover their Cannon; wherein the Turks with their great and small shot did them great harm, but especially with their murdering pieces, which they shot the Turks and other small pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Rossmurm* with the rest of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted so near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without most manifest danger and loss, any more fall out to trouble the Christians in their Works. The first Inconvenience the besieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of the men was soon taken from the Cannon right furiously battering the Walls in the mean space. Whereupon the Turks discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not best for them to expect either whilst a Breach were made, or an

Grafeld, General of the Italians, slain.

The Christians after the departure of the Turks, resolve to besiege Hatwan.

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Affault given, but by Parly to prevent these Dangers, in hope it to come to some easier Composition, while yet they stood in their whole strength. And so Parly by the Turks demanded, and by the Christians granted, and Hollages for the surety thereof on both sides given, they sent two of the chief men amongst them to treat of the same; who at the first demanded, That their Lives and Liberty saved, they might with Bag and Baggage depart. Whereunto answer was given them, That they should only with their Lives and Liberty be gone, with some few hundreds of their worst Horses, of Courtly given them, to carry them to such place as they meant to retire themselves unto, and to deliver into the hands of the Christians all such Renegades as were in town.

The Turks in Hatwan were Parley.

Now the besieged Turks, carrying yet the marks of the Cruelty by the *Wallons* exercised upon them in the former Siege, when as the fame Town was by force taken, and filled with dead Bodies of all Ages and Sexes, and doubting now this second Shipwreck, with like misery threatened unto them by the Christian General, if they should expect the dreadful event of a general assault; accepted of these hard Conditions, seeing no better could be obtained; and so covenanted, that they with their Families, their Lives and Liberties saved, might with a safe Convoy be conducted unto some place of surety within their own Territory, they promised to give up the Town. Which Agreement, on both parties resolved upon, they full of Sorrow and Heaviness, with their Families departing out of the Town the 29th of November, were by Colonel *Andul*, with certain *Hussars*, safely conducted to *Satm*. The Christians entering the Town, found there great store of *Victuals* and Munition, the Houses full of Corn and other Necessaries, and the Shops stored with Weapons, Shot, and Powder, with 24 pieces of great Ordnance ready mounted, which might have well sufficed for the defence of the place. But all these things are but Accessories unto one principal, that is to say, to Resolution, without which they are but of small force, and with which they are able to do much. Beside that, the place it self thus furnished well considered, seemed almost impossible to have been forced; but especially now that Winter was come on, which might have brought a thousand Storms and Difficulties, by the Christians not to have been endured; so that every man beholding the same, with his Eyes cast up towards heaven, gave God the Praise, for taking away the Turks Courages in their so great Advantages, and increasing of the Christians in their no less Difficulties; unto whom the glory of this Victory was wholly attributed, seeing that contrary to all appearance and mans forces, he had given to the Christians the Victory, no way able by their own forces to have been gained. But God, which in his Providence from Heaven beholdeth all things upon Earth, disposeth of the same as he seeth best for his Glory, and the welfare of his; so that in this Addition he was the only Pilot which brought this our Ship into the Haven of Health; for the Nails and other small pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Rossmurm* with the rest of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted so near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without most manifest danger and loss, any more fall out to trouble the Christians in their Works. The first Inconvenience the besieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of the men was soon taken from the Cannon right furiously battering the Walls in the mean space. Whereupon the Turks discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not best for them to expect either whilst a Breach were made, or an

Hatwan yielded unto the Christians.

The Christians offer the Turks Battle.

The Turks refuse to accept of Battle, and so defend themselves.

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The Lord Ruffworm breaks up his Army, and sends the Ensigns gained from the Turks for a present to the Archduke Mathias.

Inolent Soldiers justly punished.

The Soldiers of the Regiment of the Archduke are justly punished, by Extremities drive to provide for themselves.

The time of the Year for Soldiers any longer to keep the Field now past, and the great Army of the Turks risen and gone, the Lord Ruffworm breaking up his Army near unto Strigium, caused all the Ensigns by him this Year gained from the Turks, even sixty four in number, to be gathered together, all very brave and gallant; all which he sent with great Pomp and Triumph to Vienna, for a Present to the Archduke Mathias; who received them with great Thanks, given both unto the General that sent them, and the Soldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the same time highly commending the General, and not a little rejoicing to see those same Ensigns now in their Power within the City, which not long before had proudly been in the Field.

Now after the breaking up of the Christian Army, a great number of inolent and feditious Soldiers, especially of the Regiment of Colonel Almain, roaming up and down the Country to seek for Booty, most cruelly rifled and spoiled the Country Villages, with the Inhabitants therein, as well the Christians as the Turks, sparing no more the one than the other; whose Outrage not otherwise to be stayed, they were by Commandment from the Emperour, by force charged at Widdof; and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in Prisoners to Vienna, four and thirty of them were there for Example hanged, and the rest, as men not worthy of Entertainment, calihied.

The time of the Year having (as we said) broken up the Army of the Christians, the Regiment of the Country Reingrave was put in Garrison into the Villages of *Chians* and *Ternau*, always at hand with the Enemies, as fittest to repulse them. These Soldiers were always kept in doing, still fighting whilst others were at Peace, and managing their Arms, whilst others hanged theirs by the Walls. For, beside the Troubles he had with the Turks, their night, but bad Neighbours, the very Inhabitants of the Country (who held all that might hurt them for Enemies, they never so much their Friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occasion at all, took up Arms, and right furiously charged them as their mortal Enemies. Of which Combats there was no end, the Country Peasants still striving to rid themselves of such Guests. So that these valiant men, still incited to buy their Bread with the price of their Blood, as men become desperate, used the Christians as they did the Turks, dividing all things with them by the Sword. But in these small and often Fights more men were slain and lost than would have been in a general Batel, some good number, either on the one side or the other being every day slain; which daily Inconveniences caused these Soldiers to resolve to go to seek their living elsewhere, rather than in the midst of the Graves of their Fellows. Whereunto they were rather induced, for that but a little before, the Troop of Captain *Cinchamp*, the best and bravest of the whole Regiment, was one night furiously assailed, and almost surprised by the Country Peasants. Wherefore they departed out of Hungary into Austria without Victuals, Apparel, or Money, their Pay due unto them for seventeen Months being kept from them. A Cruelty full of Covetousness, and a Covetousness full of Cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leave those men to the desperate extremity of Hunger, who for their own Safety had exposed themselves to all manner of danger. For the Prince (as he may of right) demand the Lives of his Subjects in his Service, as bound unto their Loyalty; they may also of Right require due Provision for their Maintenance: of which two Offices, where one faileth, the whole State must needs

fall. For providing wherefore, great was the Wisdom of *Augustus*, who laid up the publick Revenue apart by itself, to defray the publick Charge; and that which was his own private, to serve his own private Uses.

These poor Soldiers thus resolved, craved leave of the Bishop of *Freiburg* to pass by the Suburbs of his Town, without doing therein any harm; which their Request he courteously granted; and so, according to their Word, they indeed passed, not so much as once wilting for that they durst not once touch. Which their so quiet Passage, caused the Bishop to furnish them with Boats, whereby to pass over the River which divideth Hungary from Austria. Which once known unto the Peasants of Austria, they assembled themselves together, to the number of 1500 men, and came up a Fort upon the Bank of the River, with three Faulconers in it, resolutely set down to keep them from coming over into their Country. Which their so forward a Resolution for a while flatly these men of War; who, to avoid farther trouble, courteously requested Passage of these men, promising all their good Behaviour in passing quietly through their Country; which the Cartes in most churlish manner refused to grant, with great Threats of the danger of their Lives, if they should by force attempt the Passage, and not with quietness return. With which Bravadoes of the Country Churles these Troops of martial men provoked, resolved by force to remove these lets, and by the Sword to open themselves a way; so turning the Head of their Baggage toward the Fort, as if they would have there passed; while the Peasants stood gazing upon them, *Gangallard* with his Troop of Horsemen, unperceived of them took the River a little higher up, and by swimming gained the farther Bank; after whom Captain *Cinchamp* with his Troops immediately followed also. In which Passage, they were much troubled with great flakes of Ice, with the great deepness of the River, with the steepness of the Banks where they were to land, and many other Difficulties: all which they regarded not, to be revenged of their Enemies. These valiant men being got over, upon the sudden surprising these rude Country Churles, and furiously charging of them, quickly overthrew them, and cut them in pieces; of whom, 300 were left dead upon the Place, as many more hurt, and the rest put to flight. Which was no sooner done, but that the rest of the Troops of the Regiment without let passed the River, and so joyined themselves unto their victorious Companions. Seven Weeks this Regiment stayed in Austria; and so long it tarried, but that upon the Complaint and Request of the Nobility and of the People of the Country, they having for seventeen Months Pay due unto them received nine Months Pay, were licenced to depart. Which was a great Oversight in them that had to do therewith, at once to disband so many good Men, as had not their like amongst all the rest of the Emperours Garrisons; and who, being flat with a little money, might with their good Service have flood the Emperour in great need; as by proof afterward appeared; when as the Emperour, by necessity forced to call them together again, could not of all that strong Regiment raise but three Companies; the rest being some of them returned into their own Countries, other some of them gone to serve in other places, or else otherwise dispersed.

Of which three Companies, the first was given to *Gangallard*, the second to *Belassar Marade*, a Spaniard, and the last to *John Paul*, an Italian: Which three Captains had before commanded in the Reingrave's Regiment, and done the Emperours good Service as they did afterward also.

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Divers happy Examples of the Christians with the Turks and Tartars.

The Peasants of Austria seek by force to flay the Passage of the Soldiers of the Reingrave's Regiment into their Country.

The Churles of Austria overcome.

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Divers happy Examples of the Christians with the Turks and Tartars.

The rest of this year ended in Hungary, with divers other Encounters and Combats, Fortune therein still favouring the Christians. As three hundred *Haiducks*, going forth to seek for Booty, by good hap chanced to meet with a Company of the Turks, being very rich, and divers of them men of good account; amongst whom, the Governour of *Mohatz* was one; all whom these *Haiducks* cut in pieces: to be borne withal, for shewing no favour unto them, who most cruelly had before spoiled them of their Patens, Lands, and Goods. Besides that, they took the Governour of *Copen* with his Son, and twenty four other very rich Turks, with 170 Horses of Service, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their Provision. Which fat Booties drew forth other Soldiers also to seek out for the like; of whom, certain Troops of the Christians going forth toward *Baffar*, a Town of the Enemies, met the Governour of the Town and of the Territory thereabout, who with his Garrison against them; where bewixt them was made a right hot and sharp fight; wherein, at the first encounter the Turks seemed to have the better, but in the end the Christians taking Courage, overthrew them, and cut them in pieces. In this conflict divers Prisoners were taken, with three Ensigns, and many other rich Spoils. This happy Exploit was recorded with News agreeable thereunto out of *Moldavia*, where the Vayvod by a Currot sent purpose gave our men to understand of the great and general overthrow of the *Tartars*; who, having with all manner of Cruelty wasted the Country, had in the end made the Inhabitants so desperate, that repining more Comfort in a speedy death (the end of all Miserie) than in a lingering Life, turmoiled with so many intolerable Calamities, they generally arming themselves, joyning themselves with their Vayvod, to try their last Fortune. With which Resolution, they in Battel countenancing with the *Tartars*, gave them a great overthrow, a number of them being left dead upon the Field, and the rest put to flight, and chased out of the Country, the *Moldavians* notably revenging their former Losses, and in their own Territories burying their Enemies.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the year on their part idle, but still plotting of their great and notable Devotions even through the midst of the Frost and Snow to have been performed. The Bafa Beged, hearing that the Lord Bafa lay with his Troops dispersed in the Country about *Lippa*, in great leaguer, by reason of the Extremity of the time, alaciously unfit for men to keep the field; and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, now amidst the Frost and the Snow to surmise him; acquainted three other of the Turks with Captains and Commanders thereabout with the matter; who liking well thereof, with five thousand men altogether set forward, in hope to have upon the sudden surprised him. But he an old expert Captain, and not so careless as they supposed, had his secret Spies still abroad among them; by whom, he advertised both of their purpose and of their coming, resolved in both to prevent them; and to that end having called together his Forces, and set forward to meet them in the mid way, and before they were aware to intercept them, neither failed he of his purpose; for, meeting with the Turks, fearing no such matter in place of disadvantage, and upon the sudden charging them round, they, deceived of their Expectation for the easiness of the Victory promised them, as men dismayed, after some small resistance fled; above eleven hundred of them being in this conflict slain, and the rest put in rout, and driven into the River *Maras*, there perishing; some few only by speedy flight with the Bafa escaping. Twenty of the Turks

Captains were here taken, with some few other Prisoners, and a great and rich Booty.

Much about the same time *George Barbel*, one of the chief of the Rebels in *Transilvania*, acknowledging his fault, came to *Claudianopolis*, acknowledging his Allegiance unto the Emperour; by whose Example a great number of others moved, came in and submitted themselves also; and happily he, being a good and valiant Captain, had done much more for the Service of the Emperour, had he not been by death prevented; for shortly after he suddenly died. The other Rebels, moved neither by his Example, nor by the coming in of some others of their Companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a most renowned Captain, and of great Reputation amongst the Soldiers) for their Chieftain; who, proud of such a choice, immediately after sent an Herald unto *Baffa*, to will him forthwith to deliver unto him all the Country of *Transilvania*, as to him that was of late chosen Prince thereof, and to denounce unto him most cruel War; and to tell him further, That if he refused to do so, he was in good hope by his own Forces, without any Aid from the Turk, to drive him out, being well assured of the faithful devoir of the *Transilvanians*. At whose proud Threats *Baffa* smiling, only shewed him his open Hand in sign that he accepted of his proud Threats, not vouchsafing him any other answer at all. This glorious Boaster bared himself the higher, for that he had married the Widow of *Mofes* the chief Rebel, whereby he had gained both great Riches, and much Credit and Reputation among the common People; both which he enjoyed but a while, for the fourth day after he was married, he died, and so was buried. *Baffa* nevertheless, for the better assuring of the strong Places of *Transilvania*, put into them Garrisons of his most faithful *Germans*, and dispatched *Cranfench* away toward the Emperour, to request him to supply of a thousand Horse-men, and four thousand Foot, without which he thought it impossible to preserve and keep the Province, troubled with so great Factions, and so earnestly fought after by the Turks; and further to certify him, That the little Forces he had left, was not sufficient for the keeping of the Places betwixt so many Enemies, and all lying as it were in their Hands. That the Province was swarmed with feditious People, one thrusting another forward in Murther and Rebellion, as the Ears of Wheat, driven with the Wind, do one another in the Field; that the Turks were always making of new Incursions, which he was not able to repels without greater Forces, which he expected from his Majesty with all speed possible; protesting, for want of such supply to be in time sent unto him, to lay the loss of the Province upon the Negligence of them which might and ought to have sent the same; acquitting himself for the loss thereof, seeing that he durst not to repole any Trust or Confidence in the Faith of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Towns, although they were disarmed, for having so often falsified their Faith, and put their Province in danger of utter Ruine and Destruction. But leaving these Troubles of *Transilvania* and Hungary, let us a little step back to see what hapned among the Turks themselves, after the departure of the great Bafa with his Army out of Hungary.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great Promises made unto his Rebels, sought to appeale the Rebellion in Asia, and by that means drawn *Zellaly*, one of the chief Rebels, with twelve thousand good Soldiers, out of Asia into Europe, and so into his Wars in Hungary, upon an assured promise made unto him of the Government of *Baffa*; the hope wherof, as it had drawn him

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Bethlin Habor chosen chief of the Rebels in Transilvania.

Baffa's scornful Answer to the Messenger of Bethlin.

Baffa's Letter for most Supplies unto the Emperour for the keeping of Transilvania.

him into these late Wars, so had it also encouraged him with his gallant Troops of most brave Horse-men to do the best Service he could, so to show himself worthy of so honourable a Preference: which he might notably perform during all the time of the Baffas Abode in Hungary, by his own great Commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Master's Service. But the Baffa with his weak Army retired out of Hungary, and the Baffa himself returned toward Constantinople; Zelly, with three thousand Horse, withdrew himself into his promised Government of Bafina, to possess himself thereof: and being come near to Bafina, the chief Town of that Province, he there encamped in a fair large Meadow, within five miles of the City. Now Zelly Baffa, then Governor of the Province, and not as yet thereof discharged, seeing this Rebel thus to increase upon his Charge, as if he would even by force intrude himself thereinto; with all speed called together his Garrisons and men of War (ever ready at his beck) and went forth against Zelly, with a purpose to have quickly, and without any great Trouble, cut him, with his so small a Company, all in pieces. But the old Rebel, not ignorant either of his own weakness, or of the Baffa's strength, having himself lost the best part of his Forces before in Hungary, as he was a man of no less Wisdom than Courage, resolved now to attempt by Policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he, as a great Prince, upon some brave Resolution, began to incamp himself, as if he had meant there to have lain, when as immediately after, upon a fair Night, having caused divers great Fires to be made in his Tents, as if it had been to beguile the Enemy with, he suddenly rose and departed. Of whose Flight (for so it was like) the Baffa understood, and that he had forsaken his Camp, halted thither with all speed with his Soldiers to take and pillage the same; not making any other account of him that was so fled and gone, but as of a base and faint-hearted Coward, who for Fear, and want of Courage, had left both his Camp and Honour as a Prey into his Enemies the Spoil whereof, the Baffa (being possessed of the Camp) gave unto his Soldiers; who, glad of such a Morfel, greedily swallowed it up, which by and by after became their bane and utter destruction: for, whilst that they were charging themselves with Booties, and every man was thinking of his Prey, nothing careful of their common Safety, Zelly, with his three thousand Horse, all valiant and resolute men, suddenly the same Night returning, surprised the Turks being fast on sleep, as buried in Security, and cut them in pieces. Some, of greater Courage than the rest began to make head, and to give some show of their Valour; but, overcome with the general Fear, out of order, and not resolved what to do, they were quickly with the rest forced, overthrow, and slain. In this surprise there were of the Baffa's men six thousand found dead upon the Place; a very great slaughter to be made by so few men. But what cannot valiant Resolution do against carelessness, lulled asleep in the lap of Security? The Baffa himself escaped by Flight, with such as could get out of the Camp to follow him.

Now Zelly, well knowing how to use his Victory, marched in haste to all the chief places of the Province, and with his Forces, more feared for their Victory than their Number, caused all the Inhabitants of those Places, with most part of the rest of the People of the Country, to swear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity. In which doing, he gathered together great numbers of the best, with a great number of brave Horses for Service; all which he put into Bahadur, a strong Town,

whereinto he in triumphant manner entered, with a Crown of Laurel upon his Head, and his Soldiers fing his Praises amidst the din of a thousand Pieces of great Ordnance, which he caused incessantly to be shot off for the space of two days together, giving it out withal (amongst all the joyful Feasts and Triumphs, made in his Majesty and setting forth of his Praises and Glory) that his Resolution was, to take part with the Christian Emperor, if the great Baffas, or other his Enemies in great place in Court, should seek to cross his Desires, or to formalize his Actions or Proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his Government.

Now Mahomet, doubting what this Man, so well acquainted with Rebellion, would do, had by divers Messengers sent for him to Constantinople, after the breaking up of the Army in Hungary, there of his Imperial and Infinite Bounty, to receive the honourable Rewards of his good Service and Valour, the greatness whereof he had (as he said) already understood by Hassan Baffa the General; which to bound him to the Reward thereof, as that his Desire and Pleasure was, to grace him in Court with his own hands, for the greater Testimony of the Love he bare him, and of the esteem he had of him. But the crafty and misfrustrful Rebel, doubting that these fair Words were all but baits to draw him into his Power, to the endangering or assured loss both of his Life and Liberty, that his Ears against these so sweet Charms, and, as a Man well advised, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince justly offended, is always open for to punish his rebellious Subjects, being once in his Power, with as great Justice in punishing him, as he with wrong and Disloyalty had used and departed, with acceptance of the offer; but civilly answered, That he most humbly thanked the Great Sultan for his so great and honourable Offers, and that he was so mindful of him; but that he for his part desired not any greater reward for the Services by him done, more than the Government which his Majesty had before promised him, whereof (according to which Promise, which he could not think to be agreeable to his good liking) he was now possessed, with a resolution to hold and keep the same for his Majesties Service. Which was as much in effect, as for a disloyal Subject to talk with his angry Sovereign with his hand upon his Sword: but with this sly Answer, such as it was, Sultan Mahomet, for all his Greatness, must as yet content himself, for fear lest if he should have fought to have by force removed him, he might to have raised a more dangerous Rebellion in Europe, than was already in Asia. Zelly, for politick and subtle a man, and not to seek what to do in such matters, being possessed of so great a Government, and the Christian Emperor at hand ready to have backed him, if he should upon any Discontentment have revolted.

The Troubles of this Year 1603 thus overspilt, the beginning of the next was like unto a fair blooming Tree, which promising great store of Fruit, but afterward blasted with the Extremity of the Weather, proved in effect as barren, as it before seemed in hope fruitful; for, beginning with the sweet Western Winds of Peace, it ended with the stern Northern Blasts of War. The Turks had oftentimes the last Year made motion of Peace, but especially toward the end thereof; outwardly making shew of a great desire and forwardness in themselves thereunto. Which business the last Year began, was even with the beginning of this Year also effectually continued, that Commissioners were on both sides appointed to confer and conclude upon the same. Among these Commissioners, Colonel Athem was one; who, to perform his Charge,

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Sultan Mahomet sends Zelly to come unto him to Constantinople.

Zelly refuses to come to Constantinople at the great Sultan's sending for.

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Commissioners appointed to confer upon a Peace to be made between the Christians and the Turks.

The Causes which moved the Turks to incline to Peace.

The Baffa of Buda, sent to meet the Christian Commissioners according to his Promise.

An evil Prejudice of the future Peace.

having taken with him the other Commissioners deputed with him for this purpose, with certain other Captains, embarked himself with them in thirteen Ships from Strigonia, and from thence falling down the River, landed with his Train in the Island between Buda and Pesth. Of whose Arrival there, the Turks of Buda advertised, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither also, with all the outward shews that might be of their most earnest desire for the concluding of Peace; whereas our Men, who by a thousand effects were assured of the unlikelihood of the Turks, and that Necessity, and not the desire of any Quietness, had drawn them to seek for Peace, to the contrary shewed themselves very backward in this Business. For why, they knew right well, that the Turks had not taken this matter in hand, but to overtake them, and by this time of Peace to gain a time of War more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruel Designs. They had the year before made sufficient Proof of our Forces, accompanied with good Fortune, which caused them to despair by strong hand to vanquish and overcome us; besides that, they fill every hour in one place or other received a thousand Losses and Crosses from our Garrisons, who distressed and annoyed them both with their Forces, and with driving of them unto the extremity of Wants. Our men knew moreover also, that the Troubles of Asia, as well from the Rebels as from the Persians, which lay so heavy upon the Great Sultan, drew them to this necessity, to seek for a breathing time of Peace, wherein to repair the which was in their Forces and Strength by Wars impaired. And even yet also, the manner of the Turks demeaning of themselves in this Action, their Delays, their Excuses, and deferring from day to day to conclude upon some Point of this Treaty, gave our men good cause to suspect them of evil meaning, as men respecting their Profit more than their Faith; and more subtil and cruel in all their Actions, than honest and valiantous. The Fifth day of January was the day by our men expected for the Treaty; for as then the Baffa of Buda had appointed with the rest of the Commissioners to come into the Isle, to hear what our Commissioners should demand, and to treat of the Peace. But he was too true an Infidel to fail of his Infidelity, and so came not at all, but deceived our Men both of their Hope and Expectation. At length, instead of himself, Letters were brought from him to the Colonel Athem, whereby he excused himself for not coming, requesting him, with the rest of the Commissioners, to come upon the River to Buda; the more commodiously for them to confer together, and so the better to conclude their Negotiation. Now though Athem, for the Majesty of his Prince, and the Honour of the State, ought not at the Request of these his Enemies to have put himself into their Power, but to have stood fast upon the Terms of Honour, yet to the end that the Country of Hungary, so miserably spoiled with Wars, should not take occasion to complain of his negligence in this Negotiation of Peace, he resolved to go to Buda, as the Baffa had requested; deeming every Action tending to the hinderance of the common Good, to be but in shew honourable, and in deed hurtful. Upon which Resolution, he sent before the Gentleman of his Stable, and his Cook, with a Gentleman of the Turks, sent him the day before from the Baffa; which men going aboard together, were attended with such a cruel Tempest upon the River, that neither the Skill of the Water-men, nor Goodness of the Vessel, was able to resist the force thereof; so that the Boat was sunk, and the men drowned: an evil Prejudice of the Peace to be made,

the raging Water as it were foretelling the Troubles to come. But this Tempest, by the sacrifice of about four drowned men, appeased, Athem and Galsberg, two of the chief Commissioners, embarked themselves, and so sailed upon the River to Buda. At whose Arrival, the Turks gave in shew a thousand Testimonies of their joy for their coming. Neither did the Germans refuse their kind offered Courtesies, but largely fed of the good cheer, and filled themselves with the good Wines, whereof the Turks had given them Plenty; and they again using them as kindly as if they had been their Brethren, and converting with them as with their own Countrymen. Amidst this carousing and Platters full of good cheer, the Proposition of Peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were served in also, and a Truce for twelve days demanded to consider of the matter; during which time, it should be lawful for every man, without let, freely to come and go whither they would; which was forthwith on both sides agreed upon. And for better Testimony of the Turks true meaning in this their Negotiation of Peace, the Baffa, in the presence of our Commissioners, dispatched a Courier toward the great Sultan, to advertise him of this business, and of the proceeding therein, according to the commandment by him before given. Which he did, to cause our men to believe, that the great Sultan himself was desirous of Peace, and that his Captains, well affected thereto, were willing to further the same. Which done, the Baffa presented unto Colonel Athem two Cakes full of Turkeys, of all manner of Fashions, very rich, and cunningly wrought, both carried by a Mule, with Furniture for an Horse, encased with Gold and Pearl, very sumptuous and rich, as Presents from the great Sultan, his Lord and Master, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke Matthias, he presented unto the Colonel, a Robe of purple Velvet, with Sleeves cunningly embroidered with Gold and Pearl, embossed with fine and curious Figures cunningly wrought with the Needle; for the richness thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richness thereof to have been desired; which was by every man wondered at, when as shortly after it was by Athem presented unto the Arch-duke, together with other Presents from the Turks. Besides that, the same Baffa, in token of Friendship, presented unto Athem himself another very fair and rich Robe; all the rest of the Commissioners receiving also from the Baffa other Robes of less Value, but yet all very rich and sumptuous.

This business for this time thus ended, and the Truce for twelve days concluded, the Christian Commissioners, loaded with Presents, took their leave of the Turks, with the shews of their good Wills, and so returned back again to Pesth. However, these the Enemies fair Presents little favoured of Enmity, being indeed but like to the Presents of Heber and Ajax, tending rather to War than to Peace.

Now the Death of the most valiant and renowned Lord Nadaghi, which at this time happened, was another evil Prejudice of the Success of this Treaty of Peace now at hand; for having of long been a bar unto the Turks Race in that part of Hungary where he dwelt, they now after his Death, with the violence of their Forces, as with an heady stream, bare down before them all our good Fortune in that Province. This worthy man, of great Fame and Desert, had spent both his Years and Fortune in the most honourable Wars against the Turks, wherein he was so skillful and expert, that he was by them counted as another Huniades, and of the Christians honoured

The Christian Commissioners courteously entertained at Buda.

A Truce for twelve days agreed upon between the Turks and the Christians.

Presents by the Turks given to the Christian Commissioners.

The true and just Cause of the Death of Lord Nadaghi.







1604 rising in the midst, and flooping on each side; not much unlike to the Coffins of the ancient Tombs of the *Saxon* Kings, which are to be seen on the North side of the Quire of *S. Paul's* Church and in other Places of this Land; but that this Coffin of the Great Sultan is much greater, and more stately than are those of the *Saxon* Kings; it being above five foot high at the end thereof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, covered with a rich Hearse of Cloth of Gold down to the ground; his Turbant (standing at his Head, and two exceeding great Candles of white Wax, about three or four Yards long, standing in great bras or silver Candlesticks gilded, the one at his Head, the other at his Feet, which never burn, but there stand for show only: all the Floor of the Chapel being covered with Mats, and fair Turkey Carpets upon them. And round about this his Tomb, even in the same Chapel, are the like Tombs for his Wives and Children, but nothing so great and fair. Into this Chapel, or any other the Turks Churches or Chapels, it is not lawful for either Turk or Christian to enter, but first he must put off his Shoes, leaving them at the Church or Chapel Gate, or carrying them in his hand. Near unto this Chapel, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are divers other Chapels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selim*, this Man's Grand father, with his seven and thirty Children about him; of Sultan *Ammurat*, this Man's Father, with his five and forty Children entombed about him. And in other Places, not far from them, are the Chapels and Sepulchres of the rest of the Great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selim* the first, Sultan *Solyman*; all by these

great *Mahometan* Emperours built, whose Names they bear. And being all of almost one form and fashion, have every one of them a fair Hospital adjoining unto them, wherein a great multitude of poor People are daily still relieved.

Some others of the great Bassaes have their Chapels and Sepulchres, with their great and stately Alms-houses also, not much inferior unto those of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Bassa*, of all the Bassaes that ever were amongst the Turks the most magnificent, hath his stately Chapel, Sepulchre, and Alms-Houses, near, both in Place and Beauty unto that of *Solyman's*. The Turks bury not at all within their Churches, neither are any at all buried within the Walls of the City, but the great Turkish Emperours themselves, with their Wives and Children about them, and some few other of their great Bassaes, and those only in Chapels by themselves built for that purpose. All the rest of the Turks are buried in the Fields; some of the better sort in Tombs of Marble, but the rest with Tomb-stones laid upon them, or with two great Stones, the one set up at the head, and the other at the feet of every Grave; the greatest part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Isle of *Marmora*. They will not bury any man where another hath been buried, accounting it Impiety to dig up another man's Bones: by reason whereof, they cover all the best Ground about the City with such great white Stones; which, for the infinite number of them, are thought sufficient to make another Wall about the City. But not to stand longer upon the manner of the Turks Burials, leaving this great Sultan to rest with his Ancestors, let us now prosecute the course of our History.

The Turks bury not in their Churches, neither within the Walls of their Cities, but in the Fields.

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# THE LIFE OF ACHMAT,

The First of that Name, Eighth Emperour of the *Turky*.

1604 Achmat, by excessive bounty procured the favour of his great Courtiers and men of War.

**M**ahomet, the late Sultan, in the midst of his excessive Pleasures, by untimely Death taken away, *Achmat*, the elder of his two Sons yet living, who was to succeed him in the Empire, to prevent the usual and insolent Tumults of the Janizaries, and other Souldiers of the Court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all Occasions of discontentment; by the Council of the great Bassaes (before he took upon him the Government) caused an exceeding great sum of Money (viz. two millions and an half) as a token of his Bounty, to be distributed amongst them; the *Spahi* and *Sidhars*, his chief Horse-men, receiving thereof ten Crowns a man, with five *Alpers* a day more to increase their Pay; and the Janizaries thirty Crowns a man, and one *Alper* a day more of ordinary pay; they of the Court, but especially the chief Officers, tasting of this bounteous Liberality also. With which to great a large all men well contented, he, in a most rich and stately Chariot, so placed as that all men might well see him, was in great Majesty carried through all the chief Streets of *Constantinople*, the People on every side gazing upon him, and still as he passed by them, prosecuting him with their most joyful and happy Acclamations. Some willing, that he being but young, might as another *Solyman* begin his Reign with the Conquest of *Malta*, as had the other with the Conquest of the *Rhodes*; and other some as heartily praying, that with glorious and victorious Conquests he might be like unto *Mahomet* the Great, whom he was then reported much to resemble. In to great a publick Magnificence, he, being about fifteen years old, was with all the accustomed Solemnities openly crowned, every man wishing unto him a most long and happy Reign. And albeit that no great fruit was for the present from so young and tender a Plant to be expected, yet nevertheless, by his Authority, and in his Name, many good Orders were taken for the relief of his Subjects, with most heavy Grievances generally oppressed, during the loose and careless Reign of his Father. His Grandmother also, a most proud, ambitious, and imperious Woman, and withal exceeding rich, who, with great Authority, as her Pleasure, over-ruled all in the time of the Reign of her Son *Mahomet*, he now removed from the State, as not fit for her to have to do therein, and so deprived her of all her former Power and Command. The *Perfian* Ambassador, whom his Father in his displeasure had close shut up, he set at liberty, and with him fetched the Bassa of *Aleppo*, to intreat of Peace with the great Shaugh of *Perfia*, who not long before (as was reported) had recovered the great City of *Tours*, and was then preparing himself

Achmat Crowned Emperour of the Turks at Constantinople.

Achmat removed his Grandmother from dealing with matters of State.

for new Conquests. Which Report for the motion of Peace with the *Perfian*, discovered in his Subjects their divers opinions concerning himself; some condemning his Patience, as not becoming the *Othoman* Emperours, unto whom Fury and Rage had always made them a way unto their great and dreadful Conquests, even against the most puissant Armies, and strongest Towns and Fortresses of their Enemies; and some others to the contrary praising therein his Wisdom, in seeking by fair means (now in the beginning of his Reign) to disarm his Enemies when they might most hurt him; at his better opportunity, in his settled estate, to oppress them for ever. So the Actions of Princes are like unto strange Lights appearing by Night in the Air, which hold mens Eyes busied with the intensive beholding of them, some thereof divining well, and some others evil, according to the diversity of the beholders conceits and humours.

The Treaty for Peace also in *Hungary*, was notwithstanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Bassa of *Buda* still continued, who (as he said) by the new Sultan authorized, by Letters incited the Governour of *Strigoniom* to repair unto some such convenient Place, as wherein the matter might be safely concluded. Upon which motion, the Governour, with the rest of the Commissioners, departing from *Strigoniom*, the fourth of *February* came to *Colontie's* Camp, from whence they were by the Souldiers most bravely conducted along the Banks of *Danubius*, unto the Ships which lay ready for them, to carry them down the River to *Pesth*; during which time of their Passage, nothing was to be seen or heard, but Fire and Smoke, and the thundering of the great Artillery both from *Pesth* and *Buda*, the Christians and the Turks both striving to excel each other in these their shews of Joy and Triumph. The Governour, with the rest of his Company, being happily arrived at *Pesth*, met there with a number of the better sort of the Turks, sent thither by the Bassa to meet him, and in his Name to greet him; who, with a thousand Honours again received and saluted them. All shews of Kindness, and signs of the happy success of the Negotiation begun. And now the Christians, desirous to excell the Turks, as well in Courtship as in Valour, appointed a number of them the next day to go to *Buda*, to invite certain of the chieftest and most honourable men amongst the Turks, unto a Banquet at *Pesth*; who willingly accepted of the offer, and so came fix hundred of the better sort of them over the *Danubius* to *Pesth*, where the feast was most sumptuously and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten fair and

1604 The Turks diversly conceited of their new Emperour.

The Treaty for Peace in *Hungary* continued;

The Turks honourably testified by the Christians near *Pesth*.

side

1306

THE

Emperours of Germany,	Kings,	Of Rodolph the Second.	1577.
		Of England, { Queen Elizabeth.	1558. 47.
		Of France, { Henry the Fourth.	1589.
		Of Scotland, { James the Sixth.	1567.
Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the Third.	Bishops of Rome.	Clement the VIII.	1592. 13.
		Leo the XI.	1605. 26. days.
		Paul the V.	1605.

1604

rich Pavilions, set up for the Entertainment of them a little distant from *Pelsh*, in a fair place, and fit for this purpose. In the hall whereof were placed three very proud and stately Tables. At the first of which Tables, on the right hand, were set the Commissioners for the Emperor, with the two Baffaes, and one Muffi or Arch-Priest, with a Mire upon his Head, a long furred Gown upon his Back, and under that, a Robe of most fine and exceeding rich Silk. Upon the left hand, at the same Table, were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two Tables were set other of the best fort of the Turks mingled with the Christians: and so at all the other Tables in like order were set a Christian and a Turk, until that the six hundred Turks were placed, with as many Christians among them; who, by their good Countenance and Behaviour one of them to another, might have seemed to have been all of one and the same Belief, Nation, and Country. The Turks, after the manner of their Superstition, would not sit down before the setting of the Sun; which being set, they with a thousand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Arch-priest, set themselves down at the Tables in order, as if they had been met merely to repose themselves until nine of the Clock at night. At which time, the Tables with great reverence taken away, the Turks, as men well contented, and full of Joy, returned to *Buda*, the Instruments of Musick, Trumpets, and Drums, on every side sounding about them with much glee, and as it were witnessing unto Heaven and Earth the great Contentment they had received. And yet was all this fair show nothing, else but a Diffimulation mixt with most foul Treachery; for, a little before their departure, they of *Pelsh* were advertised, That the Turks in great number well appointed, were come out from *Buda* to surprise *Pelsh*, during the time of the Feast; being in hope, that the Christians, all busied in this Action, had left the Walls of the Town unfurnished of defence. But they, too well acquainted with their Treacheries to put any trust or confidence in their fair shews, had as well provided for the Defence and Safety of the Town, as for the Magnificence of the Feast abroad. By which means the Turks disappointed of their intended purpose, were in the attempting thereof repulsed, and so glad to return as they came, back again to *Buda*.

The next day after, the Commissioners for the Emperor complained unto the Baffa and the rest of the Turks Commissioners of this so treacherous dealing; who excused themselves as altogether ignorant thereof, disavowing the Action for want of Success, which had it been effected, they would to the uttermost have shamefully maintained. An ordinary course among the Great, with Speech and Countenance in shew to condemn that for want of effect, which they in Heart and Mind could far better have wished to have been performed.

Nevertheless, the Turks the next day (as if no such thing had been meant) requested the Christian Commissioners to come to *Buda*, as they had done to *Pelsh*; but they, as well by Proof as by Report, perceiving the evil meaning of the Turks, excusing themselves, returned to *Strigonium*, as loth any more to adventure themselves into the Power of their late Enemies, yet left they *Geisberg* at *Pelsh*, with Commission to continue the Negotiation for Peace with the Baffa of *Buda*, if he should find him therunto disposed, or any hope of bringing the Treaty to good effect or issue.

Mahomet the late Sultan, had a little before his Death (as is before declared) let at Liberty the

County *Tolan* (carried away Prisoner to *Constantinople* after the taking of *Alba-Regalia*) and sent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a Peace to be made with the Emperor; with promise to yield himself again Prisoner, if he failed to obtain the same; for whom, the French Ambassador became Pledge. He having now delivered his Letters of Credence unto the Emperor, and commanded to say what he had farther in charge, declared, That the Great Sultan offered to deliver unto his Majesty the strong Towns of *Buda*, *Alba-Regalia*, and *Canisja*, in exchange of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*, whereunto he laid claim, promising on his part to make a most firm and sure Peace with the Emperor for the time to come, and to give thereof such assurance as should of his reasonably be demanded. The Baffa of *Buda* also, amongst other the fair Remonstrances of Peace, had offered unto the Emperor's Commissioners to restore *Canisja* and *Agria* for *Pelsh*, *Harwan*, and *Vacia*, together with the Remission of all such Payments and Tributes as were by the Emperor due unto the Great Sultan for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. All which fair Shews and Offers, though much unreasonable, were nothing but windy Words, to delay the time, and subtil Baits to deceive the Christians: for the Event and Issue, which giveth life to all Actions, with a form unto them agreeable, hath by Experience taught the Christians, That all the glorious and glozing Proceedings of the Turks in this business of the Peace, so much wished and expected of the Christians, were but Nets and Snares wherewith to entangle them with the vain hope thereof, until that in the mean time might perfite their Towns with new Supplies of Men, Munition, Viduals, and whatsoever else was needful, the more easily afterward to annoy them at their Pleasure, and so to laugh at their Simplicity and light belief: For Mahomet being dead, and Achmat his Son (yet by reason of his Minority under the Tutelage of his Mother and other the great Baffaes) succeeding in his Place, the Turks aggravated the Conditions of the Peace, and propounded them so far from reason, as that any man might fear them now to have no more desire or regard of Peace, after that they had dispatched that for which they seemed before desirous thereof; inso much, that they sent a Messenger in Post from *Constantinople* unto the Baffa of *Buda*, to forbid him, upon the pain of his Head, any farther to continue the Treaty of Peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this Peace, so much expected, and now the People generally holden for as good as concluded, suddenly vanished into Smoak, nothing remaining of that Body, composed of so many Witnes, more than a vain Expectation, now dispersed with the Wind of the Turkish Treachery. And yet during the time of this Negotiation for Peace fought for by the Turks both by open Letters and Messengers, many a solemn Bath had passed both from the Sultan Mahomet, and from the Visier Baffa, for their faithful and sincere dealing in the Treaty thereof; as, By the God of Heaven and Earth; By the Books of Moses; By the Psalms of David; and, By the Holy Evangelists; Oaths much used of Turks, and reserved for their greatest Solemnities, and strongest Assurances of their Leagues and Promises; all which, for all that, having served but as Baits and Traps to beguile the Faithful and well-meaning men, lay now neglected and unregarded: such is the faith and assurance which men have from faithless and untruthful men.

The Treaty of Peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by some bruited, That Achmat the Great Sultan, under the Conduct of the Visier Baffa, his Governour, was himself in Person, with a most

1604

The Mel-  
lage of  
County  
Tolan from  
the Great  
Sultan to the Em-  
peror.

The Turks  
in all the  
Negotiations  
on for  
Peace did  
nothing  
but disem-  
ble with the  
Emperor's  
Commis-  
sioners.

1604

Babylon re-  
ported to  
have been  
taken by  
the Persian  
King.

The Turks  
wifely dis-  
semble their  
Loffes.

The Tre-  
aty for  
Peace with  
the Turks  
coming to  
nothing.

Divers Re-  
ports con-  
cerning the  
Turks great  
Preparati-  
ons and  
Designs.

a most huge Army about to come into *Hungary*; some others in the mean time reporting, that he was letted lo to do by reason of the Persian Wars, whereunto he was of necessity to send the greatest part of his Forces; so that he would but only send one of his great Baffaes, with the remainder of his great Army, against the Christians in *Hungary*; being before sworn never to return again unto *Constantinople*, until he had brought the Counties of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*, with the remainder of *Hungary*, under the Obedience of the great Sultan, together with the County of *Austria*, and especially the strong City of *Vienna*, the end of the Turkish Emperours Conquests; and that to this purpose the Grand Seignior had with great rigour in all places levied great numbers of Men upon his Subjects for the maintenance of his so great an Army. It was by others reported also, That only the Preparations for so great an Army should be made this year, the Turks being resolved to do much therewith the next year, and therefore willing to bestow much, in hope with so great and puissant an Army as they were about to raise, to make an end of the Wars in *Hungary*, and so to return until they had conquered all the rest of that Kingdom, in the rent religions whereof the Fortune of the Ottoman Emperours had stayed; so that all Handy-crafts men were let to work by Day and Night, not only to forge Weapons, to cast great Ordnance, and to make Powder, but to prepare all other things necessary also for so great an Exploit.

All these great Preparations were made for the service of the Visier Baffa for the War in *Hungary*, and of *Cicada Baffa* in *Perfia*, where he was appointed General, having before presumptuously promised, utterly to ruinate the Persian Estate, and with so great a Power even to swallow him up. And indeed, these Eastern Wars greatly troubled the Turks; News coming first concerning the Conquests of the Persian upon his Territories; and that even the late Persian King prosecuting his Victories, had taken *Babylon*, with all the Country thereabout; and that divers other Towns and Cities, more moved with fear than with the Faith wherewith they had bound themselves unto the Turks, now yielded themselves unto the Persian, as weary of the Turks Servitude, and desirous of their ancient Liberty. And yet for all that, the Turks (as they are wise to dissemble their Loffes, and to feign a tear into their Enemies eyes) did give out, as if they had said, That the Persian King was near unto *Babylon* discomfited, all his Army overthrown, and he himself taken Prisoner; so that the Turks Forces, before distracted, should now wholly joyn together, to the utter Ruine and Destruction of the Christians in *Hungary*. And the more to confirm this evil News, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of *Grecia* had rallied a great Power to joyn with the Visier Baffa, for to the intent to leave nothing unconquered in *Hungary*. For the better effecting whereof, it was also said, That the Visier Baffa had caused a great number of Vessels loaded with Powder and other warlike Provision, to be brought by Water out of *Egypt* to *Belgrade*, to ruinate the Estate of the Christians. All which Reports, were by the Turks given out, to cover their own Mistake, and to terrifie their Enemies; as knowing right well, that they were depending upon Rumors, and that a false brute belied, worketh oftentimes the Effect of a thing indeed done. Howsoever it was, those lo dreadful Reports might well have served to have stirred up the Spirits of the Christians to have provided for their own Defence, and to have stood upon their Guard; for, he that faitheth to provide against the

Preparations of his Enemy, well deserveth either Bondage or Death, whichsoever shall befall him, for having by his Negligence betrayed his own Ability and Power to have withstood him.

The great Report of the Turks Preparations and Forces, had now daid'd the Talk of Peace at *Constantinople*, and the hot fire of Ambition had quite leached the new Flowers appearing upon the overture of the late hope of the common People; some perfwading the Great Sultan, that he was able with his Power at the same time, both to subdue the Persian King, and to confound the Forces of the Christian Emperour, having so many Kingdoms within his Empire, to many Armies stored for his Service, and such store of Treasure for his Delights, promising unto him most happy and easy Success both in the time and the other Expedition, even at one and the self same time; so that he might vanquish the Persian by *Cicada*, Chietain of his Army in *Perfia*, and conquer the remainder of *Hungary*, with the Counties of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*, by the Visier Baffa, General of his Forces against the Christians; it being (as they said) a thing both honourable and profitable for a Prince to bestow both Men and Money, thereby to gain Men, Honour, and Empire; so that things which, with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than were those which with less charge were done at divers times; for that things to be done at once, yielded present profit, as being in our Power, and recompensing our Charge; the other in long time putting us to great charge, and yielding little or no profit at all. And indeed men stand in great fear of this the Turks young Emperour, being by Nature fierce, haughty, vigilant, cruel, ambitious, and proud; and who, in his Behaviour and Actions, much resembled Mahomet the second, which took from the Christians so many Kingdoms, Towns, and Cities, and amongst the rest the Imperial City of *Constantinople*. He like unto a young Alexander, occupieth himself in all the Exercises of War, hath Idleness, his Fathers greatest Pleasure; he causeth Arms to be made, Cannons to be cast, Ships and Gallies to be built, and taketh a Pleasure to discourse, how the same are to be employed against his Enemies; so that it is greatly to be feared, that he being but a Child in *Constantinople*, will prove a man grown in Christendome, in bringing the same under his Power and Obedience. He spareth no Person nor Means which may serve to further his desire. So that Strangers are to be in small Countenance at his hands, when as they see him to use such bloody Cruelty against his Noblemen and domestical Servants, of the chiefest of whom since he was Emperour, he hath already put divers to death, with one of his Baffaes also, who was the Governour of *Pelsh*, when as our men were in it. But as Justice and Clemency unto good Princes are the surest Bonds to keep their Subjects fast bound unto them in their Obedience, so the Cruelty and Cruelty Rage Briddles wherewith the Turkish Emperours keep their Subjects in awe and subjection unto them, and themselves in their Estate.

But leaving the Turks busie about their Preparations for the accomplishing of their young Emperours high Designs, let us return into *Hungary*, taking *Transylvania* in our way, the woful Miracles of which Country may more abhorrently think upon, and my Pen thereof to write, as this Province, sometime much renowned for the great Victories obtained against the Turks by the Inhabitants thereof, under the leading of their Prince *Sigmund Bator*, and others, abounding with plenty of all things, was now, not by any invasion of the Turks, but by civil Discord amongst themselves,

1604

The great  
Opinion  
the Turks  
have of the  
Power of their  
great  
Sultan.

The Dif-  
position of  
the young  
Turkish  
Emperour.

Fury and  
Tyranny  
the chief  
means  
wherewith  
the Turkish  
Emperours  
command  
their Sub-  
jects.

1604

The miserable state of the Country of Transilvania.

An horrible famine.

An Assembly of the States of Transilvania for the appeasing of the Troubles there.

The Troubles of Transilvania severely maintained by the Nobility of the Country.

elves, and Rebellion against the Emperour, now their Sovereign, so waited and spoiled by the Souldiers on all sides, that many of the poor Inhabitants, for want of food, fell down dead, as they went in the Streets and Fields: miserable Wretches, always howling, but never repaying; always labouring, but nothing profiting; the mercerles and greedy Souldier still spoiling or devouring all. By long continuance of which daily Outrages, the Fields at length lay now untill'd, the Pastures were furred and neglected, and all things else unmanured and quite out of courfe; by means whereof, the Famine fo increased, that the poor Peasants of the Country, having eaten up for great Dainties all the Dogs and Cats, Mice and Rats, that they could get, fell to eating of dead Horses, and the loathsome Carrion of other hunger-starved Beasts. It is reported also, That one man should eat another; and that at *Hermanstadt*, a Woman having six Children, did eat up one of another, until they were at length all six devoured; and to the contrary, that two men did eat their own Mother; yea, Thieves and other Malefactors, hanged for their Villanies, were by the poor and miserable hungry People cut down from the Gallows, and devoured, the People generally living upon nothing but upon the Roots of Weeds, green Herbs, and the leaves of Trees. For remedy of which to extremity Miseries, it was on all Parts agreed, That a General Assembly of the States of the whole Province should be holden at *Deva*; wherein it was accorded, That all Hostility set apart, the Gentlemen of *Transilvania*, having by their Rebellion forfeited both their Lives and Lands, should be pardoned their Lives, with three fourth Parts of their Lands referred unto them, and that for ready Money they might of the Emperour redeem the fourth part also. But concerning the Nobles, who were to meet with certain of these Troubles, and already confiscated unto the Emperour, they should for remain; and that they should pay their Dimes, or tenth part of their Wine and Fruits, unto the Emperour. And farther, That there should be no farther exercise of Religion permitted unto them, but only the *Romish* Religion; and that the Towns of *Crostadt* and *Clanfenburg* should within the space of three Weeks, pay, the one twenty thousand Dollars, and the other eight thousand; and the Magistrates of those Towns should deliver the Keys of their Towns, with all their Power, into the hands of the Emperour's Lieutenant; and that the Gentlemen of these Towns which would not be accounted in the number of the Rebels, should, for the safety of their Persons, take Letters of Pardon for their Rebellion, of the General of the Army. This Pacification gave some little time of breathing unto this poor distressed Country, which, bared of all strength, and as it were upon the Graves brink, had now but even the last Gasp to give; and the Country People began again to give themselves unto their wonted Labours, in hope at length to reap the profit thereof; but alas, all in vain: for why, the ravening Souldiers, inured to Prey, after their wonted manner made havoc and spoil of all things, leaving nothing unto the poor Countryman, but his labour for his Pain, and time enough to bewail his manifold and remediless Miseries: the Causes whereof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themselves; who, not liking to be governed, or rather (as they took it) oppressed by the *Germans*, and having, not upon any desire that they had of Peace, but rather by necessity enforced, yielded unto the Pacification aforesaid, ceased not still under-hand to incite the Souldiers against enough of themselves to do mischief) and in what they might to trouble the Government of

the State by the *Germans*, being unto them, (as they accounted of them) but Strangers. And which their doings *Baffa*, the Emperour's Lieutenant, well perceiving, caused three of the greatest of the Gentlemen of the Country, and whom he most suspected to be the Authors of these Troubles, to be apprehended, and fast shured up betwixt two strong Walls in an old ruinous Monastery; whither their Friends afterwards came to have visit of them, and finding them starved to death, were themselves much amazed, as were also other their Complices, as soon as they heard thereof. But leaving them to work themselves further Troubles, let us again return unto the Turks Affairs.

Now was all the hope of Peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks become desperate, the Turks making thereof no more account, seeing that according to their Desire they had provided *Alba-Regalia*, *Agria*, and *Buda*, of their necessary Provisions. They had in four Waggones put into *Agria* the Pay due unto their Christians; so that their Affairs being now in good effect, and their Courages revived, they began to scoff and jeer at our Credulity, to believe that they had had any purpose to conclude upon any thing that was not agreeing with their Profit, how far loever it were differing from their Honour or from their Faith: so that now these faithless men began again to renew their wonted Incurfions and Pillages upon the Christians, with all other kind of Hostility, and that in more cruel manner than ever before; and our *Hussars* on the other side well requited them with the like, being as well contented as they with these manner of doings, their whole Fortune depending upon the points of their Weapons, and ever ready to the Service of their Prince for their Pay. Now it fortuned, that fourscore of the Turks going forth to seek for Booty, chanced to meet with certain of these Christians, who finding themselves too weak to encounter with them, and bethinking themselves to flight, were certain of them taken Prisoners, and so brought unto the General; unto whom, they upon Examination confessed, That the Turks much marvelled at the Simplicity and Foolishness of the Christians, to believe that they were desirous of Peace, and not to have discovered their so manifest Intentions to the contrary, tending only to the pleasuring of themselves, and the annoying of them their Enemies, to the strengthening of themselves, and destruction of the Christians, as by Proof it appeared, so soon as their Desires were accomplished, unto the prejudice of their Enemies; and that their young Emperour was always against this Treaty of Peace, whatsoever then he had made to the contrary, constrained thereunto by the Victories and Conquests of the *Persian* King; all his Wishes and Desires aiming at no other mark, than as to the general Ruine of *Christendom*. Our Garrisons also, seeing themselves charged by the Turks, took up Arms likewise, and required them with like Outrages, as they did. They of *Pappa* and *Vesprimium* were the first which began these Broils after the Treaty of the Peace; who, having joyned their Forces together, and making head towards *Alba-Regalia*, met with a number of Turks driving of Sheep and Cattel thither, whom they surprised, and together with their Cattel carried them away with them Prisoners. Which good hap was seconded with the Liberty of twenty Christian Prisoners from *Buda*, who one night seeing their Keepers oppressed with Sleep and with Wine, cut their Throats, and so happily escaped over the River to *Pesth*.

Now while these Troubles, betwixt the Christians and the Turks (after the Treaty of Peace broken off) thus began again in *Hungary*, the

1604

A severe and miserable kind of Punishment.

The Treaty of Peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks quite broken off, and the War again begun.

Bootes taken from the Turks by the Christians.

The Christians by the Turks Prisoners informed of their evil meaning in the Treaty of Peace.

1604

Zeffir recovers the Government of Bofna from Zelly and shortly after dieth.

Zelly made Governor of Temeswar.

The Misfortunes of the Hungarians.

The Regiment of Colonnell Althem in Mutiny.

Turks, beside the Rebellion in *Asia*, were together by the Ears in the Province of *Bofna*, *Zelly*, having by force joyned with Policy driven *Zeffir Baffa* (as is aforesaid) out of *Bofna*, and possessed himself of that Province, thought himself now secure enough within the strength of his Government, although he being by the great Sultan sent for to *Constantinople*, had refused to come, as knowing himself right well to hold that so great a Government much against his Will and Pleasure. But *Zeffir Baffa*, now supported with the Authority of the Great Sultan, and desirous to be revenged of the great dishonour and loss he had before received from *Zelly*, his Enemy, with a great Army suddenly entered into *Bofna*, and so coming unto *Zelly*, fearing as then no such matter, overthrew him with all his Power, and never left pursuing of him, until he had chased him quite out of the Province, and so again recovered the Government thereof. But short was the Joy the *Baffa* received of this so pleasing a Victory; for within few days after he dyed, comforting himself only in this, that he did not convert. Of all which things, the great Baffas of the Court understanding, and loath to lose so great a Souldier as was *Zelly*, (who as a man distressed, was now making shift for himself) or by using him hardly, to deter the other *Asian* Rebels from coming in, and yet not willing to trust him with so great a Government as was the Province of *Bofna*; they, to provide for all events, appointed him to be Governor of *Temeswar*; and *Begedes Baffa* (before Governor thereof) so to succeed *Zeffir Baffa*, the Government of *Bofna*, so continuing all Parties, to keep their Forces whole and intire against the Christians.

But as the Turks were troubled with their Affairs in *Bofna*, so the Christians were no less, but rather more buifed with theirs both in *Transilvania* and *Hungary*. The Estates of *Hungary* had appointed a general meeting at *Poffonion*, wherein the Arch-duke *Matthias* was to sit as President, there to consult of the means for the maintenance of this years Wars against the Turks. But as the Arch-duke was about to have entered into the City in the midst of his Souldiers, such a Fire upon the sudden arose in the City, as consumed the greatest part thereof; an evil preface of the Action then in hand, and a woful spectacle to behold, with the Terror whereof all mens Minds possessed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Arch-duke, (as was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more necessary and concerning them than the other. Besides that, the Miseries then to be seen in the other parts of *Hungary* yet holden by the Christians, were both great and lamentable; for beside the harms therein done by the Turks, the Regiment of Colonnell *Althem* had made much spoil and havoc all over the Country where it lay, that the Towns and People in general so grievously complained thereof unto the Emperour, that he, moved with their just Complaints, caused the Authors of these so great Outrages to be apprehended and brought Prisoners to *Vienna*, where some of them were beheaded, and some others of them hanged; beside whom so condemned and executed, there were some other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom, some denying the Fact, and otherwise standing upon the justifying of that they had done, as thereunto by extreme Necessity enforced, were for their further trial sent Prisoners unto *Prague*, where they were committed unto Prison in the Castle, until their Causes might be heard. Among which Captains and Lieutenants, and other such great Officers, was one *Gendero*, Colonnell *Althem's* Antient, who most wickedly but a little before had

slain *Nudero*, a Gentleman of good fort, and his Fellow-companion in Arms; for which murder he was committed Prisoner unto a very high and strong Tower within the Castle (wherein Country *Paradise*, who sold *Cannia* unto the Turks, lay sometime Prisoner) until his Trial might within a few days after be made. The horror of which criminal place, together with the guilt of Confession, so troubled and wounded the Mind of *Gendero*, as that all the hope now to save his Life, was by making an escape, and so to avoid the stroke of Justice. Which he happily brought to pass by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring unto him a long Cord, where, by straining himself out at a little window (whereby it was thought almost impossible for any man to have got out) he in safety got down to the Ground, and there having two good Horses ready for him, he with his man fled again, and so escaped, his Keepers drunken over Night, being in the Morning found yet sleeping, without perceiving of any thing, whose Drunkenness and Favour toward the Prisoner had given him means to escape. The rest of the Captains and Lieutenants in Prison at *Prague*, were some of them beheaded, and some of them hanged, and the rest, at the Intercession of the Nobility of *Austria*, and other great men pardoned; yet with Condition, That they should pay the fines let upon them, and serve the Emperour in his Wars three Months of their own charge without Pay; some few of the common Souldiers, to the Terror of others, had two of the fore-fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterward nailed unto Gibbets let up by the high ways side.

In like manner also the Regiment of Colonnell *Meyersberg* led in Mutiny for their Pay, and came and incamped at *Sneeke*, about a League from *Vienna*; threatening to destroy the Country, and to kill the chief men therein, if they were not paid their Pay. Which rebellious Mutiny the Captains did what they might to appease; they besought them, but in vain; they intreated them, but to no purpose; they promised them pay, but prevailed not; yea, the Colonnell himself thrust himself into the midst of them, with most earnest Prayers, and his hands cast up, putting them in mind of their Duty, and laying before them the danger of most assured Death and Dishonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their Disloyalty, whereunto their head-strong Fury so disorderly led them. But they in men enraged, carried headlong with their Rage, breathing nothing but Threats and Destruction, and by no Prayers or Persuasion to be moved, presently made choice of another Chieftain, under whose conduct and leading they resolved to rife the Suburbs of *Vienna*, and with the spoil of them to pay themselves. Upon which Resolution they marched on, and so drew near unto the City; with which they so great and dangerous an Infoleny, the Governours of the City moved, (the suffrance whereof they accounted to be unto themselves both dishonourable and harmful) they on the other side resolved by plain force to repress them, and by just Arms to chastise them, who were not otherwise to be reclaimed. But such be the miserable Calamities of War, where violent Remedies must purge out of the body of the Common-weal the good Humours together with the bad, so to recover the health thereof; which Remedies, not but upon Necessity to be used, are so quick and violent in their working, as that they afford not leisure to discern the while and source from the sick and infected, to save the one, and to spill the other; but that they must altogether run the self-same way. For albeit that the whole Regiment was in this

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this mutinous Adion, and so all in like danger, yet were they not thereof all alike guilty, many of them being even against their Wills, and good liking carried away head-long, as with the violent course of an angry River.

Now the Captains of the Town, with their Troops and Companies, strengthened with some other Supply from other Places, were to set forward against these rebellious Mutineers, and to frustrate their Designs, for the greater strengthening of whom, divers of the Burgesses of the Town were enforced to enter into this Adion also: a amongst whom, there were two, accounted very honest religious men, who by all means sought to excuse themselves from going, labouring both by lively Reasons, and by the Word of God, to prove, that they neither might nor ought of Right to enter into Arms against their Christian Brethren, enforced with Extremities, for want of their due Pay, to forget their Duty, and to do that befemed them not. But what availeth it to allege either Reason or Law amongst the clattering of Arms; the noise whereof is so great, as that Reason and Law cannot there be heard. These two men seeing themselves enforced to go, and much grieved in Conscience to do that they were enjoined to do, and to help to shed the guiltless Blood of their innocent Brethren (as they accounted them) entered both of them into a most strange and woful Resolution, which was, to dye themselves, rather than to embroil their hands with the Blood of the guiltless; whereupon, one of them, having oftentimes called upon the Name of *Jesus*, with his own Sword thrust himself through the Body, and so died; the other, upon the like Resolution, threw himself into the River, and so perished also. Men worthy to be pitied for their Conscience sake, and to be commended for their weak and desperate Resolution. In fine, the rebellious Mutineers seeing in what Peril they were, being even now ready to be charged, and wistful considering the weakness of their Power in comparison of them that came against them, thought it best, upon the sight of so great a Tempest, to strike Sail; and so changing their former Determination, and laying down their Arms, craved Pardon of the Arch-duke, who graciously granted it them, and so took them to his Mercy; yet with Condition, that they should again return unto their Garrisons, and deliver in to his hands the Ring-leaders and chief Authors of that Mutiny, to be punished according to their Deserts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of such insolent and disordered Actions, which have nothing assured unto them but Death, (which all things else failing) attendeth only upon them.

The Turks in vain seek to surprise Lipa.

But while the Christians, thus divided, were at variance amongst themselves, the Turks were ready enough to take advantage of such their dangerous Difcord. And first of all, *Zellaty*, the old Rebel, but now Governour of *Temeswar*, having in his crafty Head plotted the taking of the City of *Lippa* by surprise, and to that purpose gathering the greatest Power that he was able to make, in the Evening set forward from *Temeswar*, and so travelling by Night, came to *Lippa*; unto the Walls whereof he planted scaling Ladders, and at the same time labourd to have forced the Gates, in hope so to have gained the Town; which was done with such a terrible Noise and Outcry as was possible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once discovered, thereby to have dismayed the Christians within the Town; who, well acquainted with such Stratagems of their Enemies, and now therewith awaked, came readily to the Walls, and there so well defended themselves and their Town, that the Turks repulsed, were

glad to give over the Assault, and having lost a number of their men, with all spent to retire; upon whom, the Christians following out, slew many of them in that their disordered Retreat, little differing from plain flight, and took many more of them Prisoners; yea *Zellaty*, who not many hours before had thought to have surprised *Lippa*, was now glad himself to have recovered the Walls of *Temeswar*. Some of the Turks that were there taken Prisoners being examined, reported, That the Army that was to come to come into *Hungary*, was like to be very great, and that a part thereof was now come to *Belgrade*, expecting there the coming of the *Tartars*, who were together with them to enter into *Hungary*; and that by reason of the Wars with the *Perfians*, which devoured almost all the Soldiers in *Constantinople*, and yet could not be therewith satisfied, the Great Sultan had commanded, That all such as were able to bear Arms, as well in *Bosnia*, as in that part of *Hungary* which was subject unto him, and in the other Provinces thereunto adjoining, should be ready to join with his Army in *Hungary*, for the furthering of his Conquests there: and that the *Perfian* King, prosecuting the course of his Victories, had overthrown *Cezila Bassa* with his Army, and taken his Son Prisoner, almost slain all his Troops, and entered into *Confederacy* with *Carracoff*, chief of the Rebels in *Asia*, a Man of many Wars, who had slain of him a great number of valiant Men; all resolutely set down for the troubling of the Great Sultan's Estate.

About the same time, the Governour of *Caloffia* (a great and strong City in the upper part of *Hungary*) going forth, with some good part of his Garrison, to appease the Soldiers lying a part in the Country (but now up in Mutiny for their Pay) and the spending some few days about this Business, in shewing them great regard of their Involency, and persuading them, by the evil success and end of such-like Actions, to return again unto their Duties; and they again to the contrary obstinately urging the Payment of their Pay, or else to have leave to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other; and so the time passing, it fortuned that certain Turks, then Prisoners in *Caloffia*, encouraged by the Absence of the Governour and of the Garrison Soldiers, to attempt the gaining of their Liberty, brake their Irons, and flew their Keepers, in hope so to have escaped: but being in the doing thereof discovered, and so again surprised before they could do any further harm, and upon Torture examined, By what means they thought to have escaped out of the City, the Walls thereof being kept with continual sentinels: they confessed, That their Purpose was the same, which was to have set fire upon divers Places of the City (so to have drawn the People to the quenching thereof) and at the same time to have slain the Sentinels upon the Walls, and so to have made their Escape: for which their so mischievous a Fact and Purpose, they were some of them executed, and the rest again committed to Prison, and more strictly kept and looked unto than before.

Now as *Caloffia* had, by the Providence of God, escaped so great an intended Mischief, *Caloffia* at the same time alone felt the evil hap by the Turks intended both to *Caloffia* and *Lippa*; for a Soldier of the Garrison, in the Citadel there, having, through Negligence or Mithap, cast Fire into the Powder, provided for the flore of the Castle; the Powder taking fire, blew up the Citadel, the Towers, the Houses, and the Walls; and, to be brief, made this place like unto another *Rome* burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the

Caloffia in danger to have been burnt by the Turks.

The Citadel of Caloffia burnt by chance.

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the Christian Forces been then near unto the place, it had been an easy matter to have won the same, as well for the small resistance that was therein to have been found in so great an affrontment of the Men, and Destruction of the Place. But such accidents have no certain hours limited to their Beginnings, nor assurance of their coming, so that they oftentimes chance, without any man to make use of them; and again fly away, when men make their greatest Preparations to obtain them.

The Turks of Buda overthrown by the Christians of Pesh.

At the same time, the Turks of *Buda* sent two hundred of the Soldiers of their Garrison to fetch in Forrage a little from *Pesh*, who, as they were in the doing thereof too presumptuous, so were they well punished for their Pride; for the Christians in *Pesh*, having discovered them in this Adion, sallied out upon them and charged them; against whom they lay for a while right valiantly defended themselves but at length, oppressed with number, and overthrown, they were most of them slain, and the rest taken Prisoners; wherewith the Bassa of *Buda*, was so much offended, that in Revenge thereof, he in his Rage threatened with Fire and Sword to do what harm he might unto the Christians. But, as the common Proverb hath, *Men warned, are half armed*; and Enemies Threats bring this Comfort with them, That in receiving so threatened a challenge, we are in hope to be revenged thereof, as therefore before provided.

Unto their woful Troubles of *Hungary*, proceeding as well from the Involencies of the Christian Soldiers themselves, as from the Fury of the Turks, who were their ancient and mortal Enemies, were joined the like, or rather worse Calamities in *Transilvania*, extreme Famine and want of all things for raging in both Countries; so hardly with any Mischief or Extremity been so often or so real of, even in Countries by the just and heavy Judgments of the Almighty God appointed to Destruction, which were not in those two Countries to be found, and of many felt. For remedy whereof, *George Bassa*, the Emperours Lieutenant in *Transilvania*, had there done what he might for the appeasing of the Tumults and Troubles of that Province, and now of late brought the same into some good terms, as was thought, and as it before declared. Howbeit, that in proof it fell out far otherwise, and that the more he therein laboured, the farther he was off from his intent and purpose; for the Nobility of that Province, who were generally inclined unto Rebellion, and desisting the *Germans*, together with their Government, rejected the Decrees and Orders which were agreed upon in their late meeting together for the concluding of Peace; and so much, that advised by the Turks, they had taken certain Castles and strong Places in that Province; and the better to support their Rebellion and Involency, they had appointed a certain Place to meet at, where the Turks and they might confer together of the means which they intended for the effecting of their Designs. Whereof *Bassa* having by secret means got understanding, to remedy this pretended Mischief, he sent away a great number of *Haiducks*, to lie in wait to surprise them upon the way. Which men, who were skilful in the Passages of the Country, failed not in this Action, but lay close in ambush, very conveniently for the surprising of their Enemies; who, proceeding in their intended purpose, and thinking of nothing less than of that which was intended against them, were suddenly, before they were aware, *Turks* and *Transilvanians*, altogether surprised and slain. Which Exploit being performed, these *Haiducks* and other Soldiers, destitute of their Pay, and enraged with

New Tumults in Transilvania.

The Rebels in Transilvania surprised and slain.

1604 The miserable estate of Transilvania.

Fury, fell upon the Province, using therein all Hostility, as if they had been mortal Enemies unto it; punishing the guiltless for the guilty, and seizing upon all mens Goods in common, to pay themselves that which was by some few in private kept from them. All the whole Province was subject unto the Rage and Fury of those and other such merciless men of War, who, without any remorse at all, indifferently flew and massacred all of them that came in their way; but especially the poor and weak innocent People, who called upon the Almighty God for Remedy, and Redress of their Evils which they sustained, and cried out unto him for Revenge of their so great and cruel Wrongs. The high ways were every where full of Thieves, that no man could travel from Place to Place, but that he was in great danger to be let upon, and spoiled. For the *Haiducks* (being men that live together by Prey, and roaming up and down the Country) made good Prey and Booty of whatsoever came in their way, sparing neither Turks nor Christians; insomuch, that they hearing, how that the *Zeczers* with a good Convey were bringing a number of Waggon laden with Victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other Cattel to *Claudianople*, although they were of the same Party, Belief, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to surprise them; against whom the *Zeczers* seeking to defend themselves, were by their Beeves and other Cattel, Waggon, with their Beeves and other Cattel, all carried quite away. But what should we say? Hunger breaketh even the stone Walls, and forceth men unto all Extremities; and now the Famine in that Province was such, as that the People were for the most part glad to live by feeding upon the Roots of Herbs and Weeds, and such other unwholesome things, whereof great Mortality afterward ensued amongst them; which was the cause that *Forwart*, Captain of these *Haiducks*, being reproved for the Outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more such like should afterward be done; answered, That it was not possible to keep Soldiers in any order amidst the extremity of Famine; for that the Belly was an inexorable Ulcer, which took pity upon nothing, but with great Rage exacting that which it thought due for the Nourishment of itself.

Amidst these Troubles of *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, there were two of the Turks Spies of *Buda* discovered and taken; who at *Vienna* had observed all the Actions and Proceedings of the Christians, and to the utmost of their Power had informed themselves of their Designs, as also of their Preparations and Forces to be raised and levied for this years War; of which two Spies, the one was employed, and the other kept in close and straight Prison, until that further matter might be drawn out from him.

The Forces of the Christians were now beginning to gather themselves together, and to make an head in *Hungary*; a ripe report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field, whereof the Bassa of *Buda* understanding, and desirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardness (whereof he doubted the Effects) thought it best to beate himself to his old and cunning Practice, for the treaty, and concluding of a Peace with the Christians, whereof he now made flew himself, together with the rest of the Turks, to be very desirous; so by putting the Christians in hope thereof, to make them the more remiss and negligent in their doings, and to gain time of them, until that the Turks great Army (then in preparing) might be

Two of the Turks Spies of Buda taken.

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brought down into Hungary. To which purpose, he in most friendly manner thus writ unto the Governour of Strigomium.

The Letters of the Baffa of Buda to the Governour of Strigomium.

WE know right well (Noble Governour) that you are not ignorant, how that your Brother, the Governour of Strigomium before you, hath most earnestly embraced the Negotiation of Peace, in such sort, as that we cannot so much yield unto our ordinary Quarrels and Diffention, but that we must give you to understand the Causes which have crossed and hindered the concluding of so great a good the last year now passed. The first Let came by reason of the time, chosen too late to be employed in that Treaty for Peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and even in readines to joy Battel, and could not then stay by that Intreaty, nor be sent back again without frowne expose doing, as each had refused upon their proper Designs, and even chosen their Ground for Battel, and were then hardly to be turned from that whereupon they were before resolved. And albeit, that during this last Winter, the Treaty for the Peace was again begun, and that the men of War on both sides in hope thereof stood unarmed, and free from all Hostility, a most fit time to have begun and ended this Treaty of Peace, which hath been so much wished for of our Sovereign Emperor, desire of his Subjects, and requested by those of your Emperours, with whom no dread Sovereign would confirm and contrail a firm and continual Peace, yet for all that, since the departure of the Governour from Strigomium, we see three Months to have been passed without any Letters at all, or Message by word of Mouth brought unto us concerning this matter, so that we have not any thing whereby to certify our Sovereign Emperor. And forasmuch as the course of time hath brought these two contrary Armies, one unto the point of Battel, and that they are marching one to meet to encounter with the other, and so enter into the lists of Honour, we have thought good before to desire to know of you, what we are to expect concerning the Peace. We therefore request you as our very good Brother and Friend, in what we may to stay the coming of our Armies into this Kingdom, and to attend to that which may produce the conclusion of this Treaty, being on our part most ready to send both our care and desire to whatsoever shall be just and men in this Treaty and necessary for the common good; beseeching you to believe us in this business, and not to doubt of our good Will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare; whereof we in good time advertise you, for that our Army which is now before Belgrade, being once arrived here, and marching in Field, we cannot possibly cause it to return without something doing, considering the great harms, which under the assistance of your Emperours, we have received from your People during the time of the Truce, which they have many ways violated. Which their evil dealing hath greatly incensed us against your men in Captivity with us, and caused our Soldiers to shew great rigour against their Slaves; we therefore attend your Answer, and the return of your Brother, to the end we may together resolve according unto Reason and Equity, of that which shall be needful to be done for the common good and welfare.

Now for all this fair glossing, it was no hard matter to guess at the Baffas secret meaning; for how desirous forever he seemed to be of Peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet nevertheless, true it is, that during the time of all these fair shews, the Turks, having assembled their Garrisons on all sides, had by Night surprised the Castle of Sirmion upon the Christians, slain part of the Soldiers therein, carried away the rest Prisoners,

and most cruelly afterwards burnt the place; so manifesting by their foul deeds the evil meaning of their fair and deceitful Words. But now leaving the Baffa for a while unto his crafty Devices, and passing over many small Skirmishes which happened in Hungary and Transilvania, as not becoming the Gravity of an History, let us now out of Europe look over into Asia, to know the Great Turks Affairs there in the mean time went.

The Rebellion in Asia was, by the coming over of Zezally and his Followers, for a time somewhat weakened, but not suppressed, that pestilent Humour of Disloyalty having before infected the Minds of so many, as that in short time after the Rebels were much stronger, and the Rebellion much more dangerous than before; for the appealing and repelling whereof, Cicala Baffa, the old Rengade, a man of great Experience and Service, was as General sent over with a great and mighty Army into Asia, where he needed not long to seek for his Enemies, they being as ready as he, either to give or to accept of Battel; so that for men to on both sides resolved, it was no hard matter to bring them to the Tryal of Battel; which they with like desire and equal good joyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Baffa fighting for his Honour, and the Rebel for his Life. However, that at length the Baffa, after much bloodshed and great number on both sides slain, being put to the worse, fled with his Army altogether disordered, and in rout, having in that so dangerous a confusion of his People much ado to save himself. With which so shameful an overthrow given him by the Rebel, the Baffa, who was more ashamed than discouraged, again repaired his Army, joyning thereto great and mighty Supplies, and so strengthened, came again the second time to revenge himself of the great dishonour which he had before received, and utterly to suppress the Rebels; who, now finding themselves too weak to encounter with so great and mighty a Power, wisely betime retired, praying Aid of the Persian King, who sent unto them his own Son with a great Army of good and valiant Soldiers; which might have given the Baffa cause enough to have stayed his haste, and to have been well advised how he joynt Battel with such desperate and resolute Enemies, and now back'd with such strong Supplies; but he, being blinded with the Fury of his former loss, and too much desirous to be thereof revenged, with more haste than good speed came on, and joynt Battel with these his Enemies, now in readines and well provided to receive him. The two Armies were in number equal, but the Rebels of the more, more resolute and careful of themselves and of their welfare, as they which had reposd all their Hope and Confidence in their own Arms and Valour, so that the Battel was with great Outcries and Fury begun both on the one side and on the other; in the beginning whereof the Turks right furiously charged the Rebels, and seemed somewhat to prevail upon them, until that the Persian Kings Son with certain Troops of his most brave Horsemen charging them in the Rearward, and some other of the Rebels with like Fury assailing them upon their Flanks, their whole Army was so disordered, that Cicala doing what he could to have put his men again in order, and so to have restored the battel, nothing therein prevailed, but was glad together with the rest of his Army, now all in rout, to betake himself to flight. In this Battel were 40000 Men on the one side and the other slain, whereby thirty thousand were of the Baffas Army, and the rest of the Rebels; who by this their great Victory, gained no less Honour and Respect, than had the old Baffa got of Contempt and Disgrace. The

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The Success of the Persian King.

Persian King also after this discomfure of the Turks, continuing his Conquests, took in the Country of Sirvan (a matter of great importance) being now destitute of all relief by the overthrow of Cicala Baffa, who, had he prevailed against the Rebels, should have marched thither against the Persian King, to have stayed the course of his Victories; who now victorious and out of all fear, made head toward Adria, a very great strong Town, near whereunto the River Tigris discharge it self into the great River Euphrates, which City he at last won, with all the Places and Countries thereunto adjoining; and hath since, as a most happy and victorious Prince, again recovered from the Turks whatsoever they had since the time of Sultan Solymán by force of Arms taken from the Persian Kings his Predecessors, two of three strong Places only excepted. Of which most notable Wars betwixt these two of the most mighty Eastern Princes, viz. the great Turk and the Persian King, I can rather with than hope to be better informed, and that, not so much for Curiosity (although that the Knowledge of such matters yield unto such as be desirous thereof much Pleasure, with no less Contentment) as for that they (though far off) in some sort much concern the good and quiet of the Christian Commonwealth, the Persians being the only means whereby the fury of the Great Turkish Sultan hath been, and yet is, for a time averted from the Christians in Europe upon the Persians in Asia; as it is greatly to be feared, that some one or other (if not more) of the Christian Princes hereafter unto him, shall to their great cost and harm feel, so soon as these two great Mahometan Princes shall be at Peace between themselves. But leave we the Baffa to guess at the issue of these overtures, and the Persian King to triumph of these Victories, and see what the Great Sultan himself in the mean time doth.

Sultan Achmat sick of the small Pox.

This young Prince Achmat, now one of the greatest Monarchs of the World, had not many Months reigned, but that he fell sick of the small Pox, wherewith, he having a grofs and full Body was so foully tormented for the space of fourteen days, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally thought he would thereof have died the year, divers of the great Baffas were in speech concerning his younger Brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to succeed him; which was thought would have cost the younger Brother his Life, after that the Sultan his elder Brother was again recovered; as no doubt it had, but that he was the only Heir that was then left of the Ottoman Family; if that his Brother the Sultan should have failed. But he again recovered, and his foul and childish Discase, to shew unto the Janizaries and others (who doubted thereof) that he was so recovered, proudly mounted upon a goodly Horse, most sumptuously furnished, and in great State and Magnificence tid up and down through most of the chief Streets of the Imperial City, the People (as their accustomed manner is) in every Place as he went rejoicing to see him, and profecting him with their most joyful Acclamations, wishing unto him a most long and happy Reign. Neither is it to be marvelled, seeing that the Almighty God hath even in the Faces and Countenances of Princes ingraven some resemblance of his own, if they become respectful and admirable in the Eyes and sight of the common People, who cannot but honour them with their Voices, whom God hath blessed with his Power, and other his extraordinary worldly Blessings.

This young Prince, so recovered of his Sickness, and having shewed himself unto his Subjects,

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began forthwith to give himself (according unto the heat of his youthful Spirit) immediately unto the Pleasures of the Field, and other such violent Exercises, being in their moderate use wholesome, but in their violences much hurtful, but especially upon the new recovery of his late Sickness, the Griefs whereof came in haste, but were to leave him at leisure. Whereupon two of the Baffas, careful of his Health, were so bold, as out of their Love to reprove him for such his violent and immoderate Exercises (the day not being long enough for them) and by effectual Reasons to dissuade him from the same. But so far off was he from hearkening unto their wholesome Persuasions, as that to the contrary, he therewith enraged, thrust them both out of their Places. So dangerous a thing it is, even in Zeal and Love to presume to controul great Princes in their loving them at all, but only for their own profit attending upon their idle Appetites, enjoying the Preferments due unto their more faithful and loyal Subjects, and yet secretly in themselves smiling at the Vanity of such as by whom they be so unworthily honoured and promoted.

But as in the immoderate use of all things there is a faculty which breedeth a disliking and dismore commended, thus by their novelty and seldom use) for this young Sultan Achmat, having glided himself with his Pleasures, began now to cast his Eyes upon his other more necessary Affairs of State, but especially upon his Wars both with the Christian Emperor and the Mahometan Persian King. Now he was not ignorant of the great Valour and Sufficiency of Hassan, the Vicer Baffa, for the managing of his Wars in Hungary, wherein he had of long time been exercised, and so therein best experienced. This old Captain pleased him best, whom, as an old, expert, and politic General, he resolved to continue in his charge as Lieutenant General of his Wars in Hungary, and by the continuation of him in so great and honourable a place, to bind him to all loyal Services in those Wars, even to the uttermost of his Power. This Great Baffa was then at Belgrade, upon the frontier of his Government, in doubtful suspense expecting the Resolution of his Prince concerning this business, and yet in hope, longing after a second charge; whose longed desire Achmat quickly satisfied, by sending unto him both a Commission for the continuation of his Charge and Dignity, and certain honourable Presents, in token of his extraordinary Favour towards him; which were, a Generals Ensign with a Hungarian Mace of pure Gold. Now whether these Presents, joynt unto the continuation of his Charge, were welcome unto him, or not, ambitious Minds (such as was his) can easily tell; and he, to shew his Contentment therewith, gave thereof good Testimony by the public Actions of Joy, causing all the great Ordinance of the Place in thundering way to be oftentimes discharged, and the Trumpets and Drums to be most joyfully sounded.

In the mean time, News was brought, unto the Persian King, how that the Persian King, having lost the besieging and taking of Veradunum, a strong City in the upper Hungary, not by a Messenger sent in haste, commanded the same Baffa, all other

Good Countenances in evil part by Sultan Achmat.

Hassan Baffa appointed Lieutenant General of the Turks Wars in Hungary.

B b b b b b

business



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Haljan Bassa sent for to come to Constantinople.

Haljan Bassa continued General of the Turke Army against the Christians, and Cicala appointed General of their Army against the Persians.

Cicala Bassa makes them as if he were unwilling to be General in the Wars against the Persians.

businesses let apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith to return to *Constantinople*, there with him and the rest of the *Bassas* to consult and resolve upon the most necessary War and of the readiest means for the continuing of the same. For albeit that the Turks were most desirous to have Wars with the Christians, and so (if it were possible) to have conquered the remainders of *Hungary*; yet the danger of the *Persian Wars* and of the Rebellion in *Asia* daily more and more increasing, suffered them not wholly to attend unto the Wars against the Christians in *Hungary*, but drew them now into a doubtful Consultation, which way first to turn their Forces. But the *Bassa* being come to *Constantinople*, the said Seigneur took the pains and did him the Honour to come unto his House; whither, the Council for the State being assembled, it was there most proudly resolved upon, even forthwith at one and the self same time with equal Forces to make War both upon the Christian Emperour in *Hungary*, and the *Persian King* in *Asia*, accounting themselves strong enough to subdue and bring under foot, both the one and the other, no Power upon Earth being, in their proud conceit of themselves, able to encounter or to withstand theirs. So for the managing of these Wars, and of their so proud a Resolution to be performed in so remote Parts of the World, *Haljan Bassa* was continued in his charge, as General of the Army in *Hungary*; and *Cicala Bassa* was appointed to have the command of the Army to be sent against the *Persians*; two most expert Captains, being to fight against their hereditary Enemies, *Haljan* against the Christians, and *Cicala* against the *Persians*, by whom he had not long before been evil used. An ordinary Policy of the *Ottoman Emperours*, not to commit the charge of their Armies against the Christians, unto Renegades; for fear lest they, touched with some remorse of Conscience, might betray the same, or otherwise deal unfaithfully in their charge; but still to employ them against the *Persians*, of whom they have no further Knowledge, but as of their Enemies in the Field. But *Cicala Bassa*, well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the *Persian War*, (the fears whereof he yet bare about with him) made them as if he had been unwilling to take upon him the charge thereof; and so began to excuse himself, until that at length, upon promise made unto him, for the furnishing of him with a sufficient Army, and all things else necessary for so great a War, with a large and most honourable Entertainment for himself, and all the *Persian* Prisoners being also given unto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed most desirous. And so receiving the Generals Ensign, with the other Marks and Cognizances of his Honour, causing the Drums to be stricken up, and the Trumpets to be joyfully sounded, he cheerfully prepared himself for that his so great an Expedition; expecting the coming of him in Person, who the request of the *Persians*, was gone forth with a fleet of Gallies, to scour the *Levant Seas* of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the Traffick of the *Venetian Merchants*.

Amidst which the Turks so great Designs, the *Tartar Cham*, bound for his pay to leave the Great Turk in his Wars against the Christians; by his Ambassadors excused himself unto the Great Sultan, for this he could not stir him in Person come this year with his Forces into *Hungary*, by reason that he was otherwise necessarily busied with the most urgent Affairs of his own Estate; yet promising withdrawal, instead of himself, to send his Son with a good power of men. Now whereas

many men marvel, why the *Tartar Cham*, being so great a Prince, and not much in danger unto the Turk (being separated from him by the black or *Evrose Sea*) should be still foready at the Turks call, to do him service in his wars; the Causes thereof are divers, and those not far to seek. First, Their near Affinity (as both descended from the same beginning) by often Marriages (still confirmed); then, their likeness of Manners and Condition, no small Bonds of Love and Friendship; And thirdly, For that the Turkish Empire, for want of Heirs males of the *Ottoman Family*, is assured, and as it were, entailed unto the *Tartar Cham*; but most of all, for the yearly pension and great pay which he, being a brave Prince, receiveth from the Turks; his rude and needy People being all ever ready, in hope of the spoil, to follow him into these Wars. But this his excuse for not coming himself this year into *Hungary*, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haljan Bassa*, resolved upon his Expedition for *Hungary*, made great preparation for the good success of the War there, gave great hope thereof unto the Great Sultan, and caused himself to be proclaimed Lieutenant General of all the Great Sultans Forces against the Christians; every man affording unto these good hopes a thousand Wishes for his Health and Welfare; but especially the Mahometan Priests assured him of their help, so that he would not fail to do the utmost of his Endeavour against the Christians their Enemies. For why, the Turks do account him the best and most zealous man, who can do the Christians most harm. And so with this so great a Confidence of Joy and Honour, *Haljan*, the Great *Bassa*, set forward with his Army from *Constantinople* toward *Hungary*.

The Christian Emperour, not ignorant of all these the Turks great Preparations and haughty Designs, fought by all means how to rectify them, spurring nothing that might any way serve or stand him in stead to that purpose. Experience had assured him of the Popes readines in contributing to this Action, what in his power was; having before received so many Testimonies of his good Will. Which caused him now to dispatch all his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, a good and devout Prince, unto him, with express charge in the Emperours Name to yield all Submission unto his Holiness, to move him to relieve the woful Estate of his distressed Affairs. *Maximilian*, setting forward about this business, arrived at *Venice*, where he was by that State right honourably entertained. From *Venice* he travelling towards *Rome*, and with a great retinue approaching the City, was there met by a great number of Noblemen, with their Followers, sent from the Pope, and so by them with great Honour was brought into the *Vaticane Palace*, to the intent that he might the oftener and with more ease have access unto the Pope, who then lay there sick of the gout. The next day, he being brought into the Popes Presence, and after usual Reverence done, having audience given him, in the Presence of all the Cardinals he began to deliver unto him the Causes of his coming; which (as he said) were two; First, to put his Holiness in remembrance of the manifest peril and danger which hung over the heads of the Christians in general, from the Turk, but especially over them of *Italy*, being lo near unto the Turkish Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks thence to enter, by the way of *Italy*, into the Christian Country. And then in the Emperours behalf to request him to stretch forth his helping hand against this his mortal Enemy, who was now drawing all his Power together into one head, to destroy him; having certain understanding of the great Prepara-

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The Reason why the *Tartar Cham* is so ready to serve the great Turk in his Wars against the Christians.

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The Popes Answer unto the Emperours Demands.

Haljan Bassa set forth with his Army toward Hungary.

Maximilian the Arch-duke sent Ambassador from the Emperour unto the Pope, to crave his Aid against the Turk.

Valachia spoiled by the *Tartars*.

Rodolph the Vayvod submitted himself and his Country to the Emperours Protection.

ration by him made throughout all his Dominions, to thrust him out of his, if in these Extremities he were not relieved by such Princes as could not in the end themselves avoid the last Violences of these hands, whereof he felt the first Affliction. Which his Holiness considering, in the zeal of his Devotion, and by the increasing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like Assistance in this his second need, that he had before received in his former Affairs; the precious balm of his devout Charity being of greater Virtue than to serve but for one time, and all times of Necessity. And that therefore he bellowed his Holiness to apply the same upon the profane Wound, feeling that without his help he was more like to perish than to live. Whereunto the Pope answered, That his former Actions already passed, spake enough for him in this Action to manifest his devout meaning; so that it was needless for him to use farther Words to express the same: that the great Supplies both of Men and Money which he had sent forth for the good of the Christian Commonwealth, were the sure Testimonies of his carefulness for the same. And albeit that these evil Hags had so far prevailed in *Hungary*, yet that he for his part nevertheless had still done what he might for the remedying of those so great Evils. And that now by the Advice of his honourable Counsellors there present, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns to be paid toward the maintenance of the Christian Army in *Hungary* this Year; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperour in his Wars against the Turks; whom God had as he said) suffered to prevail upon the Christians, not for any Goodness that was in them, but for the chastising of the Wickedness of the Christians themselves.

Which sum of an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns was afterward, according to a Decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, levied and paid of the Tenth of the Clergy throughout all *Italy*. And so *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, most magnificently entertained and feasted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with four thousand Crowns, having well dispatched the Business he came for, returned again unto the Emperour his Brother.

But as the Christian Emperour was thus careful about his Provisions for the withstanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their Forces for the invading of him. And now the *Tartars* in great number being about to come unto their Aid into *Hungary*, being denied Passage by the *Polesians*, had turned head towards *Valachia*, with a purpose by force and strong hand to get that of these weak People which the Power of the stronger had embarrated them of. And so, presuming upon their number, they entered into the same Province, which they all over rifled and spoiled at their Pleasure. Where, of the Country-people as could escape their Fury, fled into the Towns, leaving their Goods behind them unto their necessity; Rage, nor with any thing to be satisfied. *Rodolph*, the Vayvod himself, as a man with Fury dimayed, fled to *Cronstat* to *George Basta*; where, he considering the danger he was now in, and that he was still to expect the like so often as the *Tartars* were for the Service of the Turk to come into *Hungary*; before *Basta* took a new Oath of Allegiance unto the Emperour, solemnly professing to dye and live in his Masters Nobility; now enforcing him to acknowledge his Duty, and seek for the Remedy of his Harms, which he had before oftentimes most proudly rejected. Upon which his humble Submission, *Basta* received him and his Country into his Protection.

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The Turks surprised by the *Haiducks*.

The *Haiducks* what manner of men they be, and their outrageous insolency.

In the mean time, two Traitors were brought to *Claudinople*, who, having by wonderful Craft surprised a strong Cattle belonging unto a certain great Lady, a Widow, near unto a Burrough called *Caraghebe*, and rifled and sacked the same, traitorously afterward sold it unto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperours Subjects near unto the place, and to the no less advantage of the Turks. Whereof the *Haiducks* having gotten understanding, and cunning in such matters, upon the sudden surprised the Turks by the way, as they were coming to have taken Possession of the Place; who seeing themselves too weak to withstand their Enemies, and out of hope to save themselves by flight, were there, as men dismayed and appointed to the Slaughter, most of them by the *Haiducks* cut in pieces, and the rest taken Prisoners. The two Traitors being, according to their Defects, for their shameful Treachery, most cruelly put to Death, to the terror of others.

The *Haiducks*, having no Houses but the Fields, nor other Trade but their Arms, spoiled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by Necessity, are always in readines for Service. In hope of Profit, it is to them a Pleasure to pass over the Mountains of Ice, to travel through the Storms of Thunder and Lightning, to swim over the deep Rivers, and to thrust themselves into a thousand Dangers; which, as it is no commendable kind of Life, so is the practice of it unjust. For as in this, so in other their Actions, they spare neither Friend nor Foe, all that comes in their way being subject, and as it were appointed to their Fury; but especially when they want their Pay, which affords them unto them a thousand Excuses for the robbing and spoiling of all men, without respect. With which manner of fury they were even at this time enraged for want of their Pay, in such sort, as that if their right-hands spoiled the Turks, their left-hands robbed the Christians; as upon one and the self-same day they took from the Turks of *Agria* a number of Beasts and Cattel, and rifled divers Villages of the Christians. And not content with these Outrages, meeting with an hundred, or six score Waggons, laden with great store of Victuals, going toward *Aden Julia*, conducted by the *Zeciors*, let upon them, flew them that drove them, and carried away the Waggons with them. But these Wrongs, by Christians done unto Christians, even the mortal Enemies of the Christians, the Turks themselves revenged. For the Turks of *Tensavar* having been abroad toward *Lippa*, and found good store of Booty, meeting with these Shakers, were by them charged, not so much for that they were their Enemies, or for the Zeal of Christianity, or for the desire of Honour, as for to have been taken from them their Booty. But the Turks, being in number twice as many as they, and withal well acquainted with such Business, were not so easily spoiled; but knowing their own strength, with their Number oppressed their Enemies, most of whom they flew, and took the rest Prisoners. God being as just in his Punishments, as he is in Works powerful, punishing the Wicked by the Weapons of others as wicked, or rather worse than they.

The Turks in the mean time, whilst things thus passed, began again to fall to their old Practice, for the soliciting of a Peace; but such Fantasies were too false and common for them any more to deceive the Christians with: howbeit that they yet gave some ear thereunto, to discover in their Policy the Commodities and Inconveniences of the Peace by them in flow offered, with a thousand Protections in their Words, but far differing from their Thoughts and Deeds; who, during the time of the Parle, laboured in what they might to

The Turks in their Hearts meaning War, make them as if they were desirous of Peace.



1604 to benefit themselves, and to hurt us. For even in that same year the fortified their Towns and Castles with Men and Victuals, but especially the City of *Buda*, whereinto, by a Convoy of three thousand Turks come from *Belgrade*, they put an exceeding quantity of all sorts of necessary Provision, sufficient to serve the same for a whole Year. Besides that, it was certainly known, by certain Turks taken Prisoners and brought to *Peſth*, that this same Parle and Treaty of Peace was but of purpose feigned to put the Christians in security; for that the *Baſſa of Buda*, who was the chief Publisher of the same, had no such Commission from the Great Sultan for the concluding of any Peace in the Absence of the Visier *Balka*, unto whom the Grand Signior had given Charge, not to make any Peace with the Emperor, but upon Condition, That he should first deliver unto him the City of *Strigomium*: which if he would not yield, that then he should besiege it, and by force take it from them; and after the winning thereof, to refuse all other Treaty of Peace, it being the only Cause for which the Turks desired Peace. Of all which their double dealing and crafty Designs the Emperor understanding, and wholly resolved for War, presently sent Count *Sultra* with Commission to *Vienna*, and appointed *George Balſa* Lieutenant-General of his Army in *Hungary*; advising them carefully to look to their Charge, and not too much to trust unto the glowing and flattering Speeches of the Turks.

The *Haiducks* in the mean time always in Arms, as having no other Inheritance whereon to live, ceased not still to look abroad to find that was never lost. Now it returned them, in roaming abroad toward *Belgrade*, to light upon *Reovin*, a strong and fair Castle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turks Souldiers, and other of their Country people, had their Abode, together with the greater part of their Substance. In the Strength of which Castle the Turks trusting, and there lying in Security, without farther care of their Safety, were upon the sudden, before they were aware, by these adventurous men surprised; who for haste thrusting one another forward, at length carried the Place, flew the greatest part of the Turks, and taking the rest Prisoners, with a great and rich Booty returned to *Lippa*. The like Exploit they of the Garrison of *Lippa* attempted upon the Castle and Burrough of *Lamberg*, which they took and spoiled, and afterwards for it on fire; the Flame whereof served for a Signal unto the Troops of County *Serin*, which, piling that way, and lighting upon the Turks over-loaded with the Spoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and so recovered from them the Booty.

About this time, certain of the Garrison Souldiers of *Perinia*, having secretly conspired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliver unto them that strong Castle, and being about to have betrayed the same, by a Mine which they were in making under a Stable near unto a Store-house wherein the Powder for the Store of the Castle lay, with a purpose by firing of the same to have given the Turks entrance by the Ruines thereof, who lay close hidden in a Wood near unto the Place; it furnished this wicked Purpose to be prevented by certain Offenders then kept Prisoners in the same Stable near unto the Mine: who having discovered the Traitors whole Purpose, and in fear to be burned or blown up by the fury of the Mine so near unto them, discovered the same unto the Goaler, who made the Governour therewith acquainted; by whose Commandment they were forthwith apprehended; and being convicted of their foul a Treason, were with exemplary Punishment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made them as if they had been desirous of Peace, so ceased they not yet with great earnestness to solicit the same; so that the Emperor, although he knew it to be a thing rather to be wished than hoped for, yet, left he should seem careless of the common Quiet of his Subjects and People, and to refuse to grant a good oftentimes offered him; now once again appointed certain Personages of great Place and Authority to attend the Propositions of Peace to be on the Turks behalf proposed. Of which Commissioners, *Cesar Gallen*, Sheriff of *Strigomium*, an *Italian*, and a Man of great experience in matters of State, was one. When the Governour of *Strigomium* had of purpose sent to *Peſth*, to consider of some good means for the concluding of the Peace, whereof he himself in Person had laid the first Foundation; and understood the Turks Demands and Pretensions, not much differing from those which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the first was, That the Emperor should for the time to come, well and truly pay unto the Great Sultan and his Successors, all such Tribute as he was wont to pay unto the Turkish Emperours, his Predecessors, during the time of his Leagues with them, and that without any Demand to be thereof made. The second, That the Emperor should always have his Ambassador Lier at the Great Sultan's Court, with honourable Presents, there to solicit the Continuation of his Love and Friendship toward the Emperor's self. The third, That the Emperor should deliver unto the Turks all the Towns and Castles which he had taken from them either by Force or by Surprise, during the time of this War, together with the Countries of *Transylvania* and *Valachia*. Upon which Demands granted, they promised to send a Messenger unto the Great Sultan, in their Names to entreat him to surrender *Caniſa* unto the Emperor, but not *Agria*, which (as they said) they might in no wise deliver, except they were thereunto by force of Arms constrained.

Unto which their so proud and unreasonable Demands, the Commissioners for the Emperor answered, That the Emperor long before this time had made Peace with Sultan *Seym*, the Second of that Name, and with Sultan *Anwarat* the Third, this Sultan *Achmat*'s Predecessors: An assured Peace, sworn unto and confirmed by all the same man desired; and for the more assurance thereof, into writing conceived, and with the most authentic Seals of their Majesties confirmed whereby both Parties were most severely and frantically forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing against the other, or to incoach the one of them upon the other, during the time of such their League: And if so be that contrary to the Temor thereof, either party should undertake to surprise any Place belonging to the other, and so become Masters thereof, that upon the Request of the Party so wronged, the Places surprised should be again forthwith restored, as usurped upon, contrary to the Publick Faith; and the Usurpers to be severely for the same punished. And that yet the Turks notwithstanding, thrusting by heaps, beyond the Bars of this so strong and holy a League, had violated and broken the same, by surprising the number of Places both in the higher and lower Countries of *Hungary*, never giving ear unto any Speech or Request that could be made unto them for the Restitution thereof. And yet not so contented, had also taken a number of Places from the Emperor in *Scavonia*, between the Rivers of *Culpe* and *Unna*; which Places he had oftentimes as just Right re-demanded, as they were by unjust

The influential and unreasonable Demands of the Turks for the concluding of a Peace with the Christians.

The Answer of the Emperor's Commissioners unto the unreasonable Answer of the Turks proud Demands.

unjust Forces usurped, before the beginning of these Wars. Demands esteemed just and reasonable even by the Turks themselves, and yet for all that altogether rejected by the Great Sultans themselves; of which their so great Injustice the Emperor had oftentimes most justly complained, and so did even at this day, at the feeling of such his Hurts and Harms. And that the Emperor having by so many perfidious dealings made proof of the Untrustfulness of the Grand Signior's Predecessors, what Assurance then can be conceive of his Fidelity: or upon what foundation of Faith can he build the sure building of Peace, so much desired of him? And yet if he might hope so much of the Faith of another Man, as he is assured of his own just meaning, which he knew to be never answerable unto his, that he for his part could be well content to embrace the Peace; provided always, That he might have *Caniſa* and *Agria* delivered unto him; or, That if they would needs still hold those Places, that he might likewise in Peace hold the Places that he had before won in that War, the Reasons being on both sides alike. And that as concerning *Transylvania*, he could not deliver that without betraying of his own Right, and the Welfare of that Province; having obtained the same as well by Agreements and Covenants between him and the Son of the late Duke, *Johs*, as by the free and voluntary Recommendation which *Sigismund Bathor*, the late and immediate Prince thereof, had not long before made unto him: for the defence of which his Rights, he had spent many Men, and great Sums of Money, and all for the keeping of that Province by force of Arms, which by so good Right belonged unto him. And that for *Valachia*, he could be content to yield some part of his Right unto that Province, so that the Turks should cease from thenceforth to demand of him any yearly Tribute, or that he should, as of ordinary Duty, send his Ambassadors with yearly Presents to the Grand Signior, not being able, without need, to content unto such a needless Servitude; seeing that every Prince ought to be at liberty, as his own choice to send his Ambassadors, and not at the appointment of another Man.

Which Answer of the Emperor's Commissioners, served to no other purpose, but for the Turks to laugh and sport at, how just and reasonable however they were: Still pressing them to yield unto their unreasonable Demands; or else threatening to advertise the Great Sultan thereof, who by force would take that from them, to their farther loss, which they refused to grant him by fair means, to their own good. And so the Treaty was for that time broken off, without any thing concluded: which caused the Governour of *Strigomium* to retire himself back again unto his Charge; yet for all that, leaving *Cesar Gallen* behind him, to entertain it in such small hope as was thereof yet left; who afterwards seeing it almost desperate, making a great Feint unto certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, and having in that Merriment drawn from them a Promise to live as Friends with them of the Garrison of *Peſth*, and of other Places which lay near unto that Town, he retired himself afterwards unto *Strigomium* also.

Shortly after whose Departure, *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*, notwithstanding the late Promises of the Turks of *Buda*, for their living by him in Peace and Amity; and the assured Promise of *Cesar Gallen*, at his late Departure, for the speedy furnishing of the Town both with Men and all things else necessary for the Defence thereof, which he ought with great Assurance to have expected, yet, dismayed with the brute of the coming of

The shameful Covardice of *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*.

*Hassan Balſa*, the Turks General, with his great Army, and that by the strict Commandment of the great Sultan, he was to begin his Conquests in *Hungary* with the winning of *Peſth*; as a Man afraid of his own shadow, thought good better to provide for himself; and upon that Resolution, having yet seen no Enemy at all to force him, trusting on his Baggage, the fifth of September took the Town, with five Companies of Footmen, and six Troops of Horse-men, following him; a sufficient number to have for a time defended the Town, and endured a Siege, especially in so strong a Place, and so well provided both of Victuals and Munition. All which, this most cowardly Governour (but unworthy that Name) left together with his Honour, for a Prey unto his Enemies; having yet before his Departure out of the Town, caused the principal Buildings thereof to be undermined, and Barrels of Gun-powder to be laid under them, wherewith they were shortly after all overthrown, and most part of the Town burnt. But being gone not past half a League from the Place, he met with four hundred *Haiducks*, all well armed, whom the Governour of *Strigomium* had sent for the relief of *Peſth*, with a number of Boats loaded with Corn, Munition, and other Necessaries, all of sorts, for the better assistance of the Place, and the performing of the Promise before to that end made by the Governour of *Strigomium*: which *Hungarian Haiducks* meeting with these dismayed Cowards upon the way, thought it not best to go any farther, as thinking themselves not able to do that with their so small a number, which the other durst not to undertake with their far greater; and so joining themselves with the other fearful Fugitives, they with them resumed to *Strigomium*, leaving their Vessels and Munitions unto their Enemies, who immediately after seized upon them.

The next day after, the Mines having taken their effect, the Turks wondering to see so great and terrible a Fire in *Peſth*, which still more and more increased, there being none that went about to quench it, adventured to come over the River from *Buda*, and to draw near unto the Town, now all on a light fire. Which they finding abandoned and forsaken by the Christians, they with great diligence quenched, repaired the Ruines of the Town, and so without any loss became Masters of the same.

*Jagenreuter*, the cowardly late Governour, with his fearful Troops, in the mean time coming to *Strigomium*, and by the Governour there examined of the Causes of his Flight, and of the so shameful leaving of his Charge, and being able to alledge no other Cause, Reason, but the great brute and report of the Visier *Balka*'s coming with his Army to besiege the Town, was therefore committed to Prison, and there referred to be afterwards justly punished for his Disloyalty and Cowardice.

The *Baſſa of Buda*, by the Cowardice of the Governour, thus possessed of *Peſth*, by Letters executed himself unto the Governour of *Strigomium*, for the taking thereof, the Treaty of Peace being as yet quite broken off; alledging for himself (as the truth was) That he had taken it as a Place by the Christians upon a vain fear, forsaken, and desperately set on fire, without any such cause given them to do by the Turks, or on his behalf. And farther, offered unto the Governour, if he so pleased, to deal with him for the exchange of Prisoners on both sides taken, offering to exchange one of them for another. And as for the concluding of the Peace so oftentimes treated of, and even yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderful desirous that it might be fully concluded and ended

1604 *Peſth* most shamefully abandoned by the Christians.

*Peſth* taken by the Turks.

*Jagenreuter* for his cowardly flight is committed to Prison.

The *Baſſa of Buda* excuses himself for the taking of *Peſth*.



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The Treaty for Peace broken off.

The Coffack detached out of the Turks Camp unto the Christians.

millioners, to hear what they would say. Howbeit, the Commissioners on both sides being met at the Place aforesaid, all their Conference was but vain and to no purpose; the Turks still urging the yielding up of *Strigoniun*, and the Imperials as earnestly refusing the same. So that the Treaty for Peace being broken off, and the Commissioners departing, the Siege was more cruelly by the Turks continued than before.

Now there were in the Turks Army lying at the Siege, certain Companies of *Coffacks*, Men for their Pay indifferent to any Prince, of what Religion soever. Which ferocious Men, in Number seven hundred, had agreed together the 28th of September, by night to forsake the Turks Camp, and to come unto the Christians. Of which their Purpose and Design, the Visier *Bassa* having, by some untutty amongst them, got knowledge, caused the Foot-men of these Companies to be apprehended and slain; the Horse-men in the mean time making themselves way over the Belles, such as would have flayed them, fled and escaped, some of them to *Konara*, and some to *Dobu*. Threefold of these *Coffacks* being by the Turks hardly pursued, adventured to swim over *Dambina*, and so all naked came to *Colonia*, by whom they were courteously entertained and apparelled. And within three days after, two hundred Horse-men more of the same *Coffacks* came unto *Colonia* also; who, marching in good order unto the head of the Christian Camp, were there sworn untruly, there discharged their Pistols thrice. Which Horse-men *Colonia* divided among the rest of his Troops, as having before time had good experience of the Courage and good Service of divers such others of their Fellows.

By these fugitive Souldiers it was understood, that the Janizaries, in great number up in Mutiny against the Visier *Bassa*, would have forced him to leave raised the Siege, and so to have departed. The cause of their so great Discontentment (as they pretended) was the manifest and assured danger of their Lives, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the Place; they themselves being still expoled to the Dangers both of the Siege and of the Field, having the besieged on head of them armed with an assured Resolution, and the Christian Army at their Backs, of known Valour and Experience. Besides that, the Black-bell was (as they said) impregnable, being at all times to be relieved, by reason that it commanded over the *Dunby*, which might always relieve it both with Men and Victuals; and that therefore, after that they had satisfied their Honour, by giving of an Assault or two unto the Fort of *St. Thomas*, they had resolved to arise, and to be gone. And much about this time, viz. the Nine and twentieth of September, in the night time, was a most dreadful fiery Inundation seen in fashion much like a Rain-bow, of a fiery red colour; which beginning over *Cockera*, and rising higher over *Strigoniun*, at length vanished away over the Fort of *St. Thomas*. The sight whereof most troubled the Beholders thereof, as well the Christians as the Turks; such strange Meteors and Apparitions being oftentimes the Prefaces of the ruine of them to whom they appear.

In the mean time, whilst the Turks thus lay before *Strigoniun*, the Siege of Saint *Thomas*'s Fort, the Lord *Bajaz*, Lieutenant-General of the Emperor's Forces, to give the Turks to understand, How that he was always in readiness to attend upon their doings, and to take hold of all such Opportunities as should by them be offered, and so to keep them in Impulse, came with seven thousand brave Horse-men, and shewed himself

in the plain Field in order of Battel; so, as it were, braving the Turks even unto their own Trenches; where, having discharged their Pistols thrice, they returned as victorious, always keeping themselves in order, as men ready either to give or to accept of Battel. Howbeit, the Turks for the present keeping themselves clove within their Trenches, moved not; but afterwards, being desirous to counter-brave this the Christians Presumption, the third day of October they came forth of their Trenches, and gave a second Assault unto *St. Thomas* Fort, employing the utmost of their Power in this Action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their Honour and of their Safety to depend. But in affailing the Fort, they met with them as resolutely set down for the Defence thereof, and for the Maintenance of their Honour, as were they for the winning of the same. So the Assault was begun with great Fury and Adventure, as was the other before; howbeit, that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the discharge of their Duty, and to have home just cause, to raise their Siege, than for any hope they had to prevail, or to carry the Place. For it befell them according as they had expected, so that after that the Fight had endured little more than half an hour, amidst the Tempests of Arms and Fury, in fine, the Turks, out of hope to prevail, gave over the Siege, and retired, having in that Conflict lost five hundred of their best Souldiers.

The Governor of *Strigoniun* had in the City under his charge fix thousand *Haiducks*, who, attainted with Treason and Fear, all forsook the Place excepting five hundred, preferring their Lives, unworthy the saving, before their Duty, and the Life and Honour of their General. With which shameful Treason, and the Resolution of the Great *Bajaz* for forcing of the Place, the Germanians left, feeling themselves disinclined, gathered themselves together, promising to their own Valour to supply what wanted by reason of the Treachery of the others; offering themselves to be sworn again unto the Service of the Emperor, and rather to dye all in the Place, than to yield it up unto the Turks, or to leave it unto their Enemies: where, by their general Consent, a solemn Decree was made, That whatsoever he were which should speak or once mention of yielding in the Town, should forthwith therefore be hanged upon a Gibbet. The Turks, although they had now in two Assaults been twice repulsed, came yet forth once again the fifth day of October, and assaulted Saint *Thomas* Fort the third time; wherein, they failed not to do what they might, but were by the Christians therein so received, that despairing of the winning thereof, they with great Loss and Shame retired. Which Disgrace caused them to return to their old Practices, for the taking of Places by Policy. For having in many Places undermined the Walls, and filled them with Gun-powder, they were in hope by that means to have opened themselves away unto their Conquest. Of which their hope, for all that, they were deceived; for the Christians, having perceived their meaning, did, by countermineing, not only frustrate their Endeavour, but carried away the Powder also, which they had before layd in the Mines, referring it to their own farther necessity and use. Wherefore the Turks seeing themselves of their hope deceived, returned again unto their old Practices, to come to a Parle for Peace. Of which their Motion the Christians notwithstanding disliked. But the Commissioners on both sides being met together for that purpose, in a little field beneath *Strigoniun*, when as the Turks had offered unto the Christians the City

The Fort of St. Thomas the second time assaulted by the Turks.

The shameful Treason of the Haiducks of Strigoniun.

The Fort of St. Thomas the third time assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks seeking to undermine the Fort of St. Thomas, disappointed of their purpose.

A Treaty for Peace.

1604

The Treaty broken off, and nothing concluded.

The Janizaries unwilling to continue the Siege of Strigoniun.

The Fort of Strigoniun for times in one day assaulted by the Turks.

The Siege of Strigoniun given over by the Turks.

Bajaz pursued the Turks Army departing from the Siege of Strigoniun.

of *Agria* for *Strigoniun*; or if so be that that exchange pleased them not, but that they would needs keep the City of *Strigoniun* still, that then in consideration of the Peace, they should deliver unto them the strong Towns of *Felack*, *Saint Sepherin*, *Pallank*, and *Novigrade*; both of which demands were very unreasonable; the Commissioners thereupon again departed without concluding of any thing.

Now the Army of the Turks was in it self diversely divided with quite contrary desires, the Visier *Bassa*, with some other of the Commanders, stood stiffly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to return from thence with Victory, or else there to end their days; but the Janizaries to the contrary, were as earnest to be gone, and to raise the Siege, deeming it impossible as then to prevail against a place so strong, so well manned, and so easily to be still relieved. With which their Resolution to contrary unto his, the *Bassa* enraged, and yet propoling before his departure to prove the utmost of his Forces against the Fort, now already by him thrice before assaulted, the tenth of October gave thereunto fix great assaults, but with little success as before, finding there still the same Defendants, no whit discouraged, but armed with their accustomed Resolution. For the Defendants, encouraged by their most valiant Commanders, with such fury repulsed the Turks, that they were glad to give over assault upon assault, and with great loss of their men to retire. Their often retreats also being unto them no less hurtful than were their assaults, the deadly Bullets being out of the Fort discharged upon them like showers of hail. So that the *Bassa* now, after so many assaults, out of all hope to gain the Fort, and still pressed by the Janizaries for the raising of the Siege, immediately after rose with his Army, quitted his Trenches, and retired with his Camp near unto a Castle about a League distant from *Strigoniun*. From whence the Turks, the better to cover their dishonour, and to hinder the Christians from pursuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the Field with a good part of his Army, and shewed themselves before the *Raskian* Town, and there skirmished with the Christian *Haiducks*. Which manner of skirmishing for all that, was more in show than in effect, neither Party therein receiving any great loss or hurt. In the mean time, the besieged which were in *Strigoniun*, having gotten certain knowledge, that the Enemy had already removed his Cannon and other Provision for the Siege back again into *Buda*, in token of Joy discharged all their great Ordnance out of the City and the Fort; by the report thereof giving Knowledge unto the other Towns and Castles of the Christians, of their deliverance. Of which so common a Joy every one of them were Partakers, as delivered from some part of the fear which the Siege of so great a City as was *Strigoniun*, had brought upon them. And so the Siege of *Strigoniun*, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turks given over the thirteenth of October; the Janizaries insolently threatening to have slain the great *Bassa* their General, if he had there any longer stayed.

*Bajaz*, the Emperor's Lieutenant, in the mean time awaiting all Opportunities, failed not to take hold of so fit an Occasion, but with his Horsemen following after the Turks Army, slew of them a great number, and took some other of them Prisoners. And afterward returning unto their Camp, certain pieces of great Ordnance, which the Turks had left there, having not time to remove the same to *Buda*. Upon this rising of the Turks Army, the Commanders thereof were

diversely affected unto the service that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the Siege. Such of them as lay in *Hungary*, or near therunto, desiring still to hold the field, in hope of the spoil of the Country; but they which dwelt farther off, especially such as were come out of *Asia*, desiring as much to be discharged, their Horses being almost all dead with faintness and travel, and they themselves weary of the service.

Shortly after the rising of the Turks Army from *Strigoniun*, two Fugitives of the Turks, most bravely mounted, came unto *Bajaz*, the Emperor's Lieutenant, and presenting to him with a Ring of great value, and a most fair Turkish *Kutug*, told him, most part of the Turks Army to lyve then incamped in the Country near unto *Pesth*, and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty years old, to be come thither with a great Power of *Tartars*, to aid the *Bassa*; and that the Turks, by their coming encouraged, were determined yet to make a great attempt for the spoiling of the Country. All which shortly after was certainly known to be true, the plain Country of the upper *Hungary* about *Pallanka*, *Satfabin*, and the *Villicamp*, being by them, but especially by these new come *Tartars*, all spoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof, *Sigefride* *Colman* opposing himself insolent Foragers, daunted them, that ceasing further to spoil the Country, they departed, carrying away with them such few Prisoners and Spoil as they had there taken, and leaving behind them a strong Garrison of three thousand good Souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of *Pesth*, but a little before cowardly (as we said) forsaken by the Christians. But within some few days after, viz. the tenth and twentieth of October, the Visier *Bassa*, with his Letters written unto Count *Althem*, Governor of *Strigoniun*, desired a mention for a Treaty of Peace to be had for the settling of the distressed People of that spoiled Country, solemnly protesting, most religiously on his part to keep the same, if it should be once concluded; and yet in the mean time with Fire and Sword spoiling all the Country by the way as he departed out of *Hungary*.

Now, as this poor Country began to feel Relief by the departure of the great *Bassa* with his Army out thereof, so the Country of *Transylvania* joyning therewith, was at the same time more troubled with Rebellion and Discord distracted. *Belshin* *Habor* the Rebel, with his *Bassa* overthrowing and driven out of *Transylvania* (as is aforesaid) the Lord *Bajaz*, *Bajaz*'s Lieutenant in this Province, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himself ready with his Troops, to have gone to aid the Plains of *Strigoniun*, to hinder the Turks Designs for the taking of this Town. But as he was about to have done, behold, even at the same time when he least feared, a second Rebel there started up, far worse than the first, namely, the Lord *Ishwan*, (otherwise surnamed *Bajaz*, or more truly *Bajaz*) who, accompanied with great Troops of Men of War under the Protection of the Prince of *Transylvania*, entered that Province, miserably burnt and spoiled the same. For the repressing of which so sudden a Rebellion, *Bajaz* with a thousand Horse, under the leading of *Rokowitz* and *Peter Laffa*, marched toward *Veradin*, and with his Troop coming to *Ador*, a Country Village about a League distant from *Veradin*, and meaning thither to assemble to gather his Army, he sent to *Pesth* Governor of *Veradin*, to put him in mind of his Duty, and to crave his Aid. Which valiant Captain, always preft and

The upper Hungary by the Turks and Tartars spoiled and burnt.

The Visier Bassa by his Letters maketh a motion for the Treaty of Peace.

New Rebellion in Transylvania raised by Ishwan, surnamed Bajaz.

\* He was surnamed called Bajaz, (as the Armenian Language signifies) by way of the long delays he by way of dilgrace had before incurred in the Emperor's Courts.

C e c c c c 2

ready

ready to do his Prince Service, failed not now of his Duty, calling together six Companies of Footmen out of *Romolia*, and joining unto them four Companies out of *Veradin*, together with the *Silifian* Horse-men of *Schuet-Kenur's* Regiment (whom by reason of his Sickness he was not able to lead) and with them the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier*, came unto the Place of the Rendezvous, bringing with him all warlike Provision in token of his Fidelity. With this Army *Belgiosa* marched against the Rebels, who, as resolute men, attended his coming; for why, *Batfay* knowing the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier* lecherly to favour him and his Rebellion more than they did *Belgiosa* and his just Quarrels, stood in no fear of them, but affured himself of them as of his Friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but even at the first joining of the *Battel* turned themselves to his part; with the going over of whom, the number of the Rebels was much increased, and *Belgiosa's* Power both in Force and Courage much weakened, seeing themselves at once exposed both unto the force of their Enemies, and to the Treachery of their Fellows, who now with conjoynt Forces most fiercely assailed them; who finding themselves now on all sides invironed with so great a multitude, and not able, with so small a number as was left, to withstand the violence of their Enemies, and the Treason of their Companions; after they had to the utmost of their Power performed all the parts of valiant and courageous men, were there almost all cut in pieces, and there buried in the Field of their Loyalty, honoured with their own Blood, and altogether embred with the Blood of their Enemies. In this unlucky and difloyal Fight were divers good and faithful Captains slain; *Peffe*, Governour of *Veradin*, and *Pallas Lippe*, both great Captains, and grievously wounded, were taken Prisoners. The Lieutenant of *Peffe* also, having retired himself with some of his Troops into a place of good Strength, there so valiantly defended themselves, that *Batfay*, out of hope to overcome them by force, to get them into his Power, promised them by his Oath, if they would yield themselves, to suffer them in safety to depart. But what Trust or Credit is to be given to him who hath before broken his Faith and Loyalty to his Prince, this Rebel well shewed, by the Death of these valiant and warlike men, who, after that they had upon his Faith and Promise yielded themselves, were by his appointment cruelly slain and cut in pieces. The *Silifian* Horsemen were there also all overthrown, and buried in the midst of their Enemies; and as for *Belgiosa* himself, he strangely elaped out of the *Battel*, and saved himself by flying to *Veradin*. The victorious Rebel after the *Battel*, instead of praising God, sacrificed to the Devil, by sending a great part of the Ensigns by him gained unto the *Vifler* *Bassa*, with a thousand Praises of his Glory, for supporting of him in his Rebellion; and vaunting much of this his Victory, gave him withal to understand, that he had slain above six thousand of his Enemies.

*Belgiosa* in a great *Battel* overthrown by *Batfay* the Rebel.

*Batfay* dratches unsafely with such as his faith given them yielded unto him.

*Batfay* in his Rebellion counteracted by the Great Sultan, and killed by the Prince of *Transilvania*.

This Victory gotten, together with the humble Submission of *Batfay*, obtained of the Great Sultan. That from thenceforth he should be styled by the Name of the Prince of *Transilvania*, with a farther Charge from him, to do the utmost of his endeavour for the subduing unto his Obedience the rest of *Transilvania*; promising, plentifully to supply his Wants both with Men and Money, and out of hand to send him three thousand *Tartars* to his Aid. And indeed, this was a very great and bloody *Battel*, fought from the first break of the Day, until eleven a clock at Noon; but, whether

to many were slain there or no, it cannot certainly be told, for that divers of them who were said to be slain, and so accounted among the dead, had hid themselves in the Wood there by, and some others of them by some other means escaped Death also. *Peffe* himself had with him when he was taken, two Monks, whom the Soldiers in delight cut into many pieces, and carried him fast bound in Chains to *Derrissa*, to be there cured of the dangerous Wounds by him in the *Battel* received.

But as for *Pallas Lippe*, who, being wounded, was taken Prisoner with *Peffe*, he was afterwards by *Batfay* appointed his Lieutenant General, and so by his Commandment was publicly proclaimed; as he which was desirous to take upon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of such as were willing to profess the same; who forthwith made a general Proclamation, That all they which were deficiant of the liberty of Conscience, and to live free from the Superstitions of the *Roman* Church, should repair unto him, as unto their Head and Chiefest, ready to entertain them, and to allow to every one of them five Dollars a Month for their Pay. Upon which Proclamation made, a great Multitude of Men upon the sudden resorted unto him; so that in a short time he had following of him ten thousand *Haiducks*, beside a number of other of the common rascal People; yea, almost all the Gentlemen of the Country repairing unto him, bound themselves by oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take up Arms to fight against the Christian Emperor, so they would not submit themselves unto the Turk, but only stand upon the defence of their Religion, and the liberty of Conscience.

The Rebel *Batfay* thus wonderfully increased in Strength and Number, beset almost all the Passages of the Country, and with the Sword of Rebellion in his hand, and his Soldiers following him, commanded the Cities still as he went to yield unto him: but, hearing that *Belgiosa* was after the late Overthrow gone from *Veradin* to *Caffovia*, where his Wife lay; and being come thither, to have been by the Citizens rejected, who would not only not receive him into their City, but turned his Wife also out of the City unto him; he with a great Army coming thither, took the City without resistance, the Citizens for the most part ending unto him, of which City being possessed, he forthwith changed both the Religion and Civil Government thereof, flew part of such as were of the *Romish* Religion, and thrust the rest out of the City, with all the Church-men; took the Bishop and the Emperor's Treasurer Prisoners, and so changed the whole Government of the Town up-side down. The only man he stood in fear of, was *Belgiosa*, for whom he laid wait by all means he could to have taken him, with a purpose to have shed him most hardly if he had fallen into his hands.

These things thus done in *Transilvania* and in *Hungary*, the *Vifler* *Bassa* being about to return to *Constantinople*, to grace that little which he had done this Year in *Hungary*, and to avoid the suspicion of his evil Success in that Province, borrowed of *Batfay* the rest of the Ensigns, together with *Peffe* and other the noble Christian Captives which he had taken in the late *Battel* with *Belgiosa*; which Ensigns and Prisoners he confidently afterwards caused to be presented unto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himself; and in recompence thereof, left three thousand Turks and *Tartars* with the Rebel, to aid him in his Wars both in *Transilvania* and *Hungary*.

An impudent fruit of the Victory for the favouring of his Credit with the Great Sultan.

*Bassa*,

1604  
*Batfay* goeth with his Army against the Rebels in the upper *Hungary*.

*Belgiosa* in the Castle of *Zips*, besieged by the Rebels.

The Priests and Jesuits for fear of the *Haiducks* fly from *Presburg* to *Vienne*.

*Batfay*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Hungary*, and Governour of *Transilvania*, hearing of the Stir and Troubles of late raised in both those Countries by *Batfay* and his rebellious Followers, and having as he thought left for all things in order again at *Strigonia*, marched thence with his Army, being fourteen thousand strong, towards *Caffovia*, with a purpose to have suppressed the Rebellion in the upper *Hungary*, before it should have spread farther, to the endangering of the whole State of both those Countries, as afterward it did. However, before he could come thither, the Rebels, after the taking of *Caffovia*, being wonderfully increased both in Strength and Number, had taken in most of the strong Towns and Places in the upper *Hungary*, the People almost generally now favouring their Quarrel, carrying with it the Face of Religion, with the suppressing of the German Government, both things unto them much pleasing. And now hearing that *Belgiosa* (a man of them most hated, being, as we said, shut out of *Caffovia*) was fled into the Castle of *Zips*, they by Letters required of *Turk*, Captain of the Castle, to have him delivered unto them, to be according to his Deserts punished; promising withal, to do *Turk* himself no harm, so that he would take part with them in the defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of Conscience; which if he should refuse to do, yet that they would give him free liberty to depart whither he would, out of his Castle, and in safety to conduct him thither, so that he would forthwith solve what course he would take; but if he should of this Commandment like also, then they threatened to spoil his Country, to kill his People, to raze his Castle, and to make himself an Example unto others. Where-with, for all that, he nothing moved, refused to deliver unto them *Belgiosa*, the Man whom they so often defired, or yet to accept of any of their other Offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt *Caffovia* and the Castle, and bringing certain Pieces of great Ordnance from *Caffovia*, in great number came and frantically besieged the Castle. With whole Attempts the valiant Captain nothing moved, with his thundering Shot out of the Castle so welcomed them, that having thereby received great harm, they thought it not their best course to stay any longer there with so great a Power, but with the greatest part thereof to go to *Presburg*, to reform that City and some other Places by the way, persuading themselves, that the Captain of this Castle to that up, and on every side betwixt his Enemies, would at length of himself yield up the Castle.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the Siege of this Castle, certain Companies of them went to have taken the Spoil of a Religious House there by; but coming thither, and breaking open the Doors, and searching every secret Corner of the House, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but to return almost empty handed; for the Priests had for fear of them before carried away with them all the best of their Goods and Substance into the besieged Castle. And so likewise the rife Report of their coming to *Presburg* flying abroad, almost all the Priests and Jesuits in *Presburg* and the Country thereabout, leaving their Churches and Colleges, fled with their Substance to *Vienne*, scarcely accounting themselves safe there, until that the Garrison of that strong City was increased with a new supply of fix hundred good Soldiers.

And now the Rebels, their Number still more and more increasing, and having let all the upper part of *Hungary* on a Broil, were besieging divers other Castles and strong Places, yet holden

for the Emperor; when as *Batfay*, in the mean time coming from the Siege of *Strigonia*, came, and with his Army incamped about three miles from *Fidek*. Of which coming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retiring, he forthwith followed after them toward *Budaco*, which *Belgiosa* also left, and so toward *Kamfambur*, the place of their Rendezvous, gathered together in great number, with an intent to have given *Batfay* *Battel*: whereof *Batfay* having knowledge, to spare the effusion of more Christian blood, by an Herald sent unto them in friendly and courteous manner, advised them to change their Minds, and to return again unto their former Allegiance: but finding them obstinately set down in their former purpose, for the maintaining of their Rebellion, and the giving of him *Battel*, he marching forward with his Army, with great Force charged certain Companies of the Rebels, appointed to keep the Passage of *Fidek*; who at the first fight valiantly received the Charge, and defended the Passage, until that at length with number oppressed, and the above four hundred of them slain, they were put to the worse, and informed to fly; in which flight, amongst others there taken Prisoners, *Blaf* *Nem*, their Captain was taken also, whom *Batfay* caused to be hanged up by the heels, with the Ensigns set up about him which he had taken from the Rebels in the late Fight; and after he had for a time so hung, made him to be taken down, and his Head to be struck off from his Shoulders. In this Conflict fifty of *Batfay's* Men were slain also, and many more hurt, and amongst them *Colman*, hurt in his Shoulder and his Foot with a small Shot.

*Batfay*, after this Victory, marching on with his Army, by the way met with certain other Companies of the rebellious *Haiducks*, as he was going to *St. Peters*, with whom he had many an hot Skirmish for the space of three days together, being by them still put to the worse; insumuch, that having burnt many of his Carriages, Tents, and other Luggage, he was of nothing more careful, than how well to get out of their hands. Nevertheless, seeing no other remedy, he with great Courage not only endured the often and fierce Assaults of his Enemies, still more and more increasing upon him, but the fourth day, after so many unfortunate Skirmishes, (being the eighth and twentieth of November) putting his Men in order of *Battel*, right valiantly again charged the Rebels; who, by reason of the darkness of the Weather, being then a very thick Mist, being not able to perceive where the Enemies Attempts were most to be feared, or what way to turn their own Forces; as men dismayed, were easily by them overthrown and put to flight; whom so flying, *Batfay* with his Soldiers fiercely pursuing, made of them a great Slaughter; so that in the space of less than three hours, fifteen hundred of them were in this thick and dark Mist slain, with some few also of *Batfay's* Soldiers, and amongst them *Frederick* Earl of *Solway*, and the County of *Erbach* wounded. Upon the report of which Overthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the Siege of the Castle of *Zips*, in hope there at length to have taken *Belgiosa*, forthwith rose and retired themselves to *Leutia*. But *Batfay*, after this Victory, removing to *St. Andrews*, and having recovered that Town from the Rebels, and thereto put a new Garrison, and so by this means somewhat daunted and repressed the Insolency of the *Haiducks* in those Quarrels, and being not well able longer to keep the Field with his Army in so unreasonable a time of the Year, and to maintain War as it were both against his Enemies, and the extremities of Nature, sought by Letters to have

Certain Companies of the Rebels diffused and overthrown by the Lord *Bassa*.

*Blaf* *Nem*, one of the Captains of the Rebels, taken and put to death.

*Batfay* diffused by the Rebels.

The Rebels by *Batfay* overthrown.





1695

The chief  
Causes of  
Bosnia's  
Discon-  
tinuance.

in Hungary; and that the States of that Kingdom understanding thereof, and solemnly protesting against the same, under the Seal of the *Lord Palatine*, had publicly affirmed with just Arms to defend themselves, if they should for their Religion be called into question, or troubled; and had again repeated the same their Protestation at *Galsatz*. Yet *Bosnia* nevertheless in the mean time by cunning sedition upon the reformed Churches at *Cassovia*, would not suffer the Citizens of the reformed Religion there to have any Sermons in their own private Houses, or so much as to read on the holy Bible. Neither any white moved with the former Protestations of the Nobility and States, had taken unto himself all the Lands and Goods of them of their Religion in *Cassovia*, not suffering them to bury the Bodies of their dead within the City, near unto the Monasteries. And regarding to have borrowed of *Bosnia* certain thousands of Cr. wiss, and thereof by him denied, caused his Soldiers to ransack two of his Castles, and to push them for all the Wealth and Treasure he had therein. For which Indignities and Injuries *Bosnia* straight, caused open Proclamation to be made, That he would give unto every *Haiduck* that would serve him, four Crowns a Month pay, with all the booty that they could get. Whereupon fix thousand *Haiducks*, which he had levied under *Bosnia*, forthwith revolted unto *Bosnia*, their number increasing daily. But after that unto this extraordinary pay, *Pallas Lippa*, his Lieutenant, had also joyined the Protection of the reformed Religion, it is wonderful to say, how the *Haiducks* by hears revolted unto him, and how the People in all parts of *Hungary* generally favoured him and his Quarrel, being in all places whereas he came, ready to join hands with him against the Imperials. The Turks and Tartars also, both with Men and Money, followed him in all his doings, whole help he refused not. Whereof proceeded all the aforeaid Miseries both in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, with many other worse than they, which, together with the beginning of this year, took their beginning and encrease also. Unto which so great Troubles, still more and more encreasing, *Bosnia*, not able by force to give remedy, sought by Lenity and fair Persuasions to have calmed the same; by Letters oftentimes advising even *Bosnia*, the chief Rebel himself, to change his Mind, to lay down Arms, to disband his Forces, and to perwade with the rest of his seditious followers, to submit themselves unto the Emperour, and to return again unto their wonted Obedience. Whereunto he at length answered, That if the Government of all *Transilvania* might be left unto himself alone; if a natural *Hungarian* born might be left chosen Lieutenant General in *Hungary*, if none but such as were *Hungarians* born should have the government and command of all the Garrisons in *Hungary*; if the *Wallon* and *French* Soldiers might be shut out of *Hungary*, if the natural *Hungarians* born, might from thenceforth be regarded and provided of their pay, if it might be lawful for every man to have the free Exercise of his Religion; if the Authorities of these Troubles might be delivered unto the *Hungarians* to be punished, if the Emperour himself in Person should come and be present at the Parliament at *Presburg*, if the *German* Garrison Soldiers should still remain themselves within the Places whereunto they were appointed, without making of any Excurstions into the Towns or Villages near unto them, or hurting of the poor Country-men; he would then be content to come to such a good Agreement for Peace. With which offer he sent two of the Rebels, his Followers, unto *Bosnia*, who not liking thereof, re-

turned them back again, without concluding of any thing.

But while things were thus in talk, some of the *Haiducks* in the mean time, with a number of *Tartars* joyined unto them, in seeking after Booty, surprised *Gokara*, a Town over against *Strigonium*; where, having slain certain *Germans* which had the keeping of the Place, and rifled the Town, as they were about to let it on fire, by the coming over of the Governour of *Strigonium* with his Garrison, they were informed to forsake the place, and again to retire. This loss received at *Gokara*, was again by our men required by the taking of *Palantwar*, a good Fortres of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian*, (Commander of the Imperial Troops on this side of the River of *Danubius*) whereinto a number of the Turks being retired, were there together with the Garrison Souldiers slain flat, and amongst them divers men of great account, who but some few days before were come thither. Which Fortres the Captain caused to be forthwith razed, because it should no more stand the Turks in stead for the annoying of the Christians.

The Turks about this time had a purpose to besiege *Vacia*, a City not far from *Piegrad*, on the other side of *Danubius*, a Place which still did great harm; and flood the Christians in great fear. The Garrison of what the Turks call *German*, and part *Hungarians*, as the rest of all the Garrisons in the Imperial Towns of *Hungary* were. Of which the Turks purpose for the siege, the treacherous *Haiducks* there in Garrison having got understanding, conspired to deliver unto them the Place; and yet not so contented, to joyne therewith a Treason more bloody and treacherous than was the betraying of the Town; for finding themselves by part too strong for the *German* Money function, they first of all sent them fell upon them, fearing no such matter, and slew most part of them, the rest having themselves by speedy flight to *Strigonium*; and so afterward, according to their former pretended Treason, delivered the Town unto the Turks, joyning with them and the *Tartars*, and directing them for the more easie spoiling of the Christians and the Country thereabout.

The taking of this City of *Vacia*, had in short time called together great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* out of all Places of the Realm; who, together with the *Haiducks*, made a great and puissant Army, to the Terror of the Christians, not then able to hold the field against them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen even by the Christians themselves, to the destroying of one another. With this Army they turned from *Vacia* to *Gokara*, with a purpose from thence to have passed over the *Danubius* upon the Ice, and to have surprised *Strigonium*. In which exploit they had once before attempted against the bare Town, being then by the Christians repulled and beaten back with their great and small shot out of the Town, as now they were again. Howbeit, that seeing the number of their Enemies daily more and more to increase, they in *Strigonium* stood more in doubt of a second siege, than they had done of the first, whereof we have before spoken.

The Report of these so great Troubles, and of the general revolt of the discontented *Haiducks* in *Hungary*, much troubled and grieved the Christian Emperour; who, both in respect of his Honour, and of the safety of his Estate, raised what Power he might out of his Provinces thereabout, and levied great sums of Money from his Subjects, taking a Ducket upon every House in *Austria*, being then in great fear of these Miseries and Mischies so fast spreading, and still more

1695

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and more increasing and approaching that way. Unto whole Forces already on foot, had the Aid promised from the King of Spain, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germany, with six thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horse out of *Bohemia*, been in time joyined, they might have made a sufficient Army under the Conduct of *Bosnia*, the Emperours Lieutenant, to have repulled both the attempts of the Enemy, and the Inolency of the rebellious *Haiducks*. All or most part of which Aid this year failing, and *Bosnia* with his small Forces much weakened with Wants and the Extremity of Winter, and not able to keep the Field, the Enemies still increasing both in number and strength, and without fear of any to encounter them, at their Pleasure roaming up and down, began now to draw near unto *Piegrad* (a good and strong Town of *Hungary* standing upon the side of *Danubius*, about the mid way betwixt *Buda* and *Strigonium*) with a purpose to have besieged the Castle. Of whose coming the *German* there in Garrison hearing, and warned by the Treachery of the *Haiducks* of *Vacia*, what to fear from the *Haiducks* in Garrison with them in *Piegrad*, betime retired themselves out of the Town into the Castle. In which doing they were well advised, being otherwise like enough to have run the same Fortune that the *German* there in *Strigonium* had run at *Gokara*, if the Turks with the rebellious *Haiducks* were no sooner come thither, but that the *Haiducks* in the Town, without more ado, opened the Gates of the Town unto them, as unto their Friends, directing them in bell fort they could, both for the besieging and winning of the Castle. Which while the Turks hardly besieged, and *German* therein notably defended, *Bosnia* the Vicer Baisa, together with *Beges Baisa*, to perwade them to yield up the Castle, writ unto them in this sort.

Right worthy and valiant Friends, it is not to your unknown, the Castle of *Piegrad*, of right to belong unto our most mighty and dread Sovereign, the Great Sultan. And therefore seeing that the Reason that ever man should use, that which of right belongeth unto him; we advertise and request you to yield up the same Castle unto our most mighty Emperour, and the honourable Lord Stephen Baisa, Prince of *Hungary*; and with all your Substance to depart thence. Promising you upon our Faith and Honour, to suffer you quietly and in safety with your Wives and Children, Bag and Baggage, to depart thence; and to provide you sufficient Shipping for the carrying away of your things to *Strigonium*. And if it shall please you to take part with us, we promise you the same pay from our Emperour, that you had from your own; and the same kind Entertainment which the *Wallons* have before had with us. But if that you upon an oblique Resolution shall refuse this our friendly Motion and Grace offered you, blame us not, if we shall by our right hand and force of Arms seek to obtain our Rights. In kindnes we offer you Friendship, and so with speed expect your Answer.

But the *German*, hearkening not unto these Letters, as then resolved, valiantly stood upon the defence of themselves, and of the Place, until that by extreme Necessity forced thereunto, they yielded the same by Composition.

*Bosnia* in the mean time, with his Forces much diminished; lying at *Eperia*, and in the Country thereabout, seeing the general revolt of the *Haiducks*, of late the Emperours greatest strength in *Hungary*, and *Bosnia* the Rebel strength daily to increase more and more, with no possibility for himself with such small Forces as he then had, to repulse the Rebel Infolency, or to remedy these so far spreading Evils, but for want of great Strength

he must lie still as it were a man besieged, was there- with exceedingly grieved, and as it were almost overwhelmed with the heavy burden of so many great Miseries at once befalling him. To threaten without Power he knew to be but Folly; and to speak fair, to be but vain. Nevertheless having procured from the Emperour a general Pardon for all such as having taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance; he, to assure all them whom it might concern of the Emperours gracious Favour, and to put them all out of fear, caused Letters of general Pardon to be published, for all men to take knowledge of, the purport whereof was this.

WE *George Baisa*, Count of *Hapt* and *Mar-mer*, Lord *Sala*, Knight, Counsellor given out by *Bosnia* for the appeasing of the Rebellion in *Hungary*, to his Imperial Majesty, Governor of the Realm of *Transilvania*, and Lieutenant of the Christian Armies of the Emperour, to all faithful, love and greeting. Whereas in this troublesome a State of things, some, as well of the Nobility as others, in these upper parts of *Hungary*, partly of their own accord, and partly for fear, have revolted from his Imperial Majesty, and taken part with the traitorous *Haiducks* in their Rebellion, to the great prejudice of the Emperours Service, and the staining of their Faith; We, in the name of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his Subjects, even of his own natural Goodness and Clemency, have by virtue of the full Power and Authority, by his said Imperial Majesty granted unto us, given free Grace and Pardon to all them which have withdrawn themselves from his Obedience, or forsaken the same, of what order, quality, or condition soever they be, whom we will receive into our Protection, as void of all Crime; and request them, as much as in us is possible, to make their Profit of this Grace, and to return unto their former Duty and Obedience, under all assurance of Impunity for their forepassed Faults; and without any search or inquiry to be of the same hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion, as of State; assuring them of their Lives, Goods, Fortunes, Dignities, Franchises, Privileges, and Immunities whatsoever, as is more largely declared by his Majesties Letters Patents, which remain with us. And if any, letted either with their urgent Affairs, or with Sicknes, cannot repair unto us within the day in the same Letters Patents nominated, we will accept of their just Excuses. But if any, contrary to our hope, shall upon any indurate mind, or obdurate Conscience, fail to repent, and to make their appearance before us within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, subject unto the Pain of Rebellion, and stained with the note of Infamy; pronouncing their Lives, their Goods, and Dignities to be confiscate and devolved unto the Emperours Coffers; for which they shall by Us the Chieftains, and Captains of his Armies, with Rigour and Extremity be prosecuted. Protesting before the Majesty of God, before the Majesty of the Emperour, and before all Christians, us not to be in any sort culpable of the Evils, Calamities, and Miseries, which shall ensue of the Wars and Distresses which such their Rebellion shall cause; but to be therefrom exempt and acquitted, the only Authors of these Disorders having deserved these Imprecations and Calamities; upon the heads of whom we justly from benevolence lay them, as upon the miserable Authors thereof, by their wickedness having refused to great Grace from the Emperour and us; unto all men made known by their Presents.

This Proclamation solemnly by *Bosnia* published with the found of many Drums and Trumpets, the sixteenth of January, and ten days Liberty given

1695

The Procla-  
mation  
given out  
by *Bosnia*  
for the appeasing  
of the Rebell-  
ion in  
*Hungary*.



1605

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for such as would come in, and again submit themselves; divers Gentlemen of the Country near unto *Eperia*, where *Bosfa* with his Army lay, for fear of being spoiled thereby, and accepted of the Grace offered; either of the feditious, dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the same. Infomuch, that the Rebels in number daily increasing, and the Rebellion still farther and farther spreading, *Bosfa* was now grown so strong, that he dismissed from him most part of the Turks, whose service he had in all these troubles hitherto used; relieving yet certain Janizaries, whom he mingled with the Garrison of *Haiducks*, which he had put into *Cassiova*.

*Falla Lippa*, before by *Bosfa* taken Prisoner, and upon his Revolt from the Emperor, by *Bosfa* made his Lieutenant-General, and a great man amongst the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a most fortunate and happy man. But in the midst of such his Happpiness, and the greatness of his Command, he was, by the malice of some, envying his estate, accused to *Bosfa*, as if he had a purpose to have made him away; and delivering the strong City of *Cassiova* unto *Bosfa*, to have gone over again unto the Emperor, and to have followed his Ensigns. Upon which suspicion, he was by the commandment of *Bosfa* beheaded, with five other men more, of good place, suspected to have been partakers of the Conspiracy with *Lippa*. In whole Treasure, after that he was executed, was found an hundred thousand *Hungarian* Duckets, with eleven hundred Chains of Gold; all which he had scraped together in that small time wherein he had been *Bosfa's* Lieutenant amongst the Rebels. With which money, *Bosfa* in his Rebellion confirmed, became therein more obdurate and furious than before, not admitting any talk with *Bosfa*, concerning Peace, but upon such unreasonable Conditions as fell flood with his own good liking.

Now long and tedious it were to recount the particular events, with the divers woful events thereof, during this so great and dangerous a Rebellion in *Hungary*; which how heavy forever they were for the poor Christians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruine and Destruction both of themselves and of their Country, (some time one of the most flourishing Kingdoms of Christendom, but now become as it were a large Theatre, for all the World to behold many cruel Tragédies and bloody Maffacres acted in) yet for all that, unto none nothing is pleading but what is written of the greatest Actions; as, of great and bloody Battels, of the Conquests of whole Kingdoms, and the ruine of most mighty and famous Princes; all other things else being unto them tedious. In some part to ease them of such weariness, and to please their Appetites, I will briefly run over again (being not paid threefold more ven left in it) and destitute also of their necessary Provision, covenanting to have their Lives spared, at length yielded unto them. But in going thence, meeting with certain other Companies of *Haiducks* near unto *Tokay*, they were by them most part of them slain, some few of them by speedy flight escaping. The same *Haiducks* which had taken *Sacmar*, immediately after attempted to have surprised the Town and Castle of *Tokay* also, but the Government of the Place, in good time advertised of their intent

and purpose, caused the Ice wherewith the River was hard frozen, to be broken forty Paces away near unto the Town, so that the same to be lightly covered over with Straw. Whither the *Haiducks* coming by night, and finding the Ice on the other side the River whereunto they first came strong enough to bear them, by heaps thrumming one another forward, to have scaled the Castle, the Ice breaking under them, they thert together by heaps most miserably perished, many of the rest which escaped that danger, being with thort out of the Castle slain also. In this Castle was no great store of Victuals: wherof *Bosfa* understanding, with his Army marched from *Eperia* toward *Bodac*, a Town holden by the Rebels, in hope with the spoil thereof to have relieved *Tokay*. But the Rebels hearing of his coming, having themselves burnt the Town, had got themselves, with that they had, into the Castle; and from thence with their great Ordnance lo welcomed *Bosfa* at his coming; that, disappointed of his purpose, and having lost some of his men, he was glad to speed (not having stayed above four hours) to return again to *Eperia*: certain of the Nobility of that Country, which took part with the Rebels, being reported, in his absence, to have made a Road towards *Eperia*, to the endangering of that City. In which his Return towards *Eperia*, the Troops of County *Turan*, and of *Charles Odobowitz*, by chance fighting upon *two Haiducks* in a Country Village, set the same on fire, and therein burnt most of the laid Rebels, and slew the rest of them that remained; in seeking by flight to have saved themselves.

In the mean time, one of the great men amongst the Turks came to *Cassiova*, bringing with him a great flock of money; which being divided amongst the Rebels there, much confirmed them both in their Rebellion and Devotion towards the Turks: which Rebellion they spared not for any cost by all means to maintain; as more prevailing thereby than by the greatest Forces they could use for the conquering of *Hungary*.

But *Bosfa* was no sooner with his Army returned again to *Eperia*, but that the Soldiers generally exclaiming, and calling upon him for their Pay, were about in a Mutiny to have forsaken him. For the appeasing of which Tumult, he was glad presently to make what shift he could for Money, wherewith he in some measure gave them contentment, and to wish most ardently that they should for six weeks service longer; thereby delivering the Citizens of *Eperia* from a great fear, wherein they were, for being spoiled by those malicious Soldiers, of whom they stood in no less doubt than they did of their Enemies.

And now the feditious *Haiducks*, after their wonted manner still roaming up and down the upper part of *Hungary*, the 2d day of *March*, about seven of the clock in the morning, came to *Nemzoll*, a Fair in that Country, and there by many Reasons persuading the Citizens to revolt, and to take part with them, had Parley with them until it was full twelve of the clock; but drawing fill nearer and nearer unto the Town: infomuch, that *Turbulus*, Governour of the Place, perceiving a yielding Inclination in the Citizens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend so great a City against the *Haiducks* with so weak a Garrison as he then had therein, he with his *Cofacks*, for his more safety, retired himself into the Castle. Which done, the *Haiducks* forthwith breaking into the City with fix Companies, summoned the Castle, requiring to have it delivered unto them. Of whom *Turbulus* flew divers with thort out of the Castle; and the same day, in the Evening, courageously falling out of the Castle, with certain Companies of Harquebushiers, drove the *Haiducks* again out of the City; which he afterward better

1605

The Turks  
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Rebellion  
in *Hungary*.Bosfa's  
Soldiers  
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1605

Filek  
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Haiducks.The Let-  
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Collonitz  
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the Trou-  
bles raised  
by the Re-  
bels in  
*Hungary*.Strong  
Towns  
and Places  
by the  
Turks  
and  
Rebels  
taken in  
the upper  
*Hungary*.

fortified against their like Attempts. And the next day understanding by a Country-man, That certain Companies of *Haiducks* and Turks together, were coming to *Turkey*, a Town not off carry- ing with them a great number of Cattel, Women and Children, which they had got out of the Country Towns and Villages thereabout; he presently lent forth his Lieutenant against them, with his *Cofacks* (a desperate kind of Horsemen) who meeting with these *Haiducks* and Turks, slew of them about an hundred and fifty, and recovered from them all the Captives, the Cattel, with two hundred Hories, and a Mule loaded with four thousand *Hungarian* Duckets.

Now had *Filek* (a most beautiful Castle, and as it were the Key of that part of the upper *Hungary*, which the Christian Emperor yet held against the Turks) for certain Months been hardly besieged by the *Haiducks*; which although it was so well floted with Victuals, and other necessary Provision, as that it might have holden out three Months longer siege, yet the Soldiers there in Garrison, for want of Water were enforced now at length to yield the same. For the keeping of which Castle *Redeus Ferentius*, Captain of the *Haiducks* which had woon it, placed therein a Garrison, part *Haiducks*, part Turks, as not daring to trust either of them alone; the *Haiducks* for fear of their Treachery, nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be detestful of the place, for the commodious Situation thereof, as giving them a way to enter further into the Territories of the Christians, which *Redeus*, though a Rebel, would not yet in any sort grant them.

This Castle of *Filek* so (as is before said) besieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vain sought to have relieved; all the ways being lo bight, and as it were, fortified with the infinite number of the Turks, *Tartars*, and Rebels, as that there was no coming unto it; a most part of his own Soldiers being *Haiducks* also, to whom he durst not well trust for fear of being betrayed by them. Concerning which Matters, he shortly after writing to a certain Nobleman, after that he had written unto him, That he desired nothing more of the Emperor, than to be discharged of his Service, he thus breaketh forth.

I cannot (saith he) any more perform faithful service unto the Emperor for being attended upon with very Traitors. I am enforced to hear even mine honest Requeſt. I would willingly serve your German *Hofmen*; and I could also wish, three thousand Collocks, and two thousand Polonian Huf-fles to be again raised; who would do notable service in pursuing of the Enemy; but every Month they must needs have their Wages paid them. The number of the Enemy increaseth daily; and their strength still more and more; so that things cannot be in worse state than now they are. All Devices are directed to the hurt of the Emperor, neither is there any place quiet. What Courage am I of, which have lost all my Wealth and Substance, is easie for any man to judge; all which, for all that, I could conceal and defendible, so that I might faithfully, and according to my desire, serve the Emperor; which for all that, is not possible for me to do without a sufficient strength of German Soldiers. But this of all doth most comfort me, for that I soon may have done my Duty for my service; this *Mischief* had spread further, I have been in hope that I would rather have resolved from the Emperor, than have lost my Goods; and some there were, which doubted not to say so of me. The Enemies are now in my Dukedom of Cleve, and there made spoil of all. Sechen, Jametta, Tregla, Palanca, Samolchin, Blavstein, Rabenstein, Vacia, Regiment, Dillena, Pungatta, Tabra, Libetna,

1605

Sinna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Dilgiora, Zatat, Calo, Scharopotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, and almost all Transilvania, are now subject to the Rebels; so that what will ensue thereby, except they speedily be confronted, every man may right easily ghesf.

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greatest and best Commanders of the Emperours Forces against the Turks in *Hungary*, was thus beted, and spoiled of his Substance, by the Rebels, as he in these his Letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, having at one time received from them so great harm as was deemed to have amounted to an hundred thousand Duckets; and not daring to trust his own *Hungarian* Soldiers, whose Hearts he knew to be with the Rebels; In what State may be the rest of the People of that distressed Province, he thought to have been, being at the same time exposed unto the same Rebels as a Prey and Spoil, and their Country lay'd open for the Turks and *Tartars* to forrage and over-run at their Pleasure.

But in brief, to run along with the *Haiducks*, who in four thousand of them attempting to have surprised *Wiglaf*, were so from thence repulsed, as that many of them being slain, five and thirty Wagons were scarce sufficient to carry the rest of the wounded over the Mountains, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence, they brake into *Turkey's* Country, where, they having rifled all the Towns and Villages, commanded all the States of the Country, within three days and next after, to submit themselves to *Bosfa*, and to swear unto him Fealty, or otherwise to expect all Extremities; who with fear dismayed, all promised to submit themselves unto *Redeus*, *Bosfa's* Lieutenant.

Now for Remedy of these Evils, *Napragius* and *Forgatus*, two grave Counsellors, were sent, in the Emperours Name, to treat of the Peace with *Bosfa*; who, the seventh and twentieth of *March*, departing from *Eperia* with fourscore Harquebushiers, towards *Cassiova*, before they came thert, sent before him an Herald, to advertise *Bosfa* of their coming. Which Messenger, so soon as he was come into *Cassiova*, the Turks so frantly kept, as that no man might speak with him but *Bosfa* himself; and not he also, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turks.

Who at his first meeting with him told him, That if the Ambassadors from whence he came, were sent from the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, they should be right welcome unto him, and I ave Audience; but if they came from the Emperor, as had *Rogatus* and *Claccius* before sent from *Bosfa*, they should then spare their Labour, and come no farther; for that all matters had with him been often enough talked upon; it being now more than time, that things so often consulted upon, should be no more talked of, but indeed performed. Which Messenger returning unto the Ambassadors, told them what *Bosfa* had said, and that the *Haiducks* had in *Cassiova* built a Bulwark of a wonderful height, beted the Gates with strong Guards, and so filled the Trenches with Soldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that every man might safely come and go thither about his Trade and Business. He told them also, how *Bosfa's* Lieutenant had called together all the Governors of the Places thereabout, and advised them, for the space of fourteen days to beware of the Executions of the *Haiducks*, and in the mean time, for their more safety, to bring their Wives and Children, with such other things as they made most reckoning of, into the City, for that he could not do as yet (as he said) re-

Bosfa re-  
fused to  
receive the  
Emperours  
Ambassadors.



1605  
Great  
Town taken  
and rifled  
by the Rebels  
in Hungary.

But to proceed with these Troubles according to the course of the time of the Year, about the twenty fourth of May the Turks and Tartars joining their Forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteen Country Villages about the Lake of *Neuhäuf*, and as many more in other Places also towards *Neuhäuf*, leaving behind them most lamentable Remembrances and Testimonies of their barbarous and inhumane Cruelty, having put most of the Women and Children to the Sword, and impaled divers upon Stakes, carrying the Men away with them as Captives, and the Beasts and Cattel as a Prey; and to leaving the Country as they went almost desolate, scarce any thing therein left to bewail the Misery thereof. And about the end of this same Month the Rebels surpris'd *Simega, Grotta, and Capernacini*, and a little while after, *Ginsium*: all which Places they rifled and spoiled, as they did also *Hogengau*, a great Town of the Lord *Lichtenburg*, and *Niederfrunga*, a Town of *Collonitzers*, which they first rifled, and afterward burnt; and with the terror of this their dealing enforced all the Country thereabout, both far and near, to yield unto them: only *Alfeld* and *Chrenitz*, who continued in their Loyalty, and standing fast for the Emperor, did the Rebels much harm.

About the beginning of June, certain Companies of *Turks* and *Haiducks* mingled together, came again, as they had before done, to *Presburg*: of whose coming the Governour of the City having Advertisement, with three Troops of *Wallon* Horse-men, and certain Companies of *Harcquiers*, breaking out of the City, caught them forth with to retire; which the *Wallon* Horse-men seeing, to prevent them in their Retreat, fetching a Compa's about, met with them when they thought themselves past all danger; and falling upon them, slew of them five hundred, and drove the rest into *Danubius*; so that of all those *Turks* and *Haiducks* none escaped but only fourteen, amongst whom three *Turks* and one fugitive Citizen of *Presburg*, were found: whom, together with a great Spoil, the Garrison Soldiers carried back with them into the City.

At the self-same time the Citizens of *Vesprimium* favouring the Proceedings of the *Haiducks*, rose themselves in Rebellion also, and taking the Captain of the Castle, together with his Lieutenant and the Keys of the Castle, caused them to be carried to *Redeins*, *Boisfay's* Lieutenant; yielding themselves into his Protection. Of which Revolt of the City the *Turks* took exceeding Pleasure, and forthwith sent News thereof unto the Sultan, wishing him to haste the coming of his Army, for that the Passages were now laid open unto his farther Conquest; and farther advising him still more and more to encourage *Boisfay* in his Rebellion.

And now was *Hungary* too little, or else too bare, to contain and satisfy the still increasing Rebels, who in great number breaking into *Stria* (as they had before done on the other side of *Hungary* into *Moravia*) did therein great harm, wasting and spoiling all before them as they went; inasmuch that County *Serin*, the Lord *Nadafitz*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, and such as heretofore had done great things against the *Turks* for the Christian Commonwealth, seeing themselves, and all that they had, in danger to be spoiled, being themselves not able to withstand the Rebels, nor any other way wherewith to relieve themselves, retired unto *Boisfay*, as did many other Noblemen of that Country also. Out of *Stria* the Rebels made head into *Austria*, and there roaming up and down the Country, did like harm.

Thus was the State of *Austria* and *Hungary* at this time most miserable, which for that it is so well

set down in certain Letters by a grave and understanding Citizen of *Vienna*, who was himself an eye-witness of most part thereof, that it cannot well better be expell'd; I have thought it good to refer the Report thereof unto the Letters themselves.

ALL *Austria* (saith he) is full of Misery and Calamity. From out of the Castle and Bulwarks here at *Vienna*, a man may sometime at once behold fifteen Towns and Villages all on fire in the Country hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and *Turks*, and partly by our own mutinous Soldiers. *Odenburg* is yet beleagued, and the *Haiducks* have foraged the Country as far as *Hinberg*, whom had not the Regiment of *Munitz* repelled, these out Suburbs of *Vienna* had now been taken, ranfack'd, and burnt. *Neuhäuf* is on every side beleagued by the Enemy; all the Villages about *Vienna*, as far as *Dreskirch*, are with Fire destroyed; they of *Neuhäuf* went about to have cut off some part of the Enemies Forces, but with evil Success, having lost above fifty of their own men. *Brumma* and *Eysenndorfe* are also with Fire consumed. The *Wallons* by incamping at *Miedling*, most miserably spoiling the Country. People of all that that they had: The *Haiducks* having by night surpris'd the great Town of *Altenburg*, and from thence carrying a great Prey, have burnt it; The Castle had endured the like Fortune, had not an hundred *Harquebusers*, that were by chance come thither, holpen to defend it. Six thousand of the Enemies lie about *Pesseldorf*, but whether the *Wallons* will attempt any thing against them or no, it is greatly doubted. *Presburg* is also in great danger; for the Garrison Soldiers there do threaten the cruel Spoil of the Citizens, and all Extremities, if by a certain Day they receive not their Pay; who if they shall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the *Haiducks* will forthwith succeed them in their Places. These men indeed do pretend Religion; but what Lovers they be thereof, the late Example of a Minister by them most cruelly tormented, not far from *Coblenz*, doth manifestly shew. The Report is, That the Vayvod of *Palachia* doth favour neither party; unto which Province a great number of *Tartars* are come in the Aid of *Boisfay*. All the Market-Places and Streets here in this City, lie full of poor fugitive Creatures of all Sex and Ages; a most miserable Sight to behold. Our own mutinous Soldiers believeth all the ways to the City, and exclude us from all manner of Viſual; and not to use many words, in Cruelty and Hostility almost exceed the very Enemies. The *Hungarian* Rebels, who of late foraged *Austria*, have carried away with them above eight thousand Head of Cattel, which, together with the Prisoners by them taken, they have sent into *Turkey*. The little Boys and Children, which cannot by reason of their tender Years go, they carry along with them upon Horses, whole pitiful Mourning and Lamentation might move even the very Stones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit moved: yea, many of these poor Souls are here and there by the way found dashed against the Ground, with their Brains beaten out. And these Rebels in their Behaviour shew such Cruelty, as whereas the very *Turks* themselves were amazed. All things about *Neuhäuf* are by the Rebels and carried away. They of *Neuhäuf*, besieged by twenty thousand of their Enemies, have hitherto yielded the Men, and of late repulld the second Assault, with much slaughter of their Enemies. They say, That two thousand *Tartars*, as many *Rebels*, and thirteen thousand *Turks*, are to be yet

The miserable  
Town of  
Hungary  
and Austria  
nowably de-  
scribed by the  
Letters of a  
Citizen of Vi-  
enna.

1605

expected to come unto the Camp at *Neuhäuf*; who, if they shall chance to come, it can scarce be, that they of *Neuhäuf* can long well hold out against them, especially being not well appointed of necessary provision. The report is, that having taken *Neuhäuf*, they will remove to *Strigonium*. It is said also, twelve thousand *Turks* to have now pass'd over the Bridge at *Elſſes*; and great Supplies both of men and money to come to *Boisfay*, who lieth encamped about *Eperia*, and is said to have made a Covenant with the Great Sultan, That what place soever either of them should first take, he should hold the same wholly unto himself. *Tanher*, who of late was Governour of *Biak*, is now (as the report goeth) of Counsel with *Boisfay*. *Gernich* hath put in three months Viſual unto *Häuf* in *Transilvania*. God in his mercy behold our poor afflicted and distressed Country.

Thus far he: Whereby the Reader (as I suppose) may easily gather the miserable estate of both the Countries of *Hungary* and *Austria*, the Christians themselves being the chief Authors thereof.

Odenburg  
besieged  
by the Re-  
bels, and  
by Balſa  
relieved.

The rebellious *Haiducks* had hitherto most straightly besieged the City of *Odenburg*, having assaulted it in five sundry places at once: upon whom, *Tranſilvania's* General of the Garrison there, causing part of his Horse-men to fall upon, skirmish'd with them from eleven of the clock in the forenoon, untill two of the clock in the afternoon; at which times the *Haiducks* beginning to prevail, the Governour, with the rest of his Horse-men, certain Ensigns of Foot-men, with some of the Citizens, with three field-pieces, upon the sudden breaking out of the Gate, difcomfited the *Haiducks*, put them to flight, and slew many of them, having taken from them twelve Ensigns, some of which they carried with them into the City: of which overthrow the *Haiducks* desirous to be revenged, with their renewed Forces shortly after returned again unto the City, burnt the Suburbs of the same, and spoiled the Villages thereabout. But whilst they thus lay about *Odenburg*, *Balſa*, but with a small power, drawing near unto them, they presently rose, and passing over the River *Draua*, carried away with them two thousand head of Cattel, with a great number of Christian Captives.

The Turks  
seek to  
have Caffa-  
bec deli-  
vered unto  
them by  
Boisfay.

The *Turks* being not to learn to make use of the discord of the Christians amongst themselves, had oftentimes been in hand with *Boisfay*, to deliver *Caffa* wholly into their hands: of which strong City, being the best that the Christians now held in the upper *Hungary*, the *Turks* were most desirous, both for the commodious situation thereof, and also for that they deemed themselves partly thereof already possessed, some good part of the Garrison therein being *Turks*, as well Janizaries as others. The full possession of which strong City the better to obtain from *Boisfay*, and to get it into their own hands, they sent unto him three Waggon's loaded with money and other rich Commodities, for a Present, and to supply his wants, by a good Convoy of four hundred *Haiducks*, and four *Turks* joined unto them. Which *Haiducks*, as they were by the way to *Caffa* to pass by *Tockay*, a strong Town holden by the Christians, gave secret knowledge unto the Governour of the place, of their coming that way, and that if he would receive them into the Town, and so into his Protection, they would, with some small help from him, deliver into his hands that so rich a booty, and so continue with him as his faithful and trusty Soldiers. Of whose offer the Governour well assured, forthwith sent

forth four hundred of the Soldiers of his own selection to meet them; who, joining with the aforelaid *Haiducks* which came with the Convoy, set upon the *Turks* which came with them, and slew every Mothers Son; and so with the rich Booty were by the Governour received into the Town, and by him courteously entertained: where they had not long lain, but that after their wonted manner looking abroad into the Country, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Boisfay's* men; with whom they encountering, and having slain of them near about five hundred, took from them seven Waggon's loaded with good Provision, and thirty Horses, besides much other rich spoil.

But the Rebels, notwithstanding these and such other losses, encreasing both in number and power, fill more and more in all places prevailed, but especially in the upper part of *Hungary*, the Towns there, one after another, daily revolting unto them, as amongst the rest the strong Town of *Torſta* did; whereunto the Rebels entering, sent from thence part of the great Ordnance, together with *Reinger*, a German Captain, Governour of the Towns, and certain other German Soldiers there taken, unto *Redeins*, *Boisfay's* Lieutenant, then lying with a great Army of thirty thousand *Hungarian* Rebels and *Turks*, at the Siege of the strong Town and Castle of *Neuhäuf*: which, as he had oftentimes by him been sharply assaulted, it was by the Soldiers therein most notably defended, protesting, never to yield the same, but to hold it out even unto the last man therein to the left alive; which caused *Redeins*, for the encouraging of his Soldiers, (who had now lain there certain months at the Siege thereof) to promise unto them the whole spoil of the Town, and of all that therein was: And yet for all that, oft times kept back the *Turks* from assaulting the same, for fear lest if they should by force have taken it, they would be forced to leave it open unto themselves, as a Place for them most commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the upper part of *Hungary*: which he, though one of the greatest Rebels, was yet loth to have it to fall into their hands; and yet himself, with the *Haiducks*, the *Hungarian* Rebels, afterward, viz. the 25th of July, gave thereunto a most furious Assault, inasmuch that having advanced ten of their Ensigns unto the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope even presently to have taken it, but yet were by the resolute Valour of the Defendants notably repulld, and inforced again to retire, leaving behind them above seven hundred of their most forward men dead in the Trenches: unto which Siege the *Balſa* of *Agria* came also afterward with three thousand Horse-men and a Number of Janizaries; so that the besiegeds, partly with Mines, partly with Shot and often Assaults distressed, were so wasted and wounded, that there were scarcely two hundred whole and found men left in the whole Garrison; besides that, both Viſuals and Powder begun now to grow scarce also, so that they were brought unto such extremity, as that well they could not be in a worse case: and yet armed with a constant Resolution, they seemed not to be any thing therewith daunted or discouraged, but still valiantly held it out.

The *Hungarians*, dwelling in the Isle of *Shur* in the River of *Danubius*, having before submitted themselves unto the Rebels, did with their help much trouble the Passages unto the Towns of *Rab* and *Comara*, and the City of *Strigonium*; by whom certain Messengers were sent on the Emperor's behalf, to persuade them to forsake the Rebels, and to return again unto their ancient Obedi-

torſta  
yielded  
unto the  
Turks.

Neuhäuf  
hardly as-  
saulted and  
valiantly  
defended.

Neuhäuf  
distressed.

The Rebels  
in the Isle  
of Shur  
submitted  
themselves  
again unto  
the Empe-  
rour.

**1605** Obedience. Who fo well used the matter with them, that taking a Truce for eight days they in the mean time sent five of the chief men amongst them by Ship to *Presburg*, offering unto the Governour there, That if they might be secured of their Goods and Safety, and that the *Haiducks* that were with them might be entertained in Pay, they would be ready again to take the Oath of Allegiance, and faithfully to serve them, as became his loyal Subjects and valiant Soldiers; and for the assurance thereof, to leave their Wives and Children as Pledges at *Presburg*. Which their Offer, was unto the Governour very acceptable and welcome, who yielding unto their Request, in friendly sort dismissed them. But they being returned home, and having declared to the rest of their Fellows what they had done, it was by general consent agreed, That four thousand of them should join themselves unto the Emperours Power under the Regiment of *Colonias*, who to be known from others, wore in their Crests certain special Feathers; their Wives and Children being carried to *Presburg* as Pledges of their Faith: but this Agreement by them made with the Governour of *Presburg* being once known, the rest of the Rebels in the Country thereabout together assembled with the Turks, invaded the Isle, in hope upon the sudden have furnished them; but, deceived of their Expectation, were by the Inhabitants of the Isle, and by the help of certain *German* Troops, overthrow and put to flight, and three thousand of them there slain.

About the beginning of *July*, certain Commissioners were sent on the Emperours behalf to *Calfovia*, to treat with *Bosfay* concerning a Pacification to be made, who being by him there honorably entertained, and having with him stayed almost a whole month, were at length, the nine and twentieth of the same month, again dismissed. Now the Articles which *Bosfay* propounded unto these Commissioners to be considered of for the making of a Peace, and which for the most part were agreed upon in the Peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were these:

Articles by *Bosfay* propounded unto the Emperours Commissioners for the appeasing of the Tumults in the upper Hungary.

First, that it should be lawful, for all such as would, to have the free exercise of the reformed Religion. For although (as he said) he was not ignorant that there was an ancient Decree amongst the *Hungarians*, whereby all that professed not the Catholic Religion, or that revolted from the same, were to be burnt, and that he desired not to have that Article repealed; yet that his Request was, That the Emperour, having regard unto the Trouble of the present time, would procure an affiate. That from thenceforth no man should be troubled for his Religion, or called in question for his Confidence and Belief. Besides that, he requested to have the Principality of *Transilvania* during his Life; yet with this Condition, That after his death it should again return unto the Emperour, so that the Emperour in his Absence should appoint a natural *Hungarian* to govern the same, as also to have the chief Government in *Hungary*. That there should no more Bishops sit in Council but one, and that he, if it should be so thought meet, should bear the Office of the Chancellor. That the Liberties and Privileges of that Kingdom should be kept whole and inviolate. That it should be lawful for him only to make choice of the chief Palatine of the Kingdom. That Goods confiscated for any offence committed, should not be dispersed or sold, but given to men of desert. That all Offenders against the State from thenceforth should be judged by the Council of *Hungary*. That none should be preferred to Bishopsricks in *Hungary*, but such as were of the noble *Hungari-*

**1605** an Blood. That all Injuries heretofore done, should be absolutely pardoned, forgiven and forgotten. All which things, if they might be granted, he promised to labour to the uttermost of his power, upon the best Conditions he might, to procure a Peace betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour. Last of all he requested, That the Charters of Peace, containing these Articles thus agreed upon, might be subscribed and confirmed by the Bishop of *Rome*, the Emperour, the King of *Polonia*, and all the Imperial Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Turkish Sultan understanding of this Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperour and *Bosfay*, by a Messenger sent in haste to *Bosfay*, fought by great Offers and Promises to hinder the same; putting him in remembrance, That a little before this Treaty made, he had not only by Words, but by Letters also, subscribed with his own hand, promised unto *Bosfay's* Ambassadors sent to *Constantinople*, That he would bring to pass, that *Bosfay*, rewarded with such Privileges as King *John* in former time enjoyed, should in short time be proclaimed and crowned King of *Hungary*, and that to that purpose he was even now ready to send a Scepter and a Crown, the Ornaments of a King, to *Alba Regalia*. But for the present, he by these Messengers sent unto *Bosfay* two goodly Horses, with Furniture of Gold, glittering with precious Stones. He sent him also a rich Scimitar, a pair of golden Spurs, and a long Horsemans Coat garnished with Gold and precious Stones of great price; persuading him valiantly to persist in his former course and purpose. Which he failed not to do: for immediately after he with a gallant Train went from *Calfovia* into *Transilvania* there to take of the Nobility of that Province the Oath of their Fidelity unto him; accounting no pains or labour great, which he took to turn the People from their Obedience unto the Emperour, and to strengthen himself. At which time he also sent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with some others, into *Polonia*, to renew the Confederation which was sometime betwixt the *Polonians* and the *Hungarians*: who, being admitted unto the King's Presence, and Audience given him, first declared the Causes of the Discord and Civil War that then was in *Hungary*, which he imputed chiefly unto the Oppression of Religion, the free exercise thereof being forbidden them; and to the Insolency of the *Germans*, who there at their pleasure commanded over them. Upon which two Points he stood much, labouring with many Words to persuade the King thereof, and afterwards requesting him of his gracious Goodwill, and of the care which he, together with other Christian Princes, had for the common quiet of the Christian Commonwealth in general, and especially of those two distressed Countries, lying as it were even in the Enemies Mouth, to enter into Consultation how the same Evils might be remedied, and those too great Troubles again appeased, and to the effecting of so good a work to put to his helping hand. Wherunto the King answered, That the friendship wherein *Bosfay* offered to join with him being but the renewing of the ancient Amity betwixt the Countries of *Polonia* and *Hungary*, to be unto him pleasing; howbeit, he could not for all that, (as he said) well like of *Bosfay's* Revolt from that House and Family, whereunto he was himself so near adjoined in Affinity; promising yet nevertheless, that he would propound the matter unto his Nobility, to be farther considered, which when he had indeed done, it was by common consent agreed, That no Aid should be given out of *Polonia* unto *Bosfay* or the Rebels; and that whosoever should from thence afford him any Aid, should

The Great Sultan loth that *Bosfay* should come to the Emperours Court.

*Bosfay* goes into *Transilvania*.

He sendeth Ambassadors into *Polonia*, and is there denied Aid.

**1605** The Lord Reform beheaded.

should therefore lose his Head. With which answer the Ambassadors returned to *Bosfay* much discontented, being now with a great Power again returned out of *Transilvania* to *Calfovia*.

About this Time the Lord *Ruffworm* (sometimes General of the Emperours Army against the Turks in *Hungary*, a Man of great Note and Valour, and of whom we have before much spoken) at *Prague* falling into words, and from words to blows, with *Francis* Count *Belosio* his Brother, and their Men taking their parts on both sides, it followed the said *Francis*, the Earls Brother, being grievously wounded, to be there slain, *Belosio* himself being also in five places dangerously hurt; who so hardly prosecuted the Death of his Brother against the Lord *Ruffworm*, that within a while after he was there by the Emperours commanded, and at *Prague* beheaded; and divers of his Men hanged, with such Weapons hanging at their heels, as wherewith they had slain the said *Francis*, the Earls Brother.

The Turks Troubles against his Rebels and the Persians and the Perfians in the East, an ease unto the Christians in the West.

Now was the time of the year come, when as the Turks their great Armies were wont to be even in the heart of *Hungary*; howbeit, such were their Troubles in *Asia*, both with the *Persians* and their own Rebels, that they were not at leisure now to send such great forces as they had before used, in to *Hungary*; neither could the Christian Emperour on the other side now raise such a Power as he had in former times done to oppose against them, and to hinder their proceedings. The *Hungarians* themselves (his greatest strength in those Wars) were now generally revolted from him, and for most part followed the Ensigns of the Rebel *Bosfay*. The Princes wont to lend him aid both out of *Italy* and out of *Germany*, now afforded him little or none at all; and his necessary Soldiers for want of pay were now almost every where up in Mutiny ready to forsake his Service, and to pay themselves with the spoil of his Countries, even unto the Gates of *Vienna*. So that had not the Turks been so busied in the East, but at leisure to have turned their whole Power into *Hungary*, as oftentimes they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined what should have ensued them to have over-run, not only that which remained of *Hungary*, but even all *Asia*; with some good part of *Germany* also; the Emperours Preparations being then so small, and his Forces so weak, as that they were not able to hold the field against his own rebellious Subjects, much less against so puissant and dreadful an Enemy. But God, which with his Word hath set bounds unto the raging Sea, beyond which it cannot pass, and by whose Power Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule, had by other means averted the greater part of the Turks Forces Eastwards; so that *Serdar Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat's* Lieutenant General for his Wars against the Christians, came this year but with a right small Army (in comparison of those which the Turkish Sultans were wont to send) into *Hungary*. Howbeit, with such Forces as he brought, and with rich Supplies of the Rebels in *Hungary* as came unto him, he being recovered from his wound, and out of fear of the Emperours Forces, came the nine and twentieth day of *August* to *Strigoniom*, and with his Army (part Turks, part *Tatars*, and part dissolay Christians) encamped in the self same place where the Turks Army had but the year before lodged; having brought with him forty great pieces of Batter, with all things else necessary for the Siege. Neither were the Turks loomer encamped, but that the *Tatars*, which came with them, were so greedy of their wonted manner, which when he had indeed done, it was by common consent agreed, That no Aid should be given out of *Polonia* unto *Bosfay* or the Rebels; and that whosoever should from thence afford him any Aid, should

*Strigoniom* besieged by the Turks.

The Turks in the mean time to deprive the besieged of all relief to be sent unto them down the River of *Danubius*, made a great Bridge of Boats over the River, well fortified at both ends thereof, on each side the River with a strong Corps de guard for the defence thereof, so that nothing could that way pass to or from the besieged City. Which things much dismayed them in the City, seeing no Preparation to be made on the other side for their Defence or Relief; yet *Sulaim* himself, General of such small Forces as the Emperour had then, seeing the Enemy so strong, and himself so weak, began greatly to doubt of the Event of this Siege; and yet nevertheless resolutely set down to employ both his Valour and his Wisdom for the safeguard of the Place, he during the time of the Siege, failed not to the uttermost of his Power to shew the Effects both of the one and of the other.

And now the Turks, assisted with the *Hungarian* Rebels, had performed an Exploit upon the Isle of *Strigoniom*, as well to take the same from the Imperials, as for the spoil and pillage thereof. The Inhabitants there had still remained faithful unto the Service of the Emperour, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes fought both by force and by persuasion to have removed from this their Loyalty and just devoir. Within this Isle were 200 *Haiducks*, retained against the Emperours Service, who were foynted unto the Islanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Island; But the Rebels knowing well the Passages and Entrances into the Isle, upon the sudden furnished the same, and in it these poor *Haiducks*, whom they set all in pieces; which loss caused *Bosfa* to resolve to send the *Wallons* he had in his Army into the Isle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Island understanding, made request unto the General, That he would not any way let it be known, that they greatly feared lest the *Wallons*, being Men already given to the spoil, not finding the Rebels to prey upon, should after their wonted manner prey upon them; the Emperours faithful Subjects. At whose instance, the fittest purpose for the sending of the *Wallons* being changed, *Colonnus* himself was appointed unto that Service; with whom *Montfieur de Laual*, a Noble young Gentleman of *France* (who but a few days before was newly come unto the Camp, for the honourable desire he had to see Service, and to serve himself with his Troop of Horsemen whom he had brought with him out of *France*) went over into the Island also; Whereinto when as the Rebels shortly after again entered, they were by *Colonnus* overthrow and driven out of the Isle, two hundred and fifty men being slain, and above fifty more of them taken Prisoners. In which Conflict the noble young Gentleman *Laual* so bravely behaved himself, as that he gained unto himself much Honour and Renown, every man much being full of his Praises, and wondering to see so great Courage in so young years; he being then scarce nineteen years old. With which loss the Rebels rather enraged than discouraged, shortly after returned again, in greater number, and better resolved; where, between them, and them that were left for the defence of the Isle, there was fought a more sharp and bloody fight than was the former; yet so, as that the Rebels were enforced again with loss to retire. In which so hot and bloody a Skirmish, *Montfieur Laual*, having most valiantly born himself against the Enemies, and done enough for his Honour, but not so contented, but carried away with the heat of Youth, and the desire of Glory, went out otherwise to be perished, but still adventurous pressing on to the retreating Enemy, was there with a small shot slain, all they which knew him much lamenting his untimely Death.

The Turks make a Bridge over the River of *Danubius*, to keep *Strigoniom* from being that way relieved.

The Isle of *Strigoniom* spoiled by the *Haiducks*.

The *Haiduck* entering the Isle of *Strigoniom*, by the Emperours overthrown.

*Montfieur Laual* slain.

E e e e e But





1605 in an Action wherein they ought to show themselves most valorous; and by their Cowardice become subject unto them, whom at other times they had accounted unworthy to be compared with them in Valour. That they should lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and remember the Estate and Faith; bound unto the first by their Honour, and to the second by their Duty. That they were Men of War, living by their Pay, which bound them to the Service of him from whom they received it, even unto Death; having before obliged their Lives unto their Pay; and that they were Christian Subjects, bound to keep their Promise given by Oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of these things, they deprived themselves of the Pay promised them which performed their Service, and losing their Renown in this World for their Cowardice, and in the World to come for breaking their Faith. That therefore they should continue constant in the performance of their Duty, resolving themselves rather to endure an honourable Death, unto which belonged the recompence of an eternal Fame for their Valour and Fidelity, than to prolong a miserable Life with perpetual Infamy for their Cowardice; whereof for all that, they could no more assure themselves by the yielding up of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks were oftentimes even as cruel upon them that yielded, as those that resisted; keeping no Faith with the Christians, but as best stood with their Profit and their Pleasure. And that therefore for his part he was resolved, rather to die with Honour in the Place, than to be beheld to his Enemies for an infamous and miserable Life. And that therefore he be sought them to follow him in this last Action of their devoir, which carried with it all the Trophies of their precedent Actions, wherein they had oftentimes assisted him in many Actions of less worth, and of much greater Peril.

This Discourse grounded upon so good Reasons, and proceeding from so great Valour, might have prevailed with any other generous Minds, except with these degenerate Soldiers, who by their Cowardice had hardened themselves against all the points of Honour which might any way move them; in such sort, that they stood as fast in their base Cowardice, as did their General in his valourous and constant Resolution. They stood with their Hands behind them, without any Weapons in them; as was their Minds without any Courage at all; and as Men appointed to be sacrificed upon the Altar of Death, attending without moving, but the Hands of them that should sacrifice them. Great and shameful Cowardice, not daring by resistance to withstand the Violence of their Enemies, far less of hindering them in their desires, being indeed such as had vowed their Death to satisfy their own Fury. Mean while, some of these Soldiers seeing their Speeches to be but vain, and not able to move their Government to satisfy their desire, conceived the same their Requests, with the Reasons thereof, into Writing, which they sent unto him. Which the Government having read, in their fight rose their Letters in pieces, and trod the same under his Feet; rejecting as well their Demands by Letters, as he had done their Requests by Words. In brief, having forgotten nothing of the Duty of a worthy General, and valiant Captain, joyed now thereunto the Office of a simple Soldier, going himself unto the breach, with some few, to defend the same. But the more the Count stood upon this his great Resolution, the more these cowardly and malicious Villains proceeded in their base Obstinacy, in so much that they fell from Prayers to Fury and Rage, threatening to deliver him their Government, together

1605 with the Place, unto the Enemy, to save their Lives, if he himself would not: by Treaty gave them from the imminent Perils. If these base Cowards were before dead unto the just Remembrance of their Government, which might have preserved them from Death and Infamy, he was also as deaf as they, to conceive their Requests, or to be moved with their Threats; knowing that he had more Reason on his side, by constant Valour to withstand the wicked and shameful Refutation of his Soldiers, than they had with Dishonour to enforce him, or to offer him Violence, to their eternal Shame and Infamy.

In the mean time, these obstinate and enraged Cowards proceeded from Words to Deeds, and sent Requests to Violence, as did oftentimes the disloyal Soldiers of Rome, in slaying the good Emperors. For they in cruel manner, without Reverence, by force layed Hands upon the Government, put him in Prison, and afterwards craving Parley, fell in Treaty with the Great Baffa about the delivery up of the Place. Wherewith the Baffa well contented, sent in unto them *Haly Baffa*, to conclude the matter. Whereafter some little Talk it was agreed, That they should deliver up the Place (which was not indeed theirs to dispose of) and that the Baffa should therefore promise and suffer them with Bag and Baggage in safety to depart whither they would, with their Engines filled up and Fire in their Matches; leaving behind them their great Ordnance, with all their other Munition and Warlike Provision. Which only Composition by the perfidious Soldiers made in the absence and in durance of their General, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongst a thousand others like before by them broken; whether it were in respect of the ease Conquest of the City, (being one of the chief and principal Places of all Hungary) or for that they being overjoyed with the gaining of that which they had so long desired, and now to little hoped for, they forgot their wonted cruelty and breach of Faith, is doubted.

This City thus yielded the Third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted Cruelty, according to their Faith and Promise before given, in safety conducted these cowardly Soldiers with by a League of Comara, helping them by the way to carry their sick and wounded Men, together with their Families, which the Turks oftentimes carried upon their own Shoulders. These Cowards, which thus went out, with their Government sent out also with them, were amongst a thousand whole and found Men, fitted, whilst they were in the City, with all things necessary for their Honour and Defence of the Place; but themselves destitute and void of all Honour and Courage. A thousand, which all together were not worth their Government alone, seeing that in him alone there remained more Valour, than in all that whole Multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forsake the Place, but by the leave of the Turks were retained still; the rest which would not, having leave in safety to depart whither they would.

Thus this famous City of *Strigoniun*, one of the strongest Bulwarks of Christendom against the Turks, which the Christians had now holden by the space of ten Years and one Month, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfeld* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before been in the Turks Possession, won from them by Count *Solyman*, now again (as it before said) fell into the Power of the Turks, with threefold and ten pieces of great Ordnance, and a wonderful deal of other Warlike Provision.

These

Most horrible Infamy of these perfidious Soldiers against their Government.

The Conditions whereupon Strigoniun was to be delivered unto the Turks.

The extraordinary Courtesy of the Turks toward the Garrison of Strigoniun at their departure thence.

The Captains and chief authors of the Mutiny, and yielding up of Strigoniun, imprisoned, condemned, and most shamefully, but unworthily executed.

These base and cowardly Soldiers, together with the Count their Government, being come to Comara, were justly deplored both of their Honour and of their Arms, and sent back again to Presburg, where, cursed and detested of all the World, and especially of the Hungarians themselves; (who, although they were revolted from their Allegiance to make the Emperor, yet could they not but much detest their so shameful and notable Cowardice) were there the chief of them committed to Prison, where after they had for a certain time lain, and being brought to Judgement, and convicted of Treason, in delivering up the City of *Strigoniun* unto the Turks, and in so doing, to have greatly damned the Christian Commonwealth, they were therefore Condemned, and according to the quality of their offences, diversely, in this manner Executed: Captain *Leonard Frederick Schloker* had his Judgement, first to have his right Hand cut off, and his Tongue drawn out behind his Neck, and both of them nailed to the Gallows, and afterwards to be hanged; howbeit, through the Intercession of many of his Friends, he was not hanged, but beheaded: *John Michael Schorer*, *John Hopf*, *Adam Lindamar*, *Philip Dar*, and *Caesar Liebharter*, all Captains, were adjudged to have their right Hands first cut off and nailed to the Gallows, and afterward hanged, but through the Intercession of Count *Mansfeld*, they were hanged, and their Hands not cut off: *John Lautenberger*, was condemned to be quartered alive, but was at the Intercession of Count *Mansfeld*, first beheaded, and afterward quartered: *John Diebisch*, with eleven others, were only hanged: *Lawrence Marfath*, was enjoined to serve two Years against the Turks, as a common Soldier, without Pay, but through the Intercession of Count *Mansfeld* had one Year pardon of him: *Jeremy Srelin*, with divers others, which were either dead, or else remained still in *Strigoniun*, were judged, their Names to be set upon the Gallows; and being afterwards caught, some of them to be quartered, and others their Hands to be cut off, and nailed upon the Gallows, and afterward hanged. And thus these disloyal Captains, by flouting of an honourable Death in defence of *Strigoniun*, and performing of their Duty; by neglecting the same, procured unto themselves a most shameful Death, attended upon with perpetual Infamy and Dishonour.

But, as the loss of this strong Place was unto the Christians heavy and grievous, so was it unto the Turks no less pleasing and joyful; it being the Place they had of long above all others desired, and whereas they had ever since the loss thereof, with their great Armies in Hungary, for the space of ten Years filled aimed. Howbeit, this their Joy endured not long, their Prosperity being too hot to hold out without some cooling blast of adversity Fortune. For the same report of Fame, which with the right hand presented unto the Great Sultan, at *Constantinople*, the pleasing news of the winning of *Strigoniun* in Hungary; even with the left hand delivered likewise unto him the melancholy report of the Overthrow of his great Armies in *Asia*, with the loss of *Damafco*, the greatest City of *Syria*.

For, to begin with the greatest first: The King of *Perfia*, invaded by *Cicala Baffa*, Sultan *Achmat's* great Lieutenant in *Asia*; and hearing that the Baffa of *Caramania* had express charge, with all speed to come unto him with a great supply of Soldiers, to be taken up in *Caramania*, and the Countries thereabout; he then having a puissant Army on foot, before prepared for all events, presently set forward against *Cicala*, with the hope upon him, before he was ready to fight, by his unexpected coming, and sudden charge, overthrew his Army, and took from him all his great

*Cicala Baffa* with his Army overthrowing the *Perfia* King.

Ordnance; *Cicala* himself, with three hundred Soldiers, with much ado escaping, and retiring himself to *Adena*; which City, the *Perfia* King, pursuing *Cicala*, shortly after fruitly besieged. With which unlucky news, Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ unto the Baffa of *Trebizond*, with all speed to lend aid unto *Cicala*; who, pursuing unto him some other of the Turks Commanders, with a great Army set forward on his Journey. Of whose coming *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Baffa in his proceeding, caused himself, with ten of his Soldiers whom he best trusted, secretly by Night to be laid down over the Walls of the City: And to coming to the Baffa, together with him kept on his way to join Batel with the King, as near unto the City as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that so soon as they should perceive the Batel to be journeyed, they should forthwith fall out upon the backs of the *Perfians*, and so by holding of them with a doubtful Batel, to further the Victory: All which, the *Perfia* King hearing of the Baffa's coming, wisely doubting, and not willing to forsake the Siege, divided his Army, and leaving one part thereof to continue the Siege, went himself with the other to meet the Baffa; wherein he used such Expedition and Speed, that with all his Power falling upon him before he could put his men in order, or raise his Batel, he made of the Turks (now confusedly, and without all order, fighting more for the safeguard of their Lives, than for any hope they had of Victory) such an exceeding great Slaughter, that few of them escaped, but were there almost all slain; *Cicala* himself, but with two or three more, having made ado, by getting into a little Boat, and so by sailing over the River, to escape the danger. After which Victory he easily gained the King returning again to the Siege, after many sharp and great Assaults thereunto given, and many Men on both sides slain, had the same at length yielded unto his mercy.

Now with this news of the loss of his Armies, and of the Victories of the *Perfia* King, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, caused *Cicala* Baffa's House, at *Constantinople*, full of Treasure and Wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the World, deeming of the doings of him to great a Captain, according to the event and evil success thereof, though not in his power to have been remedied; nevertheless, shortly after, he caused great sums of Money to be delivered out of his Treasures, and new Forces raised, for the renewing of the War against the *Perfia* King. Unto which Service, (now become unprofitable to the Turks dreadful) when as many of the *Jaziziers* were to be appointed, they, after their proud and insolent manner, all arising up in Mutiny, laid flatly, That they would not fight one foot out of *Constantinople*, except they were both before hand payed, and assured also to have their Wages increased; complaining grievously withal, of the Baffa of *Damafco*, the Great Sultan's high Treasurer, that he, converting the Sultan's Treasures to his own use, did not pay the Soldiers their wages due. For the appeasing of which Mutiny and Tumults the Sultan caused the same Baffa to be apprehended, and his Head stricken off, and so with the price of his Blood again appeased them.

But leaving the *Perfia* King triumphing in his Victories, and the Great Sultan grieving at his Losses, let us turn aside into *Syria*, to see the Troubles the Turks had even amongst themselves, to the weakening of their State, and the increasing of the Great Sultan's Cares and Grief. The two Baffas of *Damafco* and *Allepo*, had (as is before declared) been at great variance, and so by their untwist themselves, and the Baffa of *Allepo* in field over-

The Baffa of Trebizond with his Army discontinued by the *Perfia* King.

The Janizaries Mutiny.

1605 overthrown, and in his City besieged, glad to make Peace with the other Baffa, by yielding unto all such things as it pleased him to demand. Which two Baffas for all that being diversely affected unto the State, long agreed not, he of *Damafco* continuing faithful in his Allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of *Altop* secretly inclining unto Rebellion. Which the Baffa of *Damafco* perceiving, and joyning unto him the Baffas of *Tripolis* and *Gazare*, with their united Forces went against the Baffa of *Altop*, leading with them 60000 good Men, with purpose to have besieged the Baffa of *Altop*, his Enemy, in his City. But he becoming advertised of this his Design, and not unprovided for his coming, quickly called together his Forces, and had in very short time raised an Army of thirty thousand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whithersoever he would lead them, marched directly towards his Enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyntly fought with them, which was fought with such fury and hideous noise, as if it had been two thunder-claps opposing each other in one Cloud, striving of themselves which should burst out first, being like People, like Arms, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued harsh and furious, the number of the one side countervailing the valour of the other, and he of *Altop* by balancing the others great number; howbeit in the end the one Baffa overcame the other three, and the smaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained sole Victors of the Field. Now the victorious Baffa, as will to use the Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the fame, so eagerly pursued the others, that he gave them no leave to breathe, he besieged *Tripolis*, the Baffa whereof at his coming abandoned the camp, and carrying with him all his Treasure, fled into *Cyprus*; which made the taking of the Place unto the victorious Baffa easy, who rifled and ransacked the same; and not content with this Conquest, forthwith besieged the great and strong City of *Damafco*, resolved to die in the Plains thereof, or to become victorious within the Walls of the same. During which Siege, the Baffa of *Tripolis* had out of the Provinces and Countries of the Turks thereabouts, raised another great Army, and was coming to raise the Siege, and to rescue the City. Whereof the Baffa of *Altop* hearing, to have the greatest part of his Army, and meeting with him, gave him battle, and therein the second time overthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune so dimmed the Minds of the besieged, that despairing of all Succour and Relief, they, by consent of their Governour, left to Parley with the Enemies, and to upon certain Capitulations yielded unto him the Place. Whereunto the Baffa entering, found therein great Treasures, raised of the Turks Tributes, whereupon he seized, and by the means thereof resolved to make himself master of all *Syria*, the chief City whereof he had now in his own Power; whereunto he gave free Access and Traffick unto all the Merchants of *Perfia*, and of the *Indies*.

Now in the time of this his Prosperity, News was brought him, That the *Beglerbeg* of *Natala* had sent his Lieutenant with a great Army against him; who, knowing that Diligence was the Spirit of Conquest, and that to conquer was his chief purpose, without a vigilant care for the Preservation thereof, rest not upon his former good Fortune, but marched directly towards his Enemies: Wherein his Success was answerable unto his Design, for within the space of two days he had taken all the Passages which might give way unto his Enemies to distress him; and in the Straights of the

Mountains, whereby the Enemy was to pass, layd a great Ambush of two thousand *Hargabuffers*, and three thousand *Horse*, who the Enemies being passed, and he charging them a head, set upon them in the Reteward, and brought such a fear upon them, that having made a great fight, in fine, they having lost a number of Men, were glad to flee, and to leave the Victory to the Baffa. And to the increasing of his good hap, he intercepted a Ship, call'd by Weather upon that Coast, laden with great Treasure, bound from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, with the Tributes of *Egypt*, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the *Perfian* King advertised, sought to join with him to *Syria*, highly commending his valiant Aids, and sending unto him honourable Prefers to wit, a Pistol, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all set with precious Stones, esteemed to be worth fifty thousand Crowns. This Flame of Rebellion spread abroad out of *Syria* into *Caramania*, and so farther and farther into the lesser *Asia*. Which was the cause that the Great Sultan sent with all speed unto the *Vilier Baffa*, then in *Hungary*, commanding him, now that *Strigoniun* was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of Peace, he should now upon reasonable Conditions conclude the same, to the end, that his Affairs on this side of his Empire being left in quiet and security, he might forthwith alter his former valour, and turning his Forces against the *Perfians* and the Rebels in *Asia*.

But after all these great Troubles, to return again into *Hungary*. The Rebels there had of long besieged the strong Town of *Newbush*, as is before declared; which being hitherto valiantly defended by the *German* Garrison therein, was now brought to such Extremity, as that it was thought almost impossible to be kept longer, and the *German* Soldiers therein being with oftentimes Affairs for the most part slain, and the rest of them that were left grievously wounded. Of which strong Town (being as it were the Key of that side of the Country) the Turks, which together with the Rebels besieged the same, were, for the commodious Situation thereof very desirous; and the Rebels thereunto as unwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly ever be again once then recovered. For which cause *Ulfahissin*, one of the Captains of the *Hungarian* Rebels, then at the Siege thereof, perceiving it could not long be kept, to the intent that the Turks should not by force obtain the same, by Letters required of the Baffa the Emperours Lieutenant, that he might send his Enemy, That the Town might be delivered unto *Humanian*, another Captain of the *Hungarian* Rebels, lest the Turks should by force obtain the same, affuring him upon the Peril of his own Life, and the Confiscation of all his Goods to the Emperour, that upon a Reconciliation and Peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the *Hungarians* his Subjects, he should again deliver the same Town and Fortresses into his Possession. Whereupon by commandment of the Arch-duke, and of *Baffa*, the Town was yielded up the seventeenth day of the Month of *October*, unto the afore said *Humanian*, and the *Hungarians* only received into the Town; yet with this Condition, That the *German* Soldiers which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the Siege, might still stay in the Town in Pay, and keep watch and ward together with the rest of the *Hungarians*, *Humanian* having command over them all.

Wherefore the Turks, seeing themselves disappointed of their Purpose, for the obtaining of this strong Town, rising by Night, and not a little discontented with the *Hungarians*, marched towards *Strigoniun*, at the Siege whereof the *Vilier Baffa* lay. Howbeit within a few days after, the

*Hungarians* not liking to have the *German* in *Garrison* with them, turned them with their Captain *Strigoniun* out of the Town, and yet safely conducted them to *Comana*.

At the same time, yet of *Altop*, another strong Town of the upper *Hungary*, not far from *Newbush*, having been long besieged by the Rebels, they driven for want of Victuals to leave their *Horse*, for the space of five Weeks, and having now extenuated them all but seven, and nothing else left, yielded themselves, together with their Town, to the Rebels; as did also they of *Wiglas*, *Schemnitz*, and *Gremnitz*.

In the mean time, *Boskoy*, with a very great Army, the *Hungarian* Rebels came to *Spier*, a strong Town, about Sixteen Miles distant from *Comana*, attuned upon with a Guard of an hundred tall Soldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew; a little before whole coming, *Humanian*, unto whom *Newbush* was a little before yielded, had summoned *Freiburg*, requiring the same to be yielded unto him. Which thing, *Boskoy*, being now come, by Letters likewise required of the Citizens, threatening otherwise most flantly to besiege them. Whereupon, *Schenberg*, Governour of *Freiburg*, doubting of the faithfulness of the Citizens, being almost all *Hungarians*, retired himself, with a good part of his Soldiers, into the Castle, with Protection, to spend his life, and all that he had, for the keeping of the same, and defence thereof. With this Constancy the Citizens moved, continued firm in their Allegiance to the Emperour; which *Boskoy* perceiving, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith removed and went to *Peitz*, where he was most honourably received by the *Vilier Baffa*, and by him presented with a Crown of curious Jewels, and a thousand *Ducckes*, with five and twenty most goodly *Horses*; and there, having received from him full power to entreat of Peace, and to conclude the same with the Imperials, with *Haly Baffa*, and certain other of the chief of the Turks, joyntly in Commission with him, again departed, and went to *Kypra*, unto an Assembly of the *Hungarians* there to be holden; whither but a little before *Sigismund Forgas* was come with the Emperours Resolution concerning the Negotiation of Peace, whereas in the mean time other Commissioners from the Emperour were come to *Comana* about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks, they themselves requiring.

The *Perfian* King, at the same time by Letters sent unto the Archduke, advising him that this Treaty of Peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels; but that if it were possible, an Attomement should be first made with the Rebels, and afterward a Peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the Country being so convenient to be perceived: The Turks indeed not to be desirous of Peace at all, but only to go on, by keeping of the Christians at variance among themselves, and in insulgence between hope and fear, to do them harm, and themselves good; which was afterwards found to be so indeed.

The *Perfian* King had some Months before sent three Ambassadors unto his Imperial Majesty, who being come at divers times one after another, were all with peculiar Letters dismissed from *Prague*, the 26th. of *November*. Unto the first of which Ambassadors, Letters were given of this purport.

Inel Chan Beg, whom your Majesty hath first Ambassador unto Us, we have willingly seen and received, and given him Audience, in declaring of such things, as he had from you in charge. It is unto Us both acceptable and pleasing, that your Ma-

The Emperours Letters unto the *Perfian* King.

1605 jolly hath regard, so friendly to salute Us, and so carefully to set, to give us, and to strengthen with Us, whereby your Majesty much hasteneth Us into the desire of mutual love and friendship, which shall be again on our parts should be ready to perform such things as may be unto your Majesty pleasing; and that we should move for nothing more, than that our Friendship should daily more and more be confirmed, and forward: wherein We for this our parts will be wanting: Wherein your Majesty with great Joy hath undertaken, and with so happy success of *Vittories* hath runned your Wars against the Turk, whereby you had so just cause, We from our hearts in your behalf rejoice, as in all other Christians worthily do; and We our selves are fiercely much animated valiantly and cheerfully to proceed in our Wars, which the more for many years have made with the same Enemy, nothing doubting, but that God, the revenger of wrong, will so prosper the honourable Endeavours of your Majesty, as that you shall not only recover such things as have been wrongfully taken from you, but also weaken and distress the Power of that perfidious Enemy. Which, that it may the better be brought to pass, We also refreshers and Letters, exhort and incite the great Christian Princes and Potentates to extend their Power against this our common Enemy, and thereby to give him opportunity and occasion unto your Majesty, for the better proceeding of your Affairs in *Asia*. The course of our notable *Vittories*, which we have in few years, past obtained against the Turks, the *Thomists* raised in *Hungary*, have somewhat hindered, howbeit we hope by Gods permission, that all things shall shortly be again returned unto their former estate, so that we may wholly without let turn our selves with our hearts against the Turks. Yet in the mean time, we have thus much presented unto the King of *Spain*, as that he hath already set forth a Fleet unto the borders of his Territories, to distress his Forces; the progress Success of which Fleet we daily expect. We have also moved the Pope, that he should also give aid in this common Cause, and excite other Princes also to do the like, which be with great Endeavour doth. But concerning such things, as shall hereafter happen, We shall by Letters and Ambassadors certify your Majesty as occasion shall require; as at this present we had appointed to send unto you the Baron of *Dohna*, a famous and noble Gentleman, who (all things being ready for his Journey) suddenly died; and would have sent another, had not the unexpected change of the Affairs of the *Netherlands* otherwise distressed Us, we having no other way but that, at this time, to send into *Perfia*. For concerning the great Prince, who is now reported there to reign, what his mind is, or how he standeth affected, we have as yet no Experience. In the mean time, We do desire a perpetual and firm Friendship to be established betwixt Us and your Majesty, with a cordial peace and free Commerce, that if your Majesty (which We wish) shall extend your *Vittories* unto the Sea, your Subjects may have free Access and Traffick unto all our Kingdoms and Dominions. We also thank your Majesty, That you so kindly entertain the Christians into your Kingdoms, and grant to them to have the free exercise of their Religion; as also for that you have sent your Ambassadors unto the King of *France*, although without expectation of Success; whereby We easily gather your Majesties great Care and Circumspection every way. As concerning them whom your Majesty hath sent unto Us, they have diligently and faithfully performed their Duty, both here and in *Perfia*; whom we much commend unto your Majesty, to whom in all things We offer our greatest Love and Affection.

Unto

The Baffa of *Damafco*, *Tripolis*, and *Gazare*, overthrown by the Baffa of *Altop*.

The Baffa of *Tripolis* the second time overthrown by the Baffa of *Altop*.

*Damafco* taken and rifled by the Baffa of *Altop*.

The Beglerbeg of *Natala*'s Lieutenant with his Army defeated by the Baffa of *Altop*.

*Altop* yielded to the *Hungarian* Rebels.

*Newbush* yielded into the *Hungarian* Rebels.

1605

Unto the Second Ambassador were also given Letters from the Emperor, to this effect.

**W**riteth Chan Beg, your Majesty's former Ambassador, in the mean time, Mechi Cull Beg, another Ambassador, of yours came unto Us, whose we have courteously entertained, and graciously heard his whole Speech, as also by your Majesty's Letters, We have with exceeding great Pleasure understood both your friendly greeting of Us, as also of the happy Success of your Affairs against the Turks, since the departure of your former Ambassador, together with your kind affection towards the Christians in this Part, and of the Servants also of our Ambassador which died by the way, hath reported unto Us, how courteously our said Ambassador was by your Majesty received; and how you have showed your self affected against the common Enemy, which was unto Us a thing both acceptable and pleasing. Unto both which your Ambassadors the more solemnly to answer, We had appointed again to send an honourable Embassy unto your Majesty, had not these Lets and Impediments happened, which in our Letters given unto your former Ambassador are declared. But so soon, and as often as may be, We will endeavour, either by Letters, or by Ambassadors, more at large to manifest our Love and Affection towards you. Wherefore we greatly desire that your Majesty may continue in perfect Amity with Us, and valiantly proceed in subduing of the common Enemy. We on our part being ready to perform all things whereby we may justify unto you the desire we have for the preservation of our mutual Love and Friendship, as also of our Endeavours in our Wars, against the Turks, whereby long preserve your Majesty in Health, and make you still Victorious against the common Enemy.

Unto the Third Ambassador were likewise Letters given from the Emperor, of this purport.

**W**riteth Jus Bali Hassan Beg, your Majesty's Ambassador unto the French King, came this way, at the same time that other two of your Ambassadors were here present with Us, we received him with the same Courtesy wherewith we received them, making stay of him, until that they might all three be together dismissed. And because that his Embassy was undertaken for the furtherance of the common Good, although it wanted the wished success, yet We have thought it good to give thanks unto your Majesty therefor, and in most friendly manner to greet you by this your said Ambassador, whom we highly commend unto you, for that for the time he here stayed in our Court, he so behaved himself, as that he well deserved both our and your Majesty's Honour, wherof we wish him to be partaker. Almighty God bless your Majesty with all Felicity, and long to his good Pleasure preserve the same.

These Ambassadors with these Letters thus dismissed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared unto the King the great Love and Affection of the Persian King towards him, offering unto him all love and kindness; first requesting him, That he would joy with his Majesty in all friendship and brotherly love; and then, that he would take up Arms against the Turk, their common Enemy, promising on his Matters behalf, That he should not lay down Arms until that Enemy were utterly brought to nought and destroyed. So that the Christian Princes would on the other side likewise impug him. This was a strange Message, and not before heard of in Polonia, where, for all that, the Messengers was courteously and bountifully entertained, and afterward with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requested, was honourably dismissed.

But leaving these Ambassadors unto their long Journey; by reason again of the Hungarians, A great number of the Turks said, *Hungarian Rebels*, went together at *Hidweg*, had a purpose secretly to have surprised and oppressed the Imperial Soldiers in their Camps. Of which their purpose they in good time advertised, and therefore keeping good guard at the same time, contrary to their Expectations, as that after a small fight, they caused them to be taken thither to fight; whom the Imperials so hotly pursued towards *Cinnia*, that they flew of them above a thousand, took about two hundred more of them Prisoners, with fifteen hundred Horses, with which they carried away with them, and so having left sufficient Garrisons on that side of the Country towards *Cinnia*, returned themselves towards *Vienna*. In the mean time, the Commissioners from the Emperor being met together at *Comara*, about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the fifth of December, receiving Letters from the *Baia of Buda*, certain of them, the next day after, went by water down the River of *Danubius* to *Buda*; where, they being honourably received, and having much and long Talk with the *Baia* concerning a Peace, found little difficulty therein, but that the Turks said they could nothing determine thereof without the presence and consent of the Hungarians. With this Answer, they, full of hope, returned back again to *Comara*, as did also *Sigismund Forgar*, with the like hope of Peace from *Boisay*. At which time, *Boisay* being about to depart from the Assembly of *Kirapack* back again to *Caffovia*, gave Power and Authority to *Ulthaficus* for the furtherance of the Treaty for Peace; who having received Letters from the Countess from the Arch-duke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his Wife went to *Vienna*; who being admitted unto the Arch-duke's presence, and having had an hour and halfs Talk with him, and every day after conferred with the Countess from eight a Clock to twelve, at length composed all Difficulties and Differences touching the Treaty of Peace, excepting five Articles only concerning Religion, the free exercise whereof the Hungarians in any wise required; so that now men began to conceive some good hope of a Peace to be in time concluded.

This Year thus ending, with the beginning of the Treaty for Peace, the next Year began with the wonted Troubles of War, the rebellious *Haiducks* in Hungary doing great harm in the upper Hungary, tyrannizing after their wonted manner upon men of all sort and condition. Where grievously divers Assaults unto divers Cities, they being valiantly repelled, were constrained to retire, the *Polesians* and *Cossacks* defending the same; yet did they nevertheless little harm unto the Country Inhabitants. Whereof complaint being made unto the King of *Polonia*, he by his Ambassador sent to *Boisay* at *Caffovia*, obtained, that those spoiling *Haiducks* should be called back again out of their Parts.

Now had *Ulthaficus*, the Negotiator for the Treaty for Peace to be made with the Rebels, so well dealt in that matter, as that the same in the latter end of January should have been published at *Vienna*, but that certain of the chief of the Clergy could not be brought to consent, that the free exercise of Religion should indifferently be granted to all the People in general, but to the Nobility only. Whereupon *Ulthaficus*, with the rest of the Commissioners for the Hungarians, with great discontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded, the Deputies for the Emperor seeing that it could not be otherwise brought to pass, at length agreed (although

1605

The Turks and Hungarians Rebels by the Imperial overthrown.

The Treaty of Peace with the Turks and Rebels begun.

1606

The Spahli indifferently oppressing the Countess from the City justly punished.

though never so much contrary to the liking of the Clergy-men) to satisfy the Hungarians in this their Request, and that the free exercise as well of the Reformed, as of the Romish Religion, should be permitted to all men throughout all Hungary, in such sort, as it had before been in the time of the Emperors *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the Liberty of the Religion, Letters were delivered unto *Ulthaficus*; all the other points concerning the Peace being put off unto the next assembly of the States of Hungary, shortly after to be holden at *Preshburg*.

About the beginning of March, the *Spahli* at *Constantinople* had requested of the Visier *Baia*, That it might be lawful for themselves to take up their wonted Pension of the Farmers and Husbandmen here and there in the Country; which although it were unto them by the Visier *Baia* denied, who had commandment from the Great Sultan within a few days after, to give every one of them his present Pay in Money; yet they not so contented, but going out of the City, presumptuously presumed to trouble the Country-men, and to do the Farmers great harm. For which their Insolency, the Great Sultan (the chief Cages and Leaders of them being again returned into the City) caused them, some to be beheaded, some to be hanged, and other some to be bound in Chains and drowned; whereby no small fear was struck into the rest of the common Soldiers. But the Rebellion in *Asia* still increasing, and the Rebels there exercising both favouring and furthering the Proceedings of the Persian King, the Sultan forthwith sent for the Visier *Baia*, who the last year had served in Hungary, to go into *Asia*, to repress the Rebels there, and also to withhold the Proceedings of the Persian King; committing in the mean time the managing of the War in Hungary unto his Lieutenant.

The Treaty of Peace both with the Turks and the Rebels, was yet in hand, whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the Garrison Soldiers of *Rab* had good proof, for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their request appointed for the Treaty, and whereon the Commissioners on both parts were meeting together, should have furthered the Negotiation of the Peace, not past fifty of the Turks coming to the Gate of the Town, required to be let in, as if they had come for that purpose. Whom our men nothing forbidding, were about to receive them into the Town; when as a Sentinel without the Town, it being a thick mist, perceived three thousand more of the Turks lurking thereby, and forth with giving an alarm to those of the Town, bewrayed the Enemies Treachery, who thereupon retired, they of the Town discharging their great Ordnance after them. The next Month, about the beginning of April, certain Messengers came from *Eperia* (a City of the upper Hungary, yet holden for the Emperor) to *Vienna*, declaring the most miserable state of that City; which, although the way thereto had been three or four Weeks before opened, it had received some good store of Victuals; yet now (as they said) was so on every side by the Rebels besieged, as that no Provision at all could more thereto come; hoping by that means to bring to pass, that the Citizens, pinched with hunger and want of things necessary, should at length yield themselves together with the City into their Power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the fleeing Town being taken, the Famine was so great, that the Soldiers had not only eaten their Shoes and Leather Jerkins, but had now also killed two Boys to eat, and some others of them had cast Loys among themselves, which should be killed for the

Eperia by the Rebels distressed.

The free exercise of Religion granted to the Hungarians.

1606

Taken by the Rebels taken.

other to eat. By which Extremity, *Ruber*, the Governor of the Place, was enforced to yield, unto whom *Boisay*, who then lay at *Caffovia*, is said to have offered a great sum of Money, with many other good things, to have taken his part; at which he most continually refused, protesting even unto Death to continue faithful in his Obedience to the Emperor.

About the same Time *Ulthaficus*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the Peace in Hungary, writ Letters from *Caffovia* unto a certain great Man at *Vienna*; whereby he declared, that *Boisay* would not be content of the Estates of Hungary could of himself determine nothing concerning the Conclusion of the Peace; who had oft-times told him to his Face, that rather than they would again submit themselves to a foreign Governour, they would for ever put themselves under the Turks Protection; and yet promised by the same Letters, that although he had got unto himself great Displeasure thereby with the *Haiducks*, he would not for all that cease by all means to draw the States of the Country in their next assembly unto his part, so that that which was before concluded at *Vienna* concerning Religion, should not again be revealed; for many of them (as he said) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promised unto the States concerning the Exercise of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet be persuaded to put themselves from under the Turks Protection, until they saw themselves sufficiently secured, both for the Liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient Privileges; and that they could not, nor would not endure a foreign Governour to rule over them, with whom they could not talk; nor yet suffer Clergy-men to have any Voice in their Civil Affairs. And therefore (he said) he by thought in this point to gratify the Hungarians. And that *Transylvania*, wherewith he had been hitherto enforced to bestow to great cost for the keeping thereof, being now left unto *Boisay*, he should appoint such a Governour over Hungary, as the States of that Country should require. For that there was no hope of any Peace to be made with the Turks, except *Boisay* and the States of Hungary should undertake the Treaty thereof; fearing that they, but only seeking for a Peace in show, were oftentimes discovered but to seek for their own Advantages and Profits.

But concerning *Ulthaficus* himself, the Hungarians Rebels seeing him so much to labour about the concluding of a Peace, in scorn called him by the by-name of *Cripulifacius*, as he that too much inclined unto the Germans; which by-name he took in so ill part, as that he departed straight to *Eperia*, with a purpose not to have been present at the next assembly of the States; but being again pacified, and by *Boisay* called back, he made such a notable Speech unto the States in their next Assembly, that all men now began both to hope and with more for Peace than they had before done.

In the mean time the Turks in great numbers being gathered together to *Belgrade*, expected the end of this Treaty for Peace, and Letters from the Great Sultan to *Boisay* were intercepted also; whereby he advised him to proceed in his purpose, and joining with his Powers, to seize upon *Alstria*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*; for that he could be contented with Hungary and *Transylvania*, and leave the rest of the Provinces unto *Boisay* as his Inheritance.

The Tartars about this Time were about to make a Road into *Polonia*; but when as they with

The Letters of Ulthaficus sent to a Noble man of Vienna.

Ulthaficus reproachfully used by the Hungarians.

1606

their often Incursions had not a little troubled the *Haiducks* also in the upper *Hungary*, they resolved amongst themselves to joyn their Forces together, and to fight as well against the *Turks* as the *Tartars*, and from thenceforth neither to fight the one nor the other.

Hereupon, whenas the *Turks* in great number came to assault *Lippa*, a Town of the *Haiducks*, they forsaking the Town, fortified the Castle with certain Companies of armed Men, and afterwards beset many others here and there in Caves and Cellars in the Town, and laid great store of Gun-powder there. Upon which Town the *Turks* coming, and finding the Gates open, and none to resist them, halted to have taken the Castle. But in the mean time, the Powder which the *Haiducks* had laid taking fire, blew up a number of them, and they which lay hid in the Caves and Cellars forthwith breaking out, flew of them whomsoever they met, and so made of the *Turks* a great slaughter, and again cleared the Town.

The Estates of *Austria*, considering the great harms they had in these late Troubles received, as well from the *Hungarian* Rebels, as from the Emperours' malicious Souldiers; and by Experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to rest upon other means for their defence, being thus their frangers; resolved now in a general Assembly of the Estates by them about this time holden, to take upon themselves the defence of their Country, against such sudden Incursions and Tumults of the malicious Souldiers, and no more to rely upon foreign Protection, still to seek when they had need to look upon themselves, to assure themselves in their own strength; they, with a general consent, agreed to have always in readiness two thousand Horle-men, and eight thousand Foot-men, to be maintained at the common Charge; fifty of the Country Peasants still finding one of the said Souldiers.

And much about this time, viz. the Third of June, *Illshafius*, a great Man amongst the Rebels, and yet the greatest furtherer of the Peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that we have before of him written) having before obtained Letters of safe conduct from the Arch-duce, came now again with his Wife also to *Vienna*, there more at large to confer upon the Articles for a Peace to be concluded, with such as were on the Emperours behalf for that purpose deputed. Where, coming to confer and talk upon the matter, he was crost by *Nicholas* Bishop of *Vienna*, who hitherto had been present in Council together with the rest of the Commissioners, (a great enemy unto the Peace, in respect of the Article concerning the Liberty of Religion) he was, I say, by him crost, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, so long as he was there present. For which cause, he, on both sides, and of all men divers of the Peace disliked, was in the Arch-dukes words willed no more to come into the Council for the disturbing of the Peace. In which Negotiation for the concluding of the Peace, *Illshafius* had taken such pains in travelling to and fro between the Arch-duce then lying at *Vienna*, and *Boskey* with the States of *Hungary* then lying at *Cassovia*, and so debated the matter on both sides, that all things being at good as agreed upon; for a full conclusion of all matters, he himself, together with *George Hunaninus*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebastian Tockell*, *Stanislaus Turfon*, and others, with two hundred Horle, and two and thirty Waggon, in all, four hundred Persons, the Seventh of September came to *Vienna*, with

fifty *Hussars* following of them: Shortly after whose coming, the Treaty of Peace was earnestly begun with often Messengers passing to and fro between *Vienna* and *Cassovia* to *Boskey*, lying then very dangerously sick, until that all the Articles of Peace were near about the Fourteenth of September fully on both parts agreed upon; most diverse arising about the Article for the free Exercise of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might have the free Exercise of Religion; yet the *Hungarians*, recalling that general word of Religion unto a particularity, would needs have it set down, that men might have the free Exercise of those Religions, which as on this day, called the *Lutheran*, *Calvinian*, and *Romish* Religion; neither would they conclude any Peace until they were of their Request in that point satisfied. Which Peace so concluded the next day after, the Deputies for the *Hungarians* sent an Ambassador to the Visier Bassa at *Buda*, to certify him of all their Proceedings, and the disturbing of the Peace; now the Articles whereupon the Peace was concluded, were these:

1. That from thenceforth it should be lawful for every Man throughout the Kingdom of *Hungary*, to have the free Use of his Religion, and to believe what he would.

2. That if the *Hungarians* so thought good, they might chuse a Palatine for their Country, who in the mean time the Arch-duce Mathias should no more use the Title of a Governor, but of a Vice-roy.

3. That the Crown of *Hungary* should still be left in the Emperours keeping.

4. That the Bishops that were nobly defended in *Hungary*, and had Lands and tithes, should from thenceforth be admitted into the Council, but the other Bishops not to be received.

5. That *Boskey*, for himself and his Heirs Male, should for ever hold *Transilvania*.

6. That the same Country of *Transilvania* should be still subject unto the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

7. That for his time he should bear three Royal Crowns and three open Helmets.

8. That he should no more afterwards file himself Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

9. That they should pay the *Haiducks* their Wages which had levied them.

10. That the Harms done on both sides should for ever be forgotten.

11. That Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lausium, and Austria, should not only with their Letters and Seals confirm the Articles, but also swear at *Vienna* to keep the same so far as should concern them.

12. That the *Hungarians* should likewise send some to *Vienna*, who in their behalf should with their Letters, Seals, and Oaths, confirm and ratify these Articles.

13. That the Assembly of the Estates of *Hungary* should be referred until a more convenient time for them.

14. That all these things being done, this Agreement should be publicly confirmed and enrolled in the Records of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

15. That it should be lawful for the *Hungarians* by their Ambassadors to invite the Princes of the Empire to the approving and confirming of these Articles.

Which fifteen Articles were on the Emperours part subscribed by *Trasfem*, *Mollart*, *Sigisfrid*, *Pruner*, *Lichtenstein* and *Krenke*; and on the part of the *Hungarians*, by *Illshafius*, *Peter Erhod*, *George Turjo*, and *Sigisfrid Forgat*, and others.

The

1606

A Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and his discontented Subjects of the upper Hungary.

1606

A great Fire at Constantinople.

The Turks seeking to surprise others, themselves surprised.

The Commissioners for the Emperour, in treaty with the Turks come to *Pisburg*.

The Peace already concluded with the Hungarians, like enough to have again been broken off through the Treachery of some few disaffected Persons.

1606

The twentieth of September following, the Ambassador for the *Hungarians* and of *Boskey*, being admitted unto the Presence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him Pardon for the forepassed Rebellion, and all that was therein done; unto whom security for the same was afterward given by the Province, thereby by no means to assure themselves, they should not be therefore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before done, the Title of the Prince of *Transilvania* was left unto *Boskey* for Term of his Life: who feeling his Sickness daily to increase, would oftentimes say, That he could willingly die, so that it might please God before his Death to give him leave to leave himself of his Rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And so about the end of September, all the afore-said Ambassadors for the *Hungarians* and *Boskey*, being assembled into the Castle of *Vienna*, together with the Emperours Council, and certain other Noblemen of the Province belonging unto the Emperour, received every one of them the Articles of the Peace copied out, and laid written in Parchment, which done, they returned every one to his own dwelling. But *Illshafius* went from thence to *Newbuhl*, to be present at the Peace to be afterwards made with the *Turks* also; from whence he afterwards writ Letters unto the Visier Bassa, to request him, not as yet to attempt any thing against the Emperours Recovery, but peaceably and quietly to expell his Commissioners, which were thotly to come unto him.

But in the mean time whilst this Peace was thus in concluding, certain *Tartars* at *Constantinople*, in their Infidelity, let fire upon a certain Jews House, whereto arole such a terrible fire, as burnt not only many Houses, but a great number of the Jews themselves also; the harm there done being esteemed at forty hundred thousand Ducats. In which Tumult and Noise of the People running too and fro, and quenching of the Fire, the Great Sultan having a fall from his Horle, was thereof for a while sick.

The Turks of *Constantia* also having conspired with the Captain of the lesser *Comora*, came to have surprised the same. But the Garrison Souldiers there, having before had a Suspicion thereof, suffered so many of the Turks as they knew they were able to overcome, to enter; and so shutting the Gates of the City, kill'd them every Mothers Son, the rest which were without returning again to *Constantia*.

Peace thus (as is aforesaid) concluded with the *Hungarians*, *George Turfon*, *Nicholas Hunan*, *John Mollart*, and *Alben*, with some others, the Emperours Commissioners for a Peace to be made with the Turks, went to *Comora*; *Sigisfrid Colloredo* and *Budin* following them with the Army; for as yet the said Commissioners durst not altogether trust the Turks for interposing of them the way. Which Commissioners carried with them *Solyman* the Bassa of *Buda*, who had now been seven years kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Vienna*; and *Alb Bassa*, both bravely appaelled in blew Silk; six Waggon following of them, wherewith were carried certain Presents for the Great Sultan, to wit, a most curious Clock, certain fair pieces of Plate, an hundred thousand Ducats, with divers other things of great value.

But whilst they there staved, expecting to hear from the Visier Bassa then at *Buda*, a sudden insolent Accident fell out, like enough to have broken off again the Peace already made with the *Hungarians*; as also to have utterly cut off the Treaty of Peace to be had with the *Turks*; and to have let them all together by the Ears again. For albeit that the first Article of the Peace made with the *Hungarians*, was, That every

Man should have the free Exercise of his Religion; yet the eighth day of October, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when a certain *Hungarian* Lutheran Preacher was in the Pulpit preaching to the People in a Church, in the Suburbs of *Comora*, *Buchem* and *Knewie*, two Captains, coming from Dinner with certain of their Servants more than half drunk, with their Swords drawn, rushed into the Church, and drove out thence the Preacher, upon whom Captain *Buchem's* Trumpeter also discharged a Pistol, and raised such a Tumult in the Church, that divers Children were tumbled to Death under foot, and the rest put in great fear of their Lives.

Which insolent Fact so moved the *Hungarians*, that *Turfon* and *Budin* there present, with the rest of the Commissioners, ready to have gone about the Treaty of the Peace, would needs the next day have departed from *Comora*, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Colloredo* intreated to lay; *Buchem* and *Knewie*, the two Captains, being bound to their appearance for the answering of the matter, and the Trumpeter with Irons on his heels clapt in Prison. But the News hereof being carried to *Newbuhl*, and (as the manner of Report is) by Fame made far greater than it was; That an hundred and fifty Persons were slain in the Church, there arole such a Tumult amongst the *Hungarians* there, as that *Illshafius*, with the rest of the Captains, had much ado to quiet and appease the same; who, joyning with the Turks of *Sirigone*, and the *Haiducks* of the *Illands*, had determined now by Night to have invaded *Comora*, where the Outrage was committed, had not *Vogrania* the elders (a Man of great Gravity) coming from thence, declared unto *Illshafius* and the rest of the Captains all the Matter as it was done; upon whose Relation the whole Tumult was again appeased. But for as much as the two aforesaid Captains, bound to their Appearance, were by Night fled from *Comora* to *Vienna*, the *Hungarians* were very earnest to have them severely punished, as breakers of the first Article of the Peace, concerning Religion. *Boskey* in the mean time beleaded *Catay's* his Chancellor, who had gone about to have poisoned him, in hope after his Death to have been Prince of *Transilvania* himself; and so giving *John Janffy* in his stead, and giving him *Catay's* Lands.

Peace now made with the *Hungarians* (as is aforesaid) and Commissioners appointed for a Treaty of Peace to be had with the *Turks* also, (whereunto the Visier Bassa, then lying at *Buda*, was as forward as any being so commanded from the Great Sultan his Majesty) were wanted but a Place commodious for the said Commissioners, without Suspicion of Danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Gasper Gallen*, a Man of great Experience in such Matters, with some other convenient Place pointed to find out some such convenient Place for them to meet in; who having viewed many at length made choice of one within half a League of *Comora*, so fit for that purpose, as if Nature had provided it for the same. The great River of *Danubius* being there divided into three parts, made therein the *Illands*, all compassed with the Arms thereof, which the Commissioners for the Emperours, for the *Turks*, and for the *Hungarians*, might come without let one of another, to treat of their Affairs, and so in little Boats prepared for that purpose, pass over one to another, as their Occasions required. Into this place, so commodious for all three parties, the Deputies of the Emperours, the fifth and twentieth day of October, conducted by the Peace.

F f f f f 2

Horle:

1666

Horietmen of *Mansfeld*, *Hohenlo*, and *Bonchimin*. After whom followed *Milbachius*, and the other Deputies for the *Hungarians*, assisted with the Nobility of *Hungary*, all attending the coming of the Great Sultans Commissioners; who likewise immediately after came, being brought up the River in four and twenty brave Ships well appointed.

Their Commissioners being thus apart arrived in the Islands, began first to consult by themselves, every one of their several Affairs and Business, and afterwards many times meeting together, with much Gravity consulted and conferred of the best ways and means for the making of a good and assured Peace for the appeasing of these Wars; which every one of them and all together, to that end employing the utmost of their Endeavours, at last the nineteenth of *November*, it was betwixt all the three Parties fully agreed upon and concluded, and Hoftages on all parts given one to another, with Oaths and Promises solemnly on all sides given and received, for the inviolate keeping and observing of the same; the Articles whereupon the said Peace was concluded being these:

A Peace concluded between the Emperour and the great Sultan.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the great Sultan.

First, That the Emperour and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Dispatches, Instruments, and Embassages, should not file themselves by any other Names or Additions, but by the Names of well beloved Father and Son; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Son, and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in respect of his years) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should take upon them the Name and Quality of Emperour, and not of King, respectively one of them to another.

That these two Emperours should take order, that the Realm of *Hungary* and the Archduchedom of *Austria*, might be in Rest, Peace, and Tranquillity, and altogether delivered and assured from all Incursions, Oppressions, and Outrages of the Men of War on both Parties.

That it should be lawful for the King of *Spain*, if he so thought good, to enter into this Treaty of Peace, without the Opposition or let of one of the other of both these Emperours in any sort.

That the *Tartars*, and all other People usually wont to come in Arms into *Hungary*, should be compelled within this Treaty of the Peace, to be of disarmed of all Power by their means to do harm within the Realm of *Hungary*, and they there assured from their Violences and Robberies.

That every one, both on the one part and on the other, should forbear from making Incursions and Pillages, and Enterprizes of War, and from all Acts of Hostility one against another; and yet every one nevertheless to have Power to pursue Thieves and Robbers, and such others seeking after Booty, to the disturbing of the Peace, and injuring of the Common-weal; whereof every man should have Power to give knowledge, to the intent by common force to suppress them, and to cause them to recompence the Wrongs and Harms by them done.

That all Places, Castles, Towns, and Forts, should remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by Force, Surprise, or Treason, and so likewise the Goods, Families, and Cattel of the Country-men; which were of their Territories and Jurisdiction; *Bosny* still holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of *Vienna*.

That all Prisoners taken in the Wars should be set at Liberty, but especially such as had been taken in Towns and Citadels, which by their Valour and Courage they fought to have de-

fended; and the other Prisoners to be delivered by Exchange and Ransom, as should be most expedient and easie for both Parties.

That all Controversies happening, as well on this side as beyond the River of *Danubius*, should be peaceably ended by the Judgment of the Governor of *Rab*, of the Batta of *Buda*, of the Governor of *Scawonia*, and of the Governors of other Places; and that if they should chance to be of such important Weight and Consequence, as that they could not by these Magistrates be determined and composed, that they should in that case be referred to be decided by their Imperial Majesties; and that it should be lawful both for the one party and the other to repair and build the Places ruined, but not to build Places new, which might prejudice either the one part or the other.

That *Amurath* the Visier *Bassa* should send his Messengers with Presents to the Archduke *Matthias*, and that the Emperour should dispatch an Ambassador toward the Great Sultan with 1000000 Ducks, and that the Great Sultan likewise should send his Ambassador to *Prague* with great and rich Presents to the Emperour.

That this Peace should begin in the year 1607, and continue for the space of twenty years, and that one of the Emperours should send unto the other every three years their Ambassadors with their honourable and rich Presents, according to the Pleasure and Power of their Majesties.

That all the Emperours Successors, as also those of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, should be comprehended within this Agreement of Peace, together with all their Kinsmen, Allies and Confederates, as likewise those of the Great Sultans also.

That the Christians should again have the City of *Vachia*, which they should at their Pleasure keep and fortifie, and that *Strigonium*, with all the Villages thereto belonging, should remain unto the Great Sultan; yet so, as that no man should be with any new Tribute oppressed; and that such as had been free from paying of Tribute, should still keep the same Privileges.

And that the Turks should not exact their Tributes by the point of their Swords, but by the way of Justice, which they should commit unto the Discretion of Judges and Receivers to that end appointed, that so it might be paid without oppressing of the People, except haply they which should pay it, upon Prelimination should deny it, or too long delay the Payment of it, in which case it should be lawful both for the one side and the other, to use such means as should seem unto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this Peace, which God turn to the Glory of his Name, and the benefit of the Christian Common-weal; and for which all the Towns of *Hungary* made great Joy and Triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other Solemnities and Triumphs. The Commissioners themselves, in token of their conceived Joy, magnificently feasted one another also; which the Turks first began, and not content to have made them great cheer, gave unto our Commissioners great Presents also; for the *Batta* of *Buda* gave unto *Mollart*, *Albani*, *Turfon*, *Alvan*, *Colibite*, *Budian*, *Hendoe*, *Caspar* *Gallen*, and *Elefchin*, brave and courageous Horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and Tapestry Hangings of great value. And as at the time of this Feast, the Troop of *Mansfeld* had by many Salies and Volleys of shot given great Pleasure unto the Turks as they sat at the Table; *Alla Bassa*, to declare the Contentment and Pleasure

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The great Sultan giveth thanks to his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the Peace concluded with the Christians.

The *Haiduck* begin new fires in *Hungary*.

*Bosny* called in Assembly of the States of *Hungary*, and instructeth them what to do at their next general assembly.

Great Joy and Triumph in *Hungary* for the Peace concluded with the Turk.

sure he had therein received, sent to the Captain of this Troop two hundred Ducks, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to have delivered unto him a certain Captain by the Turks then kept Prisoner; whom the *Bassa* caused freely to be delivered unto him, and withal sent back again the two hundred Ducks to be divided among the Soldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them back again unto the *Bassa*. After which Additions of Joy and Peace, every man returned home well content and pleased.

These things thus done, and the Peace confirmed, the *Bassa* of *Buda* forthwith sent his Ambassador to *Constantinople*, certifying the Great Sultan of it. Peace now made with the Christians who of late conceived great Joy, with a number of Janizaries and others, in great Magnificence went to the Church, to give Thanks therefore unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great Sport and Pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turn all his Force and Power for the suppressing of his Rebels in *Asia*, and the subduing of the *Persian* King.

Now albeit that there was a Peace of late concluded with the *Hungarians* at *Vienna*, (as is before declared) yet divers fires and Tumults were nevertheless by the *Haiducks* in divers Places of the upper *Hungary* still raised; inasmuch that about the end of *November*, the Inhabitants of the County of *Bosny* were through their Infolencies enforced to joyn Battel with them, wherein a number on both sides were slain, and three Country Villages burnt, so that it should seem, no Peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be still troubling and impugning the same.

Shortly after, viz. the Thirtieth of *December*, *Bosny* calling together an Assembly of the Estates of *Hungary*, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the late Revolt, almost generally made throughout all *Hungary*, with all the fires and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their ancient Liberty: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that even now at this present he was by their consent ready to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the upper *Hungary*; and had now sent his Letters unto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receive them, whether he should from thenceforth relinquish the Title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no War could be made without great harm doing, that he would therefore, for the avoiding of farther troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such Wrongs and Injuries should be forgiven and forgotten, and that every man should fill hold all his good Goods, whether they were moveable or immovable, during the time of this late War. He wished also that the next general Assembly of the States, with all their Power and Endeavour, to urge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretics, with all other Articles contrary to their Religion; and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time been used; neither in this next general Assembly of the Estates to neglect any thing which might seem to concern their Privilege of Liberty. And that therefore they should be careful to send thither Wife and powerful men, such as should not easily be overcome with the Clamours and Out-cries of the contrary Parr. At length he wished them to consider of this also, how a true and sincere Confederation might be made

betwixt *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, so that a safe and quick Traffick and Commerce might in both Places be used.

These things thus done, *Bosny's* sickness fell more and more increasing upon him, to at length prevailed, that it made an end of him, to the great sorrow and grief of all the People in general, who had him in great Honour and Regard. He died at *Calissia* the Thirtieth of *December*, in the Year 1606. He was honourably defended, and a Man of great Spirit, Ambitious, Wife, and Politick, a great lover of his Country, but an extreme Enemy unto the *Germans*, and their Government in *Hungary*.

A little before his Death, he earnestly persuaded *John Janfise* his Chancellor, to continue in his Allegiance to the Emperour, and not to raise new fires, or to much as in him was, not to suffer any to be raised. Nevertheless, such his wholefome Counsel not regarded, there were some, who immediately after his death, were about to have raised new Forces, for to have seized upon *Transilvania*, and so to have stirred up new Troubles. For preventing whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith sent a Messenger unto the States of the upper *Hungary*, advising them, That the great harms and miseries considered which that part of *Hungary* had of late felt as an incurable, almost to the utter ruine and destruction thereof, which proceeded not so much from the Wars with the Turks, as from their own civil Tumults and Seditions; they should from thenceforth give themselves to Quietness and Peace, and not again insolently to prescribe unto the Emperour what to do, or how he was to dispose of the Country of *Transilvania*, assuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter be as such a rebel, who rebellious Plots and Devices, but forthwith turn all his Power and Forces to the utter destruction and rooting out of such rebellious and seditious Persons, the disturbers of the common Peace and Quiet. By which the Arch-duke's warning, some, otherwise ready enough to have raised new fires and troubles, were not therein to forward as otherwise haply they would have been, but kept themselves quiet.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much marvelled, that the Christian Emperour would thus make Peace with the Great Sultan, (as is aforesaid) he being then so much troubled with Wars, both against his own Rebels, and the *Persian* King, in *Asia*, most part of his Forces being turned that way; so that a fitter time, or of more advantage, could not have been wished for the Emperour to have done greater matters against him in, and not only to have holden his own (which he did not) in *Hungary*, but so to have recovered some good part of his Losses there before received also. And indeed true it is, that the time then well served for both; but what availeth opportunity without Power? And had the *Hungarians* (the greatest strength the Emperour hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that so great a Kingdom) been at quiet, and at his Command, and he himself a Prince which had reflected upon his own Strength and Power, ever at his pleasure to have been raised, and as need should require, supplied, without depending upon his Friends and Allies; then haply it might have been in him accounted a great oversight to have omitted and overlooked so fair an opportunity. But the *Hungarians*, being then not only revolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himself with his own Power not able to hold the Field against them, or well to maintain a defensive War, and his Friends and Allies, his wonted and greatest stays, then his greatest need failing of him also, what should

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*Bosny* dyeth at *Calissia*.

The Emperour not to be blamed for making Peace with the Turks.



1606

he in such a case do but as he did: to accept of a reasonable Peace whilst he might have it; especially against such an Enemy, as whose whole Power being turned against him, might have easily endangered his whole Estate. For it is not reasonably to be thought, how the Emperor should of himself, without the great Aid of the other Christian Princes, his Friends and Allies, be able to withstand the huge and dreadful Power of the Ottoman Emperor; as (without ominous Preface he is spoken) it is to be feared it will too true appear, whenever his Wars and Troubles in the East being ended, he shall again turn his Forces this way toward the West.

1607

Now *Batavia* was no longer dead, but that some of those of the Nobility, both of *Hungary* and *Transylvania* (happily no less ambitious than he) began by divers means to seek after and aspire to that Principality. Of whom, though some, either with the weakness of their own means, or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke, deterred, ceased farther to seek after it; yet were there some others, who better supported, and nothing afraid of the Arch-duke's great Words, laboured under hand to have obtained it. For the croaking of whom, and the arising of farther Trouble to be raised by their ambitious Competitions, certain of the Nobility of *Transylvania* gathered together at *Glandianople*, the Twelfth of February, made choice of *Sigismund Ragotz* for their Governour, and their Prince of *Transylvania*, and the more to assure him of their love and affection towards him, bound themselves unto him by the Oath of their Allegiance solemnly taken in the chief Church there. And afterward sent Messengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at *Vienna*, to certify him what they had done, and to excuse themselves thereof; who coming to *Presburg* the Twelfth of March, they openly protested this Election of *Ragotz* for their Prince to have been made, not for that they were about to rebel, or to revolt from the Emperor, whom they would always acknowledge for their Sovereign Lord; but for that their necessity so required, many of the Nobility both of *Transylvania* and of *Hungary* gaping after this Principality, and going about for the obtaining thereof, to raise new fits and troubles. However, the same *Ragotz*, afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, besides the Emperor's displeasure, to hold the same Principality of his own accord, about a year after, gave the same up again, and got himself out of the way to *Sarennum*, who was no longer gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to have slept into his Place; unto whom the States of *Transylvania* sent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free Election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he should not seek by force to intrude himself into the Principality, but quietly to come unto the Election, and not to bring with him above a thousand Horse-men, and five hundred Foot.

Newbush  
agreed unto  
by the Emperor  
and his  
Empire.

About this time, the strong Town of *Newbush* (otherwise called *Newbushel*) the last year so hardily won by the Hungarian Rebels was again delivered to *Sigismund Colonius*, for the Emperor; who, shortly after coming to *Vienna*, brought news of a great number of the Turks have risen up in Rebellion at *Brigade*, to have rifled the Town, and to have burnt another Town, called *Alibria*, down to the ground, and so with a great Prey to be gone over to the Rebels; and also *Redeus*, *Batavia's* Lieutenant, in going to take Possession of certain Lands given him by *Batavia*, to have been by an own Tenant, lying in wait for him upon a fair Passage; slain.

Amongst the Articles of the Peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutual tending of Presents one of them unto another; with which Presents, when as the Ambassador, by the Emperor appointed for the carriage of the same to *Constantinople*, from day to day deferred to fer forward, the Turks and *Tartars* began to doubt, or else seemed to doubt, of the good meaning of the Christians, for the observing of the aforesaid Peace; and thereupon began again not only to roam abroad into the Territories of the Christians, but also caused the *Pledges* left at *Buda* for the observing of the Peace, to be hardly handled and clapt fast in Prison; whom, whereas the *Balks* of *Buda* shortly after suffered again a little to walk abroad, the proud Janiaries were therewith so much off-ninded, that rifling in a Tumult, they upon him many reproachful Words, and unto his Face calling him Traytor and Betrayer of his Prince and Country, one of which Pledges they grievously wounded also. Which their Insolency the *Balks* in some sort to chafe, and to deter them from doing the like again, caused certain of them the Night following to be secretly taken, and being bound, to be to cast into the River of *Danubius*. And yet shortly after, they purposing to make a Road upon the Christians, to colourably harms as they should therein do, and to lay all the blame thereof upon the Christians, and to excuse themselves, they procured the *Balks* to write unto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done unto the Turks by the Christians, whereas there was no such thing at all; the effect of which Letters were, That whereas it was in the Articles of Peace left down and agreed, that both Parties should abstain from the Christians for all that had above an hundred times since the conclusion of the Peace, made Roads into divers Territories of the Turks, and slain many of them; but especially them of *Leven* and *Serfchin*, who (as they said) had slain divers Turkish Merchants of *Pesth*, and taken from them great sums of Money, as they had also taken from them of *Pesth* a hundred and twenty Florins, with divers other Cattel. Besides that, there were (as he said) four Turks more by the Christians slain, near unto *Camsitz*, and eight and twenty more taken Prisoners; and that in the mean way betwixt *Hatman* and *Buda* five and twenty Turks more were slain, and their Horses, with all that they had beside carried away. Which things, for that they tended to the breach of the Peace, he could not (as he said) but advertise his Highness of, for that he thought the Christian Captains upon the borders of their Territories to be men that hated Peace, and to seek by their Excursions, as heretofore they had done, to now likewise also, to disturb this good Work begun, and by all means to increase their own private Profit. And that therefore, seeing that he and the Turks on their part wished not to attempt or go about any thing contrary to the Articles of the Peace, that it likewise the Christians should contain themselves within their own bounds, and with all speed by Letters to give him to understand whether they would keep the Peace or not.

The Great Sultan (as is aforesaid) having made Peace with the Christian Emperours and now purposing to turn all his Forces against the Rebels in *Asia*, and the *Perfian* King, (as we have oftentimes said) and desirous to appease those his Troubles at home, before he had farther to do with the *Perfian*, he sent a Messenger unto the *Balks* of *Alleppe*, to lay down Arms, and to deliver over his charge unto another, to whom he had appointed

The Janiaries in  
Murthering  
against the  
Balks of  
Buda.

The effect  
of the Letters  
of the  
Balks of  
Buda  
to the  
Archduke  
Matthias.

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pointed the same; promising, that if he would shew himself obedient unto this his Command, he would not only pardon him all that was past, but receive him into his Grace and Favour also. Whereunto the *Balks* answered, That he had never taken up Arms against his Majesty, but to be revenged on the *Balks* of *Tripolis* and *Damafco*, his sworn Enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yield himself unto his Majesty, but re-deliver also the Tribute sent him from *Caire* and *Alexandria*, by him before intercepted, and (if he so pleased to employ him) to bring great Forces in his Service against the *Perfian* King. With which answer, the Sultan not contented, shortly after sent the *Vifler* *Balks* with a great Army against the Rebels into *Asia*; who, by his Willdom and Discretion, more than by force of Arms, having appeased the Rebels in the letter of *Asia*, and received certain of the chiefest of them into his favour, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand men marched directly towards *Alleppe* in *Syria*. Of whose coming, the *Balks* of *Alleppe* having intelligence, with an Army of forty thousand men, most part of them Harquebushers, went against him, and in a place of advantage, not past two miles from the City, there encountered him, and in three notable Battels one after another, withstood his whole Forces. But making himself ready to have encountered him the fourth time, understanding of great aid coming to the *Vifler* from the *Balks* of *Damafco* and *Tripolis*, he with speed retired, and returning into the City, and having trussed up his Treasure, with such things as he made most reckoning of, fled into the Mountains towards *Perfia*, with the greatest part of his Army yet left following him. After which unfortunate Battle, the *Vifler* *Balks* with his Army coming unto the City at the tenth by force took the same, and there, to the terror of the Inhabitants, put to the sword all the Garrison soldiers which the *Balks* had there left.

The *Balks* of  
*Alleppe*  
punished by  
the Great  
Sultan, and re-  
ceived again  
into favour.

But the *Balks*, purposing with new Forces to have encountered with the *Vifler*, finding himself, together with his better Fortune, forsaken by many of his former Friends and Companions, did think it best at length to take his refuge unto the mercy of the Great Sultan; and to be relieved, by Letters requested the *Vifler* *Balks* to write in his behalf unto the Sultan; and so, if it were possible, to procure his peace. Which the *Vifler* having easily obtained, he was by Letters from the Great Sultan sent for to *Constantinople*, with assured promise, that he should be employed in favour against the *Perfian* King. Upon receipt of which Letters, the *Balks* with an hundred horse fer forward; and coming to *Constantinople*, there, in the presence of many other of the *Balks*, humbled himself unto the Sultan; who not only kept his promise with him in pardoning him, but also, in regard of the ancient Family whereof he was descended, as also of his great valour and fair conditions, received him again into his favour, and caused all the goods taken from him in *Syria*, to be again restored unto him.

The great  
Sultan  
seeketh in  
vain by the  
means of  
the  
*Balks*  
to make  
peace with  
the *Perfian*.  
The Letters  
of the  
*Perfian*  
King  
unto the  
King  
of Spain.

Now in the mean time the great Sultan had, by the means of the great Cham of *Tartary*, endeavoured to make peace with the *Perfian* King, but all in vain; for that he demanded the City of *Tauris*, with all the Provinces before taken from him; which the *Perfian* King utterly denied, for as much as he had now by force of Arms recovered the same, and which in former time belonged unto his Ancestors. At which time the said *Perfian* King, the more to entangle the Turks, wrote unto the King of Spain, for the turning of his

Forces also against the Turks, their common Enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion divided, yet that in Power and in common hatred against the Ottoman Empire they were conjoined; and that he, considering the greatness of his Power and Arms, whereby he was become his Neighbour in the East, could not but most entirely love and favour him; and that therefore he had commanded all his Provinces, as well in *India* as in other places thereof, that they should shew unto his Subjects all manner of courtesy, and to demand of them no Tribute. And that he, having by force recovered the Frontiers of *Aden*, which *Sulym* the Turkish Sultan had sometime by Treason surprised, had appointed the same unto the service of the Spanish Governour dwelling in *Goa*. And that his pleasure was, That all the Christians dwelling in his Kingdom should enjoy the same liberty and privileges which his own faithful Subjects had. And besides declared, that he had now for seven years past made continual Wars against the Turkish Sultan, who had by Treason taken from him the strong Town of *Chilam*, for the recovery whereof, he had now divers times overthrowen his Armies. But for as much as he was determined to make no end of this War, until he had driven the Sultan out of those parts of the East, and recovered the Seat of *Imajel* and *Juchel*, his Ancestors in *Babylon* and *Caire*, he therefore requested him, being a King of so great power, to join in League with him, and to lend him his powerful Fleet into the Persian Gulf; promising, that by such means, the Ottoman Power driven out, he could easily make himself Lord of *Syria* and of *Egypt*. Last of all, he knocked up the Presents he sent him, to wit, the Images of *Imajel*, *Juchel*, and of *Jofay*, together with his own, cast in gold, and set with most rich precious Stones and Pearls; a Persian writing Table, garnished with fair precious Stones, four Dogs, by nature wonderfully spotted with red, yellow, and blue spots, two pieces of Arras, adorned with most precious Stones and Pearl, wherein the worthy Acts of him that great *Tamartane* were lively to be seen: four Hunters horses very smooth and richly garnished; twelve most gallant Plumes of Feathers of divers colours: six Drinking-glasses which could not be broken, and Cock-beds so cunningly made, as that they were like unto Chairs, having wrought in them the ancient Wars betwixt *Africanus* and *Chifia* King of the *Modes*.

Now the Emperor, for the better appealing of all former troubles, and the preventing of new, and the better assurance of the State, had, about the middle of *August*, called an Assembly of the States of *Hungary* to *Presburg*; whither they being come, and having long in vain expected the coming of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, by the Emperor appointed to have been President in that about to have returned home, but that, requested by the Arch-bishop to stay yet fifteen days longer, they were contented to do so; but yet upon condition, That if the Arch-duke they came not, they should not be bound to stay any longer: For why, they, by Letters certified of the attempts of the *Tartars*, (who had requested to have a place in the Borders of *Hungary* appointed them to dwell in) were desirous in any wise to have that Assembly of Parliament put off to a farther time, that so they might the better betime prevent and meet with such the *Tartars* Designs, whom they were loath to have for their bad and troublesome Neighbours. And now the Turks in the mean time, in hopes that the Peace betwixt them and

The States  
of Hungary  
about to  
depart  
from *Presburg*, by the  
persuasion  
of the  
Arch-bi-  
shop there  
to stay.

1607

The *Turks* in great numbers repair to *Buda*.

The States of *Hungary* depart from *Presburg* without any thing doing.

The *Haiducks* go about to raffle new titles in *Hungary*.

The *Bassa* of *Buda* soliciteth to make Wars upon the Christians.

An Assembly of the States of the upper *Hungary*, and the decrees by them there made.

and the Christians would not long hold, were come to *Buda* in such multitudes, that the houses in the Town being not able to hold them, they were glad to set up Tents for them to live in within the City; for that the *Bassa* would not suffer them to let up any Tents abroad in the Fields, lest the Christians should suspect them to be about the raising of an Army, and so to disturb the Peace.

But the States of *Hungary*, having stayed full fifteen days, as the Arch-bishop had requested, and the Arch-duke not coming; made a solemn Protestation before the Chapter of the Cathedral Church at *Presburg*, that they departed from *Presburg*, and forsook home; not upon any discontentment or Contumacy, but for want of things necessary, and other their urgent Occasions, (having above seven weeks expected the Arch-duke's coming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet, that if it should please the Emperor by solemn Summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready upon any such Summons given, to return again to *Presburg*, and there to consult of all such things as should be for the good and welfare of the Common-weal; so that nothing were propounded contrary to the Articles they the year before agreed upon at *Vienna*, which they would have in all points kept whole and inviolate; so that if any man should go about or attempt any thing in disposing and ordering of the Publick Affairs contrary to that Agreement, they would not in any wise ratify the same, altho it were by the Emperor himself allowed; which their Protestation they requested to have registered, and sealed with the Chapters Seal, and so, not having done any thing at all for which they came, again returned.

After whose departure from *Presburg*, the *Haiducks*, (Men used to live by their Swords, and not by their Labour) of all others most discontented with this general Peace, began now to raise new fits and Tumults, and daily to grow stronger and stronger, craving Aid of the *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and not of the other *Hungarians* their Countrymen, now again returned to their wonted Allegiance unto the Christian Emperor; a number of which *Haiducks* flocking to *Buda*, the *Bassa* there, with some other of the *Turks* Captains and Commanders, entered into Consultation what to do with these fit Instruments for the troubling of the Christians, and the disturbing of the Peace. To this they were not long, and to call them off he was loth; but yet purposing to use them, and to let them a work as occasion should serve, he, to prepare an entrance thereunto, by Letters threatened them of *Comora*, that except they better kept the Capitulations and Articles of the late Peace, they should shortly hear of new matters. But in the mean time, Letters were sent from the Great Sultan to the *Bassa* of *Buda*, with charge, that altho the Christians were reported to increase their strength, he should yet keep himself within his bounds, and to attempt nothing against them, except they should proceed to manifest force; in which case he should not fail by all lawful means to revenge himself. Which the Sultan's mind once made known, the *Turks* again departed from *Buda*, most part of the great Ordinance that they brought with them being carried back again to *Sigeth*.

But the States of *Hungary*, being returned home from *Presburg*, and again Assembled, the Fourteenth day of *October*, by their general consent, decreed, That *Tihay* should again be joynted under their Jurisdiction; and that the great Ordinance throughout all the free Cities should be remanded and carried home unto the Places wherunto they before belonged: That the Vayvod of *Transilva-*

*nia* should be admonished, not to separate *Transilvania* from *Hungary*. That the *Bassa* of *Buda* should be warned to keep his *Turks* within their own bounds: And that the Nobility of *Hungary* should betime be admonished with all their force to repress the *Haiducks*, and all other their Enemies. Howbeit, the *Haiducks* proceeding in their insolent Out-rages more than before, took certain Forts, and with Fire and Sword spoiled many Places of the Country, causing the People to swear to be Friends to them and the *Turks*, and Enemies unto the *Germans* and *Wallons*; and demanding of *Humanius* the Crown wherewith *Bosley* had sometime been rewarded from the Grand Seignior, had a purpose to have crowned him, or some other for their King; who for all that, by a Messenger sent word unto them, that he would not at their hands accept that Dignity, but faithfully continue in his Allegiance toward the Emperor. But when the States of the upper *Hungary* thought to have gone against these seditious and rebellious People, and have surprised them; they were from so doing deterred by the *Bassa* of *Agria*, threatening with his *Turks* and *Tartars* to take their parts if they should once take up Arms against them.

About the same time, six hundred *Haiducks* going to the Castle of *Saint Andrew*, and coming thither could not belee in by the Garrison Soldiers, as they had desired; and perceiving them to make no reckoning of their Service, could no longer hold, but openly professed themselves to become the Great Sultan's Servants; who from thence marching to *Budnik*, took it by force, and ran off it, and so still seeking after Booty, ran out towards *Tockay*, where by the way they were in a strait by *Humanius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almost all slain; who afterward sent two of the *Turks* Ensigns to take the Prisoners, and to the terror of others, empailed some of them upon Sakes, being brought Prisoners to *Cassovia*. For which unfortunate Expedition, some other of the *Haiducks* lighting upon two of the Captains, who by chance had eluded out of *Humanius*'s hands, put them both to death for the evil leading of their fellows, hanging up the one, and with their Swords hewing the other all to pieces. Now by the report of some of the Prisoners taken, it was known this new Rebellion of the *Haiducks* to have been raised by the procurement of the *Bassas* of *Buda* and *Agria*, who by their Messengers had promised unto all help. Which Report to have been true, the Event did shortly after confirm; for the 27th day of *November* almost fifteen thousand of the *Haiducks* having before received from the Great Sultan three hundred thousand Duckets for Pay, came and most traitorously besieged *Flek*, a strong Castle, the *Turks* sending them great Ordinance from *Agria*, unto whom these *Haiducks* had promised to deliver all such Places as they should win. Howbeit, the Event of this siege answered not their desire; for *Thomas Bosnia*, Captain of *Flek*, with his Garrison of all *German* Soldiers, lo valiantly repelled them, and the extremity of the Winter-weather so distressed them, that they were glad to raise their siege, and be gone.

Now much about the same time, viz. about the beginning of *November*, a great Fire arose at *Constantinople*, wherein almost five hundred Shops of Wares, with many other fair Buildings were burnt, so that the harm there by fire done was esteemed to amount to above two millions of Gold.

At the same time that the Assembly of the States of *Hungary* should have been holden at *Presburg*, (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed

The *Haiduck* conspiracy against the *Germans*.

The *Turks* further the insolent attempts of the *Haiducks*.

Six hundred *Haiducks* entrapped by *Humanius*.

The *Haiduck* in their rebelliousness opposed by the *Turks*.

A great fire at *Constantinople*.

1607

An Assembly of the States of *Austria*, and the Emperors demands therein.

appointed also another Assembly of the Nobility and States of *Austria* to be holden at *Vienna*; where, after they were Assembled, certain Articles were unto them on the Emperors behalf propounded for them in that Assembly then to consider of; as first, that for the keeping of the Frontiers of *Austria* in quiet, the Contribution by them granted among themselves the last year, should this year following be doubled. Then, that if it should fortune the Enemy to attempt any thing of new against that Province, that instead of the Horles and Money which they were wont to lend unto the Wars, they should for the space of twelve Months, or of the greatest part thereof, as hereafter should require, of their own costs maintain ten Companies of *German* Foot-men, every Company being three hundred strong; and as many Troops of *German* Horse-men, every Troop consisting of an hundred Horse. And, that if for the better defence of the Borders of *Austria* there should be raised in no other fort than was used in *Hungary*, not at greater charges maintained. And, that if it should continue Peace, these charges should be converted to the payment of the Soldiers Wages: And that the States and other Subjects of that Province should so much as might be, be calmed from the trouble of sending either of Horse or Foot for the defence of the Frontiers. Thirdly, that Commissaries should be maintained this year also to attend the Army, and certain skillful Captains appointed for the maintaining of a fit General for the Army. That diligence and care should be had for the Provision of Corn and Victuals for the use of the People in General, as well in the time of Peace as of War. And that forthwith as it much concerned the good of the Common-weal, to have the Frontiers of *Austria* toward *Cassia* diligently viewed, for fear that the *Turks* great Garrison there lying, that therefore certain good and expert Soldiers, which knew those places well, should be chosen, who, together with the Deputies of the Emperor, *Hungarians*, and *Sirians*, riding about these Confines, should forthwith consider what were best to be done for the safety thereof. In brief, seeing that on the safety of *Rals*, the welfare of the City of *Vienna*, and of the Forts thereof depended, that for the repairing of the Fortifications thereof, and the better strengthening of the same, the sum of four thousand *Florins* should be appointed; and for the defence of the Frontiers of *Austria* from the incursion of the *Turks* Garrison of *Cassia*, five thousand; and for the furthering of the Buildings at *Nustorfe*, five thousand more should be paid; and that those who had been slack in paying of their Contribution, should forthwith be enforced to pay the same. And also that it might be considered of, how that too much inhauncing of the value of Monies might be restrained; that good orders might be kept; all the Country cleared from the Robberies of the Soldiers, stragling here and there up and down the same; that the counterfeits *Hungarian* and *Polonian* Money should be prohibited, as now current; that good order might be taken for the staying of the Plague, which then began in many Places in *Austria*.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there assembled complained, all that Country to be with the long Wars against the *Turk*, the Incursions of the Rebels, and the Outrages of the numerous Soldiers, already almost exhausted, and then, according as the Necessity required, be made, but was unto a further time deferred, and the Assembly broken up.

The Emperor at the same time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at *Ratisbona*; wherein he, having appointed *Ferdinand*, Archduke of *Austria*, to be chief in his place, with gallant guard of Footmen, came thither the eight Citizens honourably received. Unto which Assembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were in great number come, at length, the twelfth of *January*, Divine Service being done in the Cathedral Church, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counsellors, and other the Princes Deputies being there present, taking of the Nobility and Princes Deputies following of him, went to the Count; the Citizens in their Arms standing on both sides; where *Geoffrey Ortelius*, the Emperours Secretary, having in a notable Oration let forth the Emperours Love and Affection towards the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperor himself could not be present at this Assembly, as willingly he would have been; he propounded in his Name five Articles for them in this their Assembly to be especially considered of. First, how the Empire might hereafter be preserved and defended against the Violence of the *Turks*, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement stirred up in *Hungary*, to the endangering of the whole Empire; especially seeing that the *Turks* themselves, (with whom the Peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than sufficiently declared what trust or credit was to be given unto them; and seeing that it is most manifest, them therein to have sought for nothing else, than that having made or rather contrived a Peace with the Christians for a time for the loppelling of the Rebels, and the repelling of the Invasions of the *Persians*, they might after provided and stronger to overcome the Christians. Which was cause to be seen; for that whilst they were yet intracting of Peace, they had taken *Strigomium*, and having concluded Peace, they ceased not as yet with their Council and Aid to help the Rebels in their rebellious Tumults; which was manifestly to be perceived by the *Haiducks* themselves, who were not ashamed openly to profess themselves to be the Great Sultans Servants, to require Cities and Fortresses to be yielded unto the Sultan, and to conspire against the very name of the *Germans*. For the speedy Remedy of which mischief, the Emperor had thought good, that consideration of this point should be had, that the Princes should either consent unto a certain standing and perpetual Contribution, whereby a sufficient strength might always be ready wherewith to withstand the Enemies attempts; or else that for certain years twenty thousand Foot men, and four thousand Horse might there be still in readiness, to be maintained at it in common charges of the Empire; which the Emperor (need to requiring) might use against the common Enemy. Or, that if this were heavy or troublesome unto the States of the Empire, yet at least they should consent yearly to contribute such Money as might suffice for the sustaining of such a Power. Another point of this Conclusion, was, about the correcting and reforming of the Administration of Justice in the Imperial Chamber. For, seeing that in the former Assemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reason of certain hindrances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due Administration and Execution of Justice

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A Diet of the Empire by the Emperor appointed at *Ratisbona*.

The Articles by the Emperor propounded to be considered of in the Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbona*.

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no Empire could long stand or flourish, no more than the World could without the Sun; his Imperial Majesty therefore would not have this Declaration of this necessary point to be put off or referred unto any other Assembly, but to be done and concluded in this present Assembly. The third point to be considered of was the War which hath been now for many years made in the Low-Countries, and the inconvenience thereof redounding unto the Empire. For whereas the Treaty of Peace in the Low-Countries, (as which Treaty both he and the whole Empire ought to have been there present) for the better concluding and ending of the same, he had heard the confederate Princes to be now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as he said) forbear, but that (seeing the Low-Countries to be a member and Part of the Empire, and by the ancient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other Proofs it appears, the Governours of the Low-Countries to have been Vassals of the Empire) he should by Letters which were written unto the King of Spain, the Arch-duke Albertus, and the States of the confederate Provinces, admonish them, That they should not proceed to do or determine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the House of Austria. And forasmuch as that War in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no small harm unto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed upon between the Parties, and that it should happen the same War to be any longer continued, or rather again renewed, it should then be considered upon, how the Empire might be satisfied for the great harm it had until this present thereby received, and how it might be done from the like harm hereafter kept and prevented. The fourth point in this Consultation, which was to be considered of, concerned the Coyne. For whereas it is manifest, that the value of the Mooney to be daily more and more inhaunched and raised, and that thereby not only the Magistrates in the publick Receipt, but the Subjects also in general received great and manifest harm, forasmuch as the piece of such necessary things which we must in this Life have ordinary use of, must of necessity be still more and more increased, according to the value of the Mooney, the Emperour thought good with mature Deliberation to remedy this mischief in this present Assembly of the Empire. The fifth and last point which was to be considered upon, was, the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giving unto every Man that which of due belongeth unto him; the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would have in this Assembly to be amongst them considered of.

Which Articles thus propounded, there fell a great Controversie amongst the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceeding in these matters: as whether they should consider of these Articles in such order as they were propounded, or otherwise. And when as many thought it best first to consider of the Article for the Reformation of Justice, being the second Article propounded to be considered of, and afterwards to come unto the rest of the Articles to be afterward consulted of; when as the two and twentieth day of January they came again to Council, a Writing was by the Emperours command read unto them, whereby it was furnished unto the States of the Empire, the rebellious Tumults by Bosny and some others raised in Hungary to be yet by the Haiducks continued, the Sultan himself sending of them Rewards, and furnishing them with Ordnance and other

things necessary for the Wars, by the Governour of Ageria, and the Basha of Buda, threatening all Extremities unto them which should go about to resist them; and then augmenting the danger which thereby might ensue unto the Empire, and especially unto the German Name; seeing that it was manifest those rebellious Haiducks to have especially conspired the Destruction of the Germans, and to have confirmed their League, by drinking of an Health: It was required, that leaving off these Contentions for the manner of their Proceeding, they would turn their Consultations unto the first Article, and relieve how Remedy might in time be given unto this mischief, and how Aid might be sent unto the Emperour against his Enemies.

But when as in their often meetings nothing could be concluded, by reason of the divers and different Opinions betwixt the Protestants and Catholics, Ferdinand the Arch-duke again calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperial Cities, caused it by Letters to be declared unto them, How that the Emperour, not without his great Grief and Sorrow had heard, That for certain diffinitions among them they could not yet come to consult of the Articles propounded in that Assembly to be by them considered of, but to his great Grief to be from day to day protracted; and that therefore he requested them, That either they themselves would quietly end those Diffinitions amongst themselves, or else fend their Differences, conceived in Writing, unto the Emperour to be decided, and so at length to come effectually to consult of the propounded Articles. And indeed the Deputies aforesaid had in Writing before exhibited their Minds concerning that point, for the manner of their Proceeding, unto the Arch-duke Ferdinand. But forasmuch as that Writing was according to the manner of the Catholics and the Protestants, of two different sorts; the former thinking it meet to consult of the aforesaid Articles in such order as they were propounded, and first of all, to consider of the Contribution to be given against the Turks, and other Enemies in Hungary; but the other labouring, first for the Reformation of Justice, and the confirming of the Peace of Religion; and afterward to provide for Aid against the foreign Enemies, that to Kennedy might first be provided for inward, than for outward Enemies; expecting that as they had no express Commandment first to determine of the Contribution. Unto whom the Arch-duke by Writing again answered, That he had received no other Intimation from the Emperour, then that he should consult of the aforesaid Articles, with the Deputies there present, in such order as they were propounded: Neither that it was convenient, that the first Article concerning Contribution being neglected, they should proceed unto the second, seeing that the Enemies might easily, by the delay of putting off the same in effect take occasion in the mean time to do the Christians great harm. Besides that, that he had sufficiently protested, That Consultation concerning the Reformation of Justice should in this present Assembly be had also; neither that it was the Emperours mind to have it deferred unto any other Assembly. Wherefore he exhorted the Protestants, That they should forthwith endeavour by their Letters unto the Electors & Princes, and other their Superiours, to obtain leave, that they might first determine some certainty about the first Article concerning Contribution; that so giving way to the Opinion of the other party, they might instantly prepare themselves for the making of the Contribution. Howbeit, this his persuasion prevailed nothing, by

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the Assembly at Ratisbon, as was intended among them selves.

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The Diet of the States of the Empire at Ratisbon broken off, and no thing concluded.

Matthias the Arch-duke comes to Presburg.

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by reason of their Discord and Diffention about the order of their Consultation, the one part still labouring for the Contribution to be first agreed upon, and the other part holding as hard for the Reformation of Justice; so that Ferdinand the Arch-duke, out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vain to spend his cost and time any longer, the fifth of May dimitted the Assembly, and returned home, as did all the rest of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one article that was propounded being so much as once reasoned of, but all left undecided; so small care was there of the common good, either for the raising of Money for the withstanding of the Turks and Rebels, or for the Reformation of Justice; and the Necessity of both, either on the one side or the other, so hardly urged, and yet in Conclusion be neither respected or regarded.

Whilst the Diet to no purpose (as is aforesaid) was by the Arch-duke Ferdinand holden at Ratisbon, Matthias the Arch-duke, with a great Train of his, came in the mean time to Presburg, where he was with much Joy and Triumph received; the Garrison Souldiers in order standing on both sides the way as he went unto the Castle: Napragius the Bishop of Rab, with an eloquent Oration welcoming of him, in the presence of certain of the Hungarian Nobility, who had gone out of his City to meet him, and now also honourably welcomed him, much rejoicing at his coming. The next day the Arch-bishop and Cardinal of Strigounia, with a notable Train of Hungarian Gentlemen came to Presburg; who, forthwith received into the Castle, and having saluted the Arch-duke, conferred with him of many things in this Assembly to be consulted of. In the mean time Haiducks (that Noble House of whom we have so often spoken) arrived there also with twelve Coaches, ninety Harquebussiers, and forty Hungarian Horsemen going before him, and three hundred Haiducks which had attended upon him, being at the Gate dimitted. So the chief of the Hungarian States being come, the Consultation was begun the three and twentieth day of January; where, when as the Arch-duke had propounded unto the Hungarian Nobility, what things they were especially to consider of; it was by them answered, The Haiducks, before their coming out, to have determined, not one whit to depart from them in the year before propounding and agreed on at Vienna; nor to admit any limitation at all of them, so that for the appeasing of the Tumults of the Haiducks, there was no need of any new Consultation, but only to confirm such things as was then and there consulted and agreed upon. From which their Resolution, when as the Hungarians were not to be removed, and being grieved with the scoffing at of certain of the Clergy (thereupon refusing in any wise to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinal in the Castle) were about again to depart, making a solemn Protestation, themselves to be guided of such harms as should thereof ensue; it was at length so that all parts agreed upon, That the whole matter should be committed unto ten chosen out of the Hungarian Councilors, and ten more of the Councilors of Austria, to be consulted and determined of. By whom, being met all together the eight and twentieth day of January, in the House of Illustrious, it was concluded, That seeing that Peace and Quietness in those Countries of Hungary and Austria, could not otherwise be made, that these Articles and Conditions, concerning which no Agreement could the year before be made in the Treaty at Vienna, being quite left off and neglected, the rest of the Articles which were there agreed upon, should be

still entirely observed and kept; and that it should be lawful for every man to have the free Exercise of his Religion. Which thing the Commissioners of Austria by a special Writing there confirmed unto the Hungarians. Wherby they declared have perceived, not only by the true relation and report of the Hungarians, but also by their own experience, unto how great Inconveniences the whole Kingdom of Hungary hath of long been exposed, as well for the Wars it hath had with the common Enemy of Christians, as for dividing the civil Tumults and Seditions therein; and that therefore they, not willing that such harms should in those Countries again increase and grow, to the infinite effusion of Christian Blood, after the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at Vienna, saw no other better Remedy for these so great Inconveniences, than that all Parties should still hold themselves contented with the same Articles of Pacification concluded and agreed upon in the said Assembly at Vienna. And that therefore they had decreed, those Articles to be sincerely and inviolably kept; and promised unto the States of Hungary, to give them their Aid for the defence of these Articles, against all their Enemies, being ready to give good reason thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour Rudolph, the Arch-duke Matthias, and his other Brethren, and all the House of Austria, as the Necessity of those Countries should seem to require; hoping also that the States of Hungary would rest themselves likewise in that Pacification of Vienna, and the assistance thereof, in all points observing the same; and that they would always give their ready Help and Aid unto the Countries of Austria against their Enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed upon, were determined, Letters of Confederation to be in the Name of Matthias the Arch-duke, and of all, as well the Ecclesiastical as Temporal States of Hungary and Austria, to this purpose written, That whereas, for the appeasing and suppressing of the Tumults and Seditions, which the Haiducks by the Infliction of the Turks had of late not doubted to raise, for the concluding of Peace with the Great Sultan; they were met together at Presburg, and therein altogether busied, to devile how the Kingdom of Hungary, with the Countries adjoining, might from Destruction be delivered, in the Christian Religion preserved, and from wast-burned, spoiled, and ravaged; upon mature Deliberation, and as well in the Name of them that were present, as of them that were absent, made such a Confederation and League, That if hereafter it should fortune any detriment of War to be by any man made or done unto the Hungarians, or the Countries thereabout, for the aforesaid Articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiously to keep, that they would forthwith with their united Forces come to Aid their Confederate Brethren, and together with them to live or die.

With these Letters signed and sealed with the hand of the Arch-duke, and of the Noble Men there present, the first of February, Illustrious, with George Turpin, were sent unto the Tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their Meetings to be sent unto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to crave their Aid) to dissuade them from such their purpose, and to persuade them to quietness; threatening them withal, That if they would not hearken unto such honest Conditions, they should at together, and at once, be set upon and oppressed by the whole Power of the States.

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Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of Austria and Hungary, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at Vienna.

1608

The States of *Enferie* commanded by the Archduke *Matthias* to be always in a readiness against the *Haiducks*.

The Assembly at *Presburg* thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to *Vienna*, and forthwith calling together the States of *Enferie*, declared unto them all that was done in the Assembly at *Presburg*. And for as much as that Assembly was chiefly to that end appointed, That the Kingdom of *Hungary* should not altogether be plucked away from the Empire; and that after the revolt thereof, the greatest harm to be done by the Incursions and spoiling of the Enemies, would lie upon the Countries of *Austria*; he advised them to look unto themselves, and carefully to provide for the Common-weal, as that having Money always in readiness to maintain an Army, they might with all convenient speed go to meet the *Haiducks*, if haply they would not conform themselves unto the Articles of the Pacification, but again raise new Broils; so that they might defend and preserve their Country from their Outrages.

The Prince of *Valachia* died, whose Widow notably preferred her Country for her Son.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Jerome* Prince of *Valachia* was dead, leaving behind him a Son but thirteen years old, the Emperor admitted him, as yet not capable of the Government, under Tutors, unto the Succession of his Heritage. Which thing the *Valachians* being by no means willing to endure, and bearing themselves upon the help of the Turks, went about to make choice of another instead of their Prince of late dead. For which cause, the Prince's Widow, by Letters certified *Pollacie*, her Son in Law, of this Outrage and Injury of her Subjects; and having obtained of him a great sum of Money, and therewith raised an Army of ten thousand good Soldiers, went forth against the *Valachians*, and in open field overcame them, in blood and terrible a Battle, that having slain five thousand of the *Valachians* and Turks, he had over them a notable Victory, and by that means preserved the Principality of that Country for her Son.

The Duke of *Florence* came to the Mediterranean Sea; for which cause, a Messenger about this time coming unto him in the Great Sultan's Name, promised him great Matters, if he would from thenceforth forbear to hurt and pursue the Turks Gallies. Which his Request served the Turks to no other purpose, but as it were to put (O) unto the Fire. For the Duke afterward caused new Gallies to be made, and his Fleet increased, and therewith did more harm than formerly he had done.

The *Haiducks* refused to admit of the Pacification made at *Vienna*.

The Great Duke of *Florence* had hitherto done great harm with his Fleet unto the Turks in the Mediterranean Sea; for which cause, a Messenger about this time coming unto him in the Great Sultan's Name, promised him great Matters, if he would from thenceforth forbear to hurt and pursue the Turks Gallies. Which his Request served the Turks to no other purpose, but as it were to put (O) unto the Fire. For the Duke afterward caused new Gallies to be made, and his Fleet increased, and therewith did more harm than formerly he had done.

Now although that after the ending of the Assembly at *Presburg*, *Illirius* and *George Turpin* had delivered unto the *Haiducks* the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keep themselves quiet; yet for all that could they not yet be persuaded to hearken unto such their Counsel: for that they being Men still accustomed to the Wars, and living by their Swords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and such other Labours. For which cause, they of the Country about *Gymerie*, were much vexed, which dwell in the Country about *Nyft*, Letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they, being divers times certified of the miserable estate of their Neighbours, had refused to come to aid them, they should yet now remember how necessary a thing it were, with their conjoynt Minds and Forces to help one another; for that the *Haiducks*, having now passed the River of *Tisla*, were broken into that Province, and were run as far as *Budine*; neither were they minded to stay, but to rob and spoil all the Country before them, if they were not with speed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few days before they had received thirty thousand *Hungarian* Ducks from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their

Lords, with *Horfes* and other Gifts, to be divided among their Leaders and Captains; and moreover, daily expected Aid from the *Tartars*, who in great Numbers lay about *Belgrade*. Wherefore it could not be expected what great harm and loss was by the *Haiducks* done, as well unto the Noblemen themselves, as to the common Country-men; that they should therefore thereof give their Neighbours to understand, and with all speed to take up Arms against the same rebellious *Haiducks*.

Not long after, about the latter end of *March*, Proclamation was made by the Commandment of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, throughout all *Austria*, That every man should provide himself to take up Arms. The cause whereof men diversly suspected; howbeit that unto this Proclamation was this Reason joyned, That the Arch-duke was determined himself to go about the fourteenth of *April* into *Moravia*, and there to gather together all his Power, as well *Hungarians*, as *Austrians* and *Haiducks*, for the War he was to take in hand. There were also Letters in the Arch-duke's name sent unto the *Vassals* of *Austria*, to give them to understand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of Peace, and Defence of these Countries, had of late been decreed at *Presburg*; and that all the States of *Enferie* had approved the report thereof received from their Deputies, and so promised their help and aid unto the Arch-duke, as if that he himself would take in hand any Expedition, they would joyn themselves unto him, and together with him to live more desirous of War than Peace, did not only not rest upon the former Pacification, but gathered an Army also in the Borders of *Moravia*, with a purpose to make an inroad as well into *Moravia*, as into *Austria* it self. For which cause, the States of *Moravia* also were enforced, for defence of themselves, to raise an Army, and to crave help from their Neighbours. And that therefore, seeing the Arch-duke, mindful of his promise for the common Defence of the Country, was resolved to defend his Life and all his Fortunes, and in his own Person to undertake an Expedition unto those Places from whence the greatest danger was to be feared to fall upon those Countries; necessity then required, that the States themselves also should suffer nothing to be wanting on their Servants, forthwith to joyn themselves unto the Arch-duke; and, to the uttermost of their power, to endeavour themselves to deliver them and theirs from death and destruction. That God, in whose name this Expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the lovers of Peace, might in short time make an end of all tumults, and grant unto those Countries without Peace and quietness. And that therefore they were to be admonished, That, according to the tenor of the Decree made at *Presburg*, they, with such a number of *Horfes* and Foot, as they could upon the sudden raise at a day to be shortly after named unto them, should joyn themselves unto the Arch-duke, and not to suffer any thing to let them in so doing. So that if haply any change or sickness should happen unto their General, yet notwithstanding that they should fend their Power under the leading of some other man, feeling that the Arch-duke himself would not to adventure his Life and Fortunes, and (if God should see it so good) account it a great gain even to lose the cause, so that thereby he might do his Country good.

About the beginning of *April*, the Cardinal returning from *Prague* to *Vienna*, brought with him the Emperours Answer and Resolution, viz. That

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The States of *Austria* warned by the Arch-duke to prepare themselves for an Expedition to be made into *Moravia*.

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The Arch-duke *Matthias* prepared himself for his Expedition into *Moravia*.

The Nobility of *Bohemia* are by the Emperor commanded to be ready in Arms.

The Arch-duke *Matthias* with an Army cometh to *Znaum* in *Moravia*.

The Emperour sendeth Ambassadors to the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Znaum*.

he did ratify and confirm all things that were done and concluded with the *Hungarians* and *Turks*; but that his Will was, That the Confederation made betwixt the States of *Hungary* and *Austria* at *Presburg*, should be void, and be none at all. Whence the Arch-duke protesting that he could by no means like of, or suffer to be done, he, the sixteenth of *April* afterwards, with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counsellors, and a multitude of good Soldiers, going out of *Vienna* towards the Monastery of *Neuburg*, set forward upon his Journey, carrying with him eight and twenty Pieces of Ordnance, there expecting his Soldiers in all places levied; by publick Letters protesting, That no man should from his Army receive any harm; or if that by chance any harm were done unto any man by his Army, aluring his Subjects it should be again unto them redressed and recompensed.

But the rumour of this Expedition being brought into *Bohemia*, the Nobility of the Country began to assemble themselves the sixteenth day of *April*, whither, when as many of the Deputies of the other Countreys were assembled also, it being decreed, That the Nobility of the faithful States there present, should with all speed return home, and so provide themselves and their Subjects of necessary Arms; that, need so requiring, they should thereby be able to defend themselves and their Country, the Assembly was dissolved. Besides that, the Emperour himself, careful for all Events, caused many, both *Horfes* and Foot, to be brought to *Prague*, and to be diversly billeted in the Citizens houses; and afterwards, the eighteenth of *April*, by Letters directed unto certain Princes of the Empire, and to certain Earls also, Citizens, and other Vassals of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, warned them with all speed to lend Aid unto him at *Prague*.

But *Matthias* the Arch-duke in the mean time marching forward with an Army of twenty thousand *Horfes* and Foot, the twenty fourth day of *April* came to *Znaum*, a City of *Moravia*; and wasthere, by the States of *Moravia* (who the day before were come thither also with four hundred *Horfes*) honourably received and brought into the City. From thence, sending out Letters into the Territories of *Bohemia*, and to the City of *Prague*, he requested, That they would fend out of every place two Deputies for them, unto the Assembly to be holden at *Zaplana* the fourth day of *May*: promising withal, That he himself being there present, would yield unto their Deputies a reason of his doing, as also what he meant to do hereafter. Besides that, he, by Letters sent unto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cause why he was enforced to make this Expedition; and withal sending unto them a Copy of the Agreement made at *Vienna* the five and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1606, by the common consent of the Arch-dukes; in most friendly manner requested them, That they would not intermeddle in this business, but rather with their Counsel and Aid to further the same.

But the three and twentieth day of *April*, the Emperour sent the Popes Ambassadors, with the Ambassadors of divers other Princes and States, then lying at *Prague*, with sundry of the *Bohemian* Ministers, in Embassy to the Arch-duke *Matthias*, Rite lying at *Znaum*; whom the Cardinal the next day after followed also, to make good his good Pacification, if it were possible, with the Arch-duke. But the Emperour in the mean time calling unto him the Counsellors of the old and new Town of *Prague*, (contrary to his wonted manner) most courteously with his own hand received them, and giving them thanks for the

faithful Duties by them hitherto performed; requested them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and Loyalty also; most liberally promising unto them all kindnes, with the restitution of the Privileges concerning the Liberty they had before lost in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a general Muster was taken, not only in the City of *Prague*, and the Towns thereabouts, but also throughout all the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and three hundred Musketeers appointed for the guard and keeping of the Castle, under the command of Count *Salines*, who had Commiffion for the raising of other Soldiers also.

At the very same time, it was from *Constantinople* certainly reported, the *Tartar* Chah to have died, and the Turkish Sultan having received news thereof, to have dismissed his Son, whom he hitherto had detained as a Pledge, and with divers Ships and Gallies, to have caused him to be transported over the black Sea, unto the Borders of *Tartary*, there to take possession of his Fathers Kingdom. It was also then reported, certain of the seditious *Turks*, making of a road to have surprised *Smyrna*, a rich City of *Asia*, and to have foraged all the Country about it far and near, and coming unto *Magnesia*, a chief City of that Country, to have had ten thousand Crowns by the Inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to spare the Country thereabouts. The Persian King also, at the same time notably to proceed in his Wars, and to do the *Turks* great harm, the *Turks* and *Tartars* seeking in vain to withstand him.

In the mean time, Ambassadors coming unto *Prague* from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, part of them, the ninth of *May*, went unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* to *Zaplana*, who still lay there encamped with an Army of five and twenty thousand Men; of whom they requesting a Truce for the space of eight Days, for the making of a Pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this business, easily obtained the same, especially seeing that those Princes Electors, being joyned and bound unto the Emperour in a double Confederation, as well for their Electorship, as in respect of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, could not, as they said, otherwise do, but fend present Aid unto the Emperour, his Necessity so requiring; to which end they had now in readiness certain thousands of Soldiers in the Frontiers of their Countries, be forthwith sent unto him: The other part of these Ambassadors in the mean time staying with the Emperour, where after the German manner, they were well provided of good Cheer and Wine.

About the seventeenth of *May*, *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with eighteen thousand Men, rode and marched towards *Prague*, *Colman* with the rest of the Army following him. And although that the Arch-duke had severely commanded his Soldiers to abstain from all robbery, spoiling, and burning of the Country, and had divers times severely punished some Offenders therein, by hanging of some, and heading of others; yet could he by no means to refrain them, and keep them in, but that some of them would sometimes be straggling abroad, and doing harm, especially the *Hungarians*, who were still running out even as far as the Emperours Camp, and the new City of *Prague*. Whom if it should come to the Emperours Soldiers (being then twenty thousand strong) would not meddle withal, bring to command by the Emperour. Howbeit some of these Stragglers going too far abroad into the Country, were by the Country-men cut off and slain.

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The *Tartar* Chah died.

The seditious *Turks* raise new stirres in the latter end of *Asia*, and spoil *Smyrna* with the Country thereabouts.

Ambassadors sent from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* for the appealing of the troubles betwixt the Emperour and *Matthias*.

*Matthias* the Arch-duke marcheth towards *Prague*.

1668

An Affinity of the States of Bohemia, holden at Prague, in the Presence of the Emperor. The Re-quests of the Nobility and States of Bohemia unto the Emperor.

The three and twentieth day of May, an Assembly of the States of Bohemia was called at Prague, the Emperor himself being there present, Adam Wallfenne carrying the drawn Sword before him. In which Assembly, the Nobility and States of the Country with one consent promised to spend their Goods and Lives in the Emperours quarrel; yet in the mean time requesting these things following to be granted and confirmed unto them; viz. That Religion, according to the Confession of Bohemia and Austria, should inviolably be kept, and that which professed the one, should not therefore (coit or despite the other. That Bohemians only should be preferred to Archbishops, Abbots, and other spiritual Preferments. That the Archbishops should not meddle with Civil and Political Affairs. That Ecclesiastical Offices should be permitted unto the Protestant Ministers, as in former time, the Catholics in the mean time holding that they had. The Pontifical dispensation in causes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the Assembly holden in the Year 1602, should be abrogated and taken away. That it should not be lawful for Priests and other Ecclesiastical Persons to buy Lands or Territories, without the express consent of all the three States, but to hold themselves contented with their Tyths and other their Revenues. That it should be lawful for all men in their own ground and Territories to build Churches of Religion, on both sides. That Protestants and Patrons of the University of Prague should be joynted to the Confraternity, as they were in the time of the Emperor Ferdinand. That one should be chosen for Burggrave in this Assembly. That chief political Offices should not be left void above a Month. That unto these political Offices men of both Religions should be admitted, so that if the Burggrave were a Catholic, the chief Judge should be a Protestant. That every man should enjoy his Right, and that no Decree should be published against the same; neither that they which were of the Order of Knights should be rashly fined, or bound to any arrest. That one of the Bohemians should always be chosen into the secret Council, and made acquainted with the Bohemian Affairs. That every man might have access to the Emperor, and not all things to be done by his Counsellors. That it should be declared to all Men, what was to be understood by the Crime of Treason. That no man should be made a witness Offences; and that no man should for any light Offence, together with his Goods, lose his Life and Reputation. That the Suits of Widows, Orphans, and others also, should with Expedition be dispatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the Father should not be bound to pay the Sons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the Son himself. That in political Offices Men should not be too much grieved with too heavy Exactions. That Men fined should not be summoned but in good Terms, and that such as were in any Reputation be bound unto any arrest, without the hearing of their Cause, and much less to be imprisoned. That the Sword, upon forwardness or madness taken out of the Church of Thine certain years before, should be again set in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens Causes, should be contented with such Fees as were by common Decrees appointed them. And last of all to conclude, they in any wise requested the Emperor, that it would please him to ease the Nobility and States of Bohemia of these Grievs, before they were compelled to answer unto such things as were to be propounded unto them on his behalf. Who easily granted unto most of these Articles, those which concerned Religion only

excepted, so that the Senators of the old Town of Prague obtained the desired Sword to be again forthwith set in the wonted place. But as for the business of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred unto the next Assembly to be holden at the Feast of St. Michael.

About the end of May, the Arch-duke Matthias's Ambassadors, having received leave Conduct from the Emperor and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Bohemia, came to Prague; and being admitted into the Council of the Nobility, Charles Count Tjerrant, to whom that charge was given, having in the Archdukes Name first talous the Nobility, caused what he and the rest had in charge, to be before them out of a long Writing in the Bohemian Tongue read; which done, when as the Nobility so requiring, they were put aside, and almost an hour after were called again, they received Answer, That the points of the Ambassage by them propounded, were greater, and of more weight, than that sufficient Deliberation could thereof in so short a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commissioners on both sides, meeting together in the open Field near unto Debriffe, should there consult of these Articles, and by the Consent of the Emperor and the Arch-duke, to do what they might to end the matter; Unto which Answer the Arch-dukes Ambassadors consenting, the ninth of June returned again unto the Camp. The Emperours Ambassadors within two days after with forty Coaches and an hundred Horse following them unto the Place appointed; who oftentimes going to and fro, at length so wrought the matter on both sides, that the Business quickly and friendly ended, they were again made Friends.

The Articles of which Pacification and Agreement between the Emperor and the Arch-duke were the seventeenth day of June, in the Castle of Prague, openly read in the Bohemian Tongue, Lichtenstein, Kimske, and other Chieftains, the Arch-dukes Ambassadors, being there present, in order thus:

That the Emperor refused not, but that the Crown of Hungary should be delivered into the Arch-duke Matthias's Hands; and to remit unto him the Kingdom of Hungary, and to remit unto his Subjects the Oath of their Allegiance before given unto him, so that the Nobility and States of Hungary should chuse no other King but the Arch-duke. That in the next Diet of the Empire, he should propound unto the States of the Empire to be considered of, what Contribution they ought to make unto the Archduke for the defence of their Frontiers, if happily longer War were to be made with the Turk. That he should the Writings which concerned that Kingdom of Hungary, within the space of two Months to be delivered unto the Arch-duke. That he should likewise also surrender up the Arch-duke of Austria, by himself hitherto possessed, unto the Arch-duke: yet so as that the Arch-duke should take upon himself all the Emperours Debt, as well in Hungary as in Austria, and within a year should cause sufficient Recognizance or Caution, sealed with his own hand, to be delivered unto the Creditors. That he should cause all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the upper Austria, as the nether, within the same time to be delivered unto him, together with a Copy of the Privileges therein, until that Deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred unto him also. That the Nobility and States of Bohemia should in the Emperours Name ratify and confirm the Treaty held at Vienna, for the making of the Peace between the Emperor, the Turks, and the

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Matthias the Arch-dukes Ambassadors come to Prague.

Commissioners appointed for the ending of the Troubles between the Emperor and Matthias the Arch-duke.

The Articles of Pacification between the Emperor and the Arch-duke Matthias.

1668

King Matthias the Emperor's Army out of Bohemia.

The Hungarians separate a part, might be with such fury in a Place of advantage charged the Hungarians coming to that place, having slain about nine hundred of them, some others were also carried away Prisoners, with a great booty of Horses, Waggon, and other Goods. With which deed the Hungarians groined, trod down the Hungarians, and began to set fire on the Villages and Houses in the Country thereabouts. But the news thereof being brought unto the King, he forthwith by Herbolden, General of the Horse-men, commanded the Hungarians and Haiducks not only to desist from this their Insolency, but themselves also, upon a great Penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raised.

The fleet of July, King Matthias tiding with his way with his chief Counsellors towards Linz, and dividing his Army into three parts, that so they might use more facility pass through those Countreys, unto whom the Hungarians and Haiducks had in this Expedition done great harm, with six hundred Harquebusers, and a number of Country-men went off to a Place called Parantits, where, having cut off the Passage, and cut down Trees cross the ways, that such fury in a Place of advantage charged the Hungarians coming to that place, having slain about nine hundred of them, some others were also carried away Prisoners, with a great booty of Horses, Waggon, and other Goods. With which deed the Hungarians groined, trod down the Hungarians, and began to set fire on the Villages and Houses in the Country thereabouts. But the news thereof being brought unto the King, he forthwith by Herbolden, General of the Horse-men, commanded the Hungarians and Haiducks not only to desist from this their Insolency, but themselves also, upon a great Penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raised.

In the mean time, the coming of King Matthias being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for the receiving of him and bringing of him into the City, according to his Royal Dignity, who, the fourteenth of July, toward night, being come thither, with the Arch-duke Maximilian his Brother, and three thousand Horse, the Archbishop of Hungary, who, with Count Trautson, and many other the Emperours Counsellors and Servants, went out of the City to meet him, and there amidst eight Ensigns of German Soldiers, and fifteen hundred Horse-men, as it were in order of Battle, received him with a long and Eloquent Oration, as did afterwards Transilvania in the name of the States of Austria; the Emperours Counsellors also honourably welcoming him. Which done, mounting again to Horse, the King, with the Arch-duke Maximilian his Brother, staid until that two Troops of the Horse-men (each of them consisting of two hundred Horse) were all entered into the City's and afterward fifteen hundred of Buckheim's Horse-men, and the afore said eight Ensigns of Germans going before, and the Emperours Counsellors following them, the King himself with the Arch-duke his Brother, and with his Train, set forward, and passing over the Bridge, whereon three triumphal Arches were most sumptuously erected, he was by three thousand Citizens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundering of the great Ordnance and Volleys of small foor, most magnificently received, divers other Triumphs and Sports, to manifest the Joy of the People, being there made also, which for brevity sake we pass over. But being gone a little farther, he was by the Senators of Vienna on Horse-back received

the Hungarians. That they also should not refuse, at the Emperours request, to promise unto the Arch-duke a certain Summation unto the Kingdom of Bohemia; but yet with condition, so that if it should happen the Emperor to dye without Heirs Male, before the death of the Arch-duke his Brother; or but if he should have Heirs Male lawfully begotten and under age; that in that case he should only have the Rule and Government of the Kingdom of Bohemia, yet when certain Roman Catholic Princes joyntly unto him. That the Arch-duke should by writing confirm unto the Nobility and States of Bohemia, That he should after the usual manner and fashion demand the Kingdom of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he should take the usual Oath of a King, and always have like regard of all their Privileges as the other Kings his Predecessors had. That the States of Bohemia should not gain say, but that the Arch-duke might hereafter use the Title of the designed King of Hungary. That the Administration of the Marquis of Moravia should be granted unto the Arch-duke Matthias and his Heirs, together with the Title of a Marquis, until that after the death of the Emperor this Province was again to revert unto him which was to enjoy the Kingdom of Bohemia. But if it should happen the Arch-duke to dye before the Emperor, the States of Bohemia should not refuse, but that this Province separate a-part, might (as should seem good) chuse unto it (self a Patron and Defender, unto whom the Emperor should give the Bishopric of Amlitz, hitherto in Temporalities subject unto the King of Bohemia, should from thenceforth acknowledge the Arch-duke Matthias to be the Governour thereof, left there should be a confusion of Suits in Moravia; the Bishop in the mean time having regard unto his own Privileges. That the Emperor at the request of the Arch-duke should maintain the Privileges of them self Silesia, and of the States of the six Cities, and augment them also with new Privileges, being reasonable and convenient. That for the defence of the borders against the Turks, the Nobility and States of Bohemia should not contribute more than hitherto they were wont, yet saving unto the Arch-duke power and ability in the general Meetings and Assemblies of the Kingdom to entreat thereof, as the Emperor had hitherto had. That the Titles of all the Provinces which the Emperor did now surrender unto the Arch-duke Matthias, should be still unto him reserved. That the Arch-duke Matthias should utterly renounce the County of Tirah, and surrender his part thereof unto the Emperor. That in the Meetings and Assemblies to come, the Arch-duke should by all means endeavour, that the Emperor should receive a reasonable yearly Contribution out of those Provinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, should generally be forgiven and pardoned, and all every Person on both Parties, only Verkarious excepted, concerning whom, as also concerning his debt, the Nobility of Moravia had undertaken in their next Assembly to take order. And that Arms should on both sides be laid a part.

Which Articles thus agreed upon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crown of Hungary, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, such as are King Stephen's Sword, the Golden Apple, with the Cross of the Kingdom upon it, two pair of Rich Shoes, a very ancient Robe, with a Royal Scepter, were by the Emperours chief Lieutenant carried into the Camp, and there in a broad and open Field delivered unto the Arch-duke Matthias, together with his Army in order ranked, and sixteen thousand Horse and Foot divided into three Battalions, after he had received their Royal Ornaments,

King Matthias the Emperor's Army into Hungary, and is royally received into Vienna.

The Crown of Hungary delivered unto the Arch-duke Matthias.



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ceived under a rich Canopy, borne up by fix of the ancientest of the said Senators, and he brought to Saint Stephen's Church; whither, he was no sooner come, but that lighting from his Horse, he and was received by the whole Clergy, and under a Canopy, brought into the Church; where, after Service done, he was like a Triumph and Magnificence, through divers other triumphal Arches, brought to the Caffe, the great Ordinance on all sides full of thundering off from the Caffe, the Walls, and the Windows of the Town.

But these Triumphs, and Solemnities ended, shortly after, whereas they began to confute about such things as concerned the good Government of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the crowning of the King, and that the Protestants of Austria in many Places began to Exercise their Religion according to the manner of the Confession of Augsburg, and that the Ministers began openly to Preach in the Churches there, Leopold, the Archduke and Bishop of Passavia, coming to Vienna, with Melius the Popes Nuncio, (but a little before came to Prague) with Cardinal Forgafue, and the Bishop of Vienna, with earnest and importunate solliciting of the King, obtained from him a Commandment, That that Exercise of Religion should be again abrogated, the Churches shut, and public Preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new fits and troubles in Austria. For the Protestant States, forthwith calling a Council among themselves, by general consent refused by Oath of Loyalty and Allegiance to bind themselves unto the new King, until they had of him obtained the liberty for the free Exercise of their Religion; and combining themselves together, resolved even with the loss of their Lives and Goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and the Exercise of their Religion, according to the Confession of Augsburg; and to that end commanded all their Subjects and Tenants to be ready in Arms, that, need requiring, every thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth, might be prevailed to come forth unto the Wars. But having sent a Supplication unto the King, whereunto 180 of the Nobility had set their hands, and receiving no Answer, but that they should desert from their purpose, and without delay to make their appearance to take the Oath of their Allegiance unto the King, they forthwith, the fourteenth of September, going to Horne, by Letters sent unto the rest of the Roman Catholic States, protested themselves to be clear before God and the whole World of all the evils and mischief that were afterward to ensue, if those States, notwithstanding the appealing and ending of those Troubles, or the safety of them their Country-men should take their Oath of Allegiance unto the King. And so forthwith raising an Army, left upon the sudden they should be at Horne oppressed, they began by all means to provide for their Affairs. But the report thereof coming unto the States of Bohemia and Moravia, their Neighbours, they were from them given to understand, that they would become Intercessors for them unto the King, and yet not to be wanting unto them at their need, as occasion should require.

In the mean time, Letters were brought from Constantinople to Vienna, declaring King Matthias's Ambassadors audience with the Great Sultan) to have in an Eloquent Oration on the King's behalf promised religiously to keep the Peace, of late made between him, the Ottoman Emperor, and the Hungarians; and afterward, in the King's name to have offered his Prelates unto the Sultan, and he, in the presence of his chief Baffles, to have received them. But when he came to request the Government of Transylvania, he would in no wise thereto consent, but gave the same to Gabriel Babor, with commandment unto the Baf-

sa of Buda for the establishing of him in this Principality.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Transilvania and Fursenburg, were from King Matthias sent unto the Protestant States at Horne, and shortly after them, Maximilian the Arch-duke followed also; who, although they with all glorious promises fought to appease them, and by all means to draw them to take the Oath of their Allegiance; yet could they with them no whit prevail, without granting of them the free Exercise of their Religion. But the sixteenth of October, the Catholic States, not expecting the consent of the Protestant States, at Vienna took the Oath of Allegiance unto Matthias the new King of Hungary, the great Ordinance in the mean time thundering off with Drums and Trumpets in every place of the City sounding, and the rest of the day being with great Feasting, Triumph, and Solemnity spent.

King Matthias, having thus at Vienna received the Oath of Allegiance of the Catholics, shortly after departing thence, the twenty second of October coming to Presburg, was there by the Nobility of Hungary received, and brought into the City towards, viz. the sixth of November, offered in writing unto the King certain Articles, whereof they desired to be by him assured; most of which Articles were drawn out of the Pacification made at Vienna the twenty third day of August, in the year 1606, the chief effect whereof was this: That the free Exercise of Religion should be permitted unto all Men in all the Cities and Towns of Hungary, not so much as that City excepted wherein the King should be resident: That no German Captain should be suffered in any the strong Forts of Hungary, but that the strong Towns of Rab, Comora, Vivicaria, and others, should be committed unto the Government of natural Hungarians born: That the Crown of Hungary should still be kept in Hungary, and committed to the keeping of temporal Men: That first and before all other things, a Count Palatine should be chosen: That the King himself should always reside in Hungary, or if not, that the Palatine should in his absence have full power, with the Councils of Estate of Hungary, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King should therewithal hold himself contented: That no public Office should be bestowed upon any, but upon such natural Hungarians as had of their Country well deserved; nor permitted unto any for Money: That no Jewish should be suffered in the Kingdom, neither that Ecclesiastical men should be much favoured as formerly they had been: That Officers should not be bound to give account of the Administration of their Offices, but before the Treasurers of Presburg, being natural Hungarians born: That from henceforth Money should not be carried out of the Kingdom, as hitherto it had been: That the Palatine being dead, the King should within a year choose another, the chief Justice in the mean time after the old manner supplying his room: That a little before The Protestant States of Austria had the Nobility sent their Ambassadors unto the King and the States of Hungary, then gathered together at Presburg; with request, that inasmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtain of the King the free Exercise of their Religion, as well within their Cities as without, and that very necessity had driven them by force of Arms to seek for the same, that they would, by sending of them Men, afford them such Aid as was unto them due by the former Pacification made at Vienna the year 1606. Which troubles of Austria, the Nobility and States of Hungary desiring to have appeased, sent George Turpin, and some others, with Letters of Intercession in their behalf unto the Arch-duke Maximilian; in which

Matthias fendeth unto the Protestant States at Horne.

The Catholic States take the Oath of Allegiance unto King Matthias.

King Matthias goeth to Presburg.

Articles by the Hungarians preferred unto King Matthias at Presburg.

The Protestants of Austria crave Aid of the Nobility and States of Hungary.

1608

when they had delivered unto him, they received from him this answer, That King Matthias never thought to disturb the common quiet of that Country, or to attempt any thing against the Privileges thereof, granted by the Emperor Maximilian of happy Memory; but to grant unto the Cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no means, partly in respect of Conscience, partly for the danger that might thereof ensue from the Pope and the King of Spain, and yet nevertheless, that he would promise to suffer and tolerate the free Exercise of Religion without the Cities, and in the bestowing of public Offices to have no regard of Religion; yet with this Condition, that they should lay down Arms, submit themselves unto the King, acknowledge their Fault, and crave Pardon for the same; for that in so doing, the States should haply prevail more than by force of Arms.

With which answer, (being no better could be got, the Hungarian Ambassadors going unto the Protestant States of Austria, began by divers reasons to persuade them to submit themselves unto the King. If the Hungarians should (as they said) give aid unto them of Austria, they should in so doing, instead of helping them, but do them more harm; for that the Hungarian Power could not be brought into Austria, but to the utter destruction thereof. That the League betwixt the Hungarians and them of Austria was a general League, and concerned as well the Catholics as the Protestants. That the Christian Religion was never with the Sword planted or defended, Christ himself saying, them to be happy which therefore suffer Persecution, and commanding Peter to put up his Sword into his Scabbard. That it was an easie matter for every man to raise Sins and Tumults, but that again to appeale them was a far harder matter. That by the taking up of Arms, the free Exercise of Religion could not be furthered or provided for; it being rather dangerous, lest the contrary part prevail, it should be utterly suppressed. That by this means, Hungary itself should be exposed to many dangers, for that not only new Sins might upon this occasion by the Subjects thereof be raised, but other foreign Princes take up Arms against it also; the Emperor, by force of Arms, seeking for his Right, and the Turkish Sultan, by a new Invasion, going about to bring the same under his Subjection; and telling them farther, the Arch-duke to have promised to take good order for all things, so that they would lay down Arms; and that the Clemency and Bounty of those Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would indeed perform what they had in word promised; and that the Hungarians could not now do or attempt any thing against the King; but that if it should happen these two Arch-dukes being dead without Heirs male, the Government of these two Provinces should come unto the Arch-duke Ferdinand, that then they should have more cause to help them of Austria again; him: Maravia they said to be a free Country, and yet the King to have thereunto given no more allowance for the liberty of Religion, more than his bare promise. Wherefore seeing that both the fortune and chance of War was doubtful, and that War was not without the great expence of Money to be maintained, that they were of opinion, it to be best for the Protestant States of Austria to lay down Arms, and by way of request to sollicite their cause with the King.

In the mean time, the Grievs whereof the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all Controversies happily ended, Matthias was, by a general consent, chosen to be Palatine; and Matthias, the 14th of November, openly proclaimed King of Hungary; and the 19th of the same Month in St. Martin's Church at Presburg in this manner

The Protestants of Austria by the Hungarian Ambassadors advised to lay down Arms, and to submit themselves unto the King.

Articles by the Hungarians preferred unto King Matthias at Presburg.

Matthias chosen Palatine of Hungary. Matthias at Presburg crowned King of Hungary.

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crowned: first, the Royal Crown was in a flatly Chariot carried out of the Caffe unto the Church, with a great number of the Counsellors and Nobility of Hungary attending the same; in which Chariot were also carried ten Ensigns, with the Arms of the Kingdom in them, filled up, four of the Hungarian Counsellors taking it out of the Chariot in a little Chest covered with Cloth of Gold, and so carrying of it into the Chancel of the Church. After which, King Matthias, together with the Arch-duke Maximilian his Brother, followed on Horse-back, both attired in Hungarian Apparel, and to going into the Chancel, there layed about half an hour, until that he was by two Bishops brought forth unto the Altar, where whom ten of the Hungarian Nobility carried ten several Ensigns, after whom followed the Palatine with the Crown, Endecius with the Royal Scepter, Forgafue with the Apple of the Kingdom, Turzo with King Stephens Sword, Tschichs carrying the Pax, as they call it; Bulian the Cross, the Cardinal Forgafue laying Maist, with divers Bishops and Prelates helping of him, by whom the King was at the beginning of Service assisted with Oyl; where, while the Epistle and Gospel were in reading, the Cardinal let the Crown upon the King's Head, all the People crying out, Long live Matthias, the King of Hungary. But the King, with the Crown upon his head, taking a drawn Sword out of Sigisfred Colonniz, the Marthal's hand, thrice brandished it a cross over the Clergy-mens heads, and received the Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Mass being ended, he, by an high-way covered with Cloth, going in his royal Robes from St. Martin's Church, to the Barefoot Friars Church, as he went, caused money to be cast abroad among the People. In which Church, after the first Chapter of the Gospel of St. John being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the King, with the Crown yet on his Head, and in his flatter Robes, went out of the City at St. Michaels Gate, and there on Horse-back was brought unto an high Stage covered with cloth, whereon he was sworn unto the Hungarians as King, and they unto him as his Subjects; and afterward thrice mounting up to Horse upon a little Hill made for that purpose, and so down again, and thrice brandishing his Sword a cross, he returned back again into the Caffe, where he with Maximilian the Arch-duke, Cardinal Forgafue, the Popes Nuncio, and the Palatine, sat down at one Table, the rest of the Hungarian Nobility, to the number of 70, sitting down at fix other Tables, and so dining with great mirth; the Haidukes, and common sort of People, being there bountifully feasted also: where many of them, in scrambling for the money that was cast abroad, and in taking up of the Cloth from the Scaffold, having their hands and fingers cut off, and so lamed, carried from thence the wofull remembrance of that was there then done.

The Solemnity of this Coronation thus past, King Matthias thought it good for him yet for a time to stay at Presburg, until that the new building in the Caffe was ended, which the Nobility of Hungary had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of Hungary, to the intent that he himself might fee the same, with other the Royal Ornaments put thereto, and sealed up with his own Seal; he in the mean while labouring to appease divers Contentions, and to place fit men again in the great Offices of the Commonwealth; for that the Hungarians would by no means suffer the Germans to enjoy any of the same: for which cause, many of the chief Officers, men of great Authority, were displaced; and amongst them, Sigisfred Colonniz also, a man who had most well deserved of the Kingdom of Hungary: howbeit, shortly after, he by the Council of Maximilian the Arch-duke, was by the

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The Protestant States in Austria require to have the free Exercise of their Religion granted unto them.

The Protestant States of Austria refuse to take their Oath of Allegiance unto the King until they might be assured of the free Exercise of their Religion.

Prebents sent unto the Great Sultan from King Matthias.

1608

Illyshichius and others in vain treat for the States of Austria.

Hungarians themselves (repenting them that they had done) not only reformed unto his former Offices, but had by them (and that without his just desert) even greater Preferments offered him also; for a notable thing the Judgement of the common People is. But *Illyshichius*, now the Palatine of Hungary, the 28th day of November, talking with the King *Matthias* at large, and earnestly intreated with him in the behalf of the Protestant States of Austria, especially for that the other Protestant States of Hungary, learned now in their behalf to move moved also; and the *Moravian* Ambassadors openly at the same time protesting, that their States could in no wise forsake them their Friends, the States of Austria, if their need so required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony, and other Princes of the Empire, were become earnest Intercessors also unto the King for them, yet the Popes *Nuncio* so hardly withstood them, as nothing could at last be granted.

About the beginning of December, the King returning again from *Freiburg* to *Vienna*, about the sixteenth of December the Protestant States of Austria at length sent *Ernstus* the free Baron of *Landau*, *Maximilian Pöhlme*, *Sebastian Grobner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Stifendorff*, and *Christopher Buchner*, their Ambassadors unto the King, to bring them answer whereunto to trust, who, the 27th of December received answer. That they should hold themselves contented with such answer as they had before received, and to submit themselves to the Kings pleasure, or else, to do what they themselves saw good. With which answer they returning, the States forthwith began to levy new Forces, and to persuade their Soldiers, that, mindful of their Oaths, they should faithfully serve whithersoever, and against whomsoever.

The States prepare themselves for War.

1609

An hot Skirmish.

And now a great Army of the Protestant States of Austria lay in the Villages about *Crembs* and *Spaine*, so that those two Towns were thought to be in great danger of them; for the strengthening of which Places, *Buchme* was by the King sent thither with 1500 Horse and certain pieces of great Ordnance, and an Edict which published the 10th of January, charging the States to be present at *Vienna*, the 21th day of the same Month, to take the Oath of their Allegiance to the King. Howbeit, they most stiffly still refused to do so, or to remit any thing of that which they had before required; insomuch, that *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who, hitherto had not a little laboured in this cause, was quite out of hope to bring them to any Conformity, or make any good end thereof. In the mean time, certain of *Buchme's* Horse-men on the King's part being about to have taken a Place, for which they thought convenient for them for to lodge in had like to have been disappointed of the same by the Horse-men of *Gerrane*, on the States side. About which matter, *Buchme*, coming forth with seven Troops of Horse-men, and *Gerrane* but with three Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Foot, there was betwixt them a hot Skirmish for the time, fought the 13th of January, in which Skirmish an 100 of *Buchme's* Horse-men were slain, but of *Gerrane's* Men not so many; they having the advantage of the Ground, and so therewith in the Skirmish holpen both for the defence of themselves and the annoying of their Enemies. Whereof the King having knowledge, and therewith much moved; beside the aforesaid Edict, caused another to be proclaimed at *Vienna*, against such Soldiers as served the Protestants; prohibiting them all, and pronouncing them Rebels, except before the 21th day of January, they lay down Arms, departed out of the Protestant Camp. Howbeit, the Protestant States were so far from dimming their Forces, as that they with new Supplies strengthened the same

and having taken an Hill not far from *Hallenbryne*, and from thence discharging thre score of 20 pieces of great Ordnance, struck a great fear and terror into the Minds of the King's Soldiers within the Town.

1609

The States of Moravia make Intercession for the Protestant States of Austria.

About this time also the States of Moravia (that nothing might on their part be wanting for the making of an Attonement betwixt the King and the Protestant States of Austria) sent some of their Ambassadors unto those States at *Horne*, and othermost unto the King at *Vienna*, who, having access unto the King, declared unto him, the States of Moravia, from whom they came, to be earnestly importuned by the Protestant States of Austria to lend them Aid, according to the Agreement made with them the year before; and told him moreover, that This manner of his proceeding tended not unto Peace and Quietness, but rather unto the Trouble and Destruction both of the Kingdom, and of all the other Provinces to him belonging; all that Error, the ground of those Troubles, they said, to depend on a perverse interpretation or misconstruing of words, rather than of the matter it self; so that it might by Men desirous of Peace easily be composed and ended. And that therefore their request unto his Majesty was, That he, having regard not only unto the good and welfare of his Provinces and Subjects, but even of himself, and of his Honour also, would of his Clemency and Goodness vouchsafe to give remedy unto the present danger, and avert the miserable Calamities now hanging over them, and even ready to fall upon their heads. The Protestant States they said to be content to put the Controversie to be decided and composed by certain grave and wise Men, to be chosen Arbitrators on both parts; yet with this Condition, That for the space of fourteen days, no Hostility should on either side be used; that the Ambassadors, both on either side, beneath *Amstun*, should be compelled within this Truce; that such as were kept in durance for their Religion, should be set at liberty; and that all High-ways and Passes should be from all Ambushes, and other dangers cleared. Unto which their request the King condescending, gave leave unto the States of Moravia, upon the most equal Conditions they could devise, to compose and end all matters; who so laboured in this business betwixt the King and the Protestant States of Austria, that at length, viz. the twelfth of March, a Pacification was made betwixt the King and them his Subjects; *Leopold* the Arch-duke, *Melinas* the Popes Nuncio, the Bishop of *Vienna*, and other great Men of the contrary Religion and Faction, seeking in vain to have letted the same; the chief Articles and points of which Pacification were these: That the Nobility in their own Houses, and in their Towns, as also in their Houses in the Cities, should for themselves and their People have the free Exercise of their Religion; That the free Exercise of Preaching might be used in the three Churches at *Hersford*, *Tribel-sinuel*, and *Horne*; That other Churches shut up, might again be opened by three of the *Romish* and three of the Reformed Religion, and the free Exercise of Religion in them used; That Counsellors and other publick Officers should from thenceforth indifferently be chosen out of men of both Religions; but that such Offices as were hereditary should so still remain; That the Election of Magistrates and other publick Officers in Towns and Cities, should from thenceforth be made by the Magistrates and Citizens themselves, and not to be nominated from the Court as hitherto they had been: That no Church should hereafter be shut against either part, but their own Churches to be left unto them both quietly and undisturbedly. That the Nobility and Citizens in the Towns and Cities should from thenceforth have power to make choice of their Ministers and Preachers, and that for them it should

The Articles of the Pacification on Austria.

1609

The States of the reformed Religion in Austria take the Oath of Obedience unto King Matthias.

The Turks seek to encroach upon the Christians, and the Christians seek again to annoy them.

Illyshichius the Palatine of Hungary dies.

should be lawful to visit the Sick, and to administer unto them the Lords Supper: That the Oath of Allegiance should be taken of them of the Reformed Religion, in like manner as it had been taken of them of the *Romish*, but yet not with the same Ceremonies of the *Romish* Church; all union and confederation with them to be had, to be taken away; that all grudging, hatred, and quarrel should be on both sides forgiven, and for ever forgotten; *Wolfgang* of *Haffkirch*, *Poligius*, and others, removed and put from their Offices, for not taking the Oath of Allegiance, being again received into Favour, and restored into their Places: That it might be lawful for the Towns and Cities above *Amstun* to have the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion in their Suburbs and Hospitals.

It was not long after this Pacification so made, that the King *Matthias* the seventeenth of May, went to *Linze* with three hundred Horse, was there with eight Troops of Horse-men, and fifteen Companies of Foot, by the States thitherforth to meet him, most honourably received; and by three triumphal Arches brought into the City, where he received of the States of the Reformed Religion, the Oath of their Obedience; which with much Joy, Triumph, and Feasting performed; he, the sixteenth and twentieth of the same Month, again returned to *Vienna*. The aforesaid States of Austria in the mean time with great zeal continuing the free Exercise of their Religion at *Horne*; a great multitude of People daily resorting unto the Sermons there made; they of the *Romish* Religion much grieving, and detesting therat. The King himself also being come to *Vienna*, per divers *Romish* Catholics out of their Offices, and placed those of the Reformed Religion in their rooms, to the great discontentment of many.

About this time, the Batta of *Agria*, notwithstanding the Peace, had for the sum of twenty thousand Crowns before hand paid, secretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to have the strong Town of *Fleek* in the upper Hungary delivered unto him. Which the Traytor had intended (as he himself confessed) to have performed, by setting of the House wherein he himself dwelt by night on fire; unto the quenching whereof the Garrison Soldiers resorting, his purpose was in the mean time to have secretly let in the Turks, and so to have delivered the Town into their Hands. But this his wicked purpose in good time discovered, and by him confided, he was therefore, as he had well deserved, alive cut in four pieces; a just reward for his foolish intended Treason. The Batta of *Buda* also contrary to the Treaty of Peace, about the same time were taken up, and sworn the Oath of Allegiance of above four hundred Country Villages of the Christians, being not comprised within the fore said Treaty. But as the Turks for their part were secretly plotting how to encroach upon the Christians, and to do them harm; so the *Haiducks* on the other side in great numbers gathered together in the upper Hungary, began here and there to molest and trouble the Turks, until they were by their Superiors commanded to desist from so doing, for disturbing of the Peace.

Now about this time also, *Illyshichius* the County Palatine of Hungary died at *Vienna*; a man much beloved of the Hungarians, his Countrymen, and now by them no less lamented for: whose dead Body was with great Honour afterward conveyed from *Vienna* unto his own Territory in Hungary, and there with all funeral Pomp buried with his ancestors. In whose stead *George Turfay* was afterward, by the general consent of the hundred and fifty of the Hungarian Nobility, chosen County Palatine of Hungary, and so with

the universal and solemn Acclamations of the People lauded.

And now the Troubles for Religion were scarcely well ended in Austria (as is aforesaid) but that the like, or rather worse, began forthwith, even for the same quarrel, to arise in *Bohemia*; the *Hussites* (as they call them) most earnestly importuning the Emperour for the free Exercise of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certain grievances done to their Religion; and the *Roman Catholics* even at the same time leaving nothing unattempted, which might serve to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour, and others sitting at the Helm of the Government of the Estate, and so to frustrate whatsoever the Emperour had in the general Assembly of the States the last year granted unto them of their Religion, for the free Exercise and Advancement thereof: The composing of which Controversie, (tending unto the raising of the fury of the whole Kingdom) when as the Emperour had referred unto certain of his chief Counsellors; and they altogether favouring the *Roman Catholics*, would give them of the Religion no certain Answer whereto to send; they therewith much discontented, as out of hope to be by them relieved, and insensible to be by their Adversities, his Enemies of the same State, oppressed; layd their heads together; and after good deliberation taken, what worst bet for them to do, both for the safety of themselves; their Wives, Children, and Religion; they, by general consent, of themselves appointed themselves of *May* to hold a general meeting of them of the Religion (in the new Court at *Prague*), there to consult of all matters concerning the business of Religion. And yet in the mean time in Parliament protesting, by the Mouth of *Wenzeslaus*, *Bohemian*, a Baron of *Bohemia*, Them to have appointed this time for the Emperours good; and for the common quietness of the whole Realm; as also for the better informing of the Emperour of all Matters; and to provide that the Emperour and the Kingdom might not through the means and persuasions of those his evil Counsellors be brought into extreme Peril and Danger. Immediately after, the States of the Religion with all speed dispatched their Ambassadors unto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brandenburg*; to request them, by their intercession to become Mediators between them unto the Emperour, for the obtaining of the free Exercise of their Religion, which in all points agreed with the Confession of *Augsburg*, and which long before was exhibited unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time the States of the Religion were by some for their their proceedings commended; but by others for some not only blamed, but also accused of Rebellion against the Emperour and the State. But the matter being declared unto the Emperour, he complaining unto himself of the inconsiderateness of his Counsellors; to maintain his Authority, caused the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued; and to seem of himself to grant that which he could not well withstand, commanded by a Decree, that same very day to be appointed for the concluding of that Article of Religion, on which the States themselves had before appointed for their Assembly to be holden in the new Court at *Prague*. Notwithstanding which Decree, many troublesome Spirits publicly set forth other their Conceits in Writing, to far other purpose, grievously therein reprehending the States of the Religion, for that of themselves they had appointed a day for their Assembly into the new Court at *Prague*; Which (as they said) was nothing else but in a rebellious manner to rise against the

1609

New Troubles for Religion arise in Bohemia.

The States of the Religion appoint an Assembly of themselves to be holden in the new Court at Prague.

The Emperour maketh fair weather with the States of the Religion in Bohemia.

Laws of the Kingdom, and the Authority of their lawful Prince; and therefore advised them to forbear from making any such Assembly as was by them appointed. Hereof arose great troubles even unto the Emperours House, in *Prague* the chief City of *Bohemia*, they of the Religion not daring to trust the *Roman* Catholics, neither they them being still ready upon every false report, or vain surmise, to go together by the ears; until that the Emperour, for the slaying of these Troubles, and the avoiding of farther danger, was glad to cause it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at *Prague*, That his Imperial Majesty, having received and understood the Apology of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict published against them but a few days before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithful and well beloved Subjects; and, as of them unto whom the right of the Kingdom, and the King's Oath belonged, as well as to all other States of the Kingdom. And that he also had those the same States excused, in that they for the good of his Majesty, and of the whole Kingdom, had appointed their Assembly in the new Court at *Prague*; and that therefore he denounced them in so doing, not in any thing to have done anything contrary unto his Majesty; And that he appointed the five and twentieth day of May for the general Assembly of Parliament to be holden in the Castle of *Prague*, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the restoring of such the publick Grievances of the Common-wealth: yet with this proviso, That the said States should faithfully and quietly come unto the said Parliament, without entreating of any foreign Souldiers; as that his Majesty should also, not by himselfe, neither for pay entertain any, or suffer any foreign Souldiers to come into the Kingdom. Which the Emperours Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion having made their publick Prayers, and sung certain Hymns and Psalmes unto the Glory of God, for the good success of their business, left the new Court at *Prague*, and returned every man home to their own Houses, to make themselves ready to come unto the Parliament to be holden at the appointed day.

The States of *Bohemia* by writing declaring their dissent to the Emperour their purpose for the defence of their Religion.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour still delaying the matter, the States of the Religion, weary of such long delays, and in doubt to be therewith deluded, as having not received from the Emperour any such answer as whereon to rest, the third of June offered unto the Emperour a short writing, concerning their Grief and further purpose, to this effect. They had (as they said) ascertained, and well known, that regard being had, not only of so many requests of so great and most noble Princes, made in their behalf; but even of the Emperours promise also, made unto them, both in the general Assembly of the States the last year, and in the late Precept of the Emperours also, they should at length have received such answer unto their Petition, concerning the free Exercise of their Religion, as whereon they might have safely relied. Which, for that it had not been yet done, they referred the doing thereof unto God and future time; imputing the blame thereof, not unto his Imperial Majesty, but unto the unquiet and troublesome Natures of some as well the Ecclesiastical as Temporal Magistrates and Persons. But so far as much as they meant not longer to be deluded by their Enemies, and much less to be defrauded of his Majesties Royal Promise, which was now unto the World known, they had thought good to offer and present unto his Majesty a Writing conceived in the *Bohemian* Tongue, according unto which they desired to be secured, concerning the free Exercise of their Religion;

most humbly requesting his Majesty to accept of the same, and at length to satisfy their requests. Which if it might not be granted, (the Emperours Majesty, having more respect unto the troublesome Clergy-men, and some other his evil affected Counsellors, than to the faithful States and Subjects of his Kingdom;) that then they would rest themselves upon the Decree made in the Assembly holden in the year 1608, and upon the last Edict of his Majesty; yet with this solemn Protestation, That seeing they had by certain Information understood much Warlike Preparation (but especially in *Bavaria*) to be made; and divers Consultations in many Places to be holden against the States of the Religion, (his Imperial Majesty, and the other his faithful Counsellors, thereof not knowing,) which might tend unto the Ruine and Destruction both of his Majesty and of the whole Kingdom; they themselves would take upon them the defence thereof, and do their endeavour, that, furnished with Men and Arms, they might to the uttermost of their power defend him their Sovereign, together with themselves, and the whole Kingdom, against the Force and Invasion of their foreign Enemies.

In the mean time, while these things were thus in doing, an Ambassador came from the Duke of *Saxony* to *Prague*, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free Exercise of their Religion; the Ambassadors of the States of *Silesia* forthwith following of them also; who, in like manner requesting also of the Emperour, to have the liberty for the free Exercise of their Religion by him confirmed unto them; promised their most ready help and aid unto the States of *Bohemia*, if it need should so require. But the States of *Bohemia*, having from day to day in vain expected answer from the Emperour, turning themselves unto their former Resolution for the defence of themselves and of their Religion; forthwith raised a great number both of Horse and Foot, whom, with their well known Captains and Commanders, they brought even unto the City of *Prague*. Howbeit, at length, viz. the sixteenth of July, the *Saxon* Ambassador earnestly soliciting their Cause, and urging their request, they, according to their desire, received answer from the Emperour, by Letters from his Majesty written to this effect.

He gave all Men (as he said) to understand, and by these his Letters willed to eternal Memory, That after that all the free States of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which, in the receiving of the Lord Supper, participate the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both kinds, his faithful Subjects, had in the Assembly holden in the Castle at *Prague* in the year 1608, in all humility requested, That it might be lawful for them to hold, and freely to Exercise their Religion, according to the Confession of *Augustus*, (as some call it) exhibited unto his Father *Maximilian* the Emperour of most happy Memory, and by him unto the said States allowed; and that he then and at that time, by reason of other most weighty business, for which that Assembly was then called, and such as could suffer no Procrastination or delay, had thought it good to defer the allowing and ratifying of this their Petition, unto this present Assembly of Parliament; and that the same States now again assembled, incessantly renewing this their former Petition and having thereunto joynted also the request and Intercession of certain Noble Personages, had requested to be therein satisfied; and that he with his counsellors would consult how Provision might be made for his Subjects in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as well Communicating under both kinds, as under one; now

Ambassadors from the Duke of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Silesia* in the behalf of the States.

The States of *Bohemia* raise their Forces.

The Emperours Letters unto the States of the Religion in *Bohemia* for the free Exercise of their Religion.

at length to have effected the same. Wherefore seeing that his Will and Desire was, that both in these and future time, Peace and Quietness might for the increasing of the Kingdom be preserved and kept amongst his Subjects of all the three Estates of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, communicating as well under the one, as under both kinds; that both parties might freely, and without any impediment or let, have the free Exercise of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to obtain everlasting Salvation. And to the intent that Accomplishment and Satisfaction might in all points be made, as well according unto the breaking up of the Assembly of Parliament in the year 1608, as to the performance of his own Precept, of late published, (whereby he hath acknowledged, and even yet acknowledged, those same Estates communicating under both kinds, and subscribing to this Confession, for his faithful and loyal Subjects, unto whom the Right and Immunities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* belonged) He by the common consent of the Counsellors, and other Magistrates of the Kingdom did determine, That his Subjects, communicating both under one and both kinds, should friendly and peaceably live together, without wronging or reviling of one another; and that upon the Pain and Penalty in the Law set down, to be inflicted upon them that should otherwise do. And moreover, seeing that they which communicated but under one kind, enjoyed the free Exercise of their Religion in all points throughout the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, that he gave leave, and commanded, that they also which communicated under both kinds, viz. all the States of the Religion, with all such as embraced the Confession of *Bohemia*, sometimes exhibited to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his Father, in the Parliament holden in the year 1575, and now again by himself presented, should every where, and in all places of the Kingdom, have the free Exercise of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retain the same, until a general Union of Religion, and an ending of all Diffusion and Controversies might be made. Moreover, That He did grant unto the States of the Religion this Favour, That they should have the lower Consistory at *Prague*, with Power to conform the same according to their own Confession. That they might lawfully make their Priests, as well in the *Bohemian* as *German* Tongue, and let them over their Churches, without any let of the Arch-bishop of *Prague*. That he did also restore unto them the University of *Prague*, which for many years ago belonged unto the States of the Religion under both kinds; giving them Power again to open the same, to furnish it with grave and learned Men of their own Confession, so beautify it with good Laws, and to appoint certain of their own Company and Profession for Governors and Defenders as well of the Consistory as of the University; whom, so by the States appointed and chosen, he without any stay or delay, or other instruction or information that they should from the States receive, would confirm in that their Office, and pronounce them for the lawful Defenders; yet so, as that if he, being let by other greater business, cannot perform the same within the space of fourteen days, they shall nevertheless continue Defenders. And as well enjoy the charge of the Office committed unto them, as if they had been therein by him confirmed; and that one or other of their number being dead, it shall be lawful for the States to chuse others in their Places. And if that, besides the churches which they now hold, they should build any other more, or erect more Schools for the instructing of the Youth, it shall be law-

ful for them freely, and without any let so to do, as well in the Cities as in the Country Towns and Villages. And so far as much as in some of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, Men of both Religions dwell together, he therefore did will and command, That for the preservation of Peace and Quietness, either party freely exercising their Religion, and obeying their Priests, should by no means either hurt or trouble them on the other party; and much less to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or Church-yards, with the ringing or tolling of the Bells, or go about to turn any Man from his Religion, of what state or condition those persons be, whether he dwell in the City, or in the Country Town or Village; or by force to draw them to their Opinion, or to take their part. For that he only respected, that Peace and Quietness might be kept, and that mutual Love might still grow amongst all the three States: Unto which end and purpose, that He for himself and his Heirs, and the Kings of *Bohemia* his Successors, in the Faith and Word of a King, did grant and promise unto the States of the Religion, unto whom this common Peace of Religion (as they call it) promisseth, as to a principal member of the Empire, all the things to be forever inviolably kept (the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Persons whoever in vain resisting) so that no contrary Precept or Edict, should either by himself, or any other his Heirs or Successors be published against the States of the Religion; or being published by any, should be accounted effectual and strong; especially, seeing that he by these his Letters, amongst all the Edicts hitherto published against these the States of the Religion, to be void, frustrate, and of none effect; that he would that any thing of those which were done by the States of the Religion, whilst they sought for the Confirmation of this Article concerning Religion, should for ever be lay to their charge, or by any man by way of reproach objected unto them. And that therefore he straightly charged and commanded all Magistrates, and such as bare rule in *Bohemia*, to the utmost of their Power to protect and defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion; and neither themselves to trouble them, nor suffer them to be by any others for the Exercise of their Religion molested or troubled: For that he and other the Kings of *Bohemia*, his Successors, would most severely chastise all such as should offend against these his Majesties Letters (which, to be for ever remembered, he would cause the same to be enrolled in the publick Records of Parliament) whether such Offenders were Ecclesiastical or Temporal Men, to be sharply punished as the Troublers of the Common Peace.

This was the sum of his Majesties Letters, which he caused to be publicly set up in the Castle of *Prague* the thirteenth of July, that it might be to all men known, this Article of Religion, which was the first of the Articles in this Parliament promissed, to be concluded and agreed unto according to the Mind of the States of the Religion, and to their Requests to be in all points ratified. Who forthwith thereupon, the sixteenth day of July, caused the first publick Sermon according to the Confession of *Augustus*, to be preached in the *German* Tongue in a Church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before been shut up. At which time, they also sent unto the Elector of *Saxony*, to send unto them certain learned men, for the setting up of the University, and the governing of the Consistory at *Prague*. And yet for all this, the Ambassadors for the States of *Silesia*, still earnestly labouring with the Emperour for the Liberty of Religion to be granted

1609

granted to the said States and the rest of the Inhabitants of the Province; the States of *Bohemia* refused in any way to dismiss their Soldiers whom they had mustered near unto *Raggenfon*, until the *Silesians* were of their request in that point satisfied; offering also unto the Emperour a large Libel of the Grievs of them the said States.

Now it may be that some having read so much as is before written concerning these late Troubles about the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion, but especially in *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, and *Silesia*, may deem the same both tedious and beside our purpose; yet rather unto such, as who, together with my self (the Wars betwixt the Christians and the Turks ended, and the Peace concluded as is aforesaid) desire yet to know in what state those frontier Countries stand; which being the greatest Bulwarks on that side of Christendom, and the chief Territories of the House of *Austria*, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwise broken off) most subject unto the Fury of the puissant Enemy, as nearest unto him, and so like soonest to feel of his great Force and Power, prefixing unto it self neither bounds nor measure, so long as there is any thing farther. Against whom the Christian Emperour had no other Forces of his own to oppose, more than such as he could raise out of the Reliques of *Hungary*, and the aforesaid Frontier Countries. All together but weak helps against so puissant an Enemy, as never cometh into the field but with a world of Men following of him; but yet much weaker, being (as now of late they were) every one of them apart divided in themselves about matters of Religion, the incurable malady of the Christian Estates and Commonwealths; the heavy and lamentable effect whereof of too much of late appeared in the loss of *Strigomion*, won by the Turks with a far less Army than ever the Grand Signiors Lieutenant General was wont to come into *Hungary* withal; and yet the Christian Emperour, by reason of the revolt of the *Hungarians*, (upon a discontentment about the Exercise of their Religion) not able of

himself to relieve the distressed City of *Strigomion*, or yet to put an Army of any strength into the Field, for the defence of the rest of his Cities or Territories. So weak are even the greatest Princes, their Subjects being among themselves in Minds divided.

But not to stray farther, the Turks Ambassador in the mean time with a notable train of an hundred and fifty Turks coming from *Vienna* the one and twentieth of *September*, and there having saluted; and with great Gifts presented the Kings, set forward toward *Prague*, where he was by the Citizens and certain Noblemen of the Emperours Council the twelfth of *October* honourably received; and the nineteenth of the same Month admitted unto the Emperours Presence, first presented unto him from the Great Sultan his Master, a rich Tent of divers colours, most curiously wrought with fair Orient Pearl of great value; and then four courageous Horses, all furnished with most rich and sumptuous furniture. He presented unto him also certain Turkish Weapons set and garnished with precious Stones, and a Princely Turks robe, such as they use at their Marriages, glittering with Gold and precious Stones, with divers other rare things of less value; together with which he delivered unto him the Great Sultans Letters, and withal desired the Confirmation of the Peace before made for twenty years, to be now again renewed. Unto which Ambassadors Letters were afterward delivered from the Emperour, together with certain other rich Presents to be by him presented unto the great Sultan: *viz.* certain Carcoches lined within with Damask, and covered without with black Velvet; six fair and gallant Horses most richly furnished; a Clock of wonderful Workmanship; two fair Desks to write upon of Ebony; with divers other like Presents of no small price. Who so charged with Presents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking answered, was afterward, in the beginning of *January*, with a train of two hundred Horses from *Prague* honourably dismissed.

The Turks Ambassador cometh to Vienna, and from thence to Prague.

1610

The Persians enter into the Province of *Babylon*.

The Turks defeated.

The Turk makes Gambolot Bassa of Aleppo, who had been the most powerful Rebel in Asia, and was newly reconciled and brought into favour with the Grand Signior.

He commands him to be slain.

Ambassadors come from the Persian to the Emperour.

THE Turkish Emperour, having been fired some years from the care of Wars in *Hungary*, in regard that he had concluded a Truce for twenty years with the Emperour *Rodolphus*, he now bent all his Forces against his Rebels in *Asia*, and the Sophie of *Persia*, where he had no good Success this year. For the *Persians*, having formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkish Empire, and defeated *Cisale Bassa*, and others in divers Battels; now they entered into the Province of *Babylon*, with a design to join it to *Persia*. Achmat, to stay the course of their Prosperity, sends a mighty Army thither, under the command of *Nassir Bassa*; but his fortune was no better than those that went before him. The *Persians* came to meet him, gave him battle, defeated him, and slew twenty thousand of his Men. These mournful News coming to Court, did much displease the Sultans Mind; he could not endure it should be said, that the *Persian* had defeated his mighty Armies thrice in open Battel; and much less that it should be so, and that he should seize upon his Countries: wherefore, to repair this loss, he levies new Forces to be commanded by *Gambolot Bassa of Aleppo*, who had been the most powerful Rebel in *Asia*, and was newly reconciled and brought into favour with the Grand Signior. His main came to the Port to receive the Sultans Commandments, and to pass his Army into *Asia*; but, whether having some suspicion that he had intelligence with the *Persians*, or that such as envied his Greatness, had given some bad impression of his Loyalty to the Sultan; within some few days after his arrival, Achmat caused him to be slain by his *Capigi*. Whereby we may well observe, that he that is a Rebel to his Prince, which hath so violently oppressed his Subjects, and for his Countries on fire by Sedition, the which he hath been forced to quench with the blood of Innocents, cannot but end his days violently and miserably, seeing that God revegeth the Blood of Innocents upon the guilty.

The *Persian*, seeing what advantage he had gotten the *Persian*, laboured by the bruit of his Victories to draw the Christian Princes unto his party, and with them wholly to ruin the *Othomans*; the which he had so happily begun. For the effecting whereof, he sent his Ambassadors to

the Emperour being at *Prague*, to persuade him to break the Peace with the Turk, and to join with him. The Ambassadors arrived at *Prague* this year with rich and rare Presents; first, a Cross of Gold enriched with many precious stones; amongst which there was one piece of Amber, wherein was seen the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young Babe in her Arms; the which was so artificially graven, as it might be thought the work of Nature; a Topas of exceeding greatness, given to the King of *Persia* by an *Indian King*; two Knives of Damask, with hafts of Jasper, and their sheaths covered with Diamonds; a certain kind of *Indian Wood* of most excellent vertue, most sovereign to cure the pains of the Brest, and to purge the Stomach; the gall of a Pelican, excellent to cure the Pleurisie, Apoplexy, and Fever; two Topazes, the one white, and the other violet, this last was so big, as it was capable to make a Cup; an Amethyst as big as a Hens Egg; a *Persian Bow* inlaid with the Veins of a Camel, and a rough Diamond exceeding great; a white stone of the colour of Water, which was a preservative against the Plague, being hung about ones neck; three Oriental Pearls exceeding big; three rich Escarbuncles, and three marvellous fair Diamonds; and with all this a Serpents Horn, much esteemed for the rare Vertues. All these Presents were very well accepted, and the Ambassadors much honoured. But what appearance was there for the Emperour, who had so great Differences with his Brother *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, who saw the greatest part of his Subjects rebelled against him, his Provinces in division, *Transylvania* in Combustion by the Conspiracy which had been discovered against *Battery*, and finally a general Disorder over all, to break the peace with the Turk, (who was at his Door, retained only with this Bar) and to ally himself with the *Persian* so far from his Countries, from whom he could draw no Succours, but only that he might keep the *Othomans* busie in *Asia*? Thus the Ambassadors returned, carrying home nothing but good Words.

Since the Troubles which hapned in *Bohemia* made him see of what importance it was to entertain Peace with the Turk; for if he had broken it by the *Persians* Persuasion, he had given his Enemy an assured means to ruin him; for the

The Proceedings of Leopold in Bohemia.

Presents sent to the Emperour.

His Affairs will not suffer him to join with the Persian.

# A CONTINUATION OF THIS PRESENT HISTORY,

(Containing those Occurrents which have happened to the Turkish Empire since the Year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and nine, unto the Year, one thousand six hundred and seventeen, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, Serjeant at Arms.

HERE

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Causes of the Troubles of Bohemia.

the Arch-duke *Leopold* entred into *Bohemia* with an Army of nine thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; he surpris'd petty *Prague*, attempted the old Town, and seeking to force it, he flew many which made resistance. *Matthias* King of *Hungary* advertised of this Disorder, parts from *Austria* with a powerful Army, and advanc'd speedily towards *Bohemia*. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias*'s Army and *Leopold*'s had met near unto *Prague*, it had been the loss and overthrow of the one, and the defoliation and ruine of the Country. The Emperour foreseeing this Danger, caus'd 300000 *Florins* to be deliver'd to *Romeo Leopold*'s Lieutenant, for the payment of his Army, and so sent him out of *Bohemia*. This division betwixt the Princes of the House of *Austria*, grew by the Practices of some of the Emperours Council, who being delegated Judges to compound the Differences of the *Bohemians* of divers Religions, instead of labouring to reconcile and unite that People, for the good of the publick, they made themselves Partisans to the one, to oppresse the other; and thereby they drew the Princes into a dangerous division, for the support of Parties. And moreover, the Arch-dukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold* practis'd to deprive *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, of the Succession which he pretended of *Bohemia*; lest that being Master, he should take revenge upon their Partisans for the Troubles whereby they had formerly afflicted the Country. Such was the Estate of Affairs in *Germany*, giving the Turk a fair Opportunity, if he could have embrac'd to rich an occasion, to make his Profit of their Combinations. But the Confirmation of the Truce, and the Affairs of his House, kept him in *Thrace*.

The Gallies of Malta defeated by the Turks.

Let us see how the Turk speeds at Sea; where he hath the Knights of *Malta*, the *Sicilians*, and *Neapolitans*, and the *Florentines*, vigilant and valiant Enemies, to annoy him, and cross his Designs. The last year, 1609, the Christians had no good Success, loss fell particularly upon the Knights of *Malta*; for he that fights often, can hardly vanquish always. The Gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chivalier Guidotti*, an Italian, had made two Voyages to Sea very fortunately, and brought to *Malta* three hundred Turkish Slaves. The encouragement of this good Success engag'd many Knights to divers Enterprises. They arm'd certain Gallions, and made a Fleet of ten good Ships of War, as unfortunate in their Conquests as the Gallion of the Order had been before successful; for, meeting with the Turks Fleet in the Seas of *Cyprus*, they were let upon, and most of them slain or made Slaves. The Knight *Frezzini* was slain, and the Red Gallion, wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole day Fight. *Ambrusio*, otherwise called *Fuallade*, another Knight, was made a Slave, and his Gallion taken; the Knight *Ogger* ran the same fortune, with the loss of a Gallion. *Frezzini* having brought a Pinnace with him to attend his Ship, after some fight near unto the Gallion, it escap'd by night. In this Voyage, unfortunate for them of *Malta*, the Gallion of the Order would needs seek some better adventure; the Knights of *Bailen* and *Rhodes*, did accompany him either of them with a small Gallion. He set upon the Caravan of the Turks Fleet, near the Island of *Rhodes*, his success being the beginning of this Combat made him hope for Victory, and the number of the Enemies Vessels for a rich Booty; for there were among the rest two great Gallions of the Sultans; these are Ships which belong to the great Seigniors Women, laden commonly with great Riches; but twenty Gallies of *Rhodes* seeing this fight, came out of their Port to succour them, and by the favour of a fair Wind, drew them into safety.

The Gallion of the Order first upon the Turks Caravan.

At *Malta* the bruit was, That the Turks Army consisting of fourscore Gallies, should go and besiege the Isle of *Gozo*, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon, the Great Master had resolv'd to fortifie the Castle of the Island, with a good Counterscarp, which he caus'd to be made, sending thither two hundred Souldiers, and thirty Knights for supply, all brave Souldiers, who might have made a great resistance, if the Turks had attempt'd it; but the Enemies if the Turks had attempt'd it, and gave them time to rest.

But this Year 1610, *Vignancourt*, the Great Master of *Malta*, lent the five Gallies of the Order into *Barbary*, towards the Port *Farino*, memorable, for that it was the Haven where *Saint Lewis* the French King ended the Navigation of his days, and at his return from *Hierusalem* and *Palestina*, went to receive in Heaven the glorious palms of his holy Actions. The Gallies of *Bijerta* had been accustomed to fetch Palms there in that season (which was in the Spring time,) whom the Gallies of *Malta* had a design to surpris'd, but the contrary Winds, and the tempestuous Seas overthrow that Enterprise; yet their Voyage was not altogether unprofitable; for returning toward *Malta*, being within the Channell which divides the Island from that of *Sicily*, they encountered with a great Gallion of *Tunes*, armed by a Turk called *Caranfian*, being in view of the Gallies of *Malta*: The *Kaife* (who commanded) assur'd his Company, and (smiling) promised to free them from their Enemies being so transported with Vanity, as he spake confidently, that he would not fear twenty of the Gallies of *Malta*; but this his pride was soon abated with his ruine; for the five Gallies came close under him, and plied him so furiously with their Cannon, as they sunk him. The Gally wherein *Verdelli*, an Italian Knight, commanded, had like to have been lost, for being grappled with the Gallion, if the Vigence of *Verdelli* had not speedily retir'd it. The Turks, after the loss of their Vessel, began to swim away, but they were all made Slaves to serve in the Gallies of *Malta*, who this year had no other Fruits of their generous Enterprises.

The Gallies of *Cosmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuskey*, parted from *Ligorn*, under the Conduct of the Commander and Admiral *Inghirami*, and running along the Coast of *Barbary*, they took a Turkish Ship in the sight of *Algier*, laden with Merchandise, Arms, and Munition of War, as freeing many Christian Slaves which were in it. This happy beginning promised them better fortune. They pass'd on, and some twenty five Leagues beyond *Algier*, they go to surpris'd the Town of *Bijquerre*, a small Town in Circuit, but strong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing near unto the Coast, took down his Masts, lest they should discover his coming. In the mean time, he sent two long Boats to find some place fit for their landing; the which being carefully observed, Colonel *Budhi* landed his Men, and about eleven a Clock at Night march'd in good order towards the Town, and forced it. The Darkness of the Night kept them from spoiling it; being content only to let their Guards and Sentinels in the most important Places of the Wall; but day being come, the Souldiers made themselves Masters of the Town, which they sack'd and spoil'd. Certain Moons and Turks, during the Obscurity of the Night, had retir'd themselves into a Mosque, which they fortified: They were summon'd to yield; but the fear of being Slaves, (which they could not avoid) made them resolve to die in their own defence; so as the *Florentines* having forced the Place, put them all to the Sword; and then embargued their Troops, having fill'd *Bijquerre*

The Gallies of Malta go to surpris'd them of Bijerta.

They sink a Gallion of Tunes.

The Courses of the Duke of Telsany's Gallies. They take a Turkish Ship.

Bijquerre the Florentines.

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The Turks take divers Turkish Vessels.

with Fire and Blood. The Night following, being in the Gulf call'd the *Bad Woman*, they met with a Pinnace laden with Corn, the which they took, and sent to *Ligorns*, and then they pass'd on to encrease their Conquest. Being upon the Coast of *Sardinia*, two Gallions of *Bijerta* did furnish them with a fair Occasion. *Inghirami* sendeth his Gallies to pursue them, who having had them in chase threecore Leagues, took the one, wherein they had one hundred and twenty Slaves, and freed many poor Christians from the Chain, who suffer'd the Tyranny of the Turkish Servitude. They also took a Turkish Gally within half a League of *Algier*, and spoil'd it. And thus triumphing over their Enemies, they took their Course towards *Ligorn*, having taken four Turkish Vessels, spoil'd the Town of *Bijquerre*, and twice brav'd that of *Algier*.

The Moriques or new Christians chased out of Spain.

This year was fatal for the Moriques or new Christians in *Spain*, who being in number nine hundred thousand Persons, as the original writes, and had continued there from Father to Son, for the space of nine hundred years, were now in an instant banish'd, and made *Vagabonds* with the blast of the Kings Mouth: Men discourag'd diversely hereof. Some said, that the King had reason to do it, for that they had secret Practices and Intelligence with the Turk, his capital Enemy. Others affirm'd, that he did wilfully to prevent their Attempts against his Estate, which were to be feared, considering their Numbers were so great. And some said plainly, that it was to have their Lands and Inheritances, which had continued so long in their Races. But the King declared his own intent by his Edict, the which he published in these Terms.

The King of Spain's Edict.

The King: For that reason doth in Conscience bind a good and Christian Government, to expel out of all Realms and Common-weals those things which breed scandal, and bring hurt to our good Subjects, and Danger to the Estate, but especially which are offensive to God, and prejudicial to his Service; for this cause, Experience having taught us, That the residence of the new Christian Moriques, and their abode in the new Christian Towns, *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andelofa*, hath been the cause of all these Inconveniences: For that besides the manner of their proceeding, which joynd in the Rebellion of *Granado*, the which began by cruel Murders of all the Pridits and old Christians which lived amongst them, calling the Turk in to their Aid; yet having drawn them out of the said Country, and suffer'd them to live in their other Provinces, as they would repent them of their Faults, and live faithfully and Christianly, according to the Precepts and just Ordinances which were given them: They have not observ'd and kept them according to the strict and direct Rules of our Holy Faith; but have always made them to condemn it, and to have no fear to offend God; as hath been seen by the great numbers which have been punished by the Inquisition; and besides, they have committed many Thefts and Murders against the old Christians. And not content herewith, they have conspir'd against my Royal Crown and Realms, seeking Aid and Succours from the Turk, certain interposed Persons being sent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promising unto themselves Aid and Assistance, offering unto them their Persons and Means. And seeing that during so many years, in which they have practis'd these Treasonable Conspiracies, not any one hath come to reveal them, but they have always cover'd, conceal'd, and denied them; it is a most apparent sign that they have all been of one Mind and Will, against the Service of God and of me, and

against the good of this Realm; yet they might have imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who have done service to God, Christians, and most valiant Vassals.

Wherefore considering all this, and how much I am bound to set down some good order, and to procure the preservation and increase of my Realms and Subjects, and desiring to provide for all; I have decreed, with the Advice and Council of many judicious learned men, and others, that are very religious, wife, and jealous of Gods Service and mine, to chase out of the said Realms of *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andelofa*, and out of the Town of *Hernache* (although it be not within the Limits of the said Realms) all the new Christians Moriques, both Men, Women, and Children. For when as a great or defensible Crime is committed in any College or Community, it is fit that College or Community should be ruin'd, and that the Isles for the greater, and one with another should be punished; and that such as pervert the good and sincere Life of Common-weals, and of their Towns and Cities, should be banish'd from other Inhabitants, lest their Contagion infect them.

For this cause, by virtue of these Prefents, we ordain and command, That all the new Christians Moriques, without any exception of Age or Sex, of those that live and reside in the said Realms, and in the Town of *Hernache*, except such as be Slaves, shall within the space of thirty days after the Publication hereof, depart out of our Realms and Dominions of *Spain*, with their Wives, Children, Servants, and others of their Nation; and that they shall not presume to return nor make any residence in them, in any sort whatsoever; And we forbid them to depart by the Realms of *Valencia*, or *Aragon*, nor to enter into them, nor to stay in any of our Realms or Countries after the time prefixed, upon pain of Death, and confiscation of all their Goods. And we command, that no Person within our Realms and Seigniories, of what Estate, Qualities, or Condition soever, shall presume to receive, conceal, or defend publicly nor secretly any Morique Man or Woman after the said term, upon pain to lose all their Goods, Vassals, For, and Lands; and moreover to lose all the Graces and Benefits which they have from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may justly confiscate all the Goods moveable and unmoveable of the said Moriques, as belonging to Traitors, and guilty of high Treason; yet using Clemency, I am content, that during the said term of thirty days, they may dispose of their moveable Goods, and carry them away, not in Gold, Silver, Jewels, nor Letters of Exchange, but in Merchandise, which is not prohibited, bought of the natural Subjects of this Realm, and not of others; or in the Commodities of the said Country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty days dispose thereof, and of their moveable Goods, and employ it in Merchandise, or in the Commodities of the Country, and transport what they shall buy; (for as for their Lands that must be annexed to our Revenues, to be employed in the Service of God and the Common-weal, as I shall think most fit) I declare by these Prefents, that I take them into my Royal Protection and assure them and their Goods, That during the said time they may go and come, to sell, exchange, and alienate all their moveable Goods, and to employ their Money, Gold, Silver, and Jewels, in Merchandise not prohibited, or in the Commodities of the Country, and to transport the same freely, without any let or interruption, by

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Land or by Sea, paying usual Customs; so as they carry no Gold or Silver coined, or any other thing prohibited by the Laws of my Realm. Yet we are content, they shall carry so much Money as shall be needful for their Passage by Land, and embarking by Sea; commanding all our Officers and loving Subjects to see this present Edict duly observed. &c. Signed, I the King.

After the Publication of this Edict, the term of thirty days was refrained to twenty, to let the *Marqueses* be halcyon to depart, and the Ships and Vessels of what Country soever were stayed in all the Ports of Spain, to transport them whither they would go. Many passed from Spain into *Barbary*; but during this year there came above 150000 of these *Marqueses* into France; the King sending Commissaries, to see them well used, and orderly transported away.

War in Barbary.

There was a War fallen out in *Barbary* betwixt *Muley Xenny*, King of *Fez*, and *Muley Sidi*, his younger Brother, both Mahometans, in which the Younger forced the elder to flee his Country, and to come and crave Aid from *Philip King of Spain*; But the unfortunate loss of *Dou Sebastian King of Portugal*, was a good Prefident for the Spaniard not to trust in barbarous Kings, without good assurance; He treated with the *Barbarians*, and promised him Succours, with an hundred thousand *Ducats*, to return to *Alarache*, (a place which held for some time by Money or other Practices, he should draw unto him as many Soldiers as he could; and that for the safety of the Succours that he should give him, he should put *Alarache* or *Arrache* into his Hands.

Defection of the Town of Arrache or Alarache.

This *Arrache* is a strong Town in the Realm of *Fez*, in the Province of *Algar*, seated upon the Ocean, at the Mouth of the River of *Luce*, wherein part of it is built, and the other part upon the Rocks, it had a good Port, and hard to take for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of *Fez*, do usually erect a Garrison of three hundred light Horse, and three hundred *Harquebussiers*; for that the *Portugals* and *Capitans* hold in a manner all the Sea Towns of the Provinces of *Habat*, and *Erif*, where they have great Garrisons. This Province is from the River of *Nsoor* along the *Mediterranean* Sea, unto the Straight of *Gibraltar*, the other is upon the Ocean from the said Straight unto the River *Luce*, in the which the King of Spain holdeth at this day the strong Towns of *Tanger*, *Arzill*, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to *Arrache*, with his Money in one of the King of Spain's Ships; to whom in a short time repaid many of his Friends and Servants. The Spaniard the mean time having prepared a Fleet of a great number of Gallies and Ships, and embarked ten thousand Soldiers therein, he gave the command thereof unto the *Marques* of Saint *Germaine*, who arrived on the twentieth of November in the Evening at the Port of *Arrache*, and there rode at Anchor all the Night. The next day in the Morning, the *Marques*, calling all the Captains to a Council, imparting unto them his Design for to force *Arrache*, in case that the Moorish King did not keep his Promise; they gave him assurance, that they would carry themselves like unto brave and valiant Soldiers. But see what happened; The King of *Fez*, having no means to go from his word, forcing the Spaniard so strong as he might well force it, many of his Followers and People, fearing to fall under the Power of Spain, they would have banded him; but having the Government of the Castle in his Devotion, he thrust out the Garrison, and delivered the Key himself unto the *Marques* of Saint *Germain*. Up-

on the first bruit that the Spaniards were entered into the Castle, all the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and thinking to resist them, after that many of them had ended their days valiantly, during three hours Combat, they were forced to yield unto the *Marques*; who presently planted the Cross and Arms of *Castile* upon all the Towers and Siecples. Thus this strong Town, which the *Capitans* and *Portugals* had so long desired, and whereby the Inhabitants received a great ruine, is in the end fallen under the Domination of their King. The News of this Exploit being brought into Spain, pleased the King much, and the People made bon-fires for joy; these are the Alterations of times. The Moors in old time were wont to over-run Spain, and now the Spaniards take their Pleasures in *Mauritania*.

About the end of this year, News came to *Constantinople*, of the great Wars which had been between the Uncle and the Nephews, by the death of the Great Cham of the *Tartars*; the Son, who during his Fathers Life time had continued at *Constantinople* as an Hostage, and was now sent back into his Country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his Fathers Estate; his Uncle, Brother to the deceased Cham, persuaded to seize upon the Crown; but either of them having drawn an Army of 60000 Men together, in the end, they joyned battle, whereas after the slaughter of 40000 Men upon the place, the Son had the Victory, and by that means obtained the Crown of *Tartaria*.

I will conclude this year 1610, with the Relation of a particular Business, to the new greedy desire of the Turks to get by any unjust means whatsoever, and their Infidelity and Falshood to say and swear any thing for Bribes. Some years before, one *Master Willoughby*, an English Gentleman, having rigged up a Ship for war into the Gulf, he came unto *Alger*, and *Barbary* to sell his *Levant*; he there at that time one *Solyman Catan* was *Bassa*. This Ship was suddenly seized on, and rifled by the command of this *Bassa*, upon no other Subject, but that the *Bassa* pretended this Ship had burnt a *Caramool* of his, which in truth the *Bassa* himself had caused to be set on Fire, that under colour thereof he might seize upon the Ship and Goods. *Master Willoughby* went to *Constantinople*, and there made his complaint to *Sir Henry Lilbo*, then Ambassador for the English; but yet could get no satisfaction; whereupon he returned into *England*, and obtained Letters from his Majesty to the Grand Signior, and to *Sir Thomas Glover*, then Ambassador, residing at *Constantinople*; which having received, he went presently to the *Chimacham* (who was Lieutenant to *Marash Bassa* the Grand Visier, he being then employed in the Wars against the *Persians*.) The *Chimacham* having read their Letters, would not suffer them to be delivered to the Grand Signior; promising to do Justice upon *Solyman Catan*, who he discharged from his Place, and sent for him to *Constantinople*; who being come, and called in question, he denied the Fact; *Master Willoughby* (having no certain proof of his loss) laboured one *Officer Bassa* a Turk, who had been at *Mecca*, as was therefore held a very holy man, who for a Brother of his to procure false Witnesses, upon promise to have the tenth part of what should be recovered; The Witnesses being ready to swear to his Assertion, *Solyman Catan* hearing their Oath, compounded with *Master Willoughby*, and gave him four or five thousand Dollars; so the business ended. Which shews the Corruption of the Turks, and that the holiest of them for Money will not stick to bear false Witnesses, and take false Oaths.

This

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Arrache in Barbary taken by the Spaniards.

A great Plague in Constantinople.

200000 persons died of the plague.

The Turks obstinate belief touching predestination.

A great Battle in Tartaria.

Death of the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

The Ceremony of Ambassadors at their first Audience.

This year 1610, the City of *Constantinople* was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which dispersed it (itself over all, and crept into the Grand Signior's Seraglio, wherein one of his Sons died of that Infection; whereupon the Grand Signior was forced to retire for his safety, and to pais the remainder of the Summer in his Palace or Seraglio of *Darrah Bassa*, about a League and a half distant from the City; this violent Contagion did to rage in *Constantinople* for the space of five Months, as there were numbered two hundred thousand Persons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry every day twelve or fifteen hundred Bodies to be buried. The greatness of this Mortality is not to be imputed so much to the Corruption of the Air, as to the wilful Negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchsafe to turn away from a Body dead of this Defile, when it goes to burial, nor to forbear to visit their Friends being infected. The obstinate belief they have of Predestination maketh them brutishly contemn all sorts of dangers: For say they, alon as man comes out of his Mothers Womb to enjoy the Light of the World, God writes in his Forehead all the good or evil shall happen unto him, and particularly of what Death he shall dye, the necessity whereof no humane power can avoid. All is governed (say they) by Destiny, and therefore they regard not any Infection, but contrariwise when any one is dead, another takes his Clothes and wears them; which is the cause that *Constantinople* and the Grand *Caire* are seldom free; and whereas the Air is any thing disposed to Contagion, there dyes such multitudes of People, as they do not number them but by hundred thousands.

Before the beginning of this Plague, the Baron of *Salgrave*, *Archebischope* for the French at *Constantinople*, ended his Embassy with his Life. His most Christian Majesty sent the Baron of *Mole*, eldest Son to the Baron of *Sansepe*, to supply his Place. He arrived at *Pera* this Year in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sultan being returned to *Constantinople*; after that he had visited the *Muphti*, (who is the chief of their Law), the Grand Visier, the *Defordra*, (who is the Sultan's high Treasurer,) the *Bayasque* *Bassa* his chief Gardiner, with other great Men of the Port which were highly in Favour; in the end he was admitted to Audience, and to kiss the Sultan's Hand. A Ceremony, which in mine opinion I owe unto the History, to shew that the Majesty of the Turkish Emperours is so great, as to approach near unto them the Ambassadors of foreign Princes are forced to disguise themselves, and leaving the Habits of their Nation, to attire themselves, and their Train after the Turkish manner. Thus the Ambassador of France parted from his Lodging at *Pera*, wearing upon his French Apparel a long Turkish Robe of Cloth of Gold curled, furred with Sables; his Gentlemen and Secretaries, to the number of sixteen, had the like Robes, but of meaner stuff, wearing Caps of black Velvet, he had twenty Servants in long Cloak of Scarlet, called in Turkish *Ferrages*, and upon them long Robes of the same stuff, with Caps of Taffata; the four Dragomans, or the Kings Interpreters, the Captains, Masters of Ships, and other French-men attired all in long Robes, accompanied the Train. He past the Channel which doth separate *Pera* from *Constantinople*; being come to the other side, he found many goodly Houses for him and his Train, which some Turks that were Friends to France, had sent him to conduct him to the City; at the Gate whereof many Chiaus and *Jagayars* attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio, two Chiaus *Bassas* went of either side him, accompany-

ing him thither, the rest of the Turks going before. His arrival was no less honorable at the Palace Royal, than his coming to the Town: Two *Capigi Bassas*, or chief of the Porters, received him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the Grand Visier, who attended him at Dinner in the Hall, where he was waited, being accompanied only with one Dragoman or Interpreter; the rest of his Train were conducted into a low Gallery, whereas Dinner was prepared for them after the Turkish manner: That is to say, a great Tappety upon the Ground without Cloth or Napkins, and some Dishes thin for. The Meat was Water-gruel with Sugar, and some Potage with Pullets; there were two Men either of them holding a certain Instrument of fiddled Leather, in which there was a Beverage which they call *Cerber*, made of the juice of Lemons, Water and sugar, and withall they held a Cup of blanch'd Copper, giving to every one Drink and good among the Dishes to serve them more commodiously. From this Feast, difficult to them that had lived after the French fashion, they passed into another Gallery, whereas the Ambassador and sixteen of his Company received each of them a Robe of Tinsel, the which having put on upon their other, they were conducted thow a little Court paved with Marble, towards the Grand Signior's Chamber, which was enriched on the outside with many Pillars of Marble, and square Stones of the same stuff, and beautified with two little Fountains on either side: The Chamber within was about ten paces square, the Planchard was gilt, the Walls enamelled with flowers after the Turkish manner, and the Floor covered with Tappety of Gold and Silk. At the entry of this Imperial Chamber stood six *Capigi* or Porters, where two of them took the Ambassador under the Arm, and led him to kiss the Sultan's Hand, or rather his Robe; for having saluted him from the greatest of Christian Kings, he kiss but his Robe, and then was led on the one side, going backwards, to the end he should not turn his back to the Emperour. The French Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kiss his Robe. But they could hardly see the Sultan, for his Face was turned towards a Window that was grated, before they which, during the Ceremony, there past 30 *Capigi*, every one carrying a piece of the Presents which the Ambassador had brought; during the which, the Frenchmen could not see him but on the other side. This Salutation being ended, the Ambassador made a short Speech, and presented unto the Sultan the principal Letter of his Embassy, written in the Turkish Tongue.

The Sultan's Chamber.

And this past at *Constantinople*, whereas the Sultan did willingly receive an Ambassador, his will he more honoured above all others. But in *Transylvania* the Affairs went after another train; the combinations which seemed inferable to this miserable Province, made it fill the Theatre of all disorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who governed it since the cession of *Rogotzei*, had put himself into the Turkish Protection, against King *Mathias*, who pretended a Title, by reason of the cession made by Prince *Sigismund* unto the Emperour, as King of *Hungary*, and had recovered *Hermopolis*, and chased *Raduliste* Vayvod of *Valachia* out of his Country; where, having fallen a new Governour, and filled the Garrisons with *Haiduckes*, he returned toward *Transylvania*, to oppose himself against *Forstgasse*, King *Mathias* his Lieutenant, who came with Troops out of high *Hungary*, and paid the River of *Tibis*. The Vayvod *Raduliste* had retired himself into *Molotia*, to pay *Solyman* to protect *Constantinople*, whom he thought to have to understand. The Sultan had an intention to seize upon his Country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Provinces: whereupon they

Troubles in Transylvania.

The Valachia expelled his Country by Battori.

1610

Battori de-  
fected by the Val-  
chia.Fortigalle,  
Lieutenant  
to King  
Matthias,  
envis-  
Transil-  
vania.Battori's  
Practices.Fortigalle  
expelled  
Transil-  
vania by Bat-  
tori.Fortigalle's  
miserable  
retreat.Troubles  
in Molda-  
via.

joined their Forces together, and in the end of June entered into *Valchia*, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the Garrisons. This Exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the Prosperity of their Arms; they entered into *Transilvania*, whereas they purified *Battori* with such diligence, as they forced him to come to a Battle near unto *Comstia*, the which he lost with part of his Troops, being constrained to leave himself with his Horsemen in *Hernstadt*, whereas some of the chief Inhabitants seeing him receive this Disgrace, attempted to submit themselves under the obedience of King *Matthias*: but the Practice being discovered by him, he did such Execution, as he purchased to himself the Name of Cruel.

In the mean time *Fortigalle*, Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh use of this defeat to seize upon *Transilvania*: he made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawn high Hungary into Rebellion, and caused the *Haiducks* to revolt) so as being freed from that fear, he entered into *Transilvania*; where, having taken some Towns and Castles, he layd Siege to *Clusenburg*, the which he battered so furiously, as the Garrison and Inhabitants seeing themselves ready to be forced, yielded, and took the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the five and twentieth of July. But as these Prosperities of *Fortigalle* were humane, so did they not long continue. *Battori* being shut up in *Hernstadt*, conjures all his Friends to come unto him, and entreated the Balfas of *Buda* and *Zemefwar* to succour him, according to the commandments which they had received from the Grand Seigneur; he practised with *Nage* (a man which did swim continually in the boats of Inconstancy) and makes him to revolt again in high Hungary, upon a promise, that *Fortigalle* had not kept promise with him; so as *Nage* took Arms again, seized upon the Fort of *Bayens*, and filled all high Hungary with Combustions; so as *Fortigalle* could expect no Succours at his need from thence; then having received some Forces from the *Turks* and *Tartarians*, he went to field, pursuing *Fortigalle* with such heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in *Transilvania*, and to retire into *Valchia*. What Desolations did this War bring unto these Provinces by so many Prises and Reprises: *Battori* going with a thousand Horse to surprize *Tocai*, upon the Frontiers of *Valchia*, whereas they then held a great Fair, he found the Garrison to watchful upon their Guard, as having lost part of his Horsemen, he was forced to return into *Transilvania*.

On the other side, *Fortigalle* with his Hungarians, thinking from *Valchia* to recover high Hungary by the Country of the *Zecelians*, could not effect his Design; for *Battori* being advertised thereof, stopped his Passage; and in like manner the Earls of *Bucheme* and *Dampier* had passed the River of *Tibisce* to meet him; so as *Battori* let such Guards in all the Passages and Streights, that *Fortigalle* was forced to return towards *Polonia* by the steep Mountains, and desart Places; whereas his Army was so oppressed with Famine and all other Necessities, as they perished miserably, there remaining few alive; with the which he ended his Passage into *Polonia*, and from thence soon after he returned into Hungary, but with a very poor Equipage.

Thus the storm ceasing in *Transilvania* by the restraint of *Fortigalle*, a more violent Tempest fell in *Moldavia*, to the end that these unfortunate Regions should never be without some touch of Miserie; For the Turk having understood, That *Constantine*, Prince of that Country, had relieved the *Valachian* against *Battori*, his Allie, or

rather his Tributary, he sends a new Prince into *Moldavia*, the supposed Son of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as some write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteen hundred Souldiers, with Letters of command to the *Turks* and *Tartarians* thereabouts, to assist him with their Forces. This new Prince was sometime in France, and afterwards detained Prisoner in the Fort of *Jaques* in Spain, within the Pyrenean Mountains. Thus two Princes contend for *Moldavia*, the one supported by the *Polonian*, and the other by the *Turk*. But behold, a third Prince cometh in and pretends a Title, being Son to one *Janisio*, who had commanded there. This Man had been a Prisoner in the black Tower at *Constantinople*, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had lost a Battle in the year 1601, against *Michael*, who then posselt *Moldavia*; who escaping from thence, wandered through divers Countries, and at last coming into England, his Majesty of Great Britain pitying his miserable Estate, recommended him by Letters to Sir *Thomas Glover*, his Majesties Ambassador, then residing at *Constantinople*, with commandment to assist him, and to follicite his Reddition with the Grand Seigneur. Upon the receipt of which Letters, he retired this wandering Prince into his House at *Pera*, where he entertained him, with many of his Friends and Followers which repaired unto him, for a long time; and in the mean time, he follicited the Grand Seigneur for his Reddition, having good Accels unto him, by reason that he spake the *Turkish* Tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan still gave good Answers, but with Delays, that it was not yet time; but he should have satisfaction. His Competitor (who was in Possession of *Moldavia*) hearing of this Practice, made Friends at the Great *Turks* Court, and corrupted some of the Balfas by Bribes, (they being all by Nature very covetous) to the end he might cross his design, and make him away if it were possible; and among the rest, he had won *Murath Bassa*, the Grand Vicar, a Man of great Power and Authority, who practised many means to get the *Moldavian* into his Hands. First, he sent word unto the Ambassador, That the Sultan, having a meaning to restore him, desired to see the man, if he were capable of the place or no; but being advertised of their intent, and well acquainted with their Practices, he refused to send him. After which, he wrote unto him, That it was the Grand Seigneur's Pleasure, he should fend the *Moldavian* unto him, that he might confer with him. To whom the Ambassador made answer, That unless he might see a Warrant under the Grand Seigneur's own Hand, he would not deliver him. *Murath Bassa*, seeing that none of these Practices could prevail, resolved to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thousand Janizaries. The Ambassador hearing of his intent, fortified his House, and armed his People with the *Moldavians* which were with their Prince, meaning to stand upon his defence. *Murath Bassa*, desirous to know what the Ambassador did in his Lodging, disguised a Janizary like unto a Greekish Shepherd, who entering into the Ambassadors House, found them all in Arms; then returning unto the Bassa, he told him that he had to do with a mad Man, and if he proceeded in his Enterprize, he would hazard the loss of many Janizaries; whereupon he gave it over. After which, the Ambassador being called home into England, the *Moldavian* despairing of Reddition from the *Turkish* Sultan, he turned *Turk*; and being presented to the Grand Seigneur, was made Bey of *Bursia* in *Asia*; the which he enjoyed no long;

1610

Three  
Princes  
contending  
to Molda-  
via.The Nego-  
tiation of the Am-  
bassador of England  
for one of the Princes  
of Molda-  
via.

1610

The Voy-  
age of the  
Gallies of  
Florence  
against the  
Turks.The Enter-  
prize to  
take the  
Caravan of  
Egypt.The Flo-  
rentines  
meet with  
the Turks  
Fleet.The Turks  
assail the  
Gallies of  
Florence.

long; for *Nassif* coming from the *Persian* Wars, discharged him. Thus *Moldavia*, having many pretending Sovereigns, suffered many mileries, and was a Prey to *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Polonians*, all Partisans to these Sovereigns.

These were the Troubles which the *Turks* caused at land for the Ruine of the Christians. But behold what he suffered at Sea by the Gallies of *Florence*, *Malta*, and *Naples*: the *Florentines* made their Enterprize apart. The great Duke of *Tusfany* being advertised, That the Caravan which transported the Tribute of *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, prepared to put to Sea, he resolved to divert this Tribute, and by the Valour of his Arms to bring it to *Legorn*; and for the effecting hereof, he secretly armed four Gallions, under the Command of *Beauregard*, a French-man, who was Admiral. The first was called the new Gallion, in which the said Admiral went; the second, the Great *Legorn*, commanded by *Brandequedor*, General at Land, and allied to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captains. *Beauregard* having received Commandment to pass with this Fleet into the *Levant*, to meet with the Caravan, he bent his course towards *Candy*, a fertile Island inhabited by the *Grecians*: Being arrived in the Port of *Califone* to water, he continued there six days. Leaving this Island, he sailed towards *Cyprus*, which is held by the *Turks*; and to coasting *Syria*, they learned of a Ship of *Marfellers*, that the Caravan was yet in the Port of *Alexandria*, where they prepared for their Voyage to *Constantinople*. To attend them, the Admiral *Beauregard* went and cast Anchor at the Port of *Sidon*, called *Sarepta*, governed by *Emir*, or *Amil* *Racardin*, a Rebel to the *Turk*, and a great Friend to the *Florentines*, where he stayed twelve days, to take in Bisket, Fleth, and other necessary Refreshings. And having made a more strict League of Friendship with *Racardin*, he honoured him with a Coffet full of Arms, whereby the *Florentines* Ships came as freely into those parts, as into their own Country.

*Beauregard*, having well victualled and munitioned his Gallions, returned towards the Isle of *Cyprus*, whereas he found a Christians Ship, called the Flying Dragon, which came from *Damietta*, by whom he was assured that the *Turks* Army, consisting of a great number of Gallies, was gone out of the Port of *Rhodes*, and had taken a Flemish Ship. These News made him think that he should meet the Fleet, and that he must of force defend himself. Wherefore he made all things ready and subscribed the Order which his Captain should hold during the Fight, causing his Ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyn. He had four as good Gallions, and as well furnished, as any in the *Levant* Seas, either of them being armed with forty Pieces of Ordnance, and four hundred good Souldiers. Betwixt the Island of *Cyprus* and *Caramania* they encountered this *Turkish* Fleet, consisting of forty Gallies and two Galliaffes, under the Command of *Bassa Malapha Grego*, who was General of this Fleet, which was in sight of the *Florentine* Ships: the Galliaffes advanced to take view of them, and to find how far their Cannon would reach: and in the mean time the Gallies put themselves into the form of a Croissant, ready for the Combat. *Beauregard*, an old Sea-Captain, and well practised in Sea-fights, would not make a short assault the Gallies, but attended until the whole Fleet came close up to him; which being near, he saluted them so furiously with his Cannon, giving them the broad sides, as the *Turks* (who expected no such Reception) were all amazed, and making a stand, would proceed no farther. Their General having well observed the

resolute Countenance of the *Florentines*, divided his Gallies into two Squadrons, giving charge to the one to give an Assault to the *Florentines* Gallions, and in the mean time the rest should prepare themselves to fight.

Being thus divided, they came one after another to the Assault, the which continued for the space of six hours; and yet could not board them: *Malapha* seeing five of his Gallies sunk by the Enemies Cannon, with the loss of all the men that were within them; but suddenly the Wind changed, and proved favourable to the *Florentines*, who embraced this Advantage, giving chase to the *Turks* Gallies, forcing them to seek their safety in the Haven of *Ranagaffa*, the chief Port of *Cyprus*; a way: so incontinent are the accidents of War, and especially at Sea, whereas the good or bad Success many times dependeth of a little Wind.

This *Turkish* Fleet having lost five Gallies, and recovered a Port in *Cyprus*, the Admiral *Beauregard* seeing his Design against the Caravan disappointed, he resolved to return towards *Legorn* with his Gallions. Being at Sea, he encountered a *Turkish* vessel called a *Caramoufal*, which came from *Rhodes*, to go unto *Cyprus*: they chased it, and in the end overtook it, which they prest to with their Ordnance, as they flew one hundred and thirty *Turks*, and took three hundred Slaves. The Booty was very rich, being valued at fourteen hundred thousand Crowns. After this Prize, their Victuals beginning to fail, having been so long at Sea, they bent their Course for *Legorn*: but the Wind falling contrary, they were forced to stay eight days in the Island of *Scarpante*, past the Bar of *Malina*, and having given chase to certain Gallies of *Tunis*, they arrived at *Legorn* the fifteenth of June, where there was great joy for their Return, and the Prize which they had brought, the which, according to the Custom, was to be divided; one third to the Souldiers and Mariners, and the other two parts employed for the Entertainment of the Ships, and the payment of the Captains.

This Caravan, which goes from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, is every Year attended for, not only by the Gallions and Gallies of *Florence*, but by those of *Malta* and *Naples*, and by all the Pirates of the *Mediterranean* Sea: like unto the *English* and *Hollanders*, who yearly lay in wait for the *Indian* Fleet before the conclusion of the Peace and Truce with the *Spaniards*. And although their principal Design was to take some part of the Caravan, yet they had other Enterprizes upon the *Turks* Country, besides the spoil of Merchants which they met by chance, which many times paid the charge of their Voyages; and sometimes they that thought to take, were taken, and lost both their Ships and Lives.

The Gallies of *Malta*, commanded by the Bailiff of *Venouge*, and those of *Naples* by the Marquess of *S. Croix*, joyned together soon after, with a design to foyn upon the Caravan, which carried the Revenue and Tribute of *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, or else to put in execution the enterprize which they had long before projected, upon certain places of *Albania*, or to surprize or spoil some Island in the *Archipelago* which might pay their Charges. But the first failing, they met with a *Venetian* Ship laden with Merchandise, to the value of one hundred thousand Crowns. The *Spaniards* who commanded in the Gallies of *Naples*, seized upon this Ship; but the General of *Malta* would by no means consent unto it, nor suffer any of the Merchandise to be put into his Gallies, for that he would not unjustly violate the Friendship which was betwixt his Order and the State of *Venice*.

903

Five Tur-  
kish Gal-  
lies sunk.The Turks  
put to  
Flight.The Flo-  
rentines  
take a rich  
Ship of the  
Turks.The Ex-  
ploits of  
the Gallies  
of Malta  
and Naples.A Venetian  
Ship taken.



1611

was enforced to pay the Money again; the which he did, but withal, he paid God to them some publick sign which of them had done the wrong. And thereupon, the Turk going forth to repair home to his Houſe, fell down dead in the Street.

Civill taken and spoiled by the Knights of Malta.

The Great Maſter *Vignacourt*, continuing his generous Delights to ruine the Turk, had an Enterprize againſt *Navarrin*, a place importing this common Enemy of Chriſtians; for the Execution whereof, he ſent the five Gallies of his Order, under the charge of *Fuqueras*, great Commander of the Order, and chief of the Nation of *Provence*. They came within ſome miles of the Shore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had been diſcovered by one of the Caſtles of *Navarrin*, which had given the alarm unto the whole Country, ſo as they were forced to paſs on to ſome more eaſie Conqueſt, to the end their Voyage might not prove unprofitable; wherefore they failed into the *Archipelago*, and came near to the Coaſt of *Morea*, ten Leagues from *Corinth*, where in the Night they landed 800 Men under the Conduſt of the Commander of *Cremencia*, General at Land; this Troop marched towards *Corinth*, and an hour before day were at the Town Gates to force them. Some Turks took Arms, but their weak reſiſtance could not ſtay the Knights from entering with their Troops; they ſack'd the Town, and having taken what ſpoil was portable, they carried away with them 300 Slaves. After this Triumph, the Chriſtians made a happy retreat, and in good order, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Turks Horſe and Foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 Soldiers, for the Country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarcked their Spoil and Slaves. Hereby it appears, that this was one of the moſt deſperate Enterprizes that hath been of long time ſeen. For to attempt a Place ſo far from their retreat, in ſo populous a Country, which upon the leaſt alarm may draw together two or three thouſand Turks, and to make their retreat with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great Troops which purſued them; doubtleſs we muſt confeſs, that as they ſhewed great Valour, and had good Fortune, ſo they undertook a very dangerous Enterprize. Thus the Knights of *Malta* vanquiſhed, whom we might term the Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Sea, if the Revenues of their Order would ſuffice them to ſet forth Shipping and Forces equal to theſe.

But to follow the variable courſe of the Hiſtory, let us obſerve the different Occupations of Chriſtians. At *Prague* the *Germans* entertained themſelves with the conſideration of a Crown which appeared in the Firmament, over that City about the middle of *October*, giving a very great Light, and about it Armies of Men fighting who ſhould have it. At that time the Emperor *Rodolphus* was upon the *Welt*, or declining of his days, and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of *Hungary*, was upon the Sun-ſhining of his Triumphs. Many expounded this heavenly Apparition, as a Preſage of Happineſs and good Fortune to *Matthias*; he enjoyed the Crown of *Hungary* already, and by Deſignation that of *Bohemia*, and now they did prognostiſicate unto him that of the *Romans*. Doubtleſs men which alſo after great Fortunes, do rather adore the Sun-riſing, than the ſetting; and Maſs Life when it declines, taſts of the Leſs. The flourishing Glory of *Matthias*, his Age, and his Actions in the Wars, did add nothing to the Authority of other Men in the Country, but did mightily ſettle his own. Three Suns which were ſeen in the Firmament over *Vienna*, the chief City of *Austria*, confirmed the *Germans* more in this their hope,

that he ſhould have the third Crown of the *Romans*. This laſt Apparition happened the year following.

About the end of the year, ſome of the *English* Ambaſſadors Men entering into quarrel with certain *Jamaſogans* of the next *Serail*; from words they fell to blows; during which tumult one of the Ambaſſadors Men threw a Stone, and ſmote a *Jamaſogan* on the Fore-head, whereof he died within few hours after. The *Age* of the *Serail* complained hereof to the Grand Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſia of *Galata* to make inquiry of the Fact; the Ambaſſadors were ſent himſelf to the *Serail*, and ſent for his Men which had been in the quarrel, willing the Turks to deſign the party which had thrown the Stone; who alſo ſome ſhort ran upon one *Simon Dikibis*, a man that was newly come from *Candy*, where he had ſerved in the *Venetian* Garrifons, and was now entertained into the Ambaſſadors Service. This *Simon* was not he that threw the Stone; notwithstanding the Turks would none but him; on him they laid hands, and dragged him away. The Ambaſſador interpoſing himſelf, and offering to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his Men beaten, and one of his Pages wounded; whereupon he complained to the Grand Viſier, but prevailed little; for to Priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole Month; neither could he be releaſed, alſe the *English* Nation offered great Sums to ranſom his Life; for the Turks would needs have Blood for Blood. The day of Execution being appointed, the Ambaſſador ſent his Chaplain to the Priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for Death; unto whom (examining him how he had formerly lived) he confeſſed, that in *England* ſome few years before he had killed a Man, for which fact he fled thence into *Candy*; from whence he came to *Conſtantinople*, where he was to ſuffer for that which he did not; the juſt Judgment of God puniſhing him to the ſhedding of his Blood in ſinful ſinful among Turks unſeſſedly, for the Blood which he had ſhed in *England* willfully. He was hanged at the Ambaſſadors Gates, his Head and Heels the next Night were flown away by the Turks, as it was thought, to ſe in ſome kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his Body they had leave to take down and bury.

This year 1612 they did celebrate at *Conſtantinople* a double Nuptial Feaſt; for the Marriages of *Baſia Mehemet*, Son to the deceased *Civila*, with the Sultans Siſter; and of *Baſia Mechemet*, Admiral at Sea, he whom we have ſeen lately return from *Egypt*, and bring to *Conſtantinople* the Revenues of that rich Kingdom, with the eldeſt Daughter of his Emperor. For the Feaſts of young *Civila*, the *Spahi* made Couſes on Horſeback with Battle-axes and Bars, in the open place near unto the *Serail*, where they made divers fireworks of very great charge, but of ſmall invention; and they gave Preſents to above 20000 Perſons, beſides the charge of the banqueting ſtuff which amounted to above 20000 Crowns. The Pomp was double; for the Sultans Women did celebrate that day with the greateſt Ladies of the Port, and the Men ſeparated in other Places did ſolemnize it in like manner. But the magnificence of the Marriage of the *Baſia* Admiral at Sea with *Achmat* eldeſt Daughter, had far more luſtre at the Port. The Ceremony was performed on the thirtieth of *June*, twenty days before the wedding and the order of this Pomp, as well as ſome other which we have deſcribed in this Hiſtory, requires a particular Relation.

The day before the Conſummation of the Marriage, they ſent the Brides moveables and Jewels,

1611

The Order of the Brides truſt or moveables.

from the *Serail* to the Bridegrooms Lodging, with this Order and State as followeth: Firſt, there marched 20 Janizaries on foot, being followed with the Grand Provoſt of *Conſtantinople*, and the general Serveior, both on Horſeback, and attired in Cloth of Gold; the *Age*, or Colonel of the Janizaries, very proudly adorned, and environed with ſome Janizaries, marched alone on Horſeback; after theſe two hundred men of Quality well mounted, and richly attired, followed with a flow pace. The laſt which march'd in this Pomp or Ceremony, were the Tallimans, Centons, Emirs, and other Miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergy. And preſently followed after the *Baſia Achmat*, Deſtarda, or High Treafurer, who conducted the moveables, as choſen by the Sultan to be God-father or *Sagios* to the Bride, being environed with twelve Footmen attired in long Robes of Gold. After him followed the moveables, Apparel, and Jewels, which made the Brides truſt, having in the Head excellent Muſick after the Turkiſh manner, of *Hoboyes* and Kettle-drums on Horſe-back.

Theſe Moveables, or this Truſt, conſiſted of twenty ſeven Preſents. The firſt was a little Hat all of Gold, covered with precious Stones, and with Pantofles or Womens Shoes, after the Turkiſh ſhale, of pure Gold, enriched with Turquoſes and Rubies; a Book of *Mahomets* Laws, the covering whereof was of Maſſe Gold, all ſet with Diamonds, many Bracelets, and other rare Devices for Women, of pure Gold, with many precious Stones; a little Coffin a Cubit long, and half as broad, all of Chriſtal of the Rock, having the corners of Gold, in the which were to be ſeen great Diamonds and huge Pearls, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling: after this precious Coffin, were carried many Stockings embroidered with Gold and Pearl, and Head ſcarves for the Fore-head, with many Robes of Cloth of Gold. All this was diſtributed into twenty ſeven Preſents, as we have ſaid, and carried with great Pomp by twenty ſeven Men on foot.

After theſe Preſents followed eleven Caroches full of young Maidens, Slaves to ſerve the Bride; theſe Caroches were covered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two Eunuchs *Moor*; and after theſe followed twenty eight Virgin Slaves, attired in Cloth of Gold, and accompanied by twenty eight black Eunuchs all on Horſeback, and richly clad. After which were ſeen 240 Mules, laden with Tents of Tapeſtry, Cloth of Gold, Satin, Velvet, with the ground of Gold, with many Cushions, which are the Chains the Ladies of *Turkie* uſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous Moveables. Such was the Truſt which this young Princeſs brought to her Spouſe Horſe. Doubtleſs this Equipage was ſtately, and did well become the Pomp and Greatneſs of the *Ottoman* Houſe, from whence he had iſſued, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the Royal Houſes in *Europe*, yea, I dare boldly ſay, of all the World.

The Marriage day being come, the Bride was conducted to her Husbands lodging with no leſs Pomp and State than her Moveables. The Janizaries marched firſt, as they had formerly done, being followed by the Grand Provoſt, the Serveior, their *Age*, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are defended from *Mahomets*, and alone carry green Turbans) marched after to the number of eighty; this Name of Emir is as much as to ſay Lord. They which wear them answer not, and obey none but their Chief, called *Mirabachi*, and their Voice in Judgment ſtands for two; they were followed by the Tallimans or Priets of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which ſtudy it, and which alſo to the Offices of

The Brides Slaves.

1612

The Order of the Brides conducting to her Husband.

Emirs and their Privileges.

1612

Cadies or Judges, of Cadifleguier or Muſi. The Viſiers or ſupream Judges of the *Turke* Empire, who judge of all Affairs in Council, came after with the Grand Viſier, who is Lieutenant General to the Turkiſh Emperor throughout his whole Empire, and keeps the Seals of his Empire. He had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable rank in *Turkie*) the Grand Muſi, or ſupream Biſhop of their Law. The Muſick followed after on Horſeback, conſiſting of thirty Men with Drums and Hoboyes, being followed by eight *Egyptians*, which carried *Buſſian* Tabors, and did a thouſand Apith Tricks. Theſe were followed by forty Muſicians, marching two and two, ſome playing on Citrons, others on Harps, and ſome on Lutes after the Turkiſh manner. A Fool (held for a Saint amongst them) being muſſed with a Cap and a Cloak covered with Mutton bones, danced and ſung with theſe Inſtruments; fifty of the chief Officers of the Arſenal march'd after them, and thirty Men with Hammers and other Iron Inſtruments, to break down whatsoever advanced too far in the Streets, and might hinder the free Paſſage of two Trees of an immenſe height, laden with divers ſorts of Fruits all of Wax, carried by many Men, and ſupported from the top and the middle with Ropes. After theſe Trees came twenty Officers belonging to *Achmat Baſia* the high Treafurer, God-father to the Bride, who himſelf alone richly attired, and proudly mounted, after whom came two great Torches light, carried by many Slaves, and then a third torch of a wonderful bigness, all covered with plates of Gold, and ſhining more with precious Stones than the Flame which burnt. The *Raiſſer Age* with fifty of the Princeſs's Officers, followed theſe Lights, and after them was carried a great Canopy of Crimſon Velvet, and after it another greater, covered with plates of Gold, whole Curtains being thruſt open, hung down to the Ground. Under this Canopy was the Princeſs on Horſeback, with ſome of her black Eunuchs, her Caroch followed covered with Cloth of Gold, and drawn by four great white Horſes, wonderful beautiful. Then followed eight other Caroches, in which were a great number of the Brides Maidens, with many Negroes gilt; and finally, twenty five Virgin Slaves, choſen amongst the faireſt, all on Horſe-back, having their Hair conſultedly hanging upon their Shoulders. Such was the Pomp of this Marriage; but many times the Nuptial Feaſt is intermixt with funerals mourning. For not many days after, the Sultans ſecond Daughter, promiſed to *Naiſſif Baſia*, was carried to her Grave without any Pomp or Honour; for the Turks make no great esteem of Women.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seigneur or did cruelly beat his Sultana, the Mother of this Daughter, whom he had married to the Captain *Baſia*; he ſtabbed her with his Hand-jar or Dagger through the Cheek, and trod her under his Feet. The reaſon was, becauſe he had ſtrangled a Favorite of his, which was one of his Siſters Slaves, whom the Grand Seigneur having ſeen, and being enamoured with her, ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, cauſed her to be brought to her lodging, where the ſtript her of her Apparel, ſtrangled her, and put her Cloths upon one of her own Slaves, whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan inſtead of the other, and at her return ſtrangled her alſo; as the had done many others when they once appeared to be with Child by the Grand Seigneur.

The Plague beginning furiously to ſpoil the City of *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan was forced to return to his Country Palace, called the *Serail* of *Darut Baſia*, to avoid the danger of this violent Contagion; the which makes me think, that the Turkiſh Emperours for their own profit diſpenſe

The Grand Seigneur bears his Sultana.

A great Plague at Conſtantinople.

1612 with some Articles of their Faith; for, as we have said before. The Turks are so obstinately tied to the belief of Predetermination, as they will not vouchsafe to turn from a pestiferous Body, when it is carried to the Grave, and much less forbear to visit his Friends being sick of the Plague, for that (say they) if we must needs die of this Contagion, it is vain to flee it, for it will find us wheresoever; if not, our Health shall never be empaired, altho' we converse with those that are sick of this Disease. But their Sultans know well how to fire the danger, yes, and to cause them to be led under the Altars that come to kiss his Hand, lest they should offer him some violence. Thus we see the defect of false Religions, when as we see this mark of Universality in the Faith taken away; for there every Man believes according to his private interest, as well among many others which have separated themselves from the Truth, to canon themselves in their Errors, where we do often try the diversity of their belief.

Alerch  
to  
kill  
the  
Emperor.

Sultan Achmat, being in his Palace of *Darut Bafsa*, and going to visit a stately Mosque which he caused to be built there, a *Derwis* or religious Turk, thrust on by some devilish Fury, cast a great Stone at him to beat him down; but the blow of this detestable Traitor, fell upon his Shoulder, and hurt him but lightly. Achmat commanded they should draw from the wretch a Confession of his Confederacy; but the Officers of the Port caused him to be executed the next day, somewhat too suddenly, and by a Death too honourable for a Crime so full of Abomination, for they caused his Head to be cut off. A *Derwis* of the same Order had in former times sought to murder the Emperor *Mahomet* the Second.

The Funeral of the Lady Glover, the Ambassador's Wife.

On the fourteenth of April, the Lady *Ann Glover*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Glover*, Ambassador for the English, being sick of the *Englisch*, was buried with very great Solemnity, the like had not been seen in the Country since the Turks conquered *Constantinople*. There were present at this Funeral of most Nations in the World; the Sermon was preached in a large Garden under a Cypress Tree; and although but few of those present did understand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Jesuits and Friars had formerly possessed both Turks, Jews, and other People, that the *Englisch* Nation since the change of their Religion, had neither Churches, nor any form of divine Service; hereby they perceived, that they had both, and served God far more decently and devoutly than they themselves; inasmuch that the Jesuits being ashamed of their Impiety, and slanderous Untruth, durst not for a while after walk the Streets for fear of the Turks, who threatened them for so much belying the *Englisch*. The Sermon being ended, the Body was carried from *Pera* unto the *Englisch* Graves, which were almost a mile from the Place; it was clofed in Lead, and laid in a Caroch covered over with black Velvet, and the Horses with black Cloth. The Dutch Ambassador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonel, with a great number of all Nations both Men and Women followed her to her Grave. The Tomb was of fair Marble built four square almost the height of a Man, having an Epitaph engraven thereon. We have seen the year before, the Island and Town of *Lango* spoiled by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, but the Castle was saved from Ruine by the resistance it made against the Christians Attempts; but this year, in June, the great Duke of *Tulcan* Gallies running over the Archipelague, assailed it so furiously, as they forced and spoiled it, carrying away twelve hundred Prisoners. *Mechmet Bafsa*, Admiral at Sea, whom we saw even now buised at his Nuptial Pomp with the Emperours

1612 eldest Daughter, being advertised of these Spoils of the *Florentines*, by the daily complaints of the Turks which lost their Shipping, and of many other Enterprizes attempted upon his Masters Countries lying near the Sea shore; he departed from *Constantinople* in August with three and thirty great Gallies, having commanded all the Beyes of the Islands and Towns in the Archipelague to join with him, with as many Gallies as they could make, to stop the Christians course in the *Wid*. But whilst that he is buised in those Seas, the Pirates of *Rafcia* defending into the Euxine Sea, by the Mouths of these Rivers which discharged their Waters into the Sea, over-ran and spoiled the Turks Coasts in those parts.

At the firm Land *Constantine*, one of the pretending Princes in *Moldavia*, annoyed all that had any dependence upon the Turk. A part of that great Army of the King of *Poland*, which had pursued for their Pay, spoiled *Pruthia* and a Prince of the *Tartarians*, discontent for that, Achmat had preferred a Coffer of his before him in the Invelliture of the Realm of the *Tartars Precipians*, with 5000 Soldiery spoiled the Rivers of *Moldavia* under the Turks Dominion, and did do the like in the Gulph of *Nicopolis*.

This was at such time when as miserable *Moldavia* was the Theatre whereto the *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Moldavians* acted a bloody Tragedy at the Cost and Charges of the poor Country-men. For *Tomho*, having been chosen Vayvod or Prince of that Province by the Turk, *Constantine*, who could not endure that he should reign, armed the Country, over-ran it, spoiled it, and made havock of all, detaining two Capigi Prisoners, whom the Sultan had sent unto him, with commandment to obey his Will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomho* in the Possession of that Province. But this was a Message of hard Digestion to *Constantine*; he could not with Patience yield to this Cession of *Moldavia*; and instead of fending these Messengers back to the Turk with an Answer, he carried them with him into *Polonia*, whither he went to demand Succors, and caused them to be guarded as Prisoners. In the mean time, by the Support and Aid of *Potosky*, Governour of *Velin*, his Brother-in-Law, he obtained from the King of *Poland*, that he should be supported against Prince *Tomho*, his Competitor, whom the Turk had advanced; and to make his entry into *Moldavia* more easy, they resolved to send an Ambassador unto *Constantinople*, to entreat Achmat to call back *Tomho* to his Port, that *Constantine* might quietly enjoy *Moldavia*, and to acquaint him with the right and interest the *Polonians* had by their Captulations with the Turks, to name a Vayvod or Prince in that Province, to the end no wrong might be done unto them.

This *Polonian* Ambassador being arrived at *Constantinople* (thinking to be presently dispatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, and not to stay above fifteen or twenty days) being visited at his arrival by all the Ambassadors of Christian Kings and Princes which remained there; but instead of Audience, after six weeks attendance, he was arrested and detained Prisoner, understanding from the Turks, that he should have no Liberty until that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Constantine* carried into *Poland* were released.

The Troubles and Divisions among Christians, Neighbours to the Turk, have always served as a Bridge for this Infidel to invade them, and by this Advantage to usurp rich Towns and Countries as lie fit for him. Now that *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Transylvania*, are torn and turmoil'd with continual Disorders and Contentions; the Sultan seems to embrace this Occasion, to make himself Sovereign of these Provinces, and to get Possession

1612

The  
Turks  
arms  
to  
invade  
Moldavia.

Cromford  
besieged  
by  
Battori.

He  
de-  
mands  
Succors  
from  
the  
Turk,  
and  
is  
betray'd.

Courtes  
of  
the  
Russi-  
an  
and  
Tartar  
upon  
the  
Turks.

Troubles  
in  
Moldavia.

Possession of all that lies betwixt the River of *Danube*, the Mountains of *Sarmatia*, the River of *Thibiscus*, and the *Euxine* Sea. He employs all his Thoughts and Invention upon this Subject, to bring his Designs to effect. He arms and draws Forces about *Belgrade*, under the Conduct of *Bafsa Mahomet Bekerg*; He commands the *Tartarians* to enter into *Moldavia*, and he sent a Naval Army towards the Mouth of the River *Danube*, which made the Frigots of *Russia* to dilodge, the which had continually made Inroads and Spoils upon his Lands. *Battori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, was that time before the Town of *Cromford*, which he had besieged, but the tediousness of this Siege made him resolve to send an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, to demand Succors from the Grand Seigneur, to the end he might be able to continue this Siege, and to take the Town; he gave this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and sent him to the Sultans Port; but instead of serving his Master faithfully, he practised a detestable Treason against him, to put the Turk in full Possession of *Transylvania*, and to make him absolute Sovereign. The practice was concluded after this manner, That the *Bafsa Mahomet Bekerg* should enter the Province with his Army, and that *Giezy* should join with him with certain Troops, and should deliver unto him *Veradin*, *Lippa*, and some other strong and important Places, and for recompence he should invest him in the Principality of *Transylvania*, in the place of *Battori*, and under the Authority of Achmat.

This Treason might have been this miserable Province into Ruine, and it may be the rest near adjacent, if it had taken the Effect which the Treachery of *Giezy* had promised unto himself. But the *Bafsa of Buda*, understanding that *Battori* had some vent of the Practice at the Port, and that being now in great fear and Perturbation, he had-railed the siege from before *Cromford*, and was ready to call himself into the Arms of the *Palatine of Hungary*, and to crave relief from him; the crafty *Bafsa* knowing that this course would be prejudicial for the Sultan, and finding that the depopling of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, he diverted *Mahomet Bafsa* from attempting any thing against *Battori* or *Transylvania*. This act shews sufficiently, that Christian Princes which think to shelter themselves under the shadow of the Turkish Crescent, are very ill assured; for he never fails to sit up Enemies against them, to make them fear for Succors, and himself Necessary; Then in the end he expels them, and becomes absolute Master of their Countries. It was also said, That the *Bafsa Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in *Transylvania*, by reason of the Election of the Emperor *Matthias*, whereof the *Bafsa of Buda* was assured by the Ambassador which the said Emperor sent to *Constantinople*, to carry the Presents unto the Sultan; which Ambassador was honourably entertained at *Buda* by the said *Bafsa*, and from thence conducted safely to *Constantinople*.

But not to keep these Turkish Troops idle, *Mahomet Bafsa*, being advertised that *Constantine*, the pretending Prince in *Moldavia*, had been in *Poland* to crave some assistance from thence, he resolved to employ his Forces that way, to dispossess him and settle another.

But the better to understand the beginning and success of these *Moldavian* Wars, we must make a Repetition of that which past some years before. In the year 1608, *Jeremy Mohyla*, Prince or Vayvod of *Moldavia* died; committing the Government to his Brother *Simen*, during the Minority of his three Sons, *Constantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bogdan*, the eldest being but eight years old.

He left three Daughters, married to three generous Princes of *Polonia*, *Potosky*, *Vijnosky*, and *Corscely*. Prince *Simen* continued in the Government until the year 1611; after whose decease the young Prince *Constantine*, by the Persuasion of his Mother, that he might safely take upon him the Government of *Moldavia*, and not attend the Confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simen*, who had been confirmed by the Turk which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entered the Government. At this time there remained at *Constantinople*, one *Stephan* or *Tomho*, who had of a long time practised the favour of one of the Vissiers called *Abmetmet*, an Eunuch of *Georgia* (who was then *Chinach* or Lieutenant to the Grand Vicer) and of some other Baffas, as well by Money as by other Practices, suggesting falsely that he was Son to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayvod of *Moldavia* before the deceased *Jeremy*, and he prevailed so by his Practices and Corruption (whereunto the Turks are more subject than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principality by the Grand Seigneur, and having given him to understand by the Vissier, that *Constantine* had thrust himself rashly into the Government, and that he would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Sovereign, nor pay the yearly Tribute, which was 40000 Chequines, he sent *Fossygen* Aga with 20000 Turks and *Tartarians* to settle *Stephen* or *Tomho* in *Moldavia*, and to expel Prince *Constantine*. Which Army marched so secretly, as they had in a manner furnished him, yet drawing together a head of 10000 Men, he resolved to attend the event. The *Aga* sent to acquaint him with his Commission, and among other things threatened him, that if he would not suffer him to proclaim *Stephen* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, and yield him the City of *Tax* free, he would cut him in pieces. Whereunto *Constantine* made answer, by the advice of the Prince *Potosky* his Brother-in-Law, That the Grand Seigneur had been abused; for if he had understood, that his Predecessor had granted unto the deceased Prince *Jeremy* his Father, and to Prince *Simen* his Uncle, That he should succeed his said Father in the Government; it was not credible that he would seek to dispossess him by force, without hearing, and install in his place an unknown Person, who had falsely supposed himself to be the Son of a Prince of *Moldavia*; neither should they find, that he had refused to acknowledge the Sultan for his Sovereign Prince, or denied to continue the same Tribute which his Father and Uncle had paid; but if the *Aga* would proceed without any respect of his Officers, he did hope that the true God of *Battel* would maintain him in his just defence, and would not suffer an Unhappy to prevail over a lawful Prince. *Fossygen* *Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Constantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Presents and Promises, advanced with his Army, so as the next day they joyntly battel, but which the *Aga* sent by Multitudes of *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Constantine* to save himself, and to suffer him to finish the Battel; but he could by no means persuade him, still resolving to attend the event. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with such Troops as they had left, and defeated many of the Turk's Forces; but being oppressed with a new supply of 20000 Horse which the *Aga* sent by *Stephen*, they were constrained to yield themselves to the Mercy of their Enemies. Prince *Constantine* fell to the *Tartarians* state, either for that he had been taken Prisoner by some of them, or else was given them by *Fossygen* *Aga*, to draw a ransom from him, and be instead of their Pay.

K k k k k k

1612

Constantine  
Son to  
Jeremy  
enters  
the  
Government.

Stephen  
made  
Vay-  
vod of  
Moldavia  
by the  
Turks.

Constantine's  
Answer  
to the  
Turks  
Aga.

Constantine  
taken  
Prisoner  
by the  
Turks.



1612 But they made no great use of him; for as they led him away, passing the River of *Nieffe*, he leapt into it, thinking either to save himself by swimming, or unwilling to survive his Disgrace. And as for Prince *Potoski*, he was carried to *Constantinople*, and was put into the black Tower, which is a Prison appointed for Men of Quality, where he continued until the year 1616. The Iols of this Battle by *Constantinople*, gave an entrance to *Stephen* into *Moldavia*, no Man daring oppose himself against the Turks Forces; so as *Fossfeyen* *Ada* called *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia* in the City of *Tas*, and then dismissed his Army, and returned to *Constantinople*. Such was the Fortune of the Prince of *Moldavia*, ruined by the Turks, and such was the Disorder and Confusion of his miserable Country.

This Summer *Constantinople* and the Country round about, was annoyed by abundance of Grahhoppers, as it had been in the former year; but to free themselves from this devouring Vermine, about the middle of July, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, with divers other Bishops, and Calloires acted in their Copers and other Ornaments, went forth in solemn manner at the Gate of *Adrianople*, being the North Gate of the City. Whereupon (said the Greeks) they all perished; and indeed about this time infinite heaps of them were found dead; but not by reason of their Curse, for most were dead before they cursed them, and were to be seen dead upon every bush and twig of a Tree before their curse, and many lived after their Curse, and continued until the next Summer. The cold dew which fell this Summer (being extraordinary) were thought to be the natural cause thereof; God calling these Curses to fall, to free the Country from this devouring Creature.

Let us now describe the Milities of the *Transilvania*, and of his Province, a Table lo often represented in this History. *Gabriel Batori*, who governed *Transilvania*, as lawfully descended from the Sovereign Princes thereof, having made himself a Tributary unto the Turk, and by his impious Actions mingled *Mohomet's* Impiety with the Christian Religion; and moreover, exceeding in his Cruelty, became a memorable Example to all Posterity, that Princes carry the glorious Name of Christians, when they have once laid aside all fear of the Sovereign of Princes, cannot attend, but a miserable end in their Reign, conformable to the curse of their Enormities. So *Gabriel Batori*, holding it a Law of State to settle his Affairs with the ruin of Religion, allies himself with the Turk, and with him afflicts the Christian Provinces. But seeing many Factions made against him, as well by the descendants of *Bolffy*, as by *Giesi*, *Bethlen Gabor*, and some other, he supports himself with the Forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in *High Hungary*, who came unto him to the siege before *Cromlad* to assist him in his Affairs. *Batori* entertained him with all shews of Courtship, invited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater Demonstration of Friendship, after Dinner they two went to take the Air on Horseback. *Nage* had drunk after the *Hungarian* manner, *Batori* entreated him to run his Horse a career, and he refused it, the which *Batori* taking for an Offence, spake many words of contempt unto him, and he answered him in the same manner, being more inflamed with Wine, than governed by Reason. *Batori* being wonderfully offended, that a Man of no fort, being but a poor Soldier of Fortune, crept up to some Authority among the Soldiers but by Degrees of Rebellion, should give him such words of Indignity, gave him three blows on the Head

with a Battle-axe which he held in his Hand, and flew him. Thus *Nage* (twins justly in his own Blood, having wickedly and to the ruine of his Country, flooded in the ways of Inconfinity, and popular Tumults; and so he died as he had lived.

But *Batori* found himself daily oppressed with many Affairs, which drove him infensibly to his Ruin. *Peter Decaci*, Kinsman to the deceased *Bolffy*, annoyed him on the one side with Troops of Soldiers; *Andrew Giesi* (who had betrayed him in his Embassy to *Constantinople*) levied Forces to persecute him; and *Bethlen Gabor*, a Nobleman of *Transilvania*, and assisted by the Turk, took many Places from him, after that *Giesi* had forced him to raise his siege at *Cromlad*, and generally all *Transilvania* revolted against this Prince.

To see more plainly in the Obscurity of these confused Disorders, you must understand, that this Province is supplied by three several Nations, the *Scythians*, *Saxons*, and *Hungarians*. The *Scythians* (descended from the *Scythians*) came with *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, in *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, and taking their way towards their Country, they inhabited that part of *Transilvania* which lies next to *Moldavia*, and dividing themselves into seven Colonies, they built the Towns of *Kifli*, *Orbat*, *Scipfi*, *Cykadarbath*, *Aranos*, and *Maros*. The *Saxons* (mutually against the Government of the Emperour *Charles*) King of *Bohemia*, for certain Impositions wherewith he had charged them) retired into *Transilvania*, and by force seized on that part of the Country which confineth upon *Valachia*, where they built the Towns of *Hermesbad*, (otherwise called *Cibin*) *Cromlad*, *Nenzen* (or *Bisric*) *Medwisch*, *Scipfburg*, *Clawenbourg*, and *Alba-Julia*. The *Hungarians* inhabited this Province from the time of *Saint Stephen* King of *Hungary*; and having received various Privileges, they obtained such Preheminence among them, as since their Successors have caused themselves to be called Nobles of *Transilvania*, and the *Vayvods* or Princes of the Country have been taken from among them. The Towns of *Varradin*, *Dever*, *Zilab*, *Gela*, and some others, owe their beginnings unto them. The greatest part of these three Nations which inhabit *Transilvania* were revolted against *Batori*; but particularly the *Saxons* had taken Arms against him, his great Cruelty having forced them to this extreme Remedy.

*Batori* being thus abandoned by his Subjects, persecuted by his Nobility, and forsaken of all the World, knowing not whither to fly for Succour, and not daring to trust unto the Turk, who openly favoured *Gabor's* revolt to try if he could by Pretens draw the Emperour *Matthias* to his own Assistance. Wherefore he sent Ambassadors unto him, to promise all Subjection and Obedience; and he sent for Presents, a long Robe or sacerdotal Cloak of Gold, furb with Pearl and precious Stones, certain Plumes of black Herons, adorned with precious Stones, a Turkish Sword, the Scabbard being of Silver richly set with Jewels, ten black Horses with rich furniture embroidered with Gold and Silver, and a Turkish Horse, having half the Body and Legs of the colour of Gold, with his Furniture of Crimson richly embroidered. He laboured to have the Emperour give notice to the *Bassa* of *Buda*, That this Attempt of the Turks against *Transilvania*, was against the Articles of Peace; but the *Bassa* made answer, That his Emperour was not to be blamed if he seized upon that Province, which did immediately belong unto him, and kept it quiet from the Practices of others. But *Batori*, relying not wholly upon this support, but desiring to have more strings to his Bow, sent Ambassadors to the Sultan,

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Batori kills Nage.

Parties against Batori.

Division of the People of Transilvania.

All the three Nations against Batori.

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Cruelty of Batori.

Cruelty of Batori.

Gabor and the Turk press Batori.

The Milities and Despair of Batori.

Sultan, with rare and rich Presents, who had feared Treaties and Councils with the *Bassas*; the which *Negranis*, the Emperours Ambassador residing at *Constantinople*, discovering, he sent word unto the Emperour, that he entertained a Monster among Men.

About the same time there came Ambassadors from the *Saxon* Towns of *Transilvania*, complaining much of the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Batori*. The *Saxons* (said they) living many years in *Transilvania*, had beautified the Provinces with Towns, Villages, and Markers, and had by their virtue obtained many Privileges from former Emperours; but *Batori*, against his promised Faith, and the Oath which he had taken, had deprived them of their Privileges, and afflicted them in such sort, as they were in a manner rooted out the ancient Family of the *Saxons*; that he had afflicted them with Imprisonments and miserable Servitude, and had detained *John Benner* three years in Prison, for no other cause, but for that he knew he had brought a great Estate out of Germany; he had deprived honest Widows of their Estates, and had oppressed others with unjust Exactions; he had surprised *Hermstadt*, the chief City of the *Saxons*, and suffered the *Haiduck* to spoil it, and to commit all sorts of Infolencies. That he had expelled the Magistrate, banished honest Citizens, ravished Women, slain the Parents, to deprive the Children of their Inheritance, and committed all the barbarous Cruelties that could be devised. That he had sent three hundred Captives to the Sultan for a Present; many he cut into small pieces, some he had thrown down from the tops of Mountains and Towers; some he had hung up by the Feet, others he had drawn in pieces with Horses and Trees, and to conclude, he had practised all kinds of barbarous Cruelties. That having expelled Religious Princes out of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, he had made them subject to the Turk, for no other end, but getting an occasion to circumvent the Christians, he might waste all with Fire and Sword, having Multitudes of *Barbarians* to second him; and for a Conclusion of his notable Cruelty, having freed the Town of *Gaudin*, he made choice of twenty of the principal Inhabitants, and delivering to every one of them a Pike, he forced them in his Presence to kill one another in the midst of the Market-Place.

But God revengeth his Excess by his Ruine, whereto we shall presently see him run headlong miserably; for, *Bethlen Gabor*, his capital Enemy, having joined his Forces with those of *Bassa Serder*, they both entered together into *Transilvania*, forced *Ungazi*, took *Dever*, and struck a great Terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Bassa* on the other side furmously the difficulty of the ways, and lodgeth with his Troops in the Suburbs of *Cromlad*, and from thence went and camped over all the Tract of *Barry* or *Barjac*. Thus *Batori* sees himself oppressed by an Enemy from whom he can expect nothing but his Mifery and Ruine; he attended Succour from the Emperour, upon the Conduct of the Palatine of *Hungary* and *Forgetisse*, they came, but not such as were able to resist the Turk. This made him write to *Trianan* for the levying of Soldiers; but the hatred they bare him generally, deceived his hopes, no man would march under his Ensigns. This refusal makes him distrustful, he dares not confer with any man touching the Affairs of the War. A treaty of Peace seems more fit for his Affairs; he makes an overture to his most familiar Friend, and tells them, that he holds it necessary to purchase his Peace with *Serder Bassa* at what price

soever; yea, were it in delivering into his hands the Places of greatest Importance. But he receives no other Answer from them, but that they had rather die than advise him to it. Thus he sees himself void of all hope of safety in his Affairs; he wanted Money, his Subjects, yea, even his Soldiers hated him, as a Prince abandoned to all Cruelty; and for his last Remedy, and the most infallible in base and cowardly Minds, he fell into despair, entreating one of his Servants to kill him; but the other refused him that honour, suffering him to draw on his miserable Life, till that within some few days after, going forth to view where his Troops were lodged, being in an open Chariot, accompanied only with two Gentlemen, fifty of his Soldiers (which attended him in an ambush) shot at him, flew him, and hurt those that did accompany him. It is true, this accident happened in the year 1613, when as this unfortunate *Batori* went to give an account unto God of the bad Government of his Estate.

Some few days after, *Bethlen Gabor* was declared Prince of *Transilvania* by *Bassa Serder*, who gave him this advancement at his Introduction; *Batori* shall serve for an Example to bad Princes; I do not think that you will follow his Steps. Beware you attempt not any thing without the Privy of my Master. Maintain Peace with your Neighbours, and make Men of Experience and Honesty of your Council. *Transilvania* did yet feel the continuance of a form of a fatal War, when as in less than forty days it saw it self settled in the calm of sweet Peace, by the acknowledgment which all the Towns made unto *Bethlen Gabor*, and the Oath of Fidelity which they took unto him, as to their elected Prince; notwithstanding that the Emperour Employed all his Credit to hinder it. But the desire of Peace, and the fear of the Turks Armies, drew all the Governors of Towns to acknowledge *Gabor*; such were the Affairs of *Transilvania*, disordered by the Turk. Let us now make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we have deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the Affairs of this Province.

We have laid elsewhere, That the King of *Perfia* had offered Conditions of Peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his Advantage, feeling that he yielded himself the Turks Tributary, in regard of certain Lands which he had conquered from them. Now the *Vifir Naffif*, General of the Army against the *Perfian*, brings his Ambassador to *Constantinople*, to conclude this Peace. *Naffif* arrived with his Army and the *Perfian* Ambassador at *Senderat*, right over against *Constantinople*, whilst most of the *Bassas* of the Port went to salute him, and then returned. But the Grand *Vifir* stayed there two days; on the third he past over to *Constantinople*, where he was entertained at the water side by all the *Bassas* which accompanied him; an infinite number of Janizaries going before with their Pieces, and some of them in Armour, after whom followed their Aga on Horseback; then came a great number of *Jamagians*, and the Emirs or Kindred of *Mohomet* with their green Turbans, with many blind men shouting aloud; these holy men carried the banner (as they say) of *Mohomet*, and the People (standing by) kissed it with great Devotion as they past; after them came the *Chaux* on Horseback, the *Bassas*, then the chief *Muphti*, and last of all *Naffif Bassa* himself; after whom followed the Treasure which he brought with him for the Emperour, being two hundred thirty four Moyses laden with Gold and Silver. The *Vifir*, as he past by the Sultans Window, bowed himself very low unto him, from whom he had a nod with his

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Batori slain by his own Soldiers.

Bethlen Gabor made Prince of Transilvania by the Turk.

A Perfian Ambassador comes to Constantinople.

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his Head, and so for Spurs to his Horse and rode away fast, as the manner of the Turks is when they salute a greater man than themselves, presently to run or ride away space. The Visier being come to the Scire, went in to the Sultan to kiss his Hand, where he continued a whole hour, the rest of the Baffa's attending without. There were present at this day Pomp the Emperours Ambassadors, the French, the English, the Polish, the Low Countries, and Venetian; the Persian remaining still at Scudare. The Grand Visier, as he past by the Emperours Ambassadors, put off his Hat and saluted him, but not therell. The same day *Tompho*, who had been lately made Prince of *Moldavia* by the Grand Seigneur, sent many *Poloni* to *Constantinople*, whom he had taken in the Wars. All which (notwithstanding they threw down their Caps and offered to turn Turks) were put to death. And within few days after, the Visier *Nassif*, sitting in the publick Divano, had three Robes sent him from the Grand Seigneur to grace him.

The Sultan enters in state into Constantinople.

The Order how his Household marched.

*Achmat*, having a Will to let the Persian see the Magnificence of his Court, went out of *Constantinople* and unto a pretext to go take the Air at his Country Palace, called *Darni Baffa*, he takes occasion at his return to make a stately entry at his Imperial City. The general Surveyor being advertised of his will, caused the ways from his Palace of *Darni* unto the City, to be covered with Sand; the which contains two French Leagues, or four English Miles. This done, the Emperour parted from his retinue, and entered in Rome in this manner: A great number of Men at Arms marched first at his back, and after them some Troops of Foot, the Cadis of *Constantinople*, or Men of Justice, and all the Talismans, or those of *Mahomet's* Law, in very great numbers followed after, and after these march'd the Visiers and Baffas in great Pomp; after whom followed the Sultans Household, that is to say, ten Men leading in their Hands ten goodly Horses richly caparisoned, the last of which had the Bridle and Saddle all covered with precious Stones; the Sultans Targuer was made fast unto the Saddle, and upon it did hang even to the Ground a great tassel of Pearls; and over all this, a long Horse-cloth or covering for a Horse, the which was embroidered to thick with Pearl, as the ground could not be discerned; after which followed the rest of the Emperours Household in divers Troops; first, fifty Janizaries on foot, every one leading Dogs in Leashes, Mastiffs, foot, every one leading Dogs in Leashes, Mastiffs, or Irish Grey-hounds, the goodliest of all were those which the French Ambassador had presented unto the Sultan. Secondly, the Grand Seigneur's Footmen called *Peiks*, Persians by Nation, all well attired, wearing on their Heads Bonnets of Silver, and gilt, in form of Pots. Thirdly, three-score Archers on foot, in the midst of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold embroidered with Pearls and Diamonds, his slaves were enrich'd after the same manner; his Turbant covered with five Plumes of black Herons Feathers intermix'd with great Diamonds, and a Chain of the same Stones about the lower part of his Turbant; upon his little Finger he had a Diamond of a large bigness and estimable price, the which gave a marvellous great Light; he was proudly mounted upon a goodly Horse richly caparisoned, Emperour like, the Saddle was caparisoned with Gold, Pearl, and Diamonds, the Stirrups of pure Gold set with many Diamonds, and from the Horse Neck did hang a great tassel of Pearl, the which was so great, as they were esteemed very rich and precious. Fourthly, after the Grand Seigneur followed three Men on Horse

back, carrying in their Hands, the one his Arms, the other his Cloak, and the third his Imperial Equites and Gentlemen all on Horseback. Fifthly, Then came the Muffick after the Turkish manner, consisting of three-score Men on Horseback, which played upon Phiebs, Clerons, and Trumpets. Sixthly, There followed an hundred Pages of the Sultans, bravely mounted, and followed by many Eunuchs, fifty of which Pages carried every one a Faulcon upon his fist, having their Heads enrich'd with Diamonds, and these were followed by thirty Guards of the Port. Seventhly, Fifty Faulcons and Huntsmen richly attired and well mounted; four whereof had either of them before him upon his fiddlebow, a Leopard covered with Cloth of Gold. Eighthly, A great number of other Pages, fairer than the Pictures of *Adonis* or *Love*, chosen amongst the Infants of the Tribute, and unfortunately appointed for the filthy and unnatural Pleasures of their Master, whose Garments after the Turkish manner were precious, and made of rich Cloth of Gold curled. They were followed by a great Troop of young men plainly attired in Cloth, having upon their Heads yellow Caps pointed in form of a Sugar-loaf, and these were ordained to serve the Sultans Pages.

There were moreover attending the Sultan in this Pomp divers Beglerbegs, as of *Bosnia*, *Buda*, *Romania*, *Natolia*, and others; every Company going distinct, both of Horse and Foot, with the Baffas Servants all gallantly attired and well mounted; and after them followed *Nassif's* Attendants, being five hundred in number richly armed; there were also the Kings Fire-men, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or Officers of Gallies with Spears in their Hands; all that belonged to the Arsenal, the Carters which governed the Carts going to War, and their Captains: then the horsemen with their Banner, and the Armourers all in Armour, with their Banner. There were also the Banners of the Grand Seigneur *Mahomet*, and of the Grand Visier, every one in his order before the Grand Seigneur; and after all followed the Capigies and Officers of his Kitchen. The number of all sorts of Attendants in this Pomp was so great, as it was esteemed to amount to the number of forty thousand Persons.

The Persian Ambassador, for whose sake the Emperour *Achmat* had made this stately shew, to the end he might carry back into his Country a pattern of the *Ottoman* State and Government, called to call out before his Lodging when as the Sultan passed by, an hundred pieces of Silk, the which were gathered up by the Archers of his Guard, whereof they made good purchase. All these Magnificences, added to those which we have formerly related at the Marriages of the Sultans Sister and Daughter, with other Pomp celebrated in *France*, *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Germany*, for the Marriages of *Levis* the Thirteenth, King of *France*, with *Ann of Austria*, Infant of *Spain*; and of the Prince of *Spain* with the Lady *Elizabeth of Bourbon*, the Kings eldest Sister, and for the Coronation of the Emperors, and the Emperours entry into *Nuremberg*, may give unto this year 1612, the Title of magnificent or stately.

Four days after Sultan *Achmat's* entry into his Imperial City, the Persian Ambassador had audience, and was received to kiss his Hands; he presented unto his Majesty in the Hall of the Palace of *Persia* his Master, four hundred balls of Silk, a Befondar State as big as a mans fist, with some others that were less; nine bags of Leather full of Turquoises, the which were a foot and an half long, and above four fingers broad, a great number of Tapeitries of Wool, Silk, Cloth of Gold

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Pages chosen a-mongst the Infants of the Sultans Pleasures.

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The Chichimach put from his Place.

Alargies of the Persian Ambassador when as the Sultan pass'd.

The Persian's first feat to the Turk.

and Silver, with many other things of great price, and very rare. The Compliments being ended, they began to treat seriously of a Peace between two great and ancient Enemies, the Turk and the Persian; the which, after some Difficulties, was concluded upon these Conditions: That the Persian King should pay yearly unto the Turkish Emperour, by way of Tribute, a quantity of Silk to the burthen of two hundred Camels; that the King of *Persia's* Son should be called Baffa of *Tauris*, and that the Cadi or Sovereign Judge of that Town should be kept from *Constantinople*. This Peace thus concluded to the Turkish Advantage, the Persian Ambassador returned to his Master, having left most of his Train dead of the Plague at *Persia's* Son. Being arrived at *Tauris*, the King of *Persia* feeling this Peace to be so dishonourable and burdensome for him, he caused his Ambassadors, who was come from *Constantinople* to see him, wear the Peace. Some write that he did him some indignities, which made these two great Monarchs return again to Arms.

The Grand Visier *Nassif*, after his return to *Constantinople*, to shew his Great Power and Authority, procured means to have the Chichimach (who had formerly supplied the Place of the Grand Visier in the absence of *Nassif*) to be deprived of his Baffas Place, and sent presently over unto *Scudare*, under pretence of preferring him to a Government near unto *Trebisond* in the Confines of *Turkey*, but with an intent to deprive him of his Head. The Friends of this Chichimach, (who were many, and great in Court) seeing him so disgracefully sent away, and doubting *Nassif's* purpose, procured leave to go back again, for that he was an old Man, and might from thenceforth live at home in quiet; and for his former Services a thousand Aspers a day allowed him for his Entertainment; which *Nassif* took very discontentedly.

During the Persian Ambassador's abode at *Constantinople*, the Emperour *Matthias* (Successor to *Rodolphus* his Brother) sent an Ambassador to the Sultan, to complain of the Enterprises which were made daily upon *Transylvania*, a Province which he said belonged unto him, as a dependance of his Realm of *Hungary*. This Ambassador, called *Negroni*, was received at the Court; and admitted to kiss the Sultans Hand; but his Presents were little esteemed, for that they were of less value than those which they had lately received from the Persian. His demands to have the Province of *Transylvania*, were grounded upon an Article inserted among those of the Peace betwixt the Emperour and *Bathey*; that is to say, That *Bathey* dying without Issue Male, *Transylvania* should remain at the Disposition of his Imperial Majesty. This Article being read by *Negroni* in the Turks Council, whether he had been admitted; the Muphti or Sovereign Priest of *Mahomet's* Law, answered, That it was contrary to his Law; to the Demands of this Ambassador touching *Transylvania* were rejected, seeing that *Bathey* had no Power from the Sultan (said the Grand Visier) to treat with the Emperour, and to give him *Transylvania* after his Death. *Negroni* grounded this Gift of *Bathey* (mentioned in the said Article) upon the eighth Article of the Peace betwixt the Turk and the Emperour, concluded in the Isle of *Danow*, by *Amrath* Visier, and the Deputies of his Imperial Majesty, in these words: That all which had been granted in the Treaty of Peace made at *Vienna*, to *Bathey*, should be duly and faithfully observed.

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The Emperour Matthias sends an Ambassador to Constantinople.

The malice and falsehood of the Turks.

*Nassif*, the Grand Visier, replied, That the Baffa *Amrath* being then Visier, might err in signing these Articles of the Peace upon the *Danow*; and at the same instant he shewed forth some other Articles whereas that was not inferred; saying, That the Sultan would faithfully perform those Articles, which he had signed; but that he refused to sign them, the which he refused to do; so as *Nassif* used some Threats to terrify him; but *Negroni* replied, That he was in their Power, and that in this case he had rather lose his Life, and die gloriously for the good of his Masters Affairs, than to have it taken from him at his return to *Vienna*, with Shame and Infamy, having signed those Articles. Finally, he promised to advertise his Imperial Majesty, and to certify them of his Pleasure; which promise for this time ended the Contention.

In the beginning of this year, Sultan *Achmat*, after the Reception of the Persian Ambassador, and the stately entry he made into *Constantinople*, went to lie at *Adrianople*, where his Janizaries and Spahies began to mutiny, spurning at their Bread and Rice which was given them for their daily Entertainment; and being demanded the Reason of this their Insolency, they answered, that no Emperour before him had so carried out his Men in the depth of Winter; which answer did much incense *Nassif Baffa*. This Visier was in such Credit with the Grand Seigneur, as during his abode at *Adrianople* he came three times in Person privately to visit him, who grew so powerful over his Masters Affections, as he obtained a privilege, That it might not be lawful for any Man to speak with the Grand Seigneur privately, but himself. Being returned to *Constantinople*, this happened a great Fire, in which there were five hundred Houses burnt. The Visier *Nassif* coming to see it quenched, and finding some Janizaries more careful to break open Locks, and tife Shops, than to do any good Service, he struck out the Brains of one of them with his Mace, and brake the Arm of another.

It had been an ancient Custom in *Constantinople*, that the owner of the House with all his Family where the Fire began, should be put to death for their Negligence: but it happening that the Emperours own Scire, in the time of *Mahomet*, Father to *Achmat*, being set on fire, *Cicalla Baffa* presented a Petition unto him, that this Custom might be abolished, holding it unjust that other Men should be put to death, and the same law pass in the Emperours own House: whereunto he yielded, holding it reasonable. And soon after there happened another great Fire, at which the Visier called many of the Janizaries to be hanged: finding them too busy in tiffing Houses; and he went up and down the Streets with his Scimitar in one Hand, and a Janizaries Head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seigneur sent Holy Water unto the Visier, wherein he had dipp'd a piece of *Mahomet's* Garment, the which being poured into the Fire, the Turks said it ceased presently; yet by the Report of visible Witnesses it burned four hours after. The Grand Visier *Nassif* was a cruel Enemy to the Janizaries, of whom he sent fifteen thousand away into *Asia*, and would not suffer any more to be made, but only Spahies; and over such Janizaries as remained he made his own Servants to be Churbagies, and Ages or Captains over fifties and hundreds; fortifying himself by all the means he could devise against the future time, to prevent his fudden Ruine; but all this could not preserve him from a shameful fall, as you shall hereafter hear.

In the mean time let us pass unto *Affrick*, to observe the Troubles which fell in the Realm of

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Troubles  
in the  
Realm of  
Fex and  
Morocco.  
The begin-  
ning of the  
Xerifs of  
Fex and  
Morocco.

of Fex and Morocco; the Quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muly Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muly Achmet*, *Ben-Abdalla* his Nephew, and the Victories of *Cidan* against *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs*, Princes of *Fex* and *Morocco*, took its beginning some hundred and four years since, from *Mahomet Xerif*, born at *Tigumedit* in *Dara*, at this present one of the Provinces of *Morocco*: he was Aliaqui or Preacher of *Mahomet's* Law, who, seeing the Divisions betwixt the Sovereign Princes of those Realms, and that the *Portugals* had seized of the chief Forts of *Morocco*, he began with three of his Sons, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the Foundation of a new Monarchy, supported by three Pillars: the first was by a counterfeit Piety and disguised Religion; upon a godly Pretence to make War against the *Portugals* Christians which were in *Affrick*, and upon a passionate desire to retire the *Mahometan Moors* which were in their Pay, to the end they might by that means weaken them, and chase them with more ease out of the Territories of *Morocco*. The King, who at that time held the Scepter of *Fex*, (feeling nothing but the out-side of the *Xerifs* Designs) suffered his three Sons to display their Standard against the Christian *Portugals* in the Realm of *Morocco*: Innovations and Novelties are commonly pleasing to the common People. At this beginning, these three Leaders were followed by a great number of Soldiers: they vanquished in many Encounters; and the bruit of their new Victories flying into the Realm of *Morocco*, retired the *Moors* from the *Portugals* Service, whom they defeated soon after, with their Commander *Ben-Abdalla*. True it is that it was to their loss; for *Abdalla*, the eldest of these three Brethren, lost his Life in this Combate. But they seized upon the great Town of *Taradente* in the Province of *Sus*, and of the Provinces of *Herra*, *Idewaca*, *Ubidewaca*, *Cus*, *Gueule*, and in a manner of the whole Country betwixt *Morocco* and Mount *Atlas*, settling their Principality in *Taradente*, whereas the *Xerif* their Father carried the Name of the Governour of the Province of *Sus*.

They kill  
the King of  
Morocco.

The King  
of Fex be-  
gins to fear  
them.

The King of *Morocco*, fearing the Greatness of these new Conquerors, dissembled the desire he had to bring them under, assuring himself that Time would present him some good occasion; so he suffered them to enter into *Morocco*: but they prevented him; they took away his Life by Poison, and seized upon his Realm. The King of *Fex*, who had by an indelicate Simplicity suffered them to take Arms, and by that means to open the way to a great Fortune, he saw a far off the Temple of these unjust Spoilers to fall upon *Morocco* and other Places. The fear of the like Calamity did much afflict his Mind: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with fair shews; they abused his Bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich Spoils which they had taken in so many Towns and Provinces, they lull his distrust asleep; moreover, they send him the Tribute due for the Realm of *Morocco*. *Hamet* takes upon him the Name of King of *Morocco*; *Mahomet* that of King of *Sus*, in the Town of *Taradente*; and by a good Intelligence betwixt them, they make themselves fearful to all those Countries; so as they have nothing more to fear, than the Threats and Vengeance of Heaven. They then began to condemn the King of *Fex*, and plainly to deny the Tribute of *Morocco*, pretending for their Reason, that they were issued from the Line of *Mahomet*. This Contempt of the King of *Fex* did so open his Eyes, he finds the Faulte past, by the Interest of the present: he sees the *Xerifs* had abused the Liberty which he had given them: whereupon, he went to Field with an Army of eighteen thousand men, and planted his Siege before *Morocco*; but, as his

Enemies Party was stronger than his, so he was chased away, and his Army defeated at the Passage of a River. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable Possessors of *Morocco*. The Peace of the Country made them men idle, and Idleness drew the two Brethren into Quarrel: where, after two bloody Batels, *Mahomet* being Victor, he took his eldest Brother *Hamet*, deprived him of his Realm and Liberty, and made him end his days miserably in Prison. Thus God doth punish the unjust Spoiler of another man's Good. We shall see in their Posterity the continuance of the same Quarrel.

*Mahomet*, fettered Sovereign in *Morocco* by Blood and Fratricide, as monstrous in Ambition as in Cruelty, he turned the same Army wherein he had beaten and vanquished his Eldest Brother against the King of *Fex*, (whose Improvidence had suffered *Mahomet* and his Brethren to take Arms, under the deceitful Title and Pretence of making War against the Christian *Portugals*): he assaulted him with great Forces, vanquished him, took him Prisoner, and deprived him both of Realm and Life. Thus the *Xerif*, in the Person of this *Mahomet*, became Sovereign Princes of *Fex* and *Morocco*. The Victory so happily gotten of so many Nations, made him fearful; but by his Cruelty he drew upon his Descendants the just Judgment of him who punisheth the excess and enormity of Crimes unto the fourth Generation. His Posterity was miserable, the unjust desire of Reign, (one ruining another) entertained the Brethren in perpetual Discord: for *Cidan*, now King of *Fex* and *Morocco*, was lately expelled by his Brother *Kequi*; but afterwards, Fortune changing her Inconstant Favour, *Kequi* was purified by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the Year 1610 to leave his Life in *Algarbe* in *Portugal*. *Abdalla*, the Son of *Kequi*, seeing his Fathers Affairs thus desolate, retires himself towards the Mountains in the Province of *Sus*; where, finding opportunity to annoy his Uncle *Cidan*, he made daily Incursions upon his Territories, with some Troops of *Arabians*, who had joyed with him, being two hundred Horse and two hundred Foot. But finding this to be a long course to attain unto the Conquest of the Realm from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himself, that some certain counterfeit Fictions in Religion, had in former times brought in his Grand-father, and made him absolute Lord of a great Country; wherefore he made use of a Prophecy, forged in his ambitious Spirit: and to work an Impression in the Peoples Minds (as he to be moved with a Passion of Religion) he sent certain religious *Mahometans* through the Country, with a shew of holy Simplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Palquere*, a Man of holy Life, had given unto a Son of his a Drum of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expressly, to keep it carefully, until that a Prince called *Abdalla* should come into *Morocco*, and that then he should beat his Drum, and in it the People at the sound thereof might go to the War with all safety; that it should be helpful to them, give Peace to the Realm, and settle all the Customs and ancient Laws to their common consent. Thus they preached this Prophecy, the which they said was now accomplished, seeing that this Prophetic Drum had been found, that *Abdalla*, the eldest Prince of the House of the *Xerifs*, had caused the Drum to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the War for the common good of the Country.

These Vanities being preached by their ignorant and malicious religious Turks, increased the Number of *Abdalla's* Party: whereof *Cidan* being advertised, he sent a great Army against him into

1612

Quarrels  
betwixt the  
Xerifs, and  
the eldest  
son by his  
Brother.

The Xerif  
assault the  
King of  
Fex.

*Cidan* and  
*Kequi*, Bre-  
thren, ex-  
pell one another.

A Prophe-  
cy inven-  
ted by *Ke-  
qui*, and  
preached  
by religi-  
ous Turks.

1612

*Abdalla* de-  
fended and  
vainly with-  
standing his  
false Prophe-  
cies.

The mira-  
culous  
King of  
*Maurita-  
nia*.

*Cidan*, King  
of *Fex*, or  
western *Mo-  
rocco*.

the Province of *Sus*, under the command of *Alcas Remye*, to hinder the progress of his Designs: but *Abdalla* finding these Forces to approach, retired himself towards the Mountains, from whence he might charge the Enemies Army; the which he did so happily, as within few days he cut off five thousand of his men. This success did so advance his Affairs, as his Troops increased daily, so as *Cidan* was forced to go with new Forces to fight with him, the which was the cause of his ruin: for at this time he was invetted, and notwithstanding the good success of his false Prophecies, lightly grounded upon the sound of a Drum, he was feared, and slain in this year one thousand five hundred and twelve.

Gotardus, discoursing of this miraculous King of *Mauritania*, whom he calls *Muly Hamet*, writeth, that he was charmed with devilish Incantations, and freed from all outward force, carrying himself for a Divine Prophet; That with one hundred and eighty Horse, and two hundred Foot, he went to make Head against *Cidan* King of *Morocco*, having forty thousand men; That his Soldiers, (who were so few in number) being ready to fly, he persuaded them with a cunning speech to prepare to fight; That coming near to *Cidan's* Camp, they might see a great Army of Enemies fighting against them, in which there were five thousand of *Cidan's* Army overthrowen, and the rest in great disorder put to flight, and yet *Muly Hamet* had not advanced with his Troops; That within a few days after, *Cidan* commanded them not to drink, nor wash in that River, which if they did they would die: but some neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirst, died suddenly. He took many places in those mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly subdued; his Forces increasing daily, having five and twenty thousand men, and vowing to go against the Christians, more came unto him; so as he went against *Cidan* with a great Army, who likewise attended him, *Hamet* persuaded his Soldiers that no shot could hurt them; so as they assaulted *Cidan's* Camp with such fury, as within less than an hours space they had slain above six thousand men, and put the rest to flight. They write, that *Hamet* lost not above four or five, and that such as were struck with any Bullet, heaved Marks but no Wounds; and that the great Ordnance either flew over them, or the Powder vented out at the Touch-hole and wrought no effect. *Cidan*, having lost his Brother in the Fight, fled with all his Treasure, to recover new Forces, and in the mean time *Hamet* made himself Master of the whole Country. There were certain *Hollanders* admitted unto him, whom they found sitting upon a Carpet made of the Bark of Trees, having a white Shirt, and a long Garment upon it, a red Cap on his Head, bare Thighs and red Shoes, a Bag about his Neck, and in it he hid his Alcoran, a short crooked Sword and a Dagger hanging by him. Being saluted by the *Hollanders*, he willed them to sit down by him, telling them that he was sent from Heaven, to purge the World from evil, and to prepare the Law of God; to expel *Cidan* out of his Kingdom, and to restore Peace unto the World: wherefore he advised them not to have any commerce with *Cidan*, nor to assist him in any way. They observed many marks upon his body; he had one blue Tooth, all the rest being white; Hair upon either Shoulder, a red Circle in the Palm of his right hand, and the proportion of a Spur upon his right foot. Having gotten some Victories against *Cidan*, and taken the Town of *Morocco*, in the end his devilish Art falsifying him, he was slain, as you have

heard. Such were the Affairs of *Affrick*, in the Realm of *Fex* and *Morocco*.

But in *Algier* a wonderful drought had caused cruel Combinations; it had so devoured the Fruits of the Earth before their Maturity, as there followed a wonderful Famine throughout the whole Land. The Turks attributed the cause of their Misery (some) unto their Sins; then to the coming of the *Moors*, who had been expelled out of *Spain*, as a pernicious Vermin; and sometimes to the licentiousness of Christians, which lived in those Places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this Year, the Judge of the Town ordained, That all the Turks should make their devout Prayers to *Mahomet* their Prophet, to obtain Rain, so necessary in that Country; that the *Moors* should depart in that Country; that the *Moors* should die; and that all the Christians, as well free as bond slaves, should cause their Heads and their Beards to be shaven: this was speedily executed; for the Turks Decrees require a prompt Obedience. But the miserable *Moors*, which could not get out of *Algier* within their three days prefixed, detained either by Sicknes, or some other Impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteen days, there was nothing seen within the Town but Processions of Turks without Turbans, crying and howling, after their manner, to obtain Rain from their false Prophet: but he which commanded the verigency over times, from whose hand proceeds fair Weather and Rain, and which makes the Earth fruitful, held the Pipes of Heaven yet stopped, to open them at more religious and holy fideles. For *Bernard Murray*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, hearing that the Turks meant to revenge their Miseries upon them, and to ruin a little Chappel which the Christian Slaves had in the Prison, for the pious Exercises of their Religion, obtained (by the means of *Bis*, Consul of the French in *Algier*) permission from the *Dovan*, or Turkish Judge, to make Processions, and to pray unto God to lend them the dew of Heaven, which was so necessary for them. All the Christian Slaves which were Prisoners continued their Devotions for the space of five days: but on the fourth day, being the Eighth of May, there fell such abundance of Rain upon *Algier*, as these poor Christians, seeing their Prayers heard in the midst of the Enemies of their Faith, gave infinite Thanks unto God for his great Mercy and Grace.

This miserable Christian Slaves were still detained in Irons and cruel Servitude, by this Accident. This *Murray*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, accompanied with two others of the same Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and six: but when he was ready to embarke them, their evil Fortune would have it, that the Gallies of *Genoa* near unto *Algier*, where they took the *Bassas* Son of that Town, with many other Turks, and amongst the number a Virgin of *Algier*, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a Beauty, for the misery of these Slaves: for that when as the *Bassas* Son and the others were redeemed by a Frigate which the Father had sent, the fair *Algerian* Virgin was still detained by a Captain of the *Genoways*, who had retired to *Cady*, an Island adjoining, there to satisfy his Desires with more ease, upon the frail and fading perfection of this fair Slave, which had deprived him of his Liberty. In the mean time the *Bassas* of *Algier*, seeing his Son returned with the other Turks, and not the *Algerian* Virgin, commanded that the hundred thirty and six

1612  
A great  
Drought  
and Steri-  
lity at *Al-  
gier*.

Processions  
of the  
Turks.

The de-  
vout pray-  
ers of the  
Christians  
obtain rain.

LIIIIII

Slaves

Slaves should be put again into Irons, with the three religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine Beauty, or rather, the Passion of this *Genovays*, who holds the Possession to dear, makes a great number of Christian Souls to suffer by insupportable Servitude, howsoever they of his Nation (flattering his disordered lust) say, that his Delire to win her to God, and to make her a Christian, caused him to keep her so carefully.

This suffered in *Algier* the loss of their Liberty; but a *Capuchin* Friar, a *Florentine* by Nation, endured at *Tunes* the loss of his Life, by the Cruelty of the *Moors* chained out of *Spain*, and retired into those Countries. This religious Man, being from a Slave among the *Turks*, attended daily from a Slave among the *Turks*, money to redeem his Liberty: but it happened, one day disputing in a Barber's House with a *Morisque* concerning Christian Religion, the Zeal of his Faith transported him so far, as to lay among divers *Turks*, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomet's*. These Words, took continuously in that place, were reported by the *Moriques* to the Cadi, or Judge of the Town, whom they prefix with such horrible Clamour, and Cries, as he pronounced Sentence of Death against this *Capuchin*.

He was delivered unto them, and they stripped him naked, leading him with Infamy through *Tunes*, some spitting in his Face, others casting Dirt at him, and so they led him out of the Town, where they tied him unto a Post, and they being cruelly incited by a Speech which a *Morabour* or religious *Turk* laid unto them, That he among them that gave him not one Blow with a Stone, should be no good *Turk*, stoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his Body, and threw the Ashes into the Wind.

The Martyrdom of this *Capuchin* was followed by the constant Confession (amidst the violence of Torments) of a penitent Renegade, a *Florentine* by Nation, and Captain of the chief Gally of *Chio*: Four French-men being Slaves in the Island of *Chio*, in the Patron or chief Gally, belonging to the Bey or Governour of the Island, they resolved to recover their Liberty with the hazard of their Lives, to return into *France*, and carry into some Port of Christendome that Gally, being the best appointed in the whole Haven. They drew unto their Party the Captain which commanded, being a *Florentine* Renegade. Their Enterprise should have been executed when as they should go to Land to cut Wood. But whether that the Scribe was treacherous to his Companions, or transported with some rash Indiscretion, being on Land, he spake these Words aloud, the which overthrew both the design, and them that projected it; *Ho, we shall return into Christendom*. A *Turk* which was near, taking hold of these words, reported them unto the Patron; who presently laid hold upon the Scribe, and drew from him the confession of all the Enterprise. He presently sends an hundred Men Slaves and the Captain, upon the four *French* Slaves and the Captain. But these five made such a generous resistance, as to the other Slaves, who were for the most part *Moldavians*, or of the Provinces which border upon the black Sea, had had the Courage to fight for their Liberty, without doubt the *French* men Enterprise had succeeded happily. But what could five Men do against an hundred? yet these *French* men were all slain, and the four *French* men were all slain, and the *Florentine* Captain was taken alive, and referred to the rigour of a cruel Death. For they continued him six hours together in most violent Torments, he still calling upon the holy, and sacred name of *Jesus Christ*, even to this

last Gaspe, and detesting the Errours and falshood of the Law of *Mahomet*. This happened in *October* this Year.

A little before, the Estates of the united Provinces, and Count *Maurice*, seeing the losses which the Ships of *Holland* suffered in the Mediterranean Sea, many of them being taken by the *Turkish* Gallies, and a great number of their men made slaves; to the end they might be freed from that danger, and have a safe Passage for their Ships, and procure liberty for their Captives, they resolved to make a League with the *Turk*. Wherefore they sent *Cornelius Haga* to *Constantinople*, who, not only willingly accepted of that Embassy, but performed it with such discretion, as he purchased great credit and commendation to himself, and much profit to the Provinces. He had resolved at first to pass through *Hungary*; but he found so many crosses and obstacles, by some that were Creatures to the Pope and *Spaniards*, as he was forced to turn out of the way, and seek a great Circuit. First of all, he fell into the hands of the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, who caused him to be examined, and admonished to desist from his purpose: After which he was soft at Sea, and in the end, having surmounted all dangers, he recovered *Constantinople* the first of *May*. He had express charge from the United Estates to labour for three things, the first was, to treat of the deliverance of the *Hollanders* that were Slaves. The second, to make a League with the *Turk*. And the third, to obtain from him a free Navigation for the *Hollanders* throughout all the Seas and Ports of his Empire.

This Ambassador was brought to kiss the Sultan's hands, and was favourably received; he presented unto his Majesty, in the name of the Estates of the United Provinces, his Letters of Embassy, with the Presents which followed. These being of Paradise, of rare and precious Plumes, wonderful goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound sterling; two Vessels of Christall, wonderful rich and beautiful; four other Vessels made of Fishes Bones, whereas the art seemed miraculous in the graving; fifty pieces of Cloth of Gold of divers colours; five pieces of Silk, five of Damask, five of Silk watered, and five plain; a Staff of an Elephants Tooth graven with admirable industry; a Parrot shut in a Cage of Christall, so artificially done, as no man could discern the entry; and many fair and rich Table-cloths of *Holland* Cloth, most part powdered with flowers to the Life, and wrought in their lively colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All these things he sufficiently, That the Estates from the beginning, or soon after, have raised Handy-works as well as Traffick and Navigation to the highest point of Perfection.

The sixth of *July* following, the League was sworn betwixt the *Ottoman* Emperour and the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promised to cause to be let at liberty all the *Hollanders* that were detained slaves within his Empire: That the Traffick should be free for the *Hollanders* Ships throughout all his Seas and Havens; and moreover he granted, That the Estates should have an Ambassador residing at his Port. This alliance with the *Turk*, for the which they have to often, and with little reason blamed the *French*, hath been affected and fought by the *English* and *Spaniards*, as we have said elsewhere; and now by the *Hollanders*, whose Estates proceed in all their Affairs with such weight and measure, as it seems they do nothing but with great Reason, and to good purpose.

The United Estates send an Ambassador to Constantinople.

Presents sent from the United Estates to the Turk.

A League betwixt the Turk and the Hollanders.

About

The Moriques chafe the Jews out of Pera.

The Practices of the Moriques against the Christians of Pera.

The Turks Army for Transilvania.

A Question for the Patriarch of Constantinople.

About the end of this Year, the Jews, whose long Slavery throughout the World reproacheth their wretched and miserable Oblinacy, received at *Pera*, near *Constantinople*, the weight of a furious Tempest which fell upon them, stirred up against them by the malice of the *Moriques* *Grandines* chafed out of *Spain*, and retired into the Levant. These, having by Presents won the favour of the Cadi, or Judge of the Place, who was a Negro, newly settled in that Charge by the Grand Visier *Nassif*; they obtained Power from him to thrust all the Jews out of *Pera*, and to demolish their Synagogues. This Power they executed with all violence: And yet these miserable Jews durst not make their Complaints unto the Magistrate, except one of their Sect which dwelt in the Isle of *Chio*; who, being then at *Constantinople*, and supposing he had more credit than the rest, went to complain to this Cadi Negro, who presently caused to be given unto him five hundred blows with a Cudgel, instead of doing him Justice; so dangerous a thing it is to have to do with such unjust Magistrates.

The Infidelities of the *Moriques* transported them farther; for after they had expelled the Jews out of their Dwellings, they threatened to do unto the Christians at *Pera* as much as had been done unto them in *Spain*; and they bragged, That they would seize upon their Churches, and especially on that of the Franciscan Friars, the which was reasonable fair for the Place. But the French ambassador, having made his Complaint to the chief Visier, he prohibited them to make any attempt against the Christians, upon pain of rigorous Punishment. This Prohibition stayed their fury; but they did not forbear in all other occasions to shew the cruel Hatred they owe unto Christians: as to the Jews, in all Encounters where they came, they did a thousand times more mischief than the *Turks* themselves.

At the same time the *Scies*, *Achmat* had drawn together a mighty Army to go into *Transilvania*; he caused it to camp in Tents near unto *Constantinople*, about his Palace, called *Darut Baska*, whither the People of *Constantinople* went to walk, and to see his Forces; within few days after, he went to *Adrianople*, meaning from thence to proceed in his Voyage, carrying with him all the chief Men of his Port, except the Basha of the Sea, or Admiral, who remained at *Constantinople*, to have a care of the City, and for the greater safety thereof, this Basha caused an Edict to be published, That no man should go out of his House, nor keep any Light in it after the ordinary Cry, which was made an hour within night, when as the *Talissans* crying from the tops of their Mosques, invite the People to make the Sala, or Prayer. After the Publication of this Ordinance, he sent certain Chaox to treat all the Ambassadors residing at the Port, not to suffer their People to go out by night, to the end that their liberty might not serve as a dangerous Example to others. But notwithstanding all the Basha's Entreaties and Prohibitions, three English-men of the Ambassador's Train went out by night into the Street, where they were met by the Provost of *Pera*, who took them, and presently (without respect of the quality) caused either of them to have an hundred and fifty blows with a Cudgel, and then committed them to Prison, the doors whereof are never opened but with a Silver Key: so strictly do they observe in *Turkey* the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Persons.

About the end of the Year, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* (by reason of divers Complaints made against him, was deprived by the Grand Visier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*,

(a learned and religious Bishop) was (much against his Will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all such as had wrought his Overthrow, but he himself was banished into the Isle of *Rhodes*. In his Passage, the Bark wherein he went was cast upon *Mytilene*, in which Place he renounced all Right and Claim to the Patriarchate before the Bishop of that Place, and resigned it to the Bishop of *Eratras*: whereupon the Bishop came from *Paras* to *Constantinople*, and laboured with the Visier *Nassif* for the place; who, upon promise to pay him fifteen thousand Chequens (which is ten thousand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus*, the late elected Patriarch, understanding, he came with all the *Grecians* to expulsiolate the Bishops with the Grand Visier; who answered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperour's Profit, and nothing against it; wherefore, if they would give so much as the other had promised, *Cyrillus* should continue in the Place, which the People were very willing to perform, but *Cyrillus* refused it; and so the other was made Patriarch; who presently lent for the old Patriarch to come from *Rhodes* to make Peace with him, for that they held not his Excommunication just, being not deprived by a Council, but only by the King. About the same time, *Nassif* the Grand Visier, sent for the four Ambassadors, of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reason why he sent for them, was, to raise their Custom One in the *Hun* dred more than the Merchants had formerly paid.

Whilst that the Sultan *Achmat's* Army drew near to *Transilvania*, and fortified the Places which he held in those Countries, *Cosmo* de Medicis, Great Duke of *Tuscany*, bent his generous Designs against the Fort of *Aghman* in *Caramania*, in old time called *Ciccia*, a Province, which in the Writings of Antients, hath been honoured with two famous Cities, where to lay, *Tharhis*, the County of *Tharhis*, and *Selenicia*, the Port whereof is called *Aghman*, a Haven which in old time hath contained within its bosom the fearful Forces of the Pyrates of those days; from thence, in former times, hath come forth a powerful Army of Pyrates with a thousand Sails, so proudly rigged, as many of them had their Sails of Purple, the Tackling of Gold Thread, and the Oars garnished with Silver, marks of their Spoils of above four hundred Cities ruined by their Pyrates, who struck a terror even to the *Romans*, and forced them, to avoid their Fury, to set to Sea that great Fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great was General.

The Trophy, erected upon the Walls of *Aghman*, of the Heads of forty *Egyptines*, lost in a Ship called the Prosper, by the ignorance of the Captain which commanded in it, made the Great Duke to study to have his Revenge for this Affront; and his desire to abate the Pride of the common Emperour, elevated his Mind to generous Enterprises. In the end of *March*, this present Year 1613, he armed six Gallies, under the Command of the Admiral *Inghirami*, the which he manned with six Companies of Foot, commanded by *Julio* de Cony, called *Montano*, General at Land, besides forty Knights of the Order of *S. Stephen*, and a good number of Gentlemen Adventurers, among the which was *Don Pedro* de Medina. This Fleet parted from *Ligorne*, and came to *Civita Vecchia*. In the beginning of *April* they took in many Noblemen and Gentlemen of *France*, which attended them, and would be Partakers in the Enterprise; the which were, the Earl of *Candale*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Epernon*, *Cipierre*, *Thimenes*, *De Vie*, *Monterault*, *De la Tour*, and his Brother *Bolseire*, *Villandre*, *Verneigies*, *Du plessis*, *De la Motte*.

1613. The number of the Dukes Gallies, and the Commanders.

1613] *Morte magnus, Ayes, Del Tour, Saints Cyres, Moplasgar, and Lovnes.* About mid April the Gallies landed in the night near unto a little Town in *Affa the Isles*, called *Geronda*, held for that *Geronda* of the Antients; but their Defect was fruitless, they found it defare by the Gallies, and the Inhabitants, who had prepared all Surprizes. They returned again to their Gallies, and sailing towards the East, they encountered three Vessels like unto their *Caramoufals*, the which they fet upon and took; and about the Fifteenth of *May*, having forced the *Levant Seas*, they resolved to attempt *Agilman*. Upon the way they took a Vessel called *Grippe*, which instructed them of the Estate of the *Port*. Fortreis. They understood that there were two Gallies of *Cyprus* in the Port, that the Place was well furnished with all things necessary, and guarded without by a good number of Horse-men, and that within few days after, one of the laid Gallies should come out of the Port of *Agilman*, and go to the Island of *Pappadula*, to fetch a new Mail. *Ingrimbair* thought to prevent it, carrying his whole Fleet thither, the which he laid clost in the Island to besiege the Turkish Gallies, but it having discovered his Fleet, he put out to Sea, and with speed returned to the Port of *Agilman*; to give the alarm unto the Country. Notwithstanding the Christians resolved to assault it, they went with their Fleet to the Port *Cavalier*, twelve miles from *Agilman*, from whence they sent a Long-boat to discover; the which brings them word, that the whole Country was in Arms. About two nights after, the Christians had intelligence of some that had been so generous; yet they pals on, and about three of the Clock in the Morning they came near the Shore, being covered with the silence of the Night, so as before six of the Clock they had made their Landing about a mile and a half from the Port. The Seigneur of *Montano*, and the Earl of *Candale*, with some few choice men, landed first, to discover: a mile from the shore they encountered the Turkish Gallies, and the Lord commanding *Montano* commanded they should finish their landing, leaving twenty men for the Guard of every Gallie.

This Fort of *Aglian* is seated upon a little pleasant Hill, which looks towards the South. It extends from the Hill unto the Sea-shore: the form is oval: that part which is next to the Sea is altogether Meridional, and the other which is distant from the top of the Hill, looks towards the North. The Walls are built of good Stone and Lime, the which are five Fathom high, and one broad. Within there was a Wall drawn from the East to the West, which divides it into two unequal parts, the which they enter by a Port let in the middl.

The Circuit of the Wall is fortified with eight Towers, whence five great Guns are placed, the which are five Towers whole which be whole are of a square form, and have five fathom in breadth on either side; the half Towers have the same greatness on the one side, and half as much on the other: their height exceeds not the Wall, unless it be that which is built on the top of the Hill, which is raised about eight foot above the Wall, and stands on the plain.

There were in this Fort, six hundred fighting men, with store of Victuals, Munitions for War, and many pieces of Ordnance; without, there were an hundred Horse scouring up and down for the Guard of the Place; and within the Port there were two Gallies, a Caramoufal, and a Greek Brigantine, with some hundred and fifty fighting men. The Order of the Combat was as follows. The Admiral of the Sea, and the *Mars*, a General at Land. For the principal Port, and that of the Retreat, he sent two Companies of Foot, which were those of the Admirals Gally,

the Captains Gally, and of S. Stephen, with the Petards, all under the charge of the Earl of Candale, who leading this forward, discovered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, Horle and Foot together; wherco he prefently advertised the General, sending him word, That he would march on towards the Fort, and if the Turks came to charge him, he would kill them all in pieces. Many advised him to return to the Gallies, because all the *Almex* had the Relolution of the Earl of Candale, who pafed on without Charge untill he came within one hundred and twenty Paces of the Wall, where he was charged before by the Musket-flor of the Fort, behind by the Gallies, and in flank by them of the Mountain, with just horrible howling and crying out, as the Mariniers which carried the Petards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the Ground, and fled away. The Baron of Montmorant, at *Tiel*, a Souilder of *Langueuec*, took them up. They carried off the Petards, untill they came within fifteen Paces of the Walls, when as twenty Turks fell forth, with a View to make Head against the Earl of Candale's Troops; but seeing themselves too weak, they fled prefently again back to the Town. The Earl advanced to enter with them, but the Port was so soon shut as they were in; wherefore they muft of force let the Petard to work. But whilst they were making it fast unto the Gate, there fell a Shower of great Stones upon the Troop on the right side, *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs be present) was cast down and half slain; *Calonge*, *Mont-terauk*, *La Tour*, *Davanes*, and *Detour*, had taken upon them the Charge of the Petard, every one carrying a part, to put it speedily in Execution.

Whilst they were thus buffed to force the Port, the Sergeant-Major came unto the Earl of *Candale*, and told him, that there was a Troop of three hundred Mufqueteers come to charge him: these were two Beys which came out of the Gallies with their Troops, and the bad and which the two Companies that *Montana* had left at their Landing, had kept. The Earl of *Candale* had left part of his Troop with the Petard, and turned Head with the rest against these Beys, to charge them; but they had no meaning to fight, but only to make a shew; and seeing they should be forced, if they staid longer, they took their way towards the Mountain, and in their Retreat made a shew of being pursued, and persuaded them not, fleeing it fitter to return to the Petard which played so happily, as it made a Breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The Squadron of the Knights of *S. Stephen*, commanded by the Commiffary *Lenzoni*, and the Company of the Gallies of *S. Mary Magdalen*, with two Ladders were to affault the High Tower. The Company of the Admiral-Galley, with one Ladder, was to assault the Port of the *Retreat*; and the Company of the Gallies of *S. J.* was to fight with the Gallies and Veffels in the Haven: all thefe Troops (being led by the General *Montano*, and by Captain *Alexander of Tarentum*, Serjeant-Major) marched in order towards the Fort. But the *Petard*, having effected, as we have faid, the Earl of *Candale* entered fuddenly with his Troops, and affaulted the Port of the *Retreat*: there to apply a *Petard*, which alfo very fortunately made a Breach. The Turks, amazed at the noife and forcing of their Gates, fled unto their Walls; fome retiring into their Towers, and others into the Barricados which they had made in the Street. At the fame instant they planted two Ladders on the lower part of the Town Wall, and by adjoining to the Sea, whereof one was broken, and the other fuch that were upon it; by the other (notwithstanding

1613] that the Turks Horsemen charged them behind) a good number of Christians got up to the Walls, making their way by their arms, whilst the rest left up the Turks to rout; having taken their Cornet, they forced the rest for to flee unto the Mountains. The Squadron of Knights, with the Company of the Gally of Saint Mary, having had a longer way to march, came not so to the Tower upon the Hill, until that after the Petards had wrought their Effects, so as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great assistance, besides the attempts of the Enemies Hoile, which charged them bold, and they with their Ladders against the Wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commiffary *Lansoni*, having performed as much as a brave and resolute Man could do in that Extremity, resolved to leave that Place, and go unto some other where he might be more necessary; but being the last to make the retreat, he was shot through with two Musket Bullets, and suddenly flain. The Company of the Gally of Saint John vanquished the Gallies in the Bay, and the Admiral Sir John the Admiral at Sea went to take possession as soon as they had given him a sign, having the other two Vessels at Liberty.

Within the Fort, in the Towers, and at the Bar-  
ricades, the Combat was hot and dangerous, the  
Turks had despair and the advantage of the place  
on their sides, The Christians, thrust on by their  
Valour and constant Resolution, press them on  
at all files; there was nothing to be seen but Blood,  
wounded or dead men; but much more of the  
Turks side than of the Christians. In the end, after  
a Combat of four hours, the Christians (some of  
whom were taken, many were slain, and the Christians  
obtained an absolute Victory; but as it could not  
be made without loss of their Enemies, who made  
great resistance; so there were five and fifty Chris-  
tians wounded, of which number *De Vic*, a French  
Gentleman was one, who had a Musquet hurt  
through his Thigh, going to charge a Troop of  
Turks which were retired into a Tower; and  
some Gentlemen were slain; among the which  
was young *Buffiere*, a French Man, whose Valour  
in this Action, made the Turks so afraid that he  
so generously, conceived a certain hope that  
he would have proved a valiant Captain; if Heaven  
had lent him longer Life. The sorrow for his  
Death was general, as well among the Italian  
Troops, as among those of his own Nation. *Vernegue*  
and *Villandre*, two other brave French Gen-  
tlemen were also slain. The dead and the wound-  
ed were carried into their Gallies; they emptied  
the Fort of all the Artillery, Munition for War,  
and Victuals; the Trophy of forty *Florentines*  
was beaten down, and all the Houses set  
on fire. *Aglim* being dead, and the Turks  
on their side, with their busied care,

Slaves, having freed about two hundred and forty Christians which were in Irons. The two *Turkish Gallies* were drawn out of the Port, and carried away with eight other Vessels. In this Triumph, as the Admiral *Toghrami* bent his Course towards *Ligorn*, upon a middle of the way a *Turkish Carameoul* came in a middle of the Fleet, as into a Taill; it prepared to defend it self, but the *Christians* prevailed, it, but not without loss, for the *Turks* made so great resistance, as there were above fourscore Christians hurt or slain; the Earl of *Candale* fighting alone at the Prow of the Gallie, by the Permission of the General. But this Carameoul being taken, and the *Florentine Mariners* entered, it split and sank suddenly. The great Dukes Gallie, encountered several other smaller Vessels, which they took, and afterwards arrived happily at their Port.

The twelfth of August following, *Othavio* of Arragon, General of the Gallies of *Sicily*, by the Commandment of the Duke of *Osuna*, Viceroy in that Realm, parted from the Haven of *Palermo*, with eight Gallies well armed and manned, to go into the *Levant*. His first touch was upon the Admiral Basia of *Scor*, where he understood that the Admiral Basia of the Sea was gon from *Constantinople* with thirty Gallies, bearing his Courte to the Island of *Nagropont*, and moreover, that others attended him in the Haven ; and that the Gallies of *Rhodes* prepared to go and joynt with him, all which Naval Fleet was to fall upon *Soria*, against the Turks Rebels.

Notwithstanding these News, *Othello* continues his Course upon the Island of *Niagara*, where he is underflood by a Greek Vessel, that the Turkish Admiral meant to fend twelve Gallies to *Rhodes*, to guard certain Vessels of the Fleet, which came from *Alexandria* by the Channel of *Samos*. True it is, that of twelve which were together when they parted, two were sent by the Bey, or Captain which commanded them, to the Island of *Chios*, so there remained but ten together. *Othello* resolved to charge these ten, causing his Fleet to row that Day, and almost a whole Night as secretly as they could, along the Shore of the firm Land of *Natolia*, and at the break of day he arrived at the Cape of *Corvo*, twenty Miles from *Chios*; from whence he sent his long Boat to discover. But in the mean time he himself espied the ten Turkish Gallies not far from him; at a sight whereof he ordered his Gallies to march forth with Diligence, as at Sun rising he was about the Enemies Gallies, and had invented them. At his first approach he discharged all his Ordnance, and then with his Admiral-Gallee he joined with the *Turks* Gallie which carried the Standard; the *Spaniards* entered, flew and massacred all that made resistance; the Combat began at the *Prow*, from whence they came to the *Poer*, whereas the *Bey*, or Commander of the ten Gallies, flew to whom they forced to yield. In the mean time the *Turk* Gallies of *Sicily* charged the *Turks* so furiously, as they took five, all great Vessels carrying Lanthorns; two fled towards the Land, hoping to save themselves, but the *Turks* had scarce leisure to leap to Land, and to flee into the Country, abandoning their Vessels to the *Spaniards*, who pursued them; the other three Gallies having gotten some advantage, fought by Night, so seven only came into the *Spaniards* Port, and of which they had a very rich Booty, freeing above a thousand Christian Slaves, which were at the Chain, and by a strange change of Fortune, putting into their Places the *Turks* which had incained them. Among the most remarkable of the Prisoners, were the Commanders of the ten Gallies, called *Sinan*, Bey of *Grigina*, in the Island of *Cyprus*; the Bey of *Alexandria*, (Son to *Ibal Bassa*, who was defeated in the Battle of *Lepanto*, by *Don John of Austria*) and some Beyes or Captains, and Patrons of Gallies.

This Summer, the Emperor *Matthias* being gone to an Assembly of the States at *Presburg* in *Hungary*, in the mean time *Sigismund Battori*, who had been Prince of *Transilvania*, and so great a Terror and Scourge unto the *Turks*, as he made *Sinan Pasha*, having an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men, to the thirce within ten days from before him, and would never endure the sight of him, he having but forty thousand Men in his Army. But afterwards, being the Author of his own Misfortune and Miseries, by his inconstant Humors, he came and lived a private Life at *Prague*, and there died of an Apoplexy. At the Estates of *Presburg* they consulted of the



All the  
Dogs sent  
out of Con-  
stantinople.

3

A horrible  
tempest  
the *Mel-  
terran-  
Sea.*

The Grand Seigneur, having this Year and the Year before sustained great loss of his Gallies and Frigots in the *Mediterranean Sea*, by the Gallies of *Naples, Malta, and Florence*; and in the black Sea by the *Cossacks*, who had taken two Gallies well manned and richly laden; he now impos-

The King  
of Persia  
crucely a-  
gainst the  
*Armenians*

1614  
The fall  
of Nassau  
forming

The Em-  
perours  
answer to  
the Turk.

Mmmmmmm

1614

their prize, and put them to flight. The Baffa of *Agria* advertised of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with one thousand Men, to recover the Booty from the *Haiducks*, which they had newly taken from his Soldiers; but after a sharp encounter he lost his Horse, and two hundred of his Men, being forced to make his retreat. From thence the *Haiducks* went and spoiled the Country about *Solnos*; some others holding the ways of *Strigiron* or *Gran*, took a Turkish Bride with her Baggage, who was going from *Gran* to *Buda*; and four hundred *Boestaches* (some of them *Haiducks*, and the rest *Turks*, Men which hold no party but their own, to rob with the more impunity) seized upon *Balaster*, *Micout*, and *Felacs*; but at the recovery of them, they were so ill injured by the *Hungarians*, as most of them lost their Lives there, and the rest were taken Prisoners.

But the Emperor, who desired to be relieved in the important Business of *Transylvania*, assembled the Estates of *Bolowia*, *Austria*, *Siria*, *Carinthia*, *thia*, *Carinthia*, *Silezia*, *Lusatia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, his Hereditary Countries; whom he gave to understand, That the Peace was violated in *Hungary*, by the Hostilities of the Turks upon the Christians; to whose Prejudice Sultan *Achmat* had subjected unto himself the Provinces of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Transylvania*; this last, under the Government of *Beithem Gabor*, who had made himself his Vassal. That the Sultan had sent word unto his Imperial Majesty, that he should not pretend any thing there, to the end this Country might be wholly united to the Turks Empire. Whereupon he earnestly exhorted the Assembly to consider wisely: First, whether *Transylvania* should be left wholly in the Turks Power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not consent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make War, if the Necessity of his Affairs should force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turk would hinder his Imperial Majesty, that he should pretend no right to *Transylvania*: Fifthly, that the Turk had sent him an Ambassador, who, contrary to the Articles of Peace, had not brought any Presents: Sixthly, if they should make a new accord with the Turk, to consider advicely, what assurance they might take, seeing that he would not consent unto the sixth Article of the Peace.

Their opinions were divers upon these Propositions; but all joyfully consented to maintain the Authority of the Imperial Majesty. The *Hungarians*, only interested in their resolutions to War, by reason of the Spoil of their Country, as a passage for all their Troops, they fought the Emperor, that if he meant to send any Forces into *Transylvania*, they might have commandment to march some other way, and not over their Lands. *Beithem Gabor* in the mean time laboured to recover those places which had been lost. Wherefore he provided himself to make some attempts upon *Lippa* and other places; as at *Borene*, *Gerns*, and *Arach*. The Governors of these places gave advice unto *Forgassie*, Lieutenant General to the Emperor in high *Hungary*, representing unto him the estate of their Garrison, and the fear they had, that if *Beithem* should once get them into his possession and power, he would deliver them over unto the Turk: That if they would send them Succours, they would endure all extremities they yield to the Enemy. Yet for all this they made no haste to send them Succours; and *Sander Bassa*, according to the commandment he had received from the Sultan, having brought Forces to *Beithem*, the Siege of *Lippa* was relieved in the Estates of *Transylvania*.

On the five and twentieth of October, the Cannon being drawn out of *Veradin* to batter the Fort, *Beithem* went to invest it, made his approaches, and battered it so furiously, as having made a reasonable breach, it served first for a Passage for four hundred Men to escape, who left the Governour with very small means to defend the Place, and without hope of Succours from *Hungary*; which made him come to a Parley, promising to yield the Place, to have their Lives and Goods saved. The Forts of *Gerns* and *Arach* were delivered by the same Capitulation. That these three Places should not be put into the Turks Hands, but should remain perpetually united to the Principality of *Transylvania*: and to take all interest from the Turks, the Estates of the Country should pay unto *Sander Bassa* the Charges and Entertainment of his Troops. These Places thus gotten by *Beithem*, he manned them with new Garrisons; the Imperial which were within them being retired to *Forgassie*, the Emperours Lieutenant in high *Hungary*. But the Estates of *Transylvania* being assembled at *Veradin*, disputed diversly, whether they should resign these three Places into the Sultans Power; some represented the Discontentment he would have if they were refused, and the Inconvenience that might ensue; others were not of Opinion that the Province should be so dismembered, giving the most important Places thereof unto his Turks. Thus with out consenting or refusing the delivery of these Places to the Turk, the Estates concluded, that Prince *Beithem* should do therein what he held most Necessary for the Tranquillity of the Country; beseeching him most humbly, to free them from the Imperials, who had seized upon *Hufi* and *Pivars*. Such were the Affairs of *Transylvania* this Year, a Province distracted from the Emperours Power by the Turks Practices.

At *Constantinople*, Sultan *Achmat*, desirous to beautify the outward part of his Sealie with a goodly and spacious Place upon the Sea shore, he caused a Platform to be made within the Sea, being eight hundred Paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad. The Provost of *Constantinople* caused this Resolution to be proclaimed, when as presently every House lent forth a Man, and the chief of Families themselves laboured there in Person. There might you see the Baffas serve as overseers of the Workmen, and the *Janizaries* and Spahies carrying Scautles with a wonderful Alacrity; and at all hours of the day there was Mufick of divers sorts of Instruments, to ease their Labour, and to encourage them to continue. The Vissers going to visit the Workmen, caused a larges of pieces of Silver to be cast amongst them. Thus the Sultan being served with admirable Diligence in this his work of Pleasure, he saw it finished in three Months, having been begun in October this year.

Whilst that the Sultan employed his leisure after this manner, in the structure of a Platform within the Sea of *Constantinople*, certain religious Men parting from *Pera*, had a design to build another in the Waves of Infidelity; but more profitable for the Health of Souls. This was an Employment of Jesuits into the Country of *Mingrella*, in old time called *Cholos*; *Lewis Granger*, a Priest of this Society, with two others of his Order, and an *Armenian* for their Interpreter, parted from *Thrace* with this godly Resolution, to preach unto the People far from God, the Truth of his Holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to Heaven. He passed the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, and the famous Gallies of *Leander* and *Hers*, and cut through those Waves, whereas he that could not quench the Fire of his

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He receives  
Favour  
from the  
Turk, and  
blessings  
thereof.

The Sultan  
causeth a  
Platform  
to be made  
within the  
Sea.

Certain  
Jesuits go  
into *Mingrella*  
or *Cholos*.

1614

Paffion, quenched the flame of his Life; he passed beyond *Pompey's* Pillar, or rather that of the most happy *Daniel Styhia*, who erected his towards this Mouth of the Sea: and about the sixth of June this same year they arrived at *Verna*, a famous Town in *Thrace*, whereas a Company of *French* Soldiers (whom the violence of the weather had some years since forced to leave the Emperours Service in *Hungary*) were in Garrison for the Turk, to defend his Subjects against the Incursions of the *Cossacks*; yet these *Frenchmen* do still observe the Catholic Religion inviolably. From thence he sailed towards *Cardula*, and by the encounter of a little Gallion he entered into the Port of *Trabzon*. Within few days after he was carried in the same Vessel to *Eriza* in the Country of *Lexia* or *Laffia*, which on one side looks towards the Country of the *Georgians*, and the other that of *Trabzon*. The Christian Religion hath been for a long time planted among those People, but very ill manured; for the Fathers, to free their miserable Children from the Tribute wherewith the Turks oppress them, cause their Children to be circumcised after the Mahometan manner; and for the same Consideration they marry their Daughters unto Janizaries. Moreover they abandon themselves to the Mahometan Impiety, to the end they may be delivered from their insupportable Oppressions, and their Turkish Yoke. The Jesuits found there a good Subject to work upon for the Health of Souls; during their abode there for certain days they catechized the Men, baptized the Children, and advertised the Women married unto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their Faith: But for that their Communion or Charge was to go unto *Mingrella* or *Cholos*, they went again to Sea, and sailed towards *Gema*, which is the further Corner of the *Black Sea*: this Haven being very unfit to cast Anchor in, they followed the Gallies which carried a Baffa called *Onese* from *Constantinople*, who should treat a Peace on the behalf of Sultan *Achmat*, with the Prince of the *Mingrellians*, and dispose him to pay a Tribute; with these Vessels they went into a Port called *Maerogala*, nine Miles from that of *Gema*, holding this Place more safe than the other: but in Truth there is little assurance whereas the Waves and Winds command Sovereignty. A North-west wind rising about Midnight on the fifteenth of September, drove their Gallies near unto the Shells and Rocks, whereas one was broken and cast away. This Tempest continued many days, and during the Violence thereof, another Gallie was lost in the which the Jesuits had been, by good advice they had retired to Land during the Fury of the Sea and Winds. The Jesuits improved the cause of this loss, to the Prohibition which *Onese* the Baffa had made unto them, not to pass into *Mingrella* before the Peace were concluded with the Princes of that Country; the which grew long, by reason of the Difficulties which happened in the Treaty. In the end those Princes reliving to pay the Tribute unto the Turk, it was concluded.

The Liberty of Travell follows Peace. *Granger* and his Companions proceeded in their Journey; twenty days after their departure from *Maerogala*, they arrived at *Saurapella*, a place of *Georgia*; whereas the Prince's Vicer came to visit them, and after the Georgian manner saluted them, bare-headed, and kneeling upon one knee. *Gorel*, Prince of the *Georgians* (who was then at *Barles*, whereas the Court was to pass the Feasts of *Christmas*) being advertised of the arrival of these new Christian and French Teachers, sent for them, received them favourably, and allowed

The Ship-  
wreck of  
certain  
Gallies.

A Peace  
between  
the Turk  
and the  
Georgians.

The Salu-  
tation of  
the Geo-  
rgians.

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The Re-  
ception of  
the Jesuits  
by a Prince  
of *Agria*.

them bare-headed, and kneeling. After that he had made them to bless his Court, he held many Discourses with them of the Truth of the Roman Church; and of the Popes Power, as the Father of all Christendom; being moved partly thereunto by a feeling of Piety to the Church, and partly from the Instructions he received from these Jesuits, lo as enlightened with a new Beam of the true Light, he intreated *Granger* to crave Absolution of his Sins from the Pope, the which (said he) he may give me by the Power he hath from God; promising to send him his Confession in writing. But understanding that the Jesuit had Power from the Pope to absolve him, he purged his Conscience of all his Sins, by a general Confession of his Life. Without doubt the Zeal of these Souls, so far from Succour, shews plainly what the Harvest would be, if so many Labourers were found as are necessary. A Monk of *Georgia*, who had lived some for the space of twelve years, had in former times planted Piety there; the which they of this mission did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Jesuits to send him some of their Company at their return into *Europe*, promising to make great esteem of them, and to give them a Church, a House, and all things necessary for their maintenance. The Prince offered them Silver, which they refused, modestly excusing themselves upon the Rules of their Institution, which forbids them to receive any temporal recompence for the Administration of Holy things. Thus they parted from this Prince, who commended much their manner of living, and caused them to be conducted to *Saurapella*, to continue on their Journey into *Mingrella*.

The third of February, in the year 1615, they parted from this Town with the Turks who came to conclude the Peace, and passing by the Banks of *Fels* (a River which divides the Country of *Cholos*, now called *Mingrella*), they arrived at *Heraciano*, otherwise called *Heracbia*, and from thence to *Margoula*, whereas the Prince of the *Mingrellians* (called *Dodran*) then remained, being busy in the Reception of *Trebis Cham*, King of *Georgia*, who was come thither to visit him, being expelled his Country by the King of *Persia*. The Jesuits were brought to kiss the Hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of *Liparia* his Uncle, who was Regent of the Realm during his Minority. They both promised them assistance in their Affairs, sending them to the Town of *Macauri*, to make their abode there whilst they were busy in the Affairs of their Country, the which at that time were somewhat confused. The Bishop of that Place entertained them with great Demonstration of Love, and soon after, making a Feast of *Trebis Cham*, or Prince of the *Georgians*, he would needs have the Jesuits assist at this Banquet, for a great Testimony of his Love. It is the manner of those of *Cholos*, or the *Mingrellians*, as well as the *Georgians*, to sing at their Meats. The *Trebis Cham* desired, that the Jesuits might sing some note when it came to their turn, whereof they excused themselves divers times; But there was no Remedy, they must do as others have done: whereupon they sung the Hymn of *Pliny the Younger*, &c. appointed for Holy Thursday. Being thus favourably entertained in *Mingrella*, they make their residence at *Macauri*, with hope to labour profitably for the Health of Souls, which err in that Country through the Darkness of Ignorance, for want of Men to teach them the way of Truth. They are Christians of the Greek Profession, under the command of divers Princes, always in war either against the Turk or the *Persians*. They carry the Name of *Cham*, which is much

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The Cu-  
stom of the  
Mingrellians  
at their  
Feasts.



1615

tent herewith, soon after he cauled threecore and fifteen Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their Heads, and would not pardon any one, notwithstanding the great instance that was made by their Kinsfolks, charging them with the Crime of Treason, as if they had conspired against his Person, having no proof at all: but these his Cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had persuaded himself, but contrariwise, they were the more incensed, and many of them took Arms openly, and had then seized upon him, been revenged of his Cruelties, and fed their Country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not been assisted by the Citizens of *Tas*, whom he compared to second him in this occasion, promising them immunities of all Subsidies; in regard of which promise, these poor Wretches, preferring their private Profit before their publick Safety, employed themselves in the Service of this Tyrant, and fought valiantly against the Boyers, who were come to assault him in the City of *Tas*: but finding that he was better assisted than they expected, after some light Skirmishes they retired as well as they could, whereat many were taken Prisoners, whom the Tyrant cauled to be slain in cold blood, or empaled to terrify the rest.

The Boyers which escaped from this Defeat, knowing that there was no hope of Mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of Revenge, nor by consequence any Safety in *Moldavia* during his Government, they resolved to have recourse unto the Princes (Widow to *Jeremy*) who had fled into *Polonia* when he was the News of the taking of her Son *Constantine*. This Prince understood from the Boyers of the tyrannous Government of *Stephano*, and that most of the *Moldavians* were resolved to shake off the Yoke of his Tyranny, and desired to have *Prince Alexander* in his place, remembering the good usage they had received from the deceased *Prince Jeremy* his Father. These Considerations, together with a desire of Command upon her Son (who was then but sixteen years old) were for Motives to persuade both her and her Son to embrace this occasion, the which they imparted to *Prince Vifnoskiy*, Son in law to the Princes, and to *Prince Corresky*, who at that time aspired to marry her youngest Daughter: These Princes not only allowed of this Design, but they offered themselves willingly to accompany *Prince Alexander* into *Moldavia*, and to take the whole care of his Army. This Resolution being taken, they presently employed all their credit to levy men, and had within less than two Months drawn together ten or twelve thousand Footmen and Horse, *Polonians, Cossacks, and Transilvanians*: whereof the *Vayvod Stephano* being advertised, he presently levied what Forces he could, of *Moldavians, Tartarians, and Valachians*, having drawn together an Army of almost twenty thousand men, which he kept about *Tas*, and there resolved to attend the Princes of *Polonia*.

*Prince Alexander* being advanced with his Army within two Leagues of *Caminitie* in *Podolia*, he was much troubled to pass the River of *Nistrie*, which divides that Country from *Moldavia*, fearing the Fort of *Cochina*, in the which there was a strong Garrison of *Moldavians*, and store of Munition to defend the Passage of the said River: but it fell out happily for *Prince Alexander*; for the Captain which commanded in the said Fort being much discontented at the Cruelties of the *Vayvod Stephano*, came voluntarily of himself to offer his Service to *Alexander*, and brought him the Keys of the Fort, leaving all to his Disposition; so as he past his Army easily into *Moldavia*, and in sign of joy discharged many Volleys of his great Ordnance,

The Noblemen revolted against *Stephano*.

*Prince Alexander* called into *Moldavia* by the Boyers.

The Fort of *Cochina* yielded unto *Prince Alexander*.

which made *Stephano* distrust the Affections of the *Moldavians*, and to feel a pricking in his Conscience, which could never abandon Tyrants and Oppressors.

*Prince Alexander*, making some stay with his Army at *Cochina*, in the year 1615, advanced towards *Tas*, and being come within half a days Journey, he sent forth eight hundred *Cossacks*, (chosen out of a great number) to discover the Countenance of his Enemies Army: but they were not far advanced, before they encountered fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, sent by *Stephano* to give some charge to the *Polonians*. Although the *Cossacks* were fewer in number, yet finding the *Tartarians* in disorder, they charged them so resolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the rest to rout. After which Exploit, they brought word to *Prince Alexander*, that *Stephano's* Army might be about the number of fifteen thousand men; but they were such as were gathered up in the Country, and not trained up to Arms, who were rather drawn to by constraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy Success, together with the Reports made by the *Cossacks*, did greatly encourage *Alexander's* Army, being also much incited against *Stephano* for certain Letters which he had written to their Prince, full of Threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy; the which did the more encourage the *Polonians*, and made them resolve rather to dye fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruel Tyrant. The same day there came certain Deputies of the *Moldavians* to *Prince Alexander*, without the privacy of *Stephano*, to know what his Design was, and to intreat him to take pity of *Moldavia*, which was threatened with a speedy ruine, if the War continued any longer; to whom the Prince made Answer, That his Intent was not to oppress *Moldavia*, but to free it from the Tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had been invited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come unto him into *Polonia* to that end, and had given him assurance, that it was the common desire of the *Moldavians*: That upon this confidence he had marched with what Forces he could draw together; and that if he did prevail in his Designs (as he assured himself with their assistance) he would govern them with no less mildness than his Father *Prince Jeremy* had done, whose Son and lawful Successor he was. The Deputies returned well satisfied with this Answer, and having published it in divers places, many *Moldavians* came and joined with the Prince's Army, and assisted him faithfully in this Action.

In October, *Prince Alexander* advancing about three Leagues with his Army, he made a stand in a fair Champion, where there were good Springs to refresh them, and in the mean time he called a Council at War, to resolve, what course he should take, and when he should draw the Enemy to fight. In the mean time he had sent a Troop of *Cossacks* to discover the Army, who brought word that they were ranged in Battel, and that they had twenty Cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze *Prince Alexander*, for that some days before, the General of *Stephano's* Artillery had sent to assure him. That if he gave Battel, he would annoy his Men as little as he could, having a desire to serve the Prince, and by this means be revenged of *Stephano*, who had cauled his Brother-in-law's Head to be cut off, upon a false supposition which he had conceived against him being innocent. The which first intreated the Princes, that nothing should procure them more secret Enemies than Cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they most relye abandon them when as they least expect it. The *Vayvod Stephano*

Deputies sent from the *Moldavians* to *Prince Alexander*.

The General of *Stephano's* Artillery resolves to betray him.

1615

1615  
A second Defeat of *Stephano's* *Tartarians*.

A thousand of *Stephano's* Horse defeated.

*Prince Vifnoskiy* encouraged his Soldiers.

The disposition of the two Armies.

*phano* meaning to make a second Discovery of the Prince's Army, sent twelve hundred *Tartarians*, and two or three hundred *Moldavians*, who being sent afar off (for that it was in a plain Champion) the Prince sent five hundred *Cossacks* with four hundred *Polonian* Lances, to encounter them: The *Tartarians* perceiving it, made a hew at the first, as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their Camp; and being about a League off, they made a stand, thinking that they durst not charge them: but they were soon won with such fury, as they overthrew them, and flew most of them, so as there elapsed not above five or six hundred, who retiring to their Camp, cauled a great Amalement. The Prince's Army was much encouraged by this Exploit, and increased daily in number, as it is usual in Civil War to follow that Party which hath the first advantage.

Presently after this Execution, the Prince, meaning to advance his Army towards the Enemies Camp, his forward was stayed by a Battalion of one thousand Horse, who had the night before seized upon a narrow Passage, betwixt a Pool and a Marsh, by the which they knew the *Polonian* Army must pass: but this Obstacle was soon taken away, by the Advice which was given by certain *Moldavians*, to send a Company of Horsemen by a way unknown to the Enemy, by which means they might surprise them behind, before they were discovered. The Execution of this Stratagem was given to the *Cossacks*, who speedily went, being guided by certain *Moldavians*; who coming within fifty Paces of the Enemy undisturbed, they charged them, and were seconded so fitly by the forward, that staid on the other side, as of one thousand Horse there returned not above fifty to their Camp, to carry news of their bad Success.

*Prince Alexander*, having happily opened this Passage, advanced with his Army within Cannon-shot of *Stephano's* Camp. *Prince Vifnoskiy* was of opinion, that they should make a kind of Inclosure with their Carts, which might serve them as a Fort, having no place of Retreat within ten Leagues; the which being discovered by *Stephano*, he shot certain Volleys of Cannon through their Fort, so as there were some Soldiers slain, and some hurt: so as the Prince answered him with the like, but to no small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they above eight small Pieces.

*Prince Vifnoskiy* spent the night to encourage his Soldiers, letting them understand that they had no reason to be amazed, although their Enemies were more in number, for that most of them were Peasants, never trained up in Arms nor seen Battel; whereof they had had good proof in many Encounters, where they had ever been Victors over their Enemies, although they were inferior in number: That they were so many Telimonies and Assurances that God did fight for them, and would use them to punish the Tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his Cruelties against *Moldavia*. Finally, if they were Victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their Duties) there was not any one but should return laden with rich Spoils and Reconcomences from *Prince Alexander*. This did to encourage the Soldiers, as they dyed to fall of their Duties. Moreover, the Princes gave unto Colonels and Captains to understand of the Inexperience they had with the General of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted.

The next day, being the Eleventh of October, they began to put their Armies in Battel, during

1615

the which there were divers Skirmishes, wherein *Alexander's* Party had still the Advantage; so as it seemed they were so many Prefages of good Fortune which should betell them that day. The Prince's Army was ordered by *Vifnoskiy*, to whom *Prince Alexander* had given the Charge of General, as most capable, having sundry times given sufficient Proofs of his Sufficiency and Valour in other Battels. This General, seeing *Stephano's* Horse men divided into three Squadrons, and the *Tartarians* most advanced, he appointed the *Cossacks* to encounter with them; the which was judiciously and discreetly done, for they both go freely to the Charge, neither are they covered with any Arms, but only with the Skins of certain Beasts, wherewith they make themselves to seem as fearful as they can, observing no order in their fighting, and using Cries which are fearful to such as are not accustomed unto them; and being once broken, they seldom return again to the Charge. The *Polonian* Lanciers, called in their Language *Hofsfarys*, being about one thousand and five hundred men well armed, made the second Battalion of *Alexander's* Army, led by *Prince Corresky*, and were placed on the right hand against three thousand *Tartarian*, *Valachian*, and *Moldavian* Horsemen. The Hungarian Foot, being about three thousand men, were in the middle of *Prince Alexander's* Army, with the Cannon, upon a little Hill of some advantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chariots, who were led by the Princes *Alexander* and *Vifnoskiy*; and the Baggage was a little behind the Foot in the Camp where they had lodged the night before.

The Tyrant *Stephano*, having disposed his Army into divers Squadrons, began, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to play with his Cannon upon *Alexander's* Army, who found that the General of the Artillery had kept his Promise, for most of the Bullets flew over his men, and hurt them not; upon which Confidence, he commanded the *Cossacks* to charge the *Tartarians* which were advanced, whom they soon defeated. At the same Instant two thousand light Horse gave charge to the Hungarian Foot-men which guarded *Stephano's* Cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yielded themselves; as *Alexander* became Master of his Cannon. The Tyrant, seeing his Infantry in danger to be defeated, and his Cannon lost, cauled a Battalion of three thousand *Valachian* and *Moldavian* Horsemen to advance, who without doubt had recovered the Cannon, but the generous *Prince Corresky*, with his *Polonian* Lanciers, charged them so furiously in the Flank, as that they flew almost the one half of them upon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another Squadron, the which *Corresky* perceiving, he wisely retired towards his Camp, leaving his men wearied and tired with the slaughter of their Enemies, and not able to maintain the Fight without some rest. Then came *Prince Alexander*, and *Vifnoskiy* who was his faithful Guide, with the rest of his Horsemen, to encounter this last Battalion of the Enemy, whereunto they went with greater Courage, for that they were assured the *Vayvod Stephano* was there present, which Charge continued for the space of a quarter of an hour, during which time *Prince Corresky* had leisure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly he could of those of his Party, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tired, and *Prince Alexander* fat engaged. But seeing these unexpected Succours, he and his Men recovered their Forces, and their Enemies were so much amazed at it, as that all them that remained alive were put to rout and fled.

The Battel betwixt *Prince Alexander* and the *Vayvod Stephano*.

*Stephano's* Army defeated.

But



1615  
The Night  
of Sleeps.

Alexander  
proclaim  
ed Prince  
of Molda-  
via.

Amabla-  
dor sent  
by Prince  
Alexander  
to the  
Grand  
Seignior.

Prince Alex-  
ander's  
Ambassa-  
dors put to  
Death by  
Stephano.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a Coward) apprehending blows, had retired himself to the rest of his Foot-men, who had not yet come to fight, making a show that he would rather dye with them than fly away: but seeing the Event of this last Charge, and his Horsemen all in rout, he now resolved to save himself by flight, having never given one Stroke in this Battle. The Foot-men which remained, being about four thousand men, seeing the success of the Battle, yielded to the mercy of the Victors, and cried out, God save *Alexander*, Vayvod of *Moldavia*. The day of the Victory, *Prince Alexander* made his Entry into the City of *Tas*, having the Princes *Coresky* and *Vifnosky* on either side, after whom followed his whole Army. Entering into the Castle, he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayvod of *Moldavia* by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Country, the which he would never accept until that time. The next day, *Prince Alexander* understanding that a great number of the chiefest of the Inhabitants of *Tas* were fled into the Mountains and Fortells to attend the Events of these Troubles, he sent certain Boyers to invite them to return back again (with all assurance) to their Houses, causing part of his Army to dilodge, and to be quartered in the Country thereabouts; and there were one thousand and five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse (under the leading of *Prince Coresky*) sent to the City of *Vaffila*, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might return back again into *Moldavia*. As for the Artillery, some were sent into *Polonia*, and some were put into the Fort of *Cochina*, the which is as it were the Arsenal of *Moldavia*.

At the same time, *Prince Alexander*, knowing that it was no less necessary to preserve than to get, he called the chief Noblemen of his Court to Council, to resolve what was fit to be maintained in his Estate, which he had newly gotten by the Sword: where it was concluded among other things, that he should speedily send an Ambassador to the Grand Seignior, to let him understand that he had never any intent to take Arms against his Majesty, nor to withdraw *Moldavia* from his Obedience; but that he had been taught unto being in *Polonia*, and invited by the Boyers of *Moldavia*, for the unpeackable Cruelties of the Vayvod *Stephano*, who had resolved to root out the Nobility of the said Country, having put many of the chief to death without any occasion. They had also charge to give the Sultan to understand, That when his Majesty advanced *Stephano* to be Vayvod of *Moldavia*, he had falsely suggested that he was Son to a Prince of *Moldavia*; that he was not truly advertised by his Baffes and Counsellors, that his Predecessor had promised to the deceased Father of *Prince Alexander*, and to *Prince Simeon* his Uncle, that after his Decease his Sons should succeed him in the said Estate, if they shewed not themselves unworthy, and did pay the yearly Tribute of forty thousand Chequines, which Tribute, since the Death of *Jeremy*, had been offered by *Prince Constantine* his eldest Son, to *Houffan Aga*, when as he was intended to settle the said *Stephano*, as also that *Prince Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would give *Prince Bogdan*, his Brother, as a sure and certain pledge for the performance of his Promises during the first year.

The Ambassadors having received these Instructions, they took their Journey speedily to *Constantinople*; but instead of passing through *Thrace*, which was their directest course, they were forced to go by *Transilvania*, being to be hindered by the men of War which then troubled all *Thrace*. Coming to *Buda*, they went to salute

the Baffa which commanded there, who being a special Friend to *Stephano*, put them in Prison, violating the Law of Nations observed by the most barbarous, and afterwards he sent them to *Braille*, whither the Tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They say he gave fifteen thousand Chequino's in recompence to the Baffa, and to revenge himself in some sort of *Prince Alexander* in the Persons of his Ambassadors, he caused their Heads to be cut off one night after Supper, and their Bodies to be cast into the *Danube*. The Deaths of these Ambassadors were very prejudicial to *Prince Alexander*, by means whereof the Grand Seignior was not truly advertised of what had past in *Moldavia*, nor received the Compliments, Offers, and Submissions of *Prince Alexander*, so as he was wonderfully incensed against him, and swore his Ruine, as you shall hear hereafter.

*Stephano* having received four thousand men from *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and gathered together the Relicks of his scattered Army, he marched toward *Valachia*, whereof *Prince Alexander* being advertised, he sent *Prince Coresky* with six thousand Horse, *Polonian* and *Cossack*, to *Tiench*, a strong Frontier Town, to guard that Passage: And *Prince Alexander* and *Vifnosky* they layed at *Tas* with the rest of the Army to preserve the Country, and to prevent all Alterations in favour of *Stephano*, who had some Intelligence that the Inhabitants of *Horrova* (a Country in *Moldavia* containing about fifteen or sixteen French Leagues in Circuit) were in Arms, and had joyned with a great Troop of *Tartarians* to come and invade him, knowing well that *Prince Coresky* was otherwise employed with part of the *Polonian* Army. *Alexander* stayed not to have these Rebels come to *Tas*, but sent *Vifnosky*, his Brother-in-law, with four Forces as he could draw together, to encounter with them. They met together with in two Leagues of the City, where *Vifnosky* charged the *Tartarians* with great fury, as half of them were slain upon the place, and the rest of them fled: there were a great number of Prisoners taken, and all the poor Inhabitants of *Horrova* were brought unto *Tas* in token of triumph. The dead being numbered, there were found about eight hundred *Tartarians* and others slain, and of the *Polonian* only fifty, and some hundred hurt.

*Prince Alexander*, having received News of this Defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went presently to Horse-back with his Company of French, which he had only referred about him, to go and meet with *Vifnosky*, and to congratulate his happy Victory. This being done with many Compliments and Embracings, he cast his eye upon the poor Inhabitants of *Horrova*, whom they led like a Troop of Sheep, and had such Commiseration on them, as he presently sent them back again, having taken the Oath of Fidelity, hoping that this his Clemency would draw the most Factions to Obedience, having formerly tried the Oppressions of a most cruel Prince. *Prince Alexander* having given Thanks to God for this new and unexpected Victory, he sent a Gentleman unto *Prince Coresky*, to advertise him thereof, who as to the same instant was busied to dispose of his Troops to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into *Moldavia*. The Encounter was in a plain Champagne, having on the one side the River of *Crete*, the which divides *Moldavia* from *Valachia*; the Skirmish continued from ten of the Clock until it was Noon, with like advantage; but *Prince Coresky* being advertised that *Stephano* was in a Squadron of Horse which was some two hundred Fades distant from him, he joyned unto his Troop four hundred Gerbeyes, who were well armed,

1615

Stephano  
defeated  
the second  
time.

The Inha-  
bitants of  
Horrova  
defeated  
with the  
Tartarians.

A false  
Alarm gi-  
ven to Alex-  
ander.

An Amba-  
dador from  
Prince Alex-  
ander to  
Prince  
Michna.

armed, and led by a very valiant Captain, with the which he charged him with such violence and fury, as he forced them to give back, yet fighting in such fort, as the Event seemed to be doubtful: the which being discovered by another of the Prince's Captains, who led a Troop of five hundred light Horse, he came so fitly to succour him, as *Stephano* and his Horse-men were forced to fly, whom the Prince pursued and cut in pieces. *Stephano* escaped with a Troop which he had reserved rather for the guard of his Person than to fight. *Prince Coresky*, at his return from the chase of his Enemies, caused the dead to be numbered, where he found, that of *Stephano's* side were three thousand and four hundred men slain upon the place, besides those that were Prisoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Presently after this Victory, the season of the year being cold (it being the twelfth of November) *Prince Coresky* put his Troops into Garrison, and returned with one hundred and fifty Horse to *Tas*, where he was received with much Honour and Joy. The Princess, Mother to *Alexander*, was yet in *Poland*; but being advertised of her Sons fortunate Success, she returned to *Tas*, and brought with her *Prince Bogdan* her youngest Son, with *Alexandra* her Daughter, who was yet to marry. At whole Arrival there was great feasting and joy; then they began to treat of a Marriage betwixt *Prince Coresky* and the Princess *Alexandra*, the which had been then consummated, if *Bellona* had not opposed it, stirring up new and more powerful Armies than the precedent, to exercise the Virtues and Valours of the said Princes, and to try the Patience of the two Lovers, who loved one another tenderly from their Youth.

To continue the deduction of new Affairs which troubled the quiet of the said Princes more than ever, you must understand, That about the end of November this Year 1615, they were advertised, that *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, with a Baffa called *Habraun*, came against them with an Army of forty thousand men, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, to succour the Vayvod *Stephano*; and moreover, that *Belthim Gabor*, Prince of *Transilvania*, had Charge from the Grand Seignior to arm against them, and to assail them; which in effect was a false Alarm; for the said Baffa had been sent by the Grand Seignior to bring Caubanes (which are Robes of Cloth of Gold which the Grand Seignior doth usually lend in favour to Princes that are under his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable possession of *Moldavia*, but not with any Army, nor with an intent to make War against the said Princes; for he was yet ignorant what had passed against *Stephano*. Notwithstanding, the Princes holding this Advertisement to be true, assembled a Council of the chief Noblemen in Court, where it was resolved, That an Ambassador should be speedily sent to *Prince Michna*, both to know his Intent, and to discover whether he marched toward *Moldavia*, and with what Forces. This Charge was given unto a brave Gentleman of *Polonia* called *Boarysky*, who parted presently from *Tas*; and being entered into *Valachia*, he understood that *Prince Michna* was then in his Town of *Bonska*, some twenty French Leagues distant from the Frontiers of *Moldavia*. The Ambassador being arrived, demanded Audience before *Michna*, by whom he was sent unto the Baffa, who at his first Entrance demanded what he had made his Master *Alexander* demand to carry Arms in the Country of the Grand Seignior without his Authority; for the which he

should be punished, and those that did assist him; commanding the Ambassador presently to be put in Irons, as if he had been a Thief, or some miserable Criminal. The Ambassador's Servants, seeing how they entreated their Master, escaped as fast as they could, leaving the like; who returning to *Tas*, informed *Prince Alexander* what had passed, nor any intent to enter into *Moldavia* at that time. The Baffa, disdainful to speak any more to the said Ambassador, he gave charge to some of his Officers to examine him particularly of all matters: and within few days after he returned to *Constantinople*, leading the said Ambassador thither with him. But soon as they were arrived, they lent the Ambassador unto the Divano, where he was again examined by a Visier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the Gallies, there to remain perpetually. So little account do these barbarous People make to violate the Law of Nations, especially with Christians, presuming that all the World should bow unto them, as if they were Gods upon Earth.

There was another Ambassador sent by *Prince Alexander* unto *Belthim Gabor*, who was Prince of *Transilvania*, being at *Fureur* or *Alba Julia*, whom he received very courteously; to whom the Ambassador delivered the Subject of his Charge: That *Prince Alexander*, his Master had been advertised, that he made some levy of men to joyn with *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and to make War against him; the which he could not easily believe, for that he had made profession of Friendship to his deceased Father, and had no cause now to leave it; and therefore, conjuring him, not to meddle in the Affairs which he had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requital (if any occasion were offered to serve him) he would employ all his means. The Ambassador having ended his Speech, he delivered his Princes Letters of Credit; to whom *Belthim Gabor* made this Answer, That he never had any intent to take Arms, nor to attempt any thing against *Prince Alexander*, whose Father was his true Friend; neither would he ever give any cause to discontinue this Love and Friendship betwixt them, whereof he would give good proof in all occasions, especially in this Subject now in question. The Ambassador was much satisfied with this Answer, the which was also confirmed by Letters yet notwithstanding he afterwards levied Forces against *Prince Alexander*, but he would not joyn with *Michna's* Army.

To return to the course of our History; Presently after the Baffa's Departure from *Ciench* to return to *Constantinople*, *Prince Michna* sent an Ambassador to *Alexander* with Letters, by the which he excused himself for the ill usage of the Ambassador by the Baffa, protesting, that he was much grieved, and that it was not with his Consent that he had carried him with him, promising him to employ his best means to mediate his Delivery. Moreover, that he was not ignorant what Authority and Power the Grand Seignior had over his Baffas; that he had no Army on foot, as he was given to understand, and that his design was not to support the Cause of the Vayvod *Stephano*, unless he were forced by the Commandment of the Grand Seignior. And whereas he intreated him to deliver his Enemy *Stephano* into his hands, he could not do it, unless he should violate the Laws of Hospitality, in betraying his Friend, who had fled unto him for succour, and withal, he should incur the Indignation of the Sultan,

1615  
Alexan-  
der's Am-  
bassador  
put in Pri-  
son by the  
Baffa.

Prince Alex-  
ander  
sends an  
Ambassa-  
dor to  
Belthim  
Gabor.

1615

Sultan, and he in danger to be dispossessed of his own Estate, having no sufficient means to maintain himself against a great Power. Prince Alexander, having heard this Ambassador, and received an Answer from the Prince of Transylvania, by the Advice of his Council dismissed all his Foot-men, and part of the *Cossacks*, retaining only five or six thousand men with him during the Winter.

Prince Viskounsky appointed by a Priest.

About this time there was one of the most cursed and impious Acts committed that ever was heard of. Prince Viskounsky, who was a Protestant of the Greek Church, having prepared at *Christinas* to receive the Communion after their manner, the Priest (who had usually served him by that Devotion, being corrupted with money by his Enemies) poisoned the Bread, which the Prince having received, he suddenly fell sick, and his Torments were so violent, as he died the next day. This bred a suspicion that he had been poisoned; whereupon the Priest was apprehended, who presently confessed that he was guilty, and had been provoked by his Enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made use of so reverent a Sacrament to poison a Prince beloved of all men for his rare Virtues; so his Punishment was very severe and long, being bound in a Chair made of Copper wire, and a fire made round about him, so as he was heard for twelve hours crying out fearfully for the insupportable Pains which he endured. Whilst that Prince Alexander and his whole Court mourned for this fatal and unexpected accident, there arrived a Spy which he had sent into *Moldavia*, who told him that there was a *Bassa* gave him to understand, that Prince Alexander's Army, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who pressed them daily to march into *Moldavia*; and to begin the War, he sent four hundred men to surprise the Town of *Berladia*, whereas Prince *Coresky* had left part of his men in Garrison during the Winter; who keeping bad guard, were surprised, and most of them cut in pieces, as he assured himself of an easy Victory. But Prince Alexander, hearing of this Defeat, he sent four hundred *Cossacks*, who made such speed, as within three days after they arrived at *Berladia*, a Town not walled, no more than the rest; where, having set fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the rest were burnt; so as there escaped not above five or six to carry this bad news unto their Master, who was much afflicted.

Skinder Bassa comes with an Army against Prince Alexander.

Stephano's men defeated by the *Cossacks*.

A Defeat of Turks at Vassilly.

At the same instant, when as the *Cossacks* were sent upon this Expedition, Prince *Coresky*, desiring to be revenged for the Defeat of his men, took two thousand and five hundred choice Horse, and put himself into *Vassilly*, fearing the Garrison he had left there would be in like manner surprised; whereof the *Bassa* being advertised by some of the Country-men, he sent his Son (being twelve or thirteen years old) and gave him an old Turk, of great experience, for his Conductor, with seven thousand men, holding this a good occasion to get Reputation to his Son. Prince *Coresky* being advertised of his March by some *Moldavians*, and that they should surprise them early in the morning, knowing that they were of necessity to pass a Bridge of Wood over a River that runs by the Town, he disposed his men in that runs by the Town, he disposed his men in such sort, as that the Enemy could hardly discover them; some of them were lodged within *Vassilly*, and the rest were covered with a little mountain that adjoined upon the Town: when as some of the Turks had passed the Bridge, two

Squadrons fallied from the Town, and charged their forward so furiously, as they were in a manner all put to the Sword; and amongst them was the Conductor of the whole Troop, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks, who had marched in a manner all night, to arrive early in the morning, were benumbed and half dead with Cold: the rest of the Turks which had not yet past, hearing the noise of this hot Alarm, durst not advance, but retired speedily, fearing perchance that the *Bassa's* Son might be put as well as his Conductor. Prince *Coresky* pursued them unto a Village four Leagues distant from *Vassilly*, killing and taking Prisoners all he found in the way. Among the Prisoners there was one who gave it out that he was near *Kinfinum* town to the *Bassa*; who being brought to Prince Alexander, he received him very courteously, and gave him a Garment fit for him, having been stripped of his own; he also gave him a Horse, and sent him back unto the *Bassa* with a good Convoy, to whom he sent a Letter, by the which he intreated him not to advance in favour of *Stephano*, promising, that if the Grand Seigneur would suffer him to enjoy *Moldavia* quietly, he would be most faithful unto him afterwards, and pay him the yearly accustomed Tribute: whereof the *Bassa* made no great account; for he was wonderfully incensed, both for his Sons bad success in this Enterprize, and for the death of his Turkish Captain.

Upon the day of this Victory, Prince Alexander sent fifteen hundred Horse to fortify Prince *Coresky*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certain Borough six Leagues from *Ticowit*, whereas the *Bassa* and *Michna* were then with their Army; being about five and twenty thousand men. These eight hundred men neglecting their Guards, did nothing but drink drunk, and molest their Hosts with all kind of Insolencies, and forcing their Wives and Daughters, which made them take care a Retaliation to be taken, and to that end they called upon them certain Boyes out of the Country, who chusing their time, cut all their Throats when they were asleep, and most of them drunk.

About the end of this Year, Prince Alexander called a General Council, whereas the Princes, his Mother, Prince *Coresky*, and all the chief Noblemen and Captains assisted, where it was resolved that they should retire to *Cochina*, being thirty French Leagues off; for that it was the strongest place and the best furnished of all *Moldavia*, and whither they should be far from their Enemies, and near unto *Polonia*. According to this Resolution, Prince Alexander parted the next day with his whole Army, and came in four days march to *Cochina*, in the extreme cold Season that could be; having lodged his Troops, the Princes sent divers Gentlemen to all their Friends and Confederates, to conjure them to come speedily to succour them; and in the mean time they made gave order to make provision of Victuals, and of all other things necessary for their Army. The *Bassa* being advertised of this Retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards *Tas*, notwithstanding the extremity of the Cold, which was so violent, that many died upon the way; whereupon they stayed until the time was more mild.

In the beginning of March, the Lord of *Tischewick* came unto Prince Alexander with 3500 *Cossacks*, and within few days after arrived the Lord *Potosky*, Nephew to him who had been taken at the first Batel, and carried Prisoner to *Constantinople*, who brought with him a Troop of fifteen hundred *Polonians* well armed; there came also other Succours unto him, so as by the end of that

The *Bassa's* *Kinfinum* taken.

Eight hundred of Prince Alexander's men slain by their Hosts for their Insolencies.

Prince Alexander retires to *Cochina*.

Succours come to Prince Alexander.

1615

Some of them defeated.

Month the Princes Army was ten or twelve thousand strong Foot and Horse.

Prince Alexander, hearing of the Enemies approach, sent forth 1000 Horse with his Company of French Cavaliers to discover the Enemies Army, who flying to reach themselves within half League of the Town of *Epanocha*, where as *Michna's* *Tartarians* were lodged; they were discovered and presently inveiled by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to resist to great a Multitude, yet Alexander's Men (who had always been accustomed to vanquish) behaved themselves very valiantly, fighting rather to die, than to yield safely without giving proofs of their Valour. This fight continued from ten of the Clock in the Morning, until Night; and of the whole Troop there elapsed but twelve, seven *Polonians*, and five French, the rest were either slain or taken Prisoners, among the which was the Captain of the French Company called *Mounetpin*, whom they would have sent with the rest unto the Grand Seigneur's Gallies: But *Stephano* preserved him, upon promise that he would do him good Service. Here Fortune (which hath hitherto been favourable unto Prince Alexander) began to show her Inconstancy, to teach Princes not to run rashly into Dangers, although they have had some Advantage over their Enemies.

1616

Jesuits at Constantinople accused.

At Constantinople, about the end of August this Year 1616, Envy, the most furious of all the Winds that shake the Affairs of the World, stirred up a horrible Tempest, whose violent Gusts fell dangerously upon the Jesuits settled at *Pera* by the Sultans Permission, at the Persuasion of Henry the Fourth, the French King; and labours to cast them upon the Rocks where they might suffer Shipwreck, shameful to their Order, and prejudicial to the Christians, which live in the midst of Mahometism. And to ruin them without all hope of help or relief, they accused them before the Grand Visier, to be spies to Spain; to give Absolution to Renegades; to baptize Turks, to conceal fugitive Slaves, and to send them into Christendom; and whither they objected the Doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were Tyrants, the which had been really written by a Spaniard of their Coat: all which Crimes are commonly punished at Constantinople with Death. They relied upon their Persons, and lodged them in a Dungeon, where were six in number, that is to say, Francis Botton, Denis Guiller, Dominick Maurice of Chio, and John Baptista Joberi their Superior; all four Priests, and two Assistants, and with them a Franciscan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of Constantinople. A suspicion of Danger in an Estate is easily believed upon the least accident. In the mean time the Emperour Ambassador came to Constantinople, to renew the Truce; they entered with their Drums beating, and their Ensigns displayed. They which thought to end Trophies to their Glory by their Ruine of the Jesuits, made use of this entry, and gave false Advertisements to the Seraglio, that there were in Constantinople, and at *Pera*, many thousands of Christians disguised in the Habits of Greeks and Turks, which came with this Ambassador, with an intent to put that in Execution which the Jesuits had projected. Moreover, they informed the Grand Visier, and the *Mughli*, that the Churches in *Pera*, and the Ambassadors Houses were full of Arms; and that now when as the Turks Estate, and especially Constantinople, was unprovided of Forces, having employed their Armies in divers Places, and at one instant, as in Poland, Persia, and both the Seas, that they meant to draw the Greeks into Rebellion, and give an entry to the *Cossacks*,

They are imprisoned.

by the black Sea. The Sultan and his Baffaes took an alarm, they commanded every man to wear the Habit of his own Nation, with a prohibition to wear any Hat except the *Frank's*, and they to wear a *Grecian* Habit; they also enrolled all the Christians in Constantinople and *Pera*. But the Sultan did not think his City of Constantinople free from the danger of surprise by this diligent search, but he would seek his assurance in the Blood of Christians; so as he commanded that all the *Frank's* should be slain, without exception. But yet this Commandment took no effect, by reason of the Remonstrances which the Grand Visier and the *Mughli* made him, representing to him, that by this Cruelty he should draw upon his Estate a dangerous War from all the Christian Princes in General. But all this freed him not from fear, he walks all Night on Horseback up and down the City, contrary to his Custom, and he caught a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had been taken with the Jesuits, to be executed in his Presence; and he doth expressly forbid the Passage from Constantinople to *Pera*, and from *Pera* to Constantinople. During this Prohibition, the French Ambassador had past from *Pera* to the City, to solicit the People in the mean time at the Sea side (for it is the Custom to go to the Sovereign of *Mahomet's* Law with a small Train) during the time of his being there, a Multitude of People ran down to the Shore, to see their Men, thinking for certain, that they were sent to put them to Death: They lamenting their miserable Fortune, and the Turks charged them furiously with injuries, as the Men whom they thought practised by Conspiracy their ruin; But the Grand Visier having written with his own Hand, and sent one of his People to them that kept the Passage, the Ambassador with his whole Train was suffered to pass to *Pera*, but he found the Storm as raging at *Pera*, as when he came; for one Night after, the People of that Place fell into such a Fury, as it was to be feared from the Law of Nations would have been violated by the Infidelity of some furious People, although the Subject were of small Importance. About five hundred Paces from the French Ambassadors quarter, there fell out a Dispute in a Lodging, betwixt some who spent the Night in some kind of Employment; the Turks that dwelt near, being awaked with this Noise, ran to Arms, and trooped together in the Street, being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this Noise came from the *Frank's*, (that is to say, from the Christians in the *Weg's*, as *Italians*, *French*, *Spanish*, *English*, and others) who meant to rise; and they resolved to force the Ambassadors Houses, and to put all to Fire and Sword, if some better advised of the Troop had not persuaded them to delay the Execution until day, the which being come, the French Ambassador had means to get the Sultan to interpose his Sovereign Authority, to bridle the Infidelity of a Multitude inconsiderately incited. Such is the danger, in the which many times the Ministers of Christian Princes find themselves, who for their Masters Service live at the Mercy of a Nation barbarously furious, as the Turks!

The Jesuits in the mean time continued Prisoners in the Dungeon, until that the Baron of Saxe, Ambassador for France, had let the Grand Visier see their Innocency, and procured their Liberty, and the Sultan by his Letters Patents did publish the falshood of the malicious Accusations invented against them; but to avoid the Fury of a Multitude, blind in their Passions, and dangerous

The Turk commands all the Christians to be slain.

A Tumult at *Pera*.

The Jesuits let at Liberty.



1616 in their fury, they went to Sea, to return to France; but after they had sailed some days, they were again committed to Prison, by reason of some certain advertisement that was given to the Sultan of the same substance: The Sultan informed himself truly of their Probity, gave them their liberty, calling back two to Paris, to live there, with the like Privileges they formerly had, and suffered the rest to return into France.

Alexander, Prince of Moldavia, having lost a thousand Horse near unto *Cochina*, the last year, as you have heard, the *Baffa* and *Stephano* were puffed up with this good Success; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who, hearing that the Princes attended him at *Cochina*, with a Resolution to defend themselves, remembering that a certain *Italian* making a Profession to foretell future things, had told him, That if he ever came to fight with the *Polonians*, he would be in danger of his life: wherefore, by the Advice of his Chancellor and Camp-Maffer, called *Spareschich*, he pretended, that he had received News from his Lieutenant, that there was a great Troop of *Tartarians* entered into *Valachia*, and spoiled the Country; upon which Pretence he took leave of the *Baffa*, and returned, leaving all his Soldiers in the Army, relieving only an hundred Horse for his Guard. Being in *Valachia*, *Stephano* wrote unto him, that he had defeated the *Polonians* in *Battel*, in the which there were slain six thousand men upon the place, and had taken a great number of Prisoners, which they meant to send to the Grand Scignior: at which was but a mere Invention to mock *Michna*, and to make him forty that he was not in the Action: whereupon he was furiously discontented, as he called the Heads of his Chancellor and Camp-maffer to be cut off, for their bad Counsel, charging them that they had some secret Intelligence with the *Polonians*.

About the end of *March*, the *Baffa*, with *Stephano*, and a *Tartarian* Prince called *Munna*, resolved to advance with their whole Army (being twenty thousand men) towards *Cochina*; and being within two Leagues, they made a stand a whole day to refresh their men. In the mean time the Princes put their Army in order of *Battel*, in a little Plain within a quarter of a League of *Cochina*, leaving a thousand choice Horse within the Town under the Command of Prince *Corsky*, assuring themselves that the Turks would not fail to camp betwixt the Town and the Prince's Army, that if they were defeated, they might have no means to retire into the Fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of Cannon out of the Fort, which they planned within a Trench which was covered with a Wood. The *Baffa* on the other side thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being advertised that they had not half so many men in their Army: early in the morning he caused his men to march in good order, who arrived near to *Cochina* about seven of the clock in the morning, where, having made a stand to discover the Princes Army, he went and incamped betwixt them and the Town, as it had been foreseen. His men being put in order, the *Tartarians*, who had a great desire to be revenged of the *Cossacks*, who had defeated them in many Encounters, intended to have the Point, which was granted, and the Trumpets sounding, they advanced towards a Battalion of *Cossacks*, nothing distrustful the Cannon which was planted on that side, and not far. Coming within the shot, they presently played upon them, and overthrew a great number of the *Tartarians*, and terrified the rest, who, being thus routed, fleeing, they charged them furiously, and cut the rest in pieces, and so retired towards their Army,

1616 seeing another Squadron of *Valachians* and *Moldavians* come to succour the *Tartarians*. The Lord of *Tifchevich*, with his Troop of fifteen or sixteen hundred Horse well armed, went to encounter the said Squadron, which advanced bravely towards the Princes Cannon. The Countess was long without any show of Advantage, which made the Marshal of the Turks Army to send three thousand Turks to succour them: and the Princes caused a Squadron of *Cossacks* and *Moldavians* to advance, who carried themselves so valiantly, as they forced the Turks to retire above an hundred Paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cried out, Now my Companions behold the Enemy is in disorder, let us charge them resolutely, and the Victory is certain. After which he advanced with the rest of his Army, commanding two Cannons to be shot off together, for a sign to Prince *Corsky* that he might fall forth, and charge the Turks Reserve, as it had been resolved, but he layed not for the Signal, being already advanced above three hundred Paces, fearing that the Party would be ended without him, or that he should fail at need.

The *Baffa* seeing this Stratagem, which he feared not, and the bad lucks of his men which he had felt to fight, and that he was charged both before and behind, he began to be amazed, and having caused a Squadron of two thousand Horse, *Turks* and *Valachians*, to advance to second his Troops, he retired apart with *Stephano* (who was no less afraid than himself) with the rest of the Turkish Cavalry, to attend the event of the *Battel*. There was never a more furious Combat seen (which continued for the space of two hours) full of fearful Howlings of Turks, who in the end fainting, seeing no succours come unto them, whereas if the *Baffa* and the cowardly *Stephano* had joined with them, they had without doubt fortified their Carriages, and renewed their Forces, and by all appearance won the Victory, which they lost beyond all mens Expectation. When as the *Baffa* and *Stephano* saw that their Forces were in rout, and no means to draw them again together, they began to make a Retreat with above two thousand Horse, which he did not yet fought: in the mean time, the Princes *Tifchevich* and *Corsky*, (like two Thunderbolts of War) cut all in pieces they could meet; and fearing lest they should make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a stand upon the Place of *Battel*, not suffering their Soldiers to go to the Spoil, before they were assured that the Enemy was retired in great haste, fearing the Princes would have pursued them, the which they would willingly have done, if their Men and Horses had not been almost retired in the former *Battel*, in which there were slain above twelve thousand men, besides the Wounded and Prisoners.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to *Cochina*, by the other Princes and Noblemen, they gave Thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained against the Turks and their Confederates; and there was much joy with the Princesses and all the Ladies, who were retired into the Fort, attending the Event of this fearful *Battel*. Prince *Corsky* burned with desire to enjoy his Mistress, whom he loved as his own life; so as by a free consent of all Parties, they were married within two days after the Victory, to the great content of all the Court.

Whilst that the Princes began to enjoy the Fruits of their Victory, the *Baffa* and wretched *Stephano* returned to *Tas*, but finding no safety there, they parted presently; the *Baffa* to *Constantinople*, and the Tyrant unto *Valachia* to Prince *Michna*.

*Michna* fears to fight with the *Polonians*.

The *Baffa* and *Stephano* defeated at *Cochina*.

1616

1616 *Michna*, who was his only support, notwithstanding that he had mocked him apparently. But before this Wretch departed from *Tas* (having no hope ever to return again) he caused the Town to be let on fire in many places; so as of two and twenty thousand Houses, there were not above six hundred untouched. The Princes having notice hereof, in the beginning of *April*, they marched speedily thither; where finding it so desolate, they resolved to pursue *Stephano* into *Valachia*, and punish him according to his deserving. The next day they marched towards *Valachia*, being to pass the River of *Siretta*, there being of the said River but a narrow Ford, which was of five hundred men in Garrison, to keep the Frontiers. The Princes arriving at this place, the Garrison put themselves in defence; but they were soon forced and cut in pieces, so as there escaped not one; and as for the Inhabitants, they were well treated, having made no resistance, and without, they hated *Michna* for in which they received from the said Garrison. The Army having rested there three days, advanced with all speed towards the City of *Bonza*, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheer. The Army being come within a League of *Bonza*, it was discovered by some Country men, who ran to advertise their Prince, wishing him to save himself speedily, for that they had discovered the *Polonian* Army near the City. *Michna* was ready to sit down to dinner, having invited *Stephano* to accompany him; but he was so amazed at this unexpected coming of the Princes, as he ran in dismay to his Stable, and mounted upon the first Horse he could find, without Saddle, and so took his way towards *Tergovitz*, being followed by few of his People, one of which gave him his own Horse, which was better furnished; and as for *Stephano*, having failed his own Horse, he fled all alone towards *Nisepol*.

The Princes being entered *Bonza* without resistance, they were wonderfully grieved that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole Design, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harm) had been so amazed. The Army, at their first Entrance, spoiled the City, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the ravishing of many Wives and Virgins, which drew the Wrath of God upon them, and in all appearance was the true cause of the Miseries which afterward befell the Princes. During their Abode at *Bonza* to refresh their men, many Boyes or Noblemen of the Country (desiring to shake off the Yoke of Prince *Michna's* Command, who governed insolently) came unto Prince *Alexander*, beseeching him to stay in *Valachia*, promising that the whole Nobility would willingly yield him all Obedience and Fidelity. But the Prince (having no intent to dispossess *Michna*) thanked them for their good will, which the Boyes understanding, they told him, that they would be glad (seeing he refused it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had been their Vayvod before *Michna*, and had been expelled *Valachia* by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into *Germany* to the Emperor) might return and take upon him the Government of *Valachia*, intending him to give him Passage through *Moldavia* if he preferred himself; the which Prince *Alexander* willingly granted, desiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were restored, for that *Michna* favoured his Enemy, and had himself a design upon the Estate of *Moldavia*, which in the end he obtained.

Prince *Michna* being come to *Bonza*, which is betwixt *Bonza* and *Tergovitz*, he layed some days there attending his Train, during the which he

A Defeat of 400 of *Michna's* men.

Prince *Michna* and *Stephano* fly from *Bonza*.

Prince *Alexander* refuses the Estate of *Valachia*.

Prince *Corsky* married the Princess *Alexandrina*.

1616 sent speedily to his Wife, being at *Tergovitz*, willing her to go with all speed to *Nisepol*, for that he feared the Princes would seize both upon them and their Estates, as they might easily have done if they had foreseen what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to *Tergovitz*, he presently sent an Ambassador to Prince *Alexander*, to know upon what Design he had entered *Valachia* with his Army, having no cause, but contrariety, that he had given good Testimony that he was his Friend, for that he would not assist the *Baffa* and *Stephano* when they pursued him to *Cochina*, notwithstanding that they were much stronger in Person: That if his Intent were only to liele upon *Stephano*, he assured him that he was not worth him, but was fled another way, promising, that if he could ever take him, he would deliver him into his hands; intreating him withal, to retire out of his Estate, not suffering his Army to spoil it any more, and that they might continue good Friends. Prince *Alexander* received this Ambassador very courteously, who hearing the Subject of his Embassy, made Answer, That he had the day before sent unto his Maffer to inform him of his Intent, which was, not to attempt any thing against his Person nor Estate, but only to pursue *Stephano*, who had fled from the City of *Tas* before he parted; and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him, nor to injure himself, with any thing that he his, had sent him back his Plate, with all his rich Moveables. *Michna's* Ambassador having thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to *Tergovitz*, and found all true that the Prince had said; the which freed *Michna* from farther fear.

Before Prince *Alexander's* Departure from *Bonza*, he sent the Lord *Troiansky* with two thousand Horse to pursue *Stephano*; but it was with our effect; for he understood that he had passed the River of *Danno* with his Wife, and a small Detachment of *Tartarians*, in the same time a Troop of fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, being advertised that the *Polonian* pursued *Stephano* only with a thousand Horse, and that they were tired with long Marches advanced to charge them; but it was not with that Success they expected: for *Troiansky* discovering them afar off in a plain champion Field, had leisure to put his men into four Squadrons, and there attended them, who approaching near to discover the number of the *Polonians*, would gladly return without blows, but it was too late; for *Troiansky* commanded two of his Squadrons to charge them suddenly, so as within less than a quarter of an hour they were defeated, and above four hundred slain upon the place; the rest fled the same way that they came: of the *Polonian* there were not above five and twenty slain, and about fifty hurt.

The Princes had resolved to leave *Valachia*, forbidding all Captains and Soldiers, upon pain of death, to carry away any *Valachian* of either Sex with them, threatening that who disobeyed, should be put to death, and his Estate confiscated; after which they began to march; and being upon the way, they were advertised that the Inhabitants of *Ehbrenea* were again revolted, and in Arms, refusing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, and to pay the accustomed Tribute, unless he would make it appear that he was confirmed by the Grand Scignior. Prince *Corsky* was sent forth with five thousand men; whole coming did to amaze them, as they yielded without any resistance. This Prince, being loth to lose any time, laid Siege to the Town and Fort of *Bialgront*, seated upon the River of *Babon*, the which was held by the *Tartarian* *Presestari*, in which Fort there was a Garrison of Janizaries, and many Boyes

*Michna* sends an Ambassador to Prince *Alexander*.

Fifteen hundred *Tartarians* defeated the *Polonian*.

The Inhabitants of *Ehbrenea* revolt the second time.

1616 Boyers of *Moldavia*, who defended themselves valiantly, and made many Salles, in which they flew above three hundred of the Prince's men, and he himself was in danger to be taken, if he had not been speedily delivered by the Lord of *Tifchevich* and his Troop, who charged the Janizaries so resolutely, as they forced them to retire, leaving many of their men dead upon the place. The Prince seeing there was no hope to take the place without Cannon, raised his Siege, and returned to *Tas* the Prince *Alexander*.

Soon after, *Hebram Bassa* wrote to Prince *Alexander*, (as if he had been his friend) giving him to understand, That from thenceforth he should live quietly in *Moldavia*, for that the Grand Seigneur's Lieutenant-General, or chief Visier (from whom *Stephano* had always drawn his chief support) was in disgrace, promising the Prince to employ himself for him to his Master, which he did either to make him careless of his own Strength, or to draw some Recompence or Reward from him, if the Grand Seigneur should confirm him in *Moldavia*, as there was some likelihood, seeing that *Stephano* had made himself altogether unworthy, as well by his flight, as by his wicked Actions, which made him in the end so odious to the Grand Seigneur, as he resolved to ruin him. So as soon after they were advertised, that the Grand Seigneur had given Commandment unto the said *Bassa* to seize upon *Stephano*, who had retired himself to *Brablie*, and to bring him unto him alive or dead, with whatsoever did belong unto him; the which he executed after this manner: The said *Bassa* marched with all diligence towards *Brablie*, carrying a Chiaus with him; and being within four or five Leagues of the Town, he sent one of his people to advertise *Stephano* of his coming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who disfrustrated nothing) holding the Visier to be still his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and coming near him he alighted from his Horse to do him reverence, and the *Bassa* did the like; where, after some little Conference together, he drew out the Commission he had to seize upon his Person, and to carry him to *Constantinople*: the which *Stephano* perceiving, he turned him to his Servants, and wished them to shift for themselves, for that he saw he went to his death. His men being retired, the Chiaus, who had his Mace in his hand, gave him a blow between the Shoulders, and then caud him to be bound hand and foot, and cast into a Cart drawn by four good Horses: and in this manner they carried him to *Constantinople*, where being arrived, to avoid the Punishment he had deserved, he denied his Faith, and became a Renegade: and withal, he became very poor and miserable for at the same instant that he was taken, the *Bassa* sent to seize and carry away whatsoever he had at *Brablie* and *Nicopolis*, where his Wife remained, so as he had nothing left him but the remorse of Conscience that tormented him continually, for the barbarous Cruelties which he had practised in *Moldavia*. Some of his men returned to *Tas*, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their Presence, for which they generally gave thanks unto God, and were very joyful.

*Stephano* in disgrace writes to Prince *Alexander*.

*Stephano* carried to Constantinople and turns Turk.

him, with great Preparatives both to receive him, and to refresh his Army. The *Bassa* making his entry into *Tergovist*, had amongst other things of one, thirty or forty Musicians on Horse back, playing upon certain Instruments almost like unto *Trumpets*, which made but silly Musick; he had also many Pages, who instead of Cloaks were the Skins of Leopards, Lions, and Tygres, as if they meant to terrify the World; and his Army consisted of about twenty thousand men, some *Turks*, some *Tartarians*, to whom *Michna* joined his Forces, having 10000 Horse and Foot, which he had drawn from *Valachia* and the neighbour Countries. The *Bassa* being entered the Castle, whereas Prince *Michna* attended him, after many Complements, they entered into a great Hall well appointed, where the *Bassa* presented him his Letters Patents, and a Robe which his Master had sent to *Michna*, which he caused to be put on in the presence of all the Noblemen of *Moldavia*, with many Ceremonies too long to relate. After which, Prince *Michna* led the *Bassa* into another great Hall where a Feast was prepared, as well for himself, as for such as he would admit to his Table; *Michna* offering to serve the said *Bassa*, but he would not suffer him, causing him to sit down right against him. On the Second of July they parted from *Tergovist*, and marched into *Moldavia*, whereof the *Polonian* Princes were advertised; but the Princes, Mother to *Alexander*, maintained, That the *Bassa* came only to bring the Patents to Prince *Alexander* her Son; which dangerous Opinion of hers grew by reason of the Letters which *Hebram Bassa* had sent to Prince *Alexander*, not remembering that it came from a Turk, his sworn Enemy, and therefore not to be credited, especially in a matter of that importance, so as he was the cause of their utter ruine.

About this time, the General of the King of *Polonia*'s Army, called *Zolchysky*, envying the Honour which the *Polonian* Princes had gotten by so many Victories, and withal drawn by his own private Interest, writ to Prince *Michna* and the *Bassa*, that if they would promise to procure the Sultan to advance the eldest Son of the deceased Prince *Simeon* (who lived with him) to be Prince of *Valachia* (whereof his Father had been formerly *Vayvod*) he would so weaken the Prince's Army, as they should be forced to yield or fly. Whole Demand being easily granted, this Traitor writ to certain Captains of the *Cossacks*, that they should leave the Prince's Army, and come with all speed into *Poland*, to accompany *Uladislaus* King's Son, who had been chosen Duke of *Muscovy*, and meant to go thither with a great Army by reason of some troubles, and that they should be very well paid. The *Cossacks* (who depend upon the Crown of *Poland*, serving those that promise them) began to mutiny, saying plainly, That if they had not money speedily, they would retire into their Country, yet concealing that they had been called to any other Service; and without any long stay, they parted early in a morning about 8000, carrying with them great store of Oxen, Sheep, and other Cattel; with all the Spoils they had got in the precedent Victories.

After their Example, *Bischo*, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, whether corrupted by Bays, or for that he had an apprehension of this powerful Army which came against them, retired almost secretly toward *Michna* and the *Bassa*, being followed by 2000 Horse. This was a Subject of great amazement to the Prince's Army; and yet, as if they had been inebriated by some devilish Charms, they could not relieve to make a Retreat

*Michna* proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia*.

The Treachery of the General of *Polonia*.

The *Cossacks* multi-plied and leave Prince *Alexander*.

*Bischo*, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, forsakes him treacherously.

1616 as they might easily have done without danger. Many advised Prince *Alexander* to this course, even Prince *Michna* writ unto him, advising him to retire into *Polonia* before that his Army approached nearer to *Tas*; the which he did for fear of the Success, whereof his false Prophet had forewarned him, as we have formerly observed: whereupon *Alexander* went to Council on the 25th of July, but they could not resolve, the Commanders and Soldiers being much divided, many of them demanding their Pay, else they would not fight; the which they took for a Pretext of their Retreat. In the mean time the *Tartarians*, which made the Vanguard of Prince *Michna*'s Army, approached; which made the Princes to leave *Tas*, and to march toward *Cochina*; but they could not do it secretly, but the *Tartarians* were advertised, who past speedily through the City, and charged them in the Rear, in which Encounter *George Rasky*, Nephew to him that was taken with *Constantinople*, having fought valiantly, and slain many *Tartarians* with his own hand, was in the end shot thorow the body with an Arrow, whereof he died presently. The Lord of *Tifchevich* came speedily to the Charge with a Troop of *Cossacks* which he had stayed, and charged the *Tartarians* so furiously, as he slew eight hundred upon the place, and put the rest to rout.

*Alexander*, having received the Letter above mentioned from Prince *Michna*, made Answer, that (contrary to his promise to continue his friends, and never to take Arms against him) he had craved aid from the Turk to dispossess him of *Moldavia*, to the which his Predecessor had never pretended, neither could they according to the fundamental Laws of the Country, and the Conventions accorded by the Grand Seigneur, when as the *Moldavians* submitted themselves under his Sovereignty, by the which no man could be *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* unless he were born in the Country. Moreover, he should remember, that it was in his power to dispossess him of *Valachia*, when as he entered *Bona* with his Army in pursuit of *Stephano*; the which he would not do, nor detain any of his precious Moveables, which he had reserved and sent unto him; that if he abused the Power which he then had, God would not suffer to great an Ingratitude and Unlittleness to remain unpunished. And although his Army were far inferior to his, yet he would let him know, that he neither feared him nor the *Bassa*, putting his chief Confidence in the assistance of the Almighty, who had in many occasions used them to abate the Turks pride, which he should abhor, if he were a true Christian, rather than to joy with them to satisfy his Ambition.

Prince *Michna* having sent this Letter to *Skinder Bassa*, General of the Turky Army, he was so incensed, as he presently commanded his Lieutenant to pursue the *Polonians* with twelve thousand choice men, they being then at *Cernard*, betwixt *Tas* and *Cochina*. Prince *Alexander* being advertised hereof, he suddenly caused his Army to advance towards the Fort of *Cochina*. At the same time, the Chancellor to Prince *Chorbannu*, who came with one hundred and fifty Horse to Prince *Alexander*, to assure him that his Master was coming to his aid with five or six thousand men, was pursued by the Turks near unto *Tas*, whereas he thought to have found the said Prince, and of all his Troop only himself and one more escaped, so as the Prince could have no certain news of the said *Chorbannu*. Prince *Coresky*, who had remained with two thousand five hundred Horse not far from *Cernard*, was also encountered by a great Troop of Turky and *Tartarian*, which he could not well discover by reason of a little Mountain

that covered them: the Prince seeing some of them appeared, changed them; but finding, that as he defeated one Troop, a fresh succeeded in his place, he was forced to make his Retreat, with this advantage, that he had almost slain five thousand of his Enemies, having not lost above two hundred and fifty of his own men. But the Prince was wounded with two Arrows, one in the Thigh, and the other in the Back, which was a great disaster for himself and for the whole Army. \* He which commanded this Troop of Turks being much amazed at this unexpected Encounter, having gathered his men together, and joyning them to fifteen thousand others whom the *Bassa* had sent, he being yet at *Tas*, he caused this Army to approach within a quarter of a League to the *Polonians*, where, having encouraged his men in what he could, he told them, that to show his Affection unto the Sultan's Service in this occasion, he was resolved to send a Challenge to Prince *Coresky*, the confest to be the most valiant of all the *Polonian* Army, so as he presently dispatched one of his Captains to go unto the Prince, and to call him in the behalf of his General. The Captain coming to *Alexander*'s Camp, demanded to speak with Prince *Coresky*, who being brought unto him, delivered the Charge he had from his General. The Prince, although he were neither able to stand nor to sit on Horse-back, by reason of his Wounds, yet would he needs have accepted this Challenge, if Prince *Alexander*, and the chief Noblemen of the Army, had not conjured him to excuse himself by reason of his indisposition; letting him know, that the event of such a Combat did not only import him, but all those of his Party who had their chief hope in him; whereunto the Prince added their infatigable Injuries; and among others, his dear Spouse, who was much afflicted for his Wounds. The Lord of *Tifchevich* (a brave and valiant Gentleman) being then present, intreated Prince *Alexander* to give him leave to accept the Challenge for Prince *Coresky* his Cousin; the which was willingly granted: so as he sent a Gentleman with the said Turk, to know if the General would yield thereunto, which he did willingly, not being ignorant of the Quality and Valour of the said *Tifchevich*. It was agreed that the Combat should be betwixt both Armies, lying in a plain open field, within a quarter of a League one of another, with promise, that neither Party should be assisted.

The two brave Warriours having taken leave of their friends, came to the place appointed, in view of both Armies. The Turks General being about fifty Paces from his Army, caused Water to be brought, with the which he washed his Mouth, Eyes, Nose, Ears, and Privy Parts, believing (according to his Law) that this washing would serve as a purifying; then turning toward the East, he made his Prayer: after which he went to Horse-back, being richly armed and furnished, and then marched softly towards his Adversary, who attended him well mounted and armed, and so they began their Combat, their chief Arms being Bows and Arrows, which they spent without hurting one another; till at last *Tifchevich*, having a Personel, that the Turk thorow the Body, and overthrew him, who striving to rise again, *Tifchevich* passed over him with his Horse, and wounded him in the right Arm, and at the next blow flew him: after which he cut off his head, and carried it to Prince *Alexander*.

The *Polonians* were very joyful of the happy Success of this famous Combat; and the Turks being much amazed, advertised the *Bassa* and *Michna*, that it was necessary they should bring

A Challenge sent to Prince *Coresky* from the Turky General.

A Combat betwixt *Tifchevich* and the General of the Turky Army.

The Princes of *Polonia* encouraged by their Enemies.



1616 the rest of their Army and their Cannon, if they would be revenged of the *Polonians*. In the mean time the *Tatar* *Basha*, who had abandoned *Prince Alexander*, with a Troop of two thousand *Tartarians* and *Moldavians*, found means to get before the *Polonian Army*, and to cut off the way betwixt *Comrade* and the Town of *Bahoean* six Leagues off. The *Valachians* and *Transilvanians*, led by the General of *Michna's* Army, invested them upon the right hand, and the body of the *Turks* Army followed behind; so that there remained nothing but upon the left hand a Wood of Timber-trees which might favour their Retreat. *Skinder Basha*, hearing the Success of the Combat, commanded his Army to advance presently with sixteen Cannons. The Princes seeing themselves environed by so many Enemies, they resolved to fortify themselves with their Carts and Carriages, and to defend themselves; but what could five or six thousand men prevail against two or three and twenty thousand; so for many were thought to be in the *Turks* Army: True it is, they expected daily *Prince Charles*, and the Lord *Buff*, who were within two days Journey and brought with them ten or twelve thousand men. This made the *Basha* and *Michna* to advance, to force the *Polonians* to yield or fight. Coming near unto their Camp, and seeing them invest upon all sides the Wood, they approached their Cannon, which was able to have spoiled their Camp, but it was not their design; they only desired to take the Princes and Princesses Prisoners, with the chief Noble-men: Whereupon they sent to summon the *Polonian Army* to deliver into their hands the said Princes and Lords, promising that the rest of the Army should depart with Bag and Baggage, wherunto they would not yield, but made an Answer all with one consent, That they would rather dye than commit such Betrayals and Treachery. This being reported to the *Basha* and *Prince Michna*, they commanded that some of their Cannon should be charged with small Bullets, and discharged through the *Polonian Army*; whereby there were a great number slain and wounded. The Princes, who had but some small pieces, made certain Volleys, but to small purpose; neither had they any more Bullets left, and little Powder; so that by ill chance part had been burnt some few days before, so as all things seemed to foretell their ruin at hand. The Lord of *Tisbeovich*, having judiciously observed, that remaining in that inclosure, he could not escape Death, or at least Captivity, resolved with five hundred Horse (the most valiant among the *Polonians*) to force through three or four Squadrons which were in guard by the Wood side to the end none might escape, that Place being most suspected to the *Turks*; the which they executed with such fury, as they overthrew all they encountered; shewing, that it is a very dangerous thing to make head against those who are reduced to that Extremity, as they must either vanquish or dye. *Prince Corshie* would not have failed to have made the like Retreat, and to have carried *Prince Alexander* with him; but he could not fit on Horse-back by reason of his Wounds; and besides, he had rather have died than to leave his Wife in that Extremity. His last refuge was to disguise himself as well as he could, giving it out, that he had escaped with *Tisbeovich*, to the end he might pass for a common Soldier, if the Prisoners were put to Ranfome. In like manner the Princesses disguised themselves in the best manner they could, for the like intent.

The *Turks* Cannon having overthrown many of their Carriages, which served as a Rampier,

two Squadrons, one of *Tartarians*, and the other of *Turks*, presented themselves at one instant in two several places to force the *Polonians* Camp; who seeing no means to make resistance, and to repel the Enemy, laid down their Arms, crying out with a loud Voice, That they yielded; wherewith their Enemies were exceedingly glad, desiring nothing more than to take these Noble Princes Prisoners, and to dispose of the rest at their pleasures. The *Turks* and *Tartarians* having entered upon what they could lay their hands on, beginning to share their Prisoners, the Princes *Alexander* and *Bogdan*, with their Mother, were delivered unto *Skinder Basha*, who led them to *Constantinople*, whereas soon after their arrival they forthwith took their God, denied their Faith, and became Renegades, for fear of perpetual Imprisonment, wherewith they were threatened. For having caused himself to be Circumcised according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princess his Mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for *Prince Corshie* (in this general ruin of a digit it felt to the *Turks* Tyranny) he had a misfortune himself, as he pass for a time unknown, and was led to *Tai* among the common Soldiers, where he was afterward discovered by a Soldier of his own Party, who obtained his liberty by this base treachery. The Turkish Captain who had gotten this Prince, hearing of his quality by the afore said Villain, he led him to *Skinder Basha* his General, who recompensed him well, and made both him and the Soldier who discovered him, to take solemn Oaths not to impart it to any man; for he had an intent to draw some great Ranfome from this Prince, and to restore him to his former liberty, knowing well, that if he carried him to *Constantinople*, the Grand Seigneur would confine him into his Prison, by which means he should make no use not benefit by his taking. But it happened, that another perfidious of the *Polonian Army* advertised *Michna* of *Corshie's* Captivity, and in whole hands he was; who was so jealous, as he could and overthrew the good design of *Skinder Basha*, telling him plainly in the presence of many, that he knew for certain, *Prince Corshie* was amongst his slaves, and that he should beware he did not escape, for that the Grand Seigneur would call him to account. The General made answer, that he would be glad it were so, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good advice. But, fearing that if he did what he intended, suffering *Prince Corshie* to escape for a Ranfome, the Sultan coming to the knowledge thereof, would be much incensed, and punish him with disgrace or death, the advice he he told *Prince Michna* plainly, that the advice he had given him was true, and that *Corshie* had been found disguised among his other Prisoners, whom he would present unto his Master, with the Prince *Alexander* and *Bogdan*, as he did, of whose delivery you shall hear hereafter. The young Princess, Wife to *Corshie*, having disguised her self, and disguised her face with her Nails, and other helps, fell into the hands of a *Tartarian* Captain, with many others, who carried her into *Tartaria*, whereas she was most inhumanly treated.

In the Mediterranean Sea, *Cosmo* great Duke of *Tuscany* continued his Enterprizes this year against the *Turks*: his Gallies part from *Ligea* and arrived at the *Levant*, in quest of some occasions to annoy these Infidels. They drew near unto *Cerge*, in old time *Citibarea*, the five and twentieth of April,

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The Princes taken Prisoners and carried to Constantinople.

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April, when, meeting with certain Christian Ships, some *Venetians* advertised them, that the Island of *Chio*, the *Turks* had prepared two Gallies to pass into *Barbary*. *Inghirami* (Admiral to the Great Duke) resolved to set upon them; being on the way, he turned with his Fleet when they were to pass, and being covered by the Night, he cast Anchor under *Cafso Rous*. But as he attended a favourable Occasion, the Moon shining, discovered him to the *Turks*, and the Guards having advertised the *Turks* Gallies, they presently began to fly, the one following again towards Land, and the other continued her course at Sea with all speed. *Inghirami* with his Admiral Gallie got before that which was going to Land, invested it, being followed by the Gallie called *St. Stephen*, and three hours within Night grappled with it, and laboured to enter it; but the *Turks* (who were all good Soldiers) defended it valiantly, so as they were above an hour joined together, leaving one another furiously, yet the *Turks* (who were entered into *Inghirami's* Gallie) fought valiantly upon the Hatches; but in the end the *Florentines* had the Victory, and took this Gallie, with much loss of Christian Blood. It was the Patron Gallie of that famous Pirate *Amurat Rais*, which was commanded by the Son of *Manni*, a *Portugall*, called *Musapha Celsi*, who was taken alive, but fore wounded. The other Gallie which had fled to Sea, and was the Captain Gallie of the said *Amurat Rais*, was commanded by the Bey of *Mulene*, Nephew and Son-in-Law to that Pirate, called *Amurat*, who had married his Daughter, being his Mothers Son, was invested by the Gallies of *Saint Marie Madalene*, and the Patron *Saint Cosmo*; the Combat was no less furious than the other, the *Turks* making a wonderful defence; but after some hours fight, in the which the Blood of either side was abundantly spilt, the *Florentines* had the Victory. *Amurat*, Bey of *Mulene*, was slain, and *Musapha*, whom these Turkish Gallies carried to *Algier* in *Barbary*. They were of five and twenty banks a piece, carrying Lanthorns, and furnished with all things necessary, and manned with four hundred and twenty Janizaries, all men of Action, and practised in Piracies with that Pirate *Amurat Rais*. In this prize the *Florentines* took two hundred and forty *Turks*, and freed four hundred and thirty Christians; among the Artillery of these Gallies, they recovered a Cannon and two Scares of the Gallie of *Saint John*, and a Sail belonging to the Great Dukes Captain Gallie, which the Pirate *Amurat Rais* had formerly spoiled. These Turkish Gallies were laden with great store of rich Commodities, the which was valued at two hundred thousand *Crosons*. But this Conquest was gotten with the loss of much Blood; for the *Florentines* had two hundred twenty three men wounded, and five and thirty slain; in those two Commodities, the which made the Admiral *Inghirami* to rest satisfied in this Voyage with the taking of two Gallies, after which he returned to *Ligea*.

We have formerly made mention in the *Je-fuits* Business, being presented at *Constantinople*, of the entry which the *Venetian* Ambassador made into that City. And this was the Effect of his Ambassage. The Peace concluded at *Sina Torok*, in the year 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was somewhat altered by the divers Interpretations and Explications, which they made of the Articles therein contained. But this year 1616, in the Month of *March*, the Ambassadors of both their Imperial Majesties assembled at *Pe-*

Deputies meet at Vienna to confirm the Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turk.

The court of the Florentine Gallies.

enna in *Austria*; that is to say, the Cardinal *Rossigli*, Arch-bishop of *Strigonium*, and Chancellor to the Emperour, the Cardinal *Kisgfi*, Bishop of *Vienna*, the Baron of *Rais*, Count *Adolph Althaus*, the Earl of *Salmes*, the Earl of *Thora*, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperour; *Hali Basha* of *Buda*, *Achmat Tibania*, and *Gasper Grafiani*, for the *Turks*; where they concluded these following Articles, to take away all pretext of Controversie in the Explication of the said Peace, which was agreed upon at *Sina Torok*. But it was after that Ambassadors had been sent of either side, as well to *Constantinople* as to *Prague*, with royal and rich Presents.

#### Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of Achmat Emperour of the Turk.

1. *Forasmuch* as many things have happened of either side, contrary to the Peace concluded at *Sina Torok*, it hath been necessary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right course: Wherefore this holy Peace, made and concluded at *Sina Torok*, shall be observed for twenty years complete, to begin at the date of these presents. Given in the month of *Chomazialbil*, in the year of the Prophet, 1024.

2. That the Peace heretofore concluded at *Sina Torok*, shall remain firm in all its Articles, according to the Treaty which the Emperour *Rodolphius* did send unto *Us*, signed with his hand, and sealed with his Seal, the which we have received willingly, and the same Treaty we also sent back confirmed to the Emperour of the Romans, the which he received in like manner, and this Treaty which was sent unto *Us* bare date the ninth of *December*, in the year 1606 of *Jesus*, of reverend and happy memory; and that which we sent unto the Emperour of Romans, wherewith he was satisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet One thousand twenty one.

3. Since the time that *Agria*, *Canise*, *Alba-Regalis*, *Pesth*, *Buda*, *Zohofe*, *Haxwan*, and other places have been taken, that the Villages which were of their appurtenances shall hereafter remain annexed unto them. But those Villages, which since the Peace of *Sina Torok* have been hindered from paying their Tribute by either side, or have been held by force, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, that those Villages shall be seized by Commisaries of either side, by the Emperour of the Romans, and presently shall be set at liberty, and restored to their Lords and right owners. As for the Villages which pay Tribute to either part, those which are situate upon the Frontiers of the Emperour of the Romans, towards *Novigrade* and other Places, shall be seized by Commisaries thereto appointed, who shall take a Register, to the end those Villages may not be molested by our Neighbours. In like manner, the Commisary shall make a Register of the Villages which pay to both sides, lying near the Towns of the Emperour of Romans, of *Strigonium* and other Places, to the end they may take notice what Villages are bound to the one or other Party, that hereafter there might grow a Controversie, and for that which concerned the 158 Villages about *Strigonium*, for the which there was some controversy, the sixty lying nearest to the said Town shall be adjudged as it hath been agreed, and the Commisaries of either side shall send out for it. The foresaid Villages lying near to *Strigonium*, and all others of the Realm of *Hungary*, which shall be adjudged to the one or other Party, shall not in any sort be disputed, more than of ancient Custom, and there shall be nothing excited from them more than the Tribute.

The Judges of Villages shall pay unto the Lord the Tributes according to the ancient Customs; if the Judges

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Articles touching the difference of the Peace.

The Princes Army surrounded to yield.

A leavee retreat with Tisbeovich.

1616 do not bring the Tribute, the *Baſſa* or *Beig* of the Place shall summon the Inhabitants thereof, to the end there Judges may come and pay the Tribute, and if they do it not after these summonings, he shall write unto the next Governor for the Roman Emperor, that the Judges of the Villages may be sent unto him with the Tribute: And finally, if after all these Formalities it be not paid, the *Baſſa* or *Beig* may use force to fetch in these Inhabitants, and make them Slaves, the which shall be offered throughout the Villages which owe us tribute in the Realm of Hungary, yet nothing shall be exacted or demanded of them more than they have been accustomed to pay in ancient times. The Commissaries deputed shall view and set down by a joint consent the limits and bounds of the Lands and Seigneuries, which are held by either part in the upper or lower Hungary, and in the Realms of Croatia and Slavonia.

4. They that shall break the Peace of either part, if they cannot be convicted and punished instantly, we have decreed, that there shall be order taken of either side, and Justice shall be done within three Months. All Prisoners of War and others which have been taken since the Peace of Situa Torok, shall be set at liberty without ransom.

5. Achmet Tahaia hath presented unto us a Roll of Places built and fortified since the Peace, for the retreat of Soldiers. Whereupon we have ordained, that Informations should be taken of all Fortifications made on either side since the Peace of Situa Torok, and if it be found that any Fortification hath been made contrary to the Peace, it shall be visited within four Months by the Captains on both sides, or by a Nobleman of either Party, and the Fortifications which shall be found to have been thus made contrary to the Peace, shall be demolished.

6. And, for that some wicked and malicious Spirits have attempted many things unbecomingly to infringe this holy Peace and good Amity; we have ordained, that if hereafter any Persons of either side shall attempt or practise any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the Peace and mutual Correspondency, we will advertise the Emperor of the Romans thereof; and in like manner the Roman Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall advertise us to our Court, and no credit shall be given to the Reports of such Persons.

7. The Priests, religious Men, and Jesuits, among the People of holy Jesus, which follow the Pope Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to say divine Service after their manner, and read the Gospel. We will yield them all favour, and will not suffer any one to disturb them contrary to Law and Equity.

8. It shall be lawful for the Inhabitants born in the Realm of Hungary of either part, to re-edify the Villages ruined and laid waste, and after they are inhabited, they shall pay Tribute to the one and the other, if they be such Villages as have been accustomed to pay to both.

9. Merchants shall have free leave to traffick, passing from our Port into those Countries, and the transport of Merchandise shall be free to such as shall take Letters from the Governors of the Frontiers, or from the Receivers of the thirds, the which they shall present in passing, and the Lord of the Place or the Receiver shall attest the said Letters by his manual sign or seal; for the which they shall not take any thing of the Merchant. If the Merchant be to pass by any dangerous Place, they shall give him a sufficient Consent to conduct him in safety, and after that the Merchant hath paid of the said fifth the thirds, which is the full due, no man shall molest him nor hinder him to go where he pleases.

10. The Merchants which would pass from the Realms and Seigneuries of the Emperor of the Romans, and the Empire of Austria, into our Kingdoms, with Merchandise or Money, shall be under the Ensign of the Emperor of Romans, and shall have his letters patents to pass, without the which they shall not be suffered to pass. And if they enter without Ensign, or the said Patents, the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperor may seize upon their Vessels, Merchandise, and Money, and shall give advice thereof unto their Emperor; wherefore all the Merchants of the Emperors Countries, of the House of Austria, and of the King of Spain, both as well those of the Low Countries, as his other Realms, may come with all assurance into our Realms, with their Ships, Money, and Merchandise, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperor, they shall pay unto them two Appers for the hundred; and in doing so the said Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperor shall have a care of the Merchants Affairs. If any Merchant chance to die, the Emperors Agent and Consul shall cause his Goods to be sealed up, and shall take them into their Possession, to the which our Treasurer shall have no colour or pretension. And when as the Merchants have paid the Custom of three for the hundred in our Place, they shall not be bound to pay it in another for the same Merchandise. If the Merchants have any Controversie amongst themselves, or with others, the Cadi, or Judge of that Place, may take knowledge of the cause, if it exceed not the value of 4000 Appers, but it shall be judged by the Cadi of our Port.

11. As long as this holy Peace shall continue, the Posts which shall be sent with Letters by the *Baſſes*, *Begues*, Lords and Agents, or by the *Vijlers*, on our behalf to the Emperor of the Romans; and respectively from him to our Court, shall be honourably entertained by our Officers; and if the way be dangerous, they shall give them assistance to conduct them into a place of safety with their Letters. And if the Agent which is with us desire to write any particular Letter unto the Emperor, and not send an express Messenger, that this Letter shall be carried by the post, and delivered safely where it is directed. That the Messengers of the *Baſſes* and *Begues* shall go no more into the Villages, but the Judges shall bring the Tribute and deliver it where they ought.

An Accord for the Execution of the Articles touching the Villages in Controversie, and the railing of Fortifications.

TO conclude all Differences touching the division of Villages, and demolition of Fortifications made in prejudice of the Peace of Situa Torok: We the Commissaries deputed, had agreed upon the time of four Months: But, for that all Controversies cannot be decided within that time, by a common consent we have concluded the time of twelve Months, for the Expedition of all that shall remain undecided; all things remaining in the same Estate during the time. For the making of these Affairs on the behalf of the Majesty of the Roman Emperor, shall be the Noble Lord Adolph of Althen, Earl of the sacred Empire, with others, according to his Majesties good Pleasure. And on the behalf of the Ottoman Emperor hath been named the Noble Lord Ali Pasha. For the greater alinement of these things, we the said Commissaries have caused six Copies of this Plea to be dispatched, in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkish Tongues. And we the Director or President of the Privy Council to his Imperial Majesty, and Cardinal, and other Counsellors of his Privy Council and Commissioners, having full Power and Authority, have confirmed these Affairs upon our Hands, and the Seals of our Arms.

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1616 As also We Ali *Baſſa* of Buda, *Vijſer* to the most powerful Sultan Achmat, Thyahla Mutafaraga, and Gasper Gratiari, Ambassadors to the Turkish Emperor, with the Imperial Majesty of the Roman Emperor, having full Power and Authority to conclude this Treaty, have signed it with our Hands, and sealed it with our own seals; whereof there were three Copies delivered to either party. Given at Vienna the first of March, 1616.

This new Declaration of the Ottoman Emperor, upon the first Articles concluded at Situa Torok, shows plainly how much the Turks are of late days retired from their former barbarous rudeness, having made themselves capable of great Affairs. And their frequent meetings betwixt the Emperor of the Romans, and the Sultan, by their Ambassadors, as a holy watering of the Olive Tree of Peace, seems to make it to flourish, as the sweet favour may pierce further, and make us hope that God will make use of this peaceful Union, to prepare unto himself some means to a new Harvest, or a healthful Conquest of Souls wandering amidst the falshoods of the Alchocoran.

Alexandrina, Wife to Prince Corekie, having been taken at that unfortunate overthrow of the *Polonian* Princes at *Moldavie*, by Skander *Baſſa* and Prince Corekie; she was carried away (as you have formerly heard) by a *Tartarian* Captain, and led Captive unknown to *Bialagrat*, where she received many Indignities, being with Child; yea during the time of her lying in, which was five or six Months after her taking: all which time she bethought her self of a means to halter her own Delivery, and withal, to free a *Polonian* Soldier called *Jagues*, who had carried Arms under Prince Corekie. This man, although he knew the Princess well, and might by her discovery have purchased his own Liberty, yet he would not do it; wherefore the Princess having tried his Fidelity, taught him a means how to work his own Liberty, and hers in the end, by his Care and Diligence. The *Tartarian* being one day absent from his Lodging, Alexandrina took occasion to talk with *Jagues* the *Polonian*; telling him, That having found him faithful unto her, she would direct him a course whereby he might redeem himself from Captivity; so as he would principally observe what she did prescribe. *Jagues* having promised to execute whatsoever she should command, he crjny him, yea, with the hazard of his Life; she then said unto him: You know the *Tartarian* Captain that he had a suit unto him, that was, that the *Polonian* Woman, which was also his Prisoner, was his near Kinswoman, intreating him that in respect of his good Office he had done to his Brother, he would give her and her little Infant better, and that as soon as he were returned into his Country, he would take a course for her ransom, and it might be would bring it himself. The *Polonian*, having acquainted the Lady with what had past, and delivered her Jewel faithfully unto her, having received her Letters to Prince Corekie, she went to find him out, he took his leave. This *Polonian* travelling towards his Country, met with one of the same Nation, who having been taken Prisoner with Prince Alexander, made an escape; these two discoursing freely of their Adventures, *Jagues* inquired carefully what was become of the Princess which had been taken Prisoner to *Corekie* by Skander *Baſſa*, and especially of Corekie; and hearing that he was in the Prisons of the Black Sea, he inquired by what means he might speak with this Prince, or at least how he might convey some Letters unto him; to whom he answered, that

unto him, You must also demand of the sick Man a Horse, and some Money, with this pass to go into your Country, to the end thou mayest go speedily to my dear Husband, wherefore thou shalt hear of him, and to deliver him my Letters, and bring me an answer: if it be possible. The *Polonian* having sworn to perform whatsoever the Lady commanded, he being at Liberty; the Princess delivered him the Stone, he was striving to restore it unto her again, as soon as he had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by Violence.

The *Polonian* attended with impatience until the *Tartarian* did talk unto him of his Brothers Infirmary; who finding him one day much afflicted, took occasion to tell him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his Brother, without any Pain, or taking any thing inwardly; I believe nothing, reply'd the *Tartarian*; for all the Physicians in the Country could not do it; but if he could effect his saying, he promised to let him be at Liberty without ransom, and to give him wherewithal to conduct him into his Country: It is the recompence, said the Prisoner, I mean to demand, and that you swear unto me by your great God, not to fail of your promise when I have performed mine, and not to retain, nor suffer any one to take from me the thing I shall use in the cure. The *Tartarian* having solemnly sworn, and laid his hand upon his Heart, the *Polonian* took a time to make preparation for his cure. The *Tartarian*, although he distrustful his new Physician, yet he acquainted his Brother with the Project, who, being desirous to recover his Senses, intreated his Brother not to neglect the offer, promising to save him harmless, both in regard of the ransom, which he expected from the *Polonian*, and for that he should give him. The day appointed being come, the *Tartarian* prest the Prisoner to perform his Promise; to whom the sick man also promised a Horse and fifty Chequines to return into his Country, taking the same Oath which his Brother had formerly done. All things being ready, he applied his physical Stone, binding it fast to one of his Eyes for the space of seven hours, after which, being taken away he saw clearly, and in like manner he recovered his other Eye, and afterwards his hearing by the like Application: whereat the *Tartarians* much rejoiced; giving unto the *Polonian* what he had promised, and procuring him pass-ports from the *Tartarian* without which he could hardly get out of the Country.

The *Polonian* before his departure told the *Tartarian* Captain that he had a suit unto him, that was, that the *Polonian* Woman, which was also his Prisoner, was his near Kinswoman, intreating him that in respect of his good Office he had done to his Brother, he would give her and her little Infant better, and that as soon as he were returned into his Country, he would take a course for her ransom, and it might be would bring it himself. The *Polonian*, having acquainted the Lady with what had past, and delivered her Jewel faithfully unto her, having received her Letters to Prince Corekie, she went to find him out, he took his leave. This *Polonian* travelling towards his Country, met with one of the same Nation, who having been taken Prisoner with Prince Alexander, made an escape; these two discoursing freely of their Adventures, *Jagues* inquired carefully what was become of the Princess which had been taken Prisoner to *Corekie* by Skander *Baſſa*, and especially of Corekie; and hearing that he was in the Prisons of the Black Sea, he inquired by what means he might speak with this Prince, or at least how he might convey some Letters unto him; to whom he answered, that

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it

Prince  
Corekie's  
Wife carried  
into  
Tartaria.

*Jagues*  
feels out  
Corekie.

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He returns  
into Tar-  
tary.

it was very difficult, for that he was faithfully guarded. But he understood that the French Ambassador had sometimes leave to send to visit him, whereof he might inform himself more particularly. After this, *Jaghes* intreated his Countrymen to deliver certain Letters which the Prince had written unto her Kinsfolk, the which he promised to perform faithfully, and so they parted. *Jaghes* coming to *Constantinople*, he grew acquainted with one of the French Ambassadors Men, who was sometimes employed to visit the Prince, and to carry him Money and other Necessaries; by whose means he got access unto the Prince, and delivered his Letters, the which he received with much Joy, hearing of his Wives Health. Eight days after, the *Polonian* coming to visit the Prince, he received from him an answer to his Wives, and so took his leave; he after many troubles, some Encounters, returned to *Bialigrot*, where, finding the Lady all alone (the *Tartarian* and his Servants being gone a hunting) he gave an account unto her of his Negotiation, and delivered his Letters, whereat she was much joyed, hearing that he was alive, though infinitely grieved for his Captivity, understanding that the Grand Seigneur had refused to put him to ransom. After their Discourse, the Prince advertised her faithful Agent, That since his departure, the *Tartar* had grown jealous of her Quality, and had enquired of her what her Husband, her Kinsfolks, and their Estates were; to whom she had answered, that her Husband was a Captain who had been taken Prisoner with Prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into *Turkey*; and as for her other Kinsfolks they were all Soldiers, which had been ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*: desiring the *Polonian* to remember it well, lest they should be found to differ when they should come to treat of her Ransom. The *Tartarian* returning soon after to his Houle, he found *Jaghes* the *Polonian* there, whom he entertained very kindly, both in reward of the good Offices he had done to his Brother, and for the hope he had of his Prisoners ransom, remembering that *Jaghes* had told him that he was his Kinswoman, and had told him that he would bring it. After some little Discourse, *Jaghes* asked him, What ransom he would require for his *Polonian* Prisoner: To whom the *Tartarian* answered, That he would have fix thousand Chequines for her and her Son, unless he would give him the Stone with which he had cured his Brother; to whom the *Polonian* replied, That as for the Stone it was in his Power, having refused it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken Prisoner. And as for the ransom which he demanded for his Prisoner and her Child, it was more than the all her Kindred were worth, the being Wife to a Captain who had been taken Prisoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was fill detained. The *Tartarian* interrupted him, saying, That he understood there was of noble extraction, and that he had rich Kinsfolks, who would not suffer her to spend her Life in Captivity. I confess, said the *Polonian*, that she is issued from Noble Parents, but they are ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*; adding withal, that he would not have returned if he had thought he would have demanded above a thousand Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard he was his Kinswoman, and for the good Office he had done for his Brother. You have been satisfied, replied the *Tartarian*, and have no cause to complain: Notwithstanding, after some contending, by the mediation of the Captains Brother, who had been so well cured, the Ladies ransom was let at three

thousand Chequines, whereof her faithful Agent gave perfect Intelligence to Prince *Charles*, Brother to prince *Coreskie*, who lent this sum with all possible speed; and so the Prince and his little Infant were redeemed from Captivity, and were led into *Polonia* by their faithful Solicitor: From whence the advertised the Prince, by Letters, of her delivery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who, by his report, was present in all the Troubles of *Moldavia*; but as touching her delivery by means of the Cure, I cannot warrant it, but leave it to the censure of Physicians and Naturalists, who can best judge of the Virtues of Stones, Herbs, and Plants; but it is certain that she was imprisoned and ransomed as an unknown Person.

In the year 1617, there came to *Paris* a Chiaus, a Spanish Renegade, called *Sahyan*, sent from *Constantinople* with Letters from the Emperour *Achmat* to the King, for the delivery of eight and twenty Slaves, who had redeemed their Liberty for Money in divers Ports of *Italy*, and in their return to *Constantinople* had been taken by the Ships of *Mercellia*; the King caused them to be let at Liberty. But the Chiaus had also charge to intreat his Majesty to cause Justice to be done unto the *Moors Gramadines*, expelled out of *Spain*, and wronged in their Goods and Persons, upon their Passage into *France*; wherein he had what contentment he could expect of Justice. Notwithstanding he did witness openly his amazement at their long delays in the dispatch of Suits; saying plainly, That *France*, which had the Reputation throughout the World, to maintain every mans right inviolably, did no Justice, but after long and tedious Pursuits; and that the Execution of decrees, was many times longer than the Suit it self. Whereas the Turks Justice (said he) was speedily administered to every Man; and within eight days they saw an end of the greatest and most important Suits. This Chiaus was favourably entertained, and defraied with Train for the space of six or seven Months at the Kings Charge.

As the Turks Estate hath not grown great but by Combinations, so it is ordinarily full of Troubles; whereby it seems that the Preservation thereof depends in making War upon others, or to support it, when as neighbour Princes seek to recover that which they had unjustly wrested from them by the Ottoman Power. This great Estate entertained this year four great Armies, two at Land, the one against the *Persians*, his ancient Enemy, the other (consisting in a manner all of *Tartarians*) against the King of *Poland*, as supporting the part of the Vayvod of *Moldavia* against the Turk, who had settled another in that Province: And two naval Armies, the one in the Black Sea against the *Cossacks* or *Ruffians*, who made daily Incursions into the *Osman* Country, when wholly given to Arms, which go to Sea in small Boats, able to carry but five or six Men, made of the Bodies of hollow Trees; but they are in a manner invincible with these kind of Boats; for when as the disadvantage of a Combat forces them to found a retreat, they retire near unto the Land, and in such Places whereas the Turkish Gallies cannot approach; and so they easily prevent a total overthrow. Finally, in case of Necessity they carry their Vessels with them. For in the end of the last year, finding the passage of the Black Sea (stopped at the mouth of the River of *Danub* by the Turkish Gallies, they put their Boats into Carts, and taking the way by the Mountains, they brought them easily into the Sea. The Turks fourth Army in the white Sea, as they call it, employed either to conduct the Caravan, which

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Prince Coreskie's Wife redeemed from the Tartarians.

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A Chiaus sent from Constantinople to Paris.

The cause of the Voy-age.

The Estate of the Turke Emperie this Year.

He entertains all Art and Armies.

1617

The Turks complain to the Venetians of the Officers great Spoils.

brings the Tribute from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, or in search of the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, which scoure those Seas continually to annoy the Turk. The Army against the *Persian* is led by *Haly Bassa*, Successor to *Alibemur Bassa*, who had been sent into *Persia* after that he had lost threethousand men in a set Battle, after which, being sent for to come unto *Constantinople*, fearing that the Sultan would take revenge of so great a loss upon his life, he retired to the *Sophy*, where he now remains.

The Turks being much annoyed both at Sea and Land by the *Uloques*, made great Complaint Merchants whom they took, to confels by Torments, being greatly terrified at their Thiefs, and complaining much that they could not pass by Sea without danger of Servitude or Death: adding withal, that these Pyrates having gotten a way into *Turkey* by the Venetians Territories, they were by them made Slaves, and slain in their own Countries: and although they went not from their Houles, nor undertook any Voyages, yet they were fill in alarm, and subject unto ruin: That the first ill Resistance which was made, gave great cause of jealousy, that there was some secret Intelligence between the Subjects of the Seigniorie of *Venice* and the *Uloques*; and that they divided the Spoil betwixt them: finally, That in what sort soever the matter palt, they held them importunate to all men, but especially to themselves. The Turks threatened to take their just Revenge; the which being impossible to effect in upon the Estate of *Venice* for the infolency of the *Uloques*, which after they had bred a cruel War betwixt that State and the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* of *Rome*, now Emperour, who seemed to support them, thereby to engage the State in a War with the Turk. But for that the Success thereof doth not belong to our History, we will leave it to them that have written it at large.

On the fifteenth of *November* this year, Sultan *Achmat Chah*, having lived thirty years, and governed that great Empire of *Turkey* fifteen, died. When he came to the Empire he was but fifteen years old. He was of a good Constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat inclined to be fat, strong, and active, which appeared by his Exercise in casting of a Horse-mans Mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein he exceeded any one of his Court; in memory whereof there are two Pillars set up in one of the suburbs of the Seraglio at *Constantinople*, with an Inscription, as marks of his Dexterity. He was by nature ambitious and proud, which some hold qualities befitting his great Estate. He was not so cruel as many of his Predecessors: but he was much given to Sensuality and Pleasure; for the which he entertained three thousand Concubines and Virgins in a Seraglio, being the fairest Daughters of the Christians. His Mother was a Christian of *Armenia*, or of *Cypria*; and therefore it is thought he was somewhat favourable to Christians. He was much delighted in Hawking and Hunting; and namely for Hawking he kept in *Greece* and *Natalia* 40000 Faulconers, who attended his coming, and kept his Hawks in their several places of Charge, and had good yearly Penfions. Neither were his Huntsmen much fewer in number, or of less Charge. As the Turkish Emperours are bound, by the Law of their Religion, once every day to practise some manual Trade, so *Mahomet*, his Father, gave himself to the making of Arrows, and *Achmat* to the fashioning horn Rings, such as the Turks wear when they draw their Bows. This they do in the morning: after they are ready and have said their Prayers, then they call for their Exercise, but it is only for form, for they scarce make an Arrow or a Ring in a whole year.

Enemies to all Art and Industry.

1617

They rob the Turks and Jews trafficking to Venice.

They spoil the Turkish Country and the Venetians.

Death of Achmat.

The Disposition of Sultan Achmat.

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<i>Christian Princes at the same time with Achmat.</i>	{	Emperours of Germany,	{	Rodolph the Second.	1577. 25.
				Matthias.	1612.
		Kings,	{	Of Great Britain,	{
				King James	{
				Of England.	1602.
				Of Scotland.	1567.
				Of France,	{
				Henry the Fourth.	1589.
				Lewis the Thirteenth.	1610.
		Bishop of Rome.	{	Paul the V.	1605.

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THE

# THE REIGN OF MUSTAPHA,

The First of that Name, Ninth Emperour of the *Turks*.



*Nought but affliction thundring out of Heaven,  
Makes men on earth to any goodness given.  
Nor longer than the thunders, any fear  
That any heav'n holds any Thunderer.  
So Mustafa, while heav'n restrain'd his state,  
And held him fetter'd in his brothers' hate,  
To virtuous actions did his studies drive,  
Was courteous, pious, and contemplative.  
But when his brother could no longer live,  
And liberty did to him power give;  
Then pride and tyrannie his horses wore,  
And drive him dilaies past heav'n's love or fear,  
Greatness, on Goodness loves to slide, not stand.  
And Lewis, fortune's ice, vertues firm land.  
Honour had rather be with danger driven,  
Than stay with vertue on the hand of Heaven.*

pag: 945.

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MUSTAFA advanced to the Empire.  
Deposed again.

OSMAN, the eldest Son of Achmat, being not above twelve years old, *Mustapha*, Brother to *Achmat*, being five and twenty, was drawn out of a Cell where he lived as it were religiously and in Contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Mustapha* Chan. They write of him, that he grew cruel, causing young *Osman* to be kept under turc Guards, putting to death his Brethren: He also did many indignities unto the Christian Ambassadors; and to confirm him in his Throne, he gave great Sums of Money to the Janizaries and Spahies; and sent a Messenger to Vienna to the Emperour, to assure him, that he would maintain inviolably whatsoever had been concluded betwixt him and his deceased Brother *Achmat*. But, growing odious by reason of his Tyranny, the Grand Visier came out of *Perfia* with an Army and deposed him, forcing him to return to his Cell, setting Prince *Osman* at liberty, and seating him in the Imperial Throne. But, for that it may seem strange, that *Mustapha* should be preserved alive during the Reign of his Brother *Achmat*, (contrary to the custom of the *Ottoman* Emperours, who do usually kill all their Brethren at their first coming to the Crown, thinking thereby the better to assure their Estates) it shall be fit to make mention thereof. *Mahomet*, the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leaving *Achmat* and *Mustapha*, his Sons by the Sultana *Flatra*, a Lady of Cyprus, some say of *Bosnia*, *Achmat*, the eldest, was sent for speedily out of *Magnesia*, by the Baffaes, to take possession of his Father's Crown, being the first Emperour of that Name. And, for that the custom of the Turkish Emperours was (as we have said) to have neither Brother nor Nephew alive, unless they could save themselves by flight; yet the Visier Baffaes, and other Officers of the Court, concluded in Council, that it was not fit that *Mustapha* Brother to *Achmat* should dye; grounding their opinion upon a good reason of State, for that their Emperour being but fifteen years old, they feared (that dying in his Nonage, without children able to govern) the Empire might fall into Combustion, and ruine it self by reason of Civil Wars. Whereupon they decreed, that *Mustapha's* Life should be preserved; but with that caution and restriction, that he should remain still a Prisoner in some Chambers of the Emperour's Seraglio at *Constantinople*.

During *Achmat's* minority, and before he had Children, there was no cruel Decree made against *Mustapha*, but he only continued in his Contemplation without any liberty: But when as the Emperour saw himself fortified with life, and remembering the cruel Custom of his

Predecessors, he many times propounded the putting of his Brother to death to his Council; the which may seem very strange it took not effect, having been often concluded. Among others, it is written, that his Death was concluded one Evening, and that it should have been put in Execution the next day: But *Achmat* was so frighted in the Night with Apparitions and fearful Dreams, as day being come, he said, Seeing that the only Resolution to put his Brother to death had so terrified him, he did believe that his Torments would much increase if he should put it in Execution; and therefore he commanded his Brother should live, more in regard of the Terror of his Mind than for any brotherly Affection. Another time, Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the Windows of his Seraglio, he beheld his Brother *Mustapha*, who by his permission was walking in the Gardens with his Guard: Some one of his Baffaes or other Officer that was near unto him, and willing to flatter his Humor, told him, that it was a matter of dangerous Consequence to suffer him to have so great Liberty. *Achmat* (moved with jealousy and distrust) grew into rage at his Words, whereupon he suddenly took his Bow and Arrow, (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkish Nation generally are) and aimed at his Brother to kill him; but at that very instant he felt to great a pain in his Arm and Shoulder, as not able to let loose his Arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, he said with a loud Voice, That *Mahomet* would not have *Mustapha* to dye. This Prince had three Chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a Prisoner fifteen years, and spent his time in a Contemplative kind of Life, after the manner of the Musulmans; his whole delight was to read the Arabian Books of their Doctors in divers Sciences. The Grand Seigneur gave him leave sometimes to take the Air of his Gardens with his Guard, and called him to consult with him of Affairs of Estate, taking his Advice many times, knowing him to be of a sound Judgment.

After a long imprisonment, and a daily apprehension of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grievously sick in November, as you have heard, his Baffaes and other Counsellors about him (seeing the danger he was in) perswaded him to take some good course for the succession of his Empire. He had Children by the Sultana, but they too young as they were not capable to govern the Empire. Moreover, this Sultana was dead, and the Children left Friends, and none to speak for them. But on the other side, the Sultana *Flatra*, Mother to the Emperour *Mustapha*, was yet living, who thought, that if the Baffaes should



1617 should undertake to govern the State during the minority of the Emperor's Children, her Honour would be much eclipsed: wherefore she favoured *Mustapha*, and persuaded the dying Emperor to make him his Successor. On the fifteenth of November, *Achmet*, seeing his End grow near, he called for his Brother, and told him, That feeling Death approached, he desired to provide for the Preservation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to succeed him, intreating him to take the Government upon him presently after his death. *Mustapha* was much amazed at his Speech, and answered him with Words full of Fear and Humility. That he might not accept of the Honour which he did him, seeing that the Empire did rightly belong unto his eldest Son. *Achmet* disabled his Son for to great a Government, both for his Age and Capacity; being necessary for the maintenance of so great a Monarchy, that he (who was of ripe years and deep judgment) should take upon him the managing thereof, recommending the Children he had by the Sultana, unto him; intreating him to use them in the same manner that he had used him; leaving the other Children which he had by Concubines, being his Slaves, to his Discretion. Soon after these Words, *Achmet* died, and *Mustapha* was generally acknowledged for Successor to the Turkish Empire; who at the first was amazed, as he thought he had been in a Dream, to see himself advanced to so great a Power and Sovereignty, from a slight Prison, and a daily apprehension of Death. At his first coming to the Empire, he caused the *Prerogative* Ambassador to be set at liberty, whom his Brother *Achmet* had caused to be restrained, contrary to the publick Faith; for that News came unto the Court of some Combustions raised by the *Perlians*. After which he sent speedily to the *Bassa* of *Buda* in *Hungary*, commanding him to entertain the Treaty of Peace, made by his Predecessor with the Emperor, inviolably. Yet notwithstanding he carried himself, during the small time of his Reign, intently and cruelly; for, violating the Laws of Nations, he had ill intreated the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancy*, Ambassador to the most Christian King, setting Guards upon him as a Prisoner, having caused his People to be put in Prison, and tortured after their manner. The reason of this Indignity which *Mustapha* did unto the French Ambassador, and to his People, grew upon an occasion which will require an ample Discourse, for the better understanding of that which hath gone before. After the Overthrow and taking of the Princes of *Moldavia*, Prince *Coresky*, as you have heard, was brought by *Sleider Bassa* to *Constantinople*, whereat the Grand Seigneur was wonderfully well pleased, for that he was held (even by his Enemies) for one of the most valiant and redoubted Princes of Christendoms; wherefore he was sent away Prisoner, and confined to the Towers of the black Sea, the which are distant five miles from *Constantinople*; a place appointed for the guard of Prisoners of great Quality and Importance, such as he was. He was shut up with a French Captain called *Rigant*, in a little Chamber which was on the top of one of those Towers, in which Chamber there was a Window capable for a Man to pass through, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from all suspicion. This Prince was much solicited by the Turk to become a Renegade, as the Princes *Alexander* and *Bogdan*, his Brothers-in-law, had done; but he resisted it with a generous Resolution, resolving rather to die in that tedious Captivity,

The generous Resolution of Prince Coresky.

than to commit to base an Act against God and his Conscience: The being being made known unto the King of *Polonia*, it moved him to compassion, and made him write to the French Ambassador, and to intreat him to be a means that this Prince might be put to Ransom, and freed from Captivity, at what price soever; the which the Ambassador durst not undertake, although he desired it much, for that he had no Charge from the King his Master. The Emperor's Ambassador did what possibly he could, knowing how much the Liberty of this Prince might be available to Christendome: for which Considerations, the Turk would not yield in any sort to fulfil him to be released; so as the Friends of this Captive Prince were out of hope ever to see him at liberty. But most commonly in such Extremities the Almighty works by the secret Instruments of his divine Providence, and gives assistance unto them that fear him, when all humane help and hope fails, as you may understand in the sequel of this History: whence grew the Ambassador's Affront which he received.

About the same time, there had been a Lady taken out of *Podolia*, with a fair young Daughter of hers and a Maid-Servant, by the *Tartars*, who sold them unto a Turk, and he brought them unto *Constantinople* to make his Profit. This Lady, who was a Christian, hearing nothing from her Husband for the space of nine months, went, accompanied with her Daughter, to the French Ambassador's House, which was at *Pera*, to crave his Aid and Assistance; where the Secretary (who was called *Martine*) moved with Compassion and Love, promised unto them all Service, and afterwards assured the Mother, That if he would promise he should marry her Daughter, he would endeavour to redeem them from Captivity: whereunto the Ladies yielded, and they passed their Promise in Writing to the Secretary, whereupon he payed two thousand and five hundred Crowns for their Ransom, and sent them home into their Country. Being returned, the Lady made her Husband and the rest of her Friends acquainted how they had been freed from Captivity, and of the Contract of Marriage which was past between her Daughter and the French Ambassador's Secretary; but the Father did altogether dislike of this Marriage, for that *Martine*, he said, was no Gentleman, and had not an Estate to entertain his Daughter according to her Quality. The Mother advertised *Martine* soon after of the Father's Refusal, protesting unto him, That she alone was the hinderance; and as for the Money which he had disbursed for their Ransom, they would send it unto him, if he pleased, to *Constantinople*, with Interest. *Martine* was much discontented, and divers Letters and Expostulations past betwixt them, but he could not obtain the Execution of his desire; till at length, whereupon he grew full of Grief and Melancholy, and thereupon went to visit Prince *Coresky* who was in the Black Tower, to make his Complaint unto him, and to take his Advice what course were best for him to follow. He made his Excuse that he had been sent by his Master to carry the Prince some Money, as he had done at other times; who making the Prince acquainted with his Discontent (for that he knew these *Podolians*, and had formerly allowed of the Suit which he had made to this Virgin) he comforted him, saying, That if he might by any means get out of Prison, he would willingly supply the Defects which they objected against him, and would maintain him against all

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A Device to free Prince Coresky from Prison.

all that should oppose themselves against his accomplishing of his Desires. This made *Martine* study by what means he might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to favour him when he was at liberty, and Love, which is many times the Author of many goodly Inventions, suggested one unto him which was very subtle and difficult to execute; which was, to send unto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of Packthread in a little Pye, which he sent him with ostentation, advertising him by a Letter, that upon a certain night conduced betwixt them, he should put down the Packthread at his Chamber-Window, whereunto a Ladder of Cords should be tied, by the which he might descend from the Tower: the which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martine* himself, but by a Greek Priest, who lived in *Constantinople*, to whom he had imparted his Enterprize, and had engaged him upon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time, *Martine*, doubting that he should be suspected to practise this Escape, resolved to be gone, and took leave of the Ambassador, whom he gave to understand, that he had some special urgent Affairs which did press his speedy Return into France; and therefore he left the Execution of his Design to the Greek Priest, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him. The Prince having drawn up this Ladder of Ropes with the help of his Packthread, and being come to the foot of the Tower, with his Chamber-Fellow, he found the Greek Priest attending for them, who told him, that he had charge from *Martine* to conduct them to a certain Cave, which was in a great Rock a League from thence, where they must remain all the days, and what in the Evening he would not fail come unto them, to bring them Habits like unto his own, that being so disguised, he might conduct them to his Lodging in *Constantinople*, and there conceal them as long as they should think fit. This Device pleased them well, and so they went all three unto the said Cave, whereas the two Cameradoes hid themselves, and the Priest returned to his House.

Prince Coresky escapes out of Prison.

At the break of day, it being the three and twentieth of November 1617, some of the Guards entering the Prisoners Chamber, saw that they were escaped, and found the Ladder of Ropes which they had used tied to the Window; whereat they were much amazed, knowing well that they should smart for it: notwithstanding, he who had charge of the Prisoners, sent speedily to *Constantinople*, to give notice of their Escapes. As soon as this was known, they sent Posts speedily to all parts, to make inquiry of these Fugitives, especially at the ports and passages, giving them special charge to observe all men that passed, if there were not one who had the little finger of his right hand shrunk up, as Prince *Coresky* had by a Wound which he had received. Within few days after, the Turk fell upon the Servants of the Baron of *Sancy* or *Mole*, Ambassador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner, which is to lay the Party upon a Table on his Belly, and to give him three or four hundred blows with a staff upon the soles of their Feet, the calves of their Legs, and their Buttocks, yet could they not make them say any thing that might charge the Master, as the Turkish Tormentors did hope. Not content herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a Weaver by his Trade, and dwelt near unto the

The French Ambassador's men tortured by the Turks.

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1618 Ambassador, thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depose falsely, that he had seen the Secretary *Martine* going and coming to his Master's Lodging, untill the time of the Prisoner's Escape: but God would not suffer the Weaver to depose any thing but the Truth, notwithstanding all the miserable and cruel Torments which he had suffered. The which is worthy the Observation, for that the Turks do generally hate Christians mortally, and do greatly rejoice at their Disasters. As for the Prisoners of the Towers, some of them were employed, and some were sold, or beaten to pieces in great Mortars of Iron, wherein they do usually pound their Rice to reduce it to Meal.

Three days after, the Chiaus *Bassa* had charge to seize upon the Person of the French Ambassador, the which he performed very severely and uncivilly, without any respect unto his quality. Having taken him, the said Chiaus led him unto the Viceroy's House, where, having been examined upon many Circumstances touching the Escape of Prince *Coresky*, he left him as a Prisoner in the hands of the said Chiaus, where he continued for the space of three days; during the which time the said Ambassador desiring to write to some of his Friends, and also to speak with the Mufti, which is the Turks High-priest, to acquaint him with his just grievances, he could not obtain leave, nor give thanks unto his Countrymen, nor his Joy returning two thousand Coozens unto his Majesty: True it is, that this Present made the Chiaus tell the Ambassador, that if he would obtain any favour from the Mufti, he must procure it by Money; according to which Advice, he gave three or four thousand Crowns, whereupon the Mufti became tractable, according to the Grand Seigneur *Mustapha* with the Ambassador's just Complaints, and of what Importance his Detention was, seeing there was nothing found to charge him, that he had favoured the Escape of Prince *Coresky*, as it was suspected; and that his Secretary, who had practised it for his own private profit, had left his Master above ten or twelve days before the said Escape, with an intent, as he said, to return into France. Finally, That all the World would tax him to have violated the Law of Nations, and that no Christian Prince, nor other, would heretofore put any confidence in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all join together, and make War against him; and in truth the Ambassadors, both the King of England's and the Low Countries, were much discontented at this unworthy usage of the French, protesting openly, That if he were not speedily set at liberty, they would retire themselves into their Countries. All which Considerations, represented by the Mufti, moved the Grand Seigneur to consent, that he should be set at liberty, and to be sent back to his House without any farther Displeasure. But all this could not free his Household Servants from their Imprisonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thousand Crowns for their Redemptions, for else they should have been so tormented, as their Lives had been in danger; for so they were threatened. Soon after, the Grand Viceroy hearing of the tyrannous Government of Sultan *Mustapha*, returned from *Perlia* with his whole Army towards *Constantinople*, where he forced him to leave the Empire, and to retire to his Cell, having reigned but two months and some odd days.

The French Ambassador imprisoned by the Turks.

The Ambassador set at liberty.

Pppppp

Eus

1618

Prince Cor-  
rekte ef-  
capes from  
Constanti-  
ple.

But to return to Prince Correkte, whom we left with Captain Rigout in the Lodging of the Greek Priest at *Constantinople*, whereas they lay hidden for the space of two Months, untill that their good Host got leave from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as well for himself, as for two others (who he said were of his Society) to go and confine themselves in the Desarts of the *Archipelagus*, with many Hermits which lived there after the manner of the ancient Anchorites. Having gotten this leave and passport, they embarked, being disguised like Priests, and arrived at *Eschus*, where they found an English Ship ready to set sail for *Messina* in *Cicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Naples*,

where he made himself known to the King of *Poland's* Ambassador, who was wonderful glad of his Liberty, leading him to the Duke of *Osuna*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, who furnished him with all things necessary, and a good Convey to go to *Rome*, where the Pope received singular content to see him, and to hear of his strange Adventures. From thence he past to *Vicenna*, where the Emperour entertained him according to his merits: after which, he retired to his own house, full of Honour, gotten by his Valour and Constancy in his Afflictions. Our Ambassador that was lately in *Constantinople* saith, he escaped by the black Sea, and so into *Polonia*.

1618

T H E



*OSMAN, thy gentle nature far declin'd  
From Turkish tyranny, and pride of mind;  
Which made heaven raise, thee and extirpat them,  
The proud Usurpers of thy Diadem.  
O'would all Princes, when their States are blots  
With power, and empire, think their interest  
In those their blessings, held but by the grace  
Of Gratitude, and Goodnesse, and no place  
Is held without them long, they soone would trie,  
That Truth prevailes part all their Policie.*

# THE REIGN OF OSMAN,

The First of that Name, Tenth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1618

The  
French  
King sends  
to Constantinople.

**P**rince *Osman* being sit at Liberty by the Grand Visier, he caused him to be proclaimed Sultan, and seated in the Imperial Throne of the *Othomans*, with the general Applause of all the Baffaers and Army. The French Ambassador being by the same means freed from his Guard, advertised the King his Master, how barbarously he had been entreated by *Muslapha*, entreating his Majesty to revoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King sent two Gentlemen to Constantinople to the new Emperour *Osman*, to demand reparation of the Indignity done unto his Ambassador and Secretary; and to let him understand, that he could not send any other Ambassador to his Court to condole the Death of Sultan *Achmat* his Father, nor congratulate his coming to the East, until that he had received satisfaction from him befitting his Dignity, and the wrongs he had received in his Ambassador. The Grand Visier and the Muphy hearing this Embassy, and considering of the Actions which had passed, advised the Emperour *Osman* to send an Ambassador to the most Christian King, to confirm their League, and to testify both by Word and Letters how much he was displeased for his Discontent.

The Turk  
sends an  
Ambassador  
into  
France.

The Grand Seigneur, by the Advice of his Visier and others, sent *Uri Chiaus* into France, to confirm the Articles of Peace betwixt the French and the *Turks*. At his first Audience he presented a Letter unto his Majesty with this Subscription.

To the most glorious and puissant Prince of the belief of Jesus, Arbitrator of all the Differences which happen among the Christian Nations, and of all the most noble, and the most ancient, the Emperour of France, to whom we will the end of his Days to be happy, and his Desires accomplished.

His Letter  
to the  
French  
King.

**K**now, that I send unto you the Capitulations and Treaties of Peace which are betwixt our Majesties; giving you to understand, that there is not any thing firm or stable in this World, neither King nor Beggar, although they live long; that which pleaseth God cannot fail. If all Mens desires should succeed, without doubt all men would go to Heaven. Man whatsoever he doth, or in what Dignity soever he be, shall not remain in this frail Life; wise men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which we have said, we desire to let you know, that he who was in Health, hath encountered Death, and is gone to a goodlier Place, to Paradise, my Father Sultan Achmat Chan; the God which hath no resemblance, have mercy on him. No man shall remain in this lying World: And in Paradise are the Approaches to the

Almighty God, where there is no Death. Finally he is gone.

1618

Since the beginning of the *Othomans*, until this present, the Empire of my Fathers and their Countries from Father and Son, from Hand to Hand, and from Father to Son, the Inheritance coming to unto us; Our Uncle Sultan *Muslapha* Chan, for that he was older than our self, was preferred before us to the Throne of the *Othomans*, and was some days in peaceable possession of the Empire, yielding Justice equally to all men both great and small. But as he was shut up many years in secret Places, praying unto God continually; so of himself he hath relinquished the Dignity of the Emperour, and contemned it. The Empire then belonging to those of our high Lineage, and for that by right it should come unto me, the Almighty God by his infinite Bounty and Mercy hath restored it into my Hands, my Visiers, Baffies, Lieutenants, the *Musli*, and other great Personages, and they that are in any respect with me; and finally, all my Subjects and Vassals, by a general consent have acknowledged me for Emperour, in the happy year 1027, about the first day of the Moon of January, in a good hour. Wherefore I am seated in the great Throne of the *Othomans*, like unto that of Solomon, a powerful and able Emperour, and in all our Countries and Cities; All the *Muslimans* being assembled together in their Churches to preach, the greatness of my Name hath been proclaimed, and through all the Limits of mine Empire they have graven it in their Stamps, to coin pieces of Gold and Silver. Finally, wheresoever there are any *Muslimans*, and in what Places there are Men, my Name shines like Gold. Hereafter Justice nor Impiety shall have no Place, but Justice shall be done equally. Now we are in Joy, and for that our natural Disposition is good, and the ancient Friendship betwixt us is perfect, I therefore thought good to advertise you of all that hath passed here, and to send you our Letters of Imperial Alliance by *Ureiu Chiaus*, who is my antient Servant, having had the managing of my Treasury, whereof he hath given me good account, being arrived at your Court, carrying my said Letter, he deserves to be received with Honour; insuring and protesting again unto you, to observe in all points the full Capitulation made betwixt my Predecessors and your Great Grandfathers, and for our part, you may be assured, that the Faith promised shall be maintained as it hath been heretofore by our Predecessors. And from the day I entered into my Throne, I have made my full known to all my Viceroyes, and other Officers which do my Justice, and generally to all those of my Obedience; intreating you to give the like Commitment to your Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of Justice, as in like manner to all your Subjects. And as your Grandfathers have taken the Faith of our High Family, so it may please you to continue with me, and we desire that on both sides it may be good and firm. Know then that for my part it shall be observed, so as of your side, there be nothing done contrary to the promised Faith.

And if before we came unto the Imperial Throne, your Ambassadors, which did your Affairs, received accepted any dislike, and hath not received the Honour and Friendship accustomed, in my time he shall be the more honoured and respected, as the chiefest Ambassadors have been: I have commanded, that he shall be greatly favoured, and our Respect shall be unto him as Queens, that is to say, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I do certify you.

A Battle  
between  
the Turks  
and the  
Persians.

A Peace  
concluded  
between  
them.

A Comet  
seen over  
Constanti-  
nople.

The French King having received by this Action a full satisfaction for the Indignity done unto his Ambassadors, soon after he called the Baron of *Wids*, or *Sancy*, home into France, sending the Earl of *Sizi* to succeed him as Ambassador at *Constantinople*.

The War continuing still betwixt the Turks and the Persians, the Grand Visier was sent to invade *Perfia* with a great Army; where, after many Exploits of War, News came to *Constantinople*, That the Visier had gotten a great advantage upon the Sophy of *Perfia* in a Battle which had been fought, wherein there had been a hundred thousand men slain. And although the Turks lost the greatest number, yet they remained Masters of the Field, and spoiled the *Persians* Camp, who was retired or fled: for that the manner of the Sophy is, to fight with the Turks in retiring or giving way a little; and with this manner of fighting they have always made Head against the Turks. After this Overthrow, the Visier advanced with his Army, and entered far into *Perfia*, which made many doubt that his Return would prove difficult; yet soon after there came Letters to *Constantinople*, importing, That the Turks being in *Perfia* in great distress for Victuals, the Sophy had sent an Ambassador to the Visier to demand Peace, promising hereafter to satisfy the Tributes of Silk which he ought yearly unto the Turk; and that the Visier (in regard of the necessity of his Army) had accepted his Offer, and granted him Peace, the which Sultan *Osmán* did afterwards ratify. After the conclusion whereof, the Sophy sent many Camels laden with Victuals unto the Turks Army, which was in great distress and want.

During the Turks War in *Perfia*, upon the Anniversary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the Night a Comet over the City of *Constantinople*, in form like unto a crooked Sword, or Turks Scimitar; and it was so great as it extended from the Meridian near unto our Zenith, unto the Horizon: the point began to shew it self an hour after midnight, and then appeared little and somewhat whitish, and gave but a glimpse; after an hour it was more apparent, and of a deeper colour, and the more it did rise, the redder it was, and like unto blood; but at the break of day it vanished by little and little in the light; and it was so big when the point approached near unto the Zenith, as the light was hidden under the Horizon: The Mathematicians did observe, that it followed the motions of the Heavens; it did always rise in one place, and the bending of the said Sword was toward *Crates*, more Southerly than it. It did appear directly in the East a quarter towards the South, the point coming directly towards *Constantinople*, and the Blade extending it self to the said East a quarter to the South, which is justly the part where *Perfia* is situated. The Edge looked directly towards *Constantinople*, and which made men discourse diversely, and many were amazed, fearing that it did signify the loss and defeat of their Army in *Perfia*, whose Return they feared much.

Orti or *Hussein* Chiaus, having finished his Embassy in France, came into England with the like Charge, and had Audience from his Majesty at *White-hall*, Sir *Thomas Glover* being Interpreter; from whom I received a true discourse of his whole Speech, as followeth.

#### The Turkish Ambassador's Speech to his Majesty.

*H*e Subhanehu, ve Allahuale, Saadetla, ve izzetle Padishah hazretlerinin umrını ve devletini ziyad ve berzilya eileye, Amen yah Rabil alemın.

Zyade cudretla ve saadetla Sultan Ali Osman Chan Padishah Hazretleri; Saadetla Padishah Hazretlerine selamün ve daler idub, bu namei humanin saadet masnuvile, Sultanum Hazretlerine israf idub: umidleriler ducer, masnelerinde musakki olan salub selab, bu anedegib, ne secvaze chuyk olundise, halia dachi of zultib zer ber dam giuler, giime artub mucar olmaına murad humaniuler.

Ali Osman, Padishabun dachi Lala ve Bası ve zırazam Bası hazretleri, Saadetla Sultanum hazretlerine juz selamub idub, bu mektub sherifleri dachi hakı juz sheriflerine israf idub daler ider.

Affianne fualetle dachi mutemekin olan elcehiz nam Paulo Pinder Culligib hakı juz sheriflerine juz kytindikleringera, mulaker adegib, yulle idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazretlerine israf idub ler.

#### The Interpretation hereof is thus:

THAT most true, incomprehensible, and most high God, increase and multiply your Majesty's Years in all Happiness and Felicity: Amen, oh thou Lord of the World.

The most invincible, most mighty, and most happy Sultan *Ali Osman*, of the *Othoman* Empire Monarch, sendeth unto your excellent Majesty a hundred thousand Salutations and Greetings, evermore praying the most high God for your Majesty's Happiness, sendeth unto your Highness, with all possible Honour and Renown, this his Imperial and most noble Letter, and wisheth hope, that the sacred bond of Peace, which hath been hitherto inviolably on your Majesty's parts kept and observed, your Majesty will be well pleased fill on your part, with daily increase more and more of Friendship, earnestly to continue therein. And his Imperial Majesty, on his behalf, is also resolved in like manner evermore punctually to keep and observe the same.

Also the most mighty Emperor's Tutor, and his chief Vicer Basil, hath addressed to the dust of your noble Feet, this his most honourable Letter, with a thousand Commendations, praying everlastingly that mighty God for your Majesty's long Life and Happiness.

Also your Majesties Ambassador at *Constantinople*, your Slave *Paul Pinder*, bowing his Forehead to the dust of your Majesty's Feet, and most humbly kissing your Highness blessed Feet, hath directed unto your Majesty this his submissive Letter.

This that now followeth is the said Ambassador's Speech to his Majesty at the taking of his Leave at *White-hall*.

Saadetla Padishabum, Nitekim bu kulligib hakı juz sheriflerine effendimuz olan Cudretla ve adaletla Ali Osman Padishah Hazretlerine name humaniulerin destimaizle teslim etilecek: Regia ve temennamız budurki Sultanum hazretleri dachi angışa giu

re effendimuz name sheriflerile giualub idub bu kulligibize teslim etilecek erzanı buiurila, ve herdam sadette ve delelette peydar ola.

#### The Interpretation verbatim is thus:

MOST happy Emperor, As I have with mine own Hands, bowing my self to the dust of your Princely Feet, apprehended unto your excellent Majesty the most mighty and high Sultan *Osmán*, my Lord and Master, his Imperial Letter; so likewise, I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased, in conformity thereof, to vouchsafe your princely Answer by your noble Letter, and to deliver the same into the hands of me your Slave; and be ever Partaker of all Blessings and Happinings.

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Osmán*, the *Othoman* Emperor, written to the King's Majesty, and presented by *Hussein* Chiaus.

ALTHOUGH in this transitory World, if the King or the Beggar should enjoy the longest term of Life that might be, and obtain all that his heart could wish, yet it is most certain, that in the end he must depart, and be transported to the World Eternal; and it is well known unto the wise, that it is impossible for man to abide for ever in this World. The occasion of this

Prologue is, that the immortal, omnipotent, and only God, hath, by his divine Will and Pleasure, called unto himself our Father, of blessed Memory, Sultan *Achmat* Chan, who in life was happy, and in death laudable, and departing out of this momentary World to be nearer the merciful Creator, being changed into perfect Glory and eternal Bliss, hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradyse. This Paternal Empire and Monarchical Kingdom, hath almost until this present blessed time been always hereditary, from Grandfather to Father, from Father to Son, and so curiously on that manner: but, having regard unto the Age and Years of our great and noble Uncle Sultan *Muflapha*, he was preferred and honoured to sit on the *Othoman* Throne, and being settled for some time, took care for the Affairs of the Empire, and for all that might concern the People both in general and particular. But he, having been many years reposed in Solitariness, and given up to Devotion and Divine Obedience, being as it were separated with the cares of the Empire, of his own accord withdrew himself from the Government, for that the Diadem and Scepter of the Empire of the seven Climates, was the true Right and Inheritance of our most excellent Majesty, of the which (with the meeting and consent of all the Vysiers, and other Deputies of State, of the Primate of the *Musfulman* Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the Soldiers, and of all Subjects both publick and private) the Almighty God hath made us his high Present and worthy Gift unto us.

And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moon *Rebei* the-eleventh of this present Year 1027, an expected time, and in an acceptable hour, was our blessed and happy fitting excellency upon the most fortunate *Othoman* Throne, the Seat and Wisdom of Solomon. In the Pulpits of all the Mosques, the Congregations of the faithful, and Devotion of the *Musfulmen*, throughout all our Dominions, is read to our Imperial Name the \* *Hudud*: And in the *Mosques* (where innumerable Sums of money are raised, as well upon the Silver as the Gold) our happy Name and Stamp is signed. And our most powerful Commandments are obeyed in all the Parts and Dominions of the World: and the brightness of the Light of the Sun of Justice and Equity, hath caused the darkness of Injuries and Molestations to vanish away.

Now seeing it hath been an ancient Custom of our famous Predecessors to give notice of the same unto such

\* *Hudud* is a Prayer only for the prosperity of the King.

Princes as in sincere Friendship, and do continue it with the House of great Majesty and our Imperial Court; We also have written this our princely Letters, and appointed for their Rearr the choice among his Equals *Hussein* Chiaus (whose Power is great) one of the honoured and respected Servants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that such News might cause great joy of our most honourable Assumption. And we do hope, that when they shall come to your hands (in conformity of the well grounded friendship upon the sure League, Articles, and Writings which hath been established of old with our most Royal Race and permanent Empire) you will manifestly rejoice Joy and Gladness, and certify as much to the Rulers and Governors of the Dominions and Countries under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League, and the points of the Oath which are firm and to be desired on both parts, from the time of our Grandfather and Predecessor of Royal Stock, now in Paradyse (whose Souls God voucheth) undoubtedly, during the time of our Reag, shall be observed with all respect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due observance of the signs of Friendship on our part, or by any manner of means on your part, for the violating the Foundation of the Peace and League.

The Copy of a Letter written by Halil Bası, chief Vicer, and General in the Expedition against the *Persian*, at his Return from the Wars to the City of *Seut*, in April 1618, unto Sir *Paul Pinder*, Knight, then Ambassador for the King's Majesty at *Constantinople*.

#### The Humble Visier Halil Bası,

TO the courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messiah, both great and honourable among the people of Jesus, and the true Determiner of Christian Affairs, our good Friend *Paul Pinder*, the English Ambassador, whose latter days be with all felicity: To whose noble presence (after our many kind Salutations, tending to all good Affection and magnification of Joy, worthy and becoming our Friendship) our loving Advice is this, That if you desire to hear of our Estate and Being, you shall understand, that after we departed from the happy Port with the Army for the Wars of Asia, we arrived and wintered in *Meleopotamia*, and removing thence in the Spring with all the *Musfulman* Host (always victorious) we went to Van, from whence place, when we came to Tauris, the *Musfulman* Army went on always sacking and destroying all those Places and Towns of the *Persians* which we met nigh by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of Villages, and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when we were come near to Tauris, the General of the *Persian* Forces (of perverse Religion) called *Caroghhan* Han (the accused) retired himself into the said Tauris, where, bearing up his Drums in every quarter, he made a show that he had a will to fight: so we sent a little before us some Tatars and others of our army to threaten some Tatars and others of the Enemy, who meeting with ten or eight hundred *Persians* of note, put them to the Sword, very few escaping, and that with very great difficulty and hazard: by which the said General finding himself unable to resist the power and fury of the *Musfulman* Host, or to stay any longer in the said place, the very same day that we arrived there, the said General, having spoiled all the City, fled away, so we took the place, razed it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatsoever else we found in it. And thus the great City Tauris, by Divine Favour and Grace, became ours. Then forthwith we sent after the Enemy, the Tatars with some Beglerbegs, who overtaking them gave them Battle: and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the Enemies side were innumerable. And so going forward

1618 towards Erdvill (their obscure Residence) about ten days Journey of the Country, we went burning and spoiling it, and killing all the Persians that we met, that indeed there was so much glory and honour you, as that all the ancient men of the Country do affirm, there was never seen like it, inasmuch, that from the Confines of Erdvill, twenty days Journey of the Country was on that manner by us destroyed. Thus afterward the King called to empty the said place of Erdvill, and fled into a place called Hunchal, and caused his army to go to the top of a high Mountain, from whence, having sent three or four times men of quality into us, seeking and intreating for peace, with promise to give yearly to our Emperor an hundred Sows of Silk, and all such places as are upon the Confines eaten in the time of Sultan Solyman, except Der Ne and Der Turk, whereupon we were contented with the peace, and his Ambassador so upon the way coming toward us, And so we returning the same way again (always spoiling) we came to Erzurum. And this our present Letter is written unto you for the Relief and Preservation of your Friendship: and even as your Army hath ever been hitherto future and firm, so likewise, by the Grace of God, all the things shall be able to resist the Turk; all which tended to the prejudice and ruin of the House of Austria. The Prince of Transylvania having taken divers Towns in Hungary, belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entered Austria in hostile manner in favour of the Bohemians; knowing that he had thereby much incensed the Emperor, and the whole House of Austria, and that if he should prevail over the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the War would lie upon him, he therefore in the end of this year sent an Ambassador with Presents to Constantinople, to crave assurance of the Grand Seignior's Aid and Support (upon whose Favour he had always depended.) In case the Emperor should invade Transylvania where, being countenanced by many of the chief Bishops, he had assurance of Sultan Osman's Support and Protection, the which he confirmed by a solemn Oath under his hand, as followeth.

#### The Great Turk's Oath to Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania.

Sultan Osman,

**B**y the Grace of God unconquerable Turkish Emperor, I swear, I swear by the Highest, Almighty, and Almighty Gods Eldovils, by this Kingdom, by the substance of the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, by the Earth, and by all under the Earth, by the Brains and all the hairy Scalp of my Mother, by my Head, and all the strength of my Soul and Body, by the holy great Mahomet, and by my Circumcision, That I, as thy Brother and Son Bethlem Gabor, succeeding King of Hungary, in no manner of way, in thy great and weighty Affairs, will not be to the Overthrow of my Kingdom, to be brought to nothing, until there shall be no more left but my self, or four or five Turks at the most, yet will I be still ob-

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Bethlem Gabor takes Towns in Hungary.

doubted nor of the Power of those Kings, and that the Electors would send Supplies unto the Emperor; yet he hoped that before they came, all should be ended, and their Dinners should be provided.

Soon after the Prince of Transylvania came to Presburg with his Army a Town of note in Hungary, whereas their Kings are usually crowned. The News thereof coming to Vienna, they sent 4000 Souldiers with three pieces of Ordnance down the River of Danube, who entered the Suburbs on the 13th of October, the Night was very stormy and rainy, and the Transilvians taking this Opportunity, charged them, and flew the greatest part, their Commander flying away with some few. The Suburbs being taken, Bethlem Gabor sent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yield the Town and Castle without force, giving him some time to resolve; who, after Consultation with some Noble-men, they relented to yield, and so the Town was delivered into his hands. After which he sent part of his Army under good Commanders into Austria, to the Gates of Vienna, where they committed great spoil, the particular relation whereof I leave to the History of the Emperor's Lives, to which it doth properly belong.

In November, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, and the Estates of Hungary, sent Ambassadors to Prague, where they propounded divers Articles unto the Countess, and amongst others, That they should joyntly send Ambassadors to the Grand Seignior, and that the Prince of Transylvania should negotiate the Business. And for that the Kingdom of Hungary was much exasperated, whatsoever be taken in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carizola, should be united unto it, to the end it might be the more able to resist the Turk; all which tended to the prejudice and ruin of the House of Austria. The Prince of Transylvania having taken divers Towns in Hungary, belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entered Austria in hostile manner in favour of the Bohemians; knowing that he had thereby much incensed the Emperor, and the whole House of Austria, and that if he should prevail over the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the War would lie upon him, he therefore in the end of this year sent an Ambassador with Presents to Constantinople, to crave assurance of the Grand Seignior's Aid and Support (upon whose Favour he had always depended.) In case the Emperor should invade Transylvania where, being countenanced by many of the chief Bishops, he had assurance of Sultan Osman's Support and Protection, the which he confirmed by a solemn Oath under his hand, as followeth.

Propositions made by the Transilvians and Hungarians to the Bohemians.

1619

Bethlem Gabor takes Towns in Hungary.

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A League bewixt the Prince of Transylvania, Bohemians, and Hungarians.

An Alliance betwixt the Prince of Hungary and Newburg.

get to defend thee, and all those that do any ways appear unto thee. And if thou shalt have need of me, I will be always ready to go with thee. And in case if any person shall in any wise be frustrated, then let my people fall upon my Head and destroy me and Gods Justice fall upon my Head and destroy me and my Posterity, and wipe away whatsoever belongeth unto me; and gather it together into a Rock of Stone, or substance of Earth, and that the Earth may cleave in sunder, and swallow me up Body and Soul.

Dated at Constantinople the fifth of January, 1619.

Bethlem Gabor, being assured by this Oath of Protection made by the Grand Seignior, in the beginning of the year 1620, he called an Assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Presburg, whither Ambassadors were sent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that Country, with the incorporated Provinces, where a perpetual League was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where, among other Articles, it was concluded, that forasmuch as Necessity did chiefly require, that a Peace should be concluded and inviolably kept with the Turk, therefore a new Ambassie should be sent to the Grand Seignior from all the confederate Kingdoms and Provinces; and that Bethlem Gabor should take upon him the chief care of that business; but yet in such sort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Provinces should send their Ambassadors with the Hungarians, and bear their shares of all that should be disbursed; as well for the Pretensions, as for the Ambassadors Charges.

In June following, Bethlem Gabor went to an Assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Neuburg, where he propounded divers heads unto the States: That he desired nothing more than to restore the Kingdom of Hungary, so miserably afflicted to Liberty; and that they might enjoy their Religion and Privileges: That he had spared no cost for the lawful defence of the Country; and for a Testimony that he desired Peace, he had refused the Crown which the Estates offered him at Presburg: That the ground of Peace was to maintain the League which they had begun with the Bohemians: That he had always desired Peace with the help of other Princes, so as it were sincere and without Fraud or Deceit, for the obtaining whereof he had assisted his Confederates mutually assisted: That he knew for certain the Emperor desired not Peace, but War, having suffered the Cossaks to enter into Hungary; and to spoil many Places with Fire and Sword; and denied passage for the Ambassadors of Bohemia and Austria; for this cause they were now to treat of Peace, but of War, and to consider how it might be begun and maintained; for the keeping of Money, which is the sinews of War; for the furnishing of their Forts upon the Frontiers, and for the speedy sending of Ambassadors to the Turkish Emperor, lest being engaged in an intestine War, there might be some attempts made upon the bordering Forts. Having delivered his Mind unto the Estates, there came divers Ambassadors thither from Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, and Lusitania, Venice, Poland, and Turkey: The Venetian Ambassador was content their Commonwealth should enter into the League, and the Turk made offer to conclude a perpetual League with them.

On the five and twentieth day of August, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, was proclaimed King of Hungary by the Palatine, at the instance of the Turkish Ambassador, and with the con-

sent and applause of most part of the Estates of the Country: After which, he levied a great Army of thirty (some say fifty) thousand Horse and Foot, and made many Ensigns with divers Emblems and Devices; which being known, the Protestants of Vienna, with the Content of the Emperor, wrote unto him, humbly entreating him to spare the City and Country, for their innocent Wives and Childrens sakes; but in the mean time all the Citizens were commanded to make Provision of Victuals for six Months.

There came News to Constantinople of a strange Apparition or Vision, whereas Mahomet their great Prophet was buried, to visit whose Tomb the Turks use to go in Pilgrimage, they must first go to Mecha, which is some few days Journey off, and there they take a Ticket from the Grand Seigniors Berberbeg, else they are not allowed to go to Medina. This Vision continued three Weekstogether, which terrified the whole Country, for that no Man could discover the truth thereof. About the twentieth of September, there fell so great a Tempest, and so fearful a Thunder about Midnight, as the Heavens were darkened, and those that were awake, almost distracted; but the Vapours being dispersed, and the Element clear, the People might read in Arabian Characters these words in the Firmament. O why wilt you believe in Lies! Between two and three in the Morning, there was seen a Woman in white, comming about with the Sun, having a cheerful Countenance, and holding in her Hand a Book; coming from the North-west, opposite against her were Armies of Turks, Persians, Arabians, and other Mahometans, ranged in order of Battel, and ready to charge her; but she kept her standing, and only opened the Book, at the sight whereof their Armies fled, and presently all the Lamps about Mahomet's Tomb went out; for as soon as ever the Vision vanished (which was commonly an hour before Sun rising) a murmuring Wind was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguishing of the Lamps. The ancient Pilgrims of Mahomet's Race, who after they have visited this Place, never use to cut their Hair, were much amazed, for that they could not conceive the meaning of this Vision; only one of the Devotes (which is a strict religious order amongst the Turks, like unto the Capuchins among the Papists, and live in contemplation) stepped up very boldly, and made Speech unto the Company, which incensed them much against him, so as this poor Priest for his plain dealing lost his Life, as you shall hear.

The sum of his Speech was this: "That the World had never but three true Religions, every one of which had a Prophet; first, God chose the Jews, and did Wonders for them in Egypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet Moses, who prescribed them a Law; wherein he would have maintained them, if they had not been obstinate and rebellious, and fallen to Idolatry; whereupon he gave them over, and scattered them upon the face of the Earth. Then presently after he raised a new Prophet, who taught the Christian Religion. This good man the Jews condemned and crucified for a seducer of the People, nor moved with the Piety of his Life, his great Miracles, nor his Doctrine. Yet after his Death, the preaching of a few Fifthemen, did to move the Hearts of Men, as the greatest Monarchs of the World bowed to his very Title, and yielded to the command of his Miracles. But it seems they grew as corrupt as

A Vision seen at Medina Talah.

A Devote spoke unto the Turks.

1619

Bethlem Gabor undertakes to succour the Bohemians against the Turks confederate.

The Wars growing hot in Bohemia against the Protestants, and the Emperor railing what Forces he could to suppress them, the Directors or Governors of the Countess of Austria, sent to Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, to acquaint him with the state of their Affairs. To whom he made answer, That his Country standing even in the very jaws of the Turks, whose Councils were never quiet, but ever working like to the Waves of the vast Ocean, and always watchful to subvert all that stood in their way, he was not able to do more than to defend his own Country; all which tended to the prejudice and ruin of the House of Austria. The Prince of Transylvania having taken divers Towns in Hungary, belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entered Austria in hostile manner in favour of the Bohemians; knowing that he had thereby much incensed the Emperor, and the whole House of Austria, and that if he should prevail over the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the War would lie upon him, he therefore in the end of this year sent an Ambassador with Presents to Constantinople, to crave assurance of the Grand Seignior's Aid and Support (upon whose Favour he had always depended.) In case the Emperor should invade Transylvania where, being countenanced by many of the chief Bishops, he had assurance of Sultan Osman's Support and Protection, the which he confirmed by a solemn Oath under his hand, as followeth.



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"the Jews, their Church being dismembered with the distinction of the East and West, committing idolatry again by setting up of Images, with many other idle Ceremonies, beside the corruption of their Lives, so as God was weary of them two, and not only for dividing sons among them, but forsook them, dispossessing them of their chiefest Cities, Hierusalem and Constantinople; yet God is still the Governor of the World, and provides himself of another Prophet and People, raising our great Mahomet, and giving way to our Nation, so as no doubt we shall be happy for ever, if we can serve this God aright, and take Example by the fall of others. But, alas! I tremble to speak it, we have erred in every point, and wishfully broken our first Institutions, so as God hath manifested his Wrath by many evident signs and tokens, keeping our Prophet from us, who prefigured a time to return with all happiness to his People, so as there are now forty years past by our account. Wherefore this strange and fearful Vision is a Predication of some great Troubles and Alterations. For, either the opening of this Book in the Womans hand, doth foretell our falling away from the first intent of our Law, where, at these armed Men departed, as confounded with the guilt of their own Consciences; or else it signifies some other Book in which we have not yet read, and against which no power shall prevail; so as I fear our Religion will be proved corrupt, and our Prophet an Impostor, and then this Christ whom they talk of, shall shine like the Sun, and sit up his Name everlastingly. Hitherto the Company was silent, but hearing him speak so boldly, they charged him with Blasphemy; and knowing their Law, which makes all Blasphemy capital, they presently condemned him, and having the Beglerbegs consent and Warrant, they put him to death.

The Doctor put to death for his Speech.

As their Rage against him was violent, for their Execution was extraordinary, for they neither cut off his Head nor strangled him, as they usually do to Malefactors, but they tortured him by degrees; first, stripping him first naked, they gave him an hundred blows on the soles of his Feet with a flat Cudgel, until the Blood issued forth, the poor Priest crying continually on the Woman that opened the Book. After which they took a Bulls Pizzle, and beat all his body until the Sinews crack'd, and in the end they laid him upon a Wheel, and with an Indian Sword made of sinews, they brake his Bones to pieces, the poor Man crying to the last gasp, O thou Woman with the Book, save me, and so he dyed: At which time there was a fearful Tempest. The Beglerbeg sent certain Spahies to the Port of Sidon to embark for Constantinople, to the end, they might advertise the Emperor of these Tidings.

Sultan Osman, from the first entrance into his Reign, was freed from all Cares of foreign War, or intestine Combinations, for he had that happiness, (being himself very young, and not able to Govern to potent an Estate) by the Council and Affiance of Hadli Bassa, his Grand Vizzer, he had forced the King of Persia to demand a Peace, and to pay the Tribute which had been formerly promised. His Rebels in Asia were all pacified, and the Truce with the Emperor, which had been somewhat interrupted by misinterpretation, or the practice of bad Ministers) was newly confirmed: a little before his coming to the Crown, only Moldavia had been the Theatre of War for some

years, where his Father had exercised his Arms, and employed his Forces, to advance whom he pleased to be Vayvod of that Countrey, against another party that was supported by the Polesians, as you have formerly heard. Michna, Prince of Valachia, being made Vayvod of Moldavia by Achmet, and the Polesian party wholly overthrown in the Year 1616, he enjoyed it not long; but whether he dyed of a natural Death, or fell into disgrace with the Grand Signior, I do not read; yet I find, that after him there was another Vayvod or Prince of Moldavia, who is yet living, but in disgrace with the Sultan, his Name is Calpura Grastiani; and to the end you may understand, that the Turks never respect the Birth and Quality of any Man in their Advancements, I will relate what this Man was from the mouth of him that knew him very well.

This Calpura was born at Graz, (a Town of great strength belonging unto the Arch-dukes of Austria, by the which a Branch of the House is distinguished from the rest, and whereof the Emperor now reigning is the head) but being a Man of small Fortune, and little experience in his own Countrey, he went to Constantinople, and put himself in Service with Sir Thomas Glover, before that he was Ambassador for his Majesty to the Grand Signior, under whom he learned both to write and read the Turkish Tongue. After which he came with him into England, and there by his recommendation was employed to Constantinople for the redeeming of young Sir Thomas Sherley, who was then a Prisoner among the Turks. Having performed his Charge orderly, and being come to France with the young Knight, hearing that Sir Thomas Glover was sent Ambassador to the Grand Signior, he left Sir Thomas Sherley, and went to Constantinople to his old Master, where he was employed yearly to buy or exchange Christians for Turks, carrying the Christians into Italy, and so returning Turks for them. About the end of Achmet's Reign, arriving at Constantinople with a Ship full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Bassa Vizzer with the good Service he had done unto the Grand Signior; who, demanding of what Countrey he was, and his Breeding, asked him if he would undertake a Service which should be for his Advancement, which was to go unto the Emperor to reconcile all Difficulties concerning the Peace, wherein he carried himself so discreetly, as Commissioners were appointed, who concluded all Difficulties, as you have heard. But before his return home, the Grand Signior was dead; yet he pressed the Bassa for the performance of his Promise, desiring him, that he might be made Vayvod of Moldavia, which the Bassa effected; but the Presents he gave advanced him more than his Merits. Since he grew into fame and disgrace; so as the Grand Signior, making choice of another Vayvod, gave Charge to certain Capigies, to go into Moldavia to strangle Calpura, and that they should take four hundred Turks upon the Frontiers to assist them: But Calpura having good Spies at Constantinople, who advertised him of their Design, resolved to prevent them; wherefore, taking some Troops with him, he met them upon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to Yae, he slew one thousand Turks. After which he fled into Poland with two thousand Horse; from whence they write, that he hath made divers Incursions into Moldavia, and committed great Spoils upon the Turks, being assisted by the Cossacks, and

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The Turks preparation to arms.

Manfredonia taken by the Turks.

Juifs taken by the Turks.

The greatness of the Turks Empire.

and keeps possession of the Countrey, although there be another Vayvod made by the Turk.

Sultan Osman seems to be much incensed against the Polesians, as well for this support, as for former quarrels, making it his colour for the levying of the greatest Army that hath been seen since that Seliman went unto the Siege of Agria, consisting, as it is said, of three hundred thousand Men, having drawn down all his Forces out of Asia, God knows where he will employ it, but it is much to be feared, that he will make use of this division betwixt Christian Princes, who should unite their Wills and Forces, to oppose them against the common Enemy of Christendom, who watcheth only to get an Advantage, little regarding his Word and Promise.

The Turk, having so employment for his Forces by Land, sent three score Gallies to Sea, to make some Enterprize upon the Christians. They came into the Mediterranean Sea, and having coasted the Island of Sicily, they sent twenty Gallies to land in the Kingdom of Naples, where they surprised the Town of Manfredonia, and spoiled it, carrying away fourteen or fifteen hundred Captives, and so retired again to Sea. The rest of their Fleet lay about Fellina in the Gulf, which made the Spaniards jealous that the Venetian had been acquainted with this Enterprize. And since there is News, That the Gallions and Gallions of Algiers, have taken Juifs, a small Island of four miles compass, near unto Majorca: It is a Place of great Importance, for that it hath a Haven able to contain much Shipping; for the Guard whereof the King of Spain entertains a great Garrison, and it did much annoy them of Algiers. They took the Town; but it is not yet certain whether they have taken the Castle.

This is all I could learn of the Turks Affairs since the Year one thousand six hundred and nine until this present. The Reader may observe, that since the Reign of Ottoman their first Emperor, this great Empire of the Turks is proudly built upon the four Monarchies of the world; that is to say, of the Affrican, Persian, Greek, and Roman. For they enjoy Babylon, and all Chaldeas, with the Countrey of the Medes: We have seen them in Tauris, the Capital City of Persia, Greece is subject to the yoke of their Command; Constantinople, sometimes called New Rome, by the transport of the Imperial Seat, is now made their Throne; and so many Provinces and Realms which in former times depended upon the Roman Empire, do now acknowledge their power; they are Masters of the Realms of Egypt and Cyprus, the Islands of Rhodes, Melitene, Negropont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them; the Empire of Trebizond is theirs; the Realm of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, pays them Tribute; they of Tunis and Algier in Africa obey them; Dalmatia, the Thyrans, Thracians, the Countries of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia do them Homage; and we see them Command even in the chief Towns of the Realms of Hungary: But all this Power of the Ottomans had never been so great nor so fearful, but by the discord, division, and bad intelligence betwixt Christian Princes, as you may read in the Course of this History, as well in Greece, at Constantinople, as in other parts of Europe, whereas these Princes, contending one with another,

have furnished matter and means to the Turk to disposess them of the chief pieces of their Monarchies. They measure the continuance of their Empire by the discord betwixt the Princes of the Belief of the Name of Isims, and they confest truly, that this Division is the only cause of their Greatness, the which hath made them believe, that among Christians there was a bad Angel, enemy to peace, which they call the *strong or powerful Spirit*, which, kindling the fire of Revenge and Ambition in the Hearts of great Men, draws from their Affections the good of their Belief, to entertain them in perpetual Discord; during the which, they promise unto themselves a firm and an assured Reign. So the Mufti, and the Talifmans praying on Friday in their Mosques, demand of their Prophet the Circumstance of this bad Intelligence betwixt the Christian Princes, to the end they may enjoy the Empire which they have unjustly usurped. Yet their Prophecies do not promise them a perpetual Possession; behold one in their own Tongue, which hath always made them fear the union of Christians.

*Patifse homomus ghehar, caifurun menleker alur kezul almai alur kapze iler ite di yladegh Giavr Kelci cefkime on ikigladegh on laron Begbigheder. Enfi aspar, baghi daber bathejai baglar, ogli kefi olar 3 onicbi yladegh-lara Hristianomus efcecbur, al Turkei ghe-reffine Tuficoure.*

A Turkish Prophecy.

That is to say:

Our Emperor shall come, he shall possess the Realm of an Infidel Prince, he shall take the Red Apple, and make it subject to his Power; if, at the seventh Year of his Command the Christians Sword doth not advance, he shall Rule unto the twelfth Year, he shall build Houses, Plant Vines, compass in Gardens with Hedges, and beget Children; but after the twelfth Year that he hath held the Red Apple, the Christians Sword shall appear and put the Turk to flight.

By the Infidel Prince, they understand a Christian Prince, (for so they call them) and the Red Apple an Imperial Town, strong fision of importance; in the which, and elsewhere, where the Turks shall build Houses, this is to say, convert Holy Temples to the Use of the Mahometan Impiry; for by this Word to build, they that have Commented upon this Prophecie understand, Ultraport of the Houses of God: Plant Vines, by these Words they signify the Extent of the Turkish Empire, and the feeding of their Colonies, as we see in Hungary and Transylvania: Compassing in Gardens, that is to say, they shall fortify the Towns which they have taken from their Enemies: Beget Children, extend the Mahometan Religion, far in the Christians Countries. But after the twelfth Year, &c. which in a certain time best known to God, his Divine Majesty opening the Eyes of his Disciples upon the Christians, will unite the Wills of their Princes, kindling their Affections with a holy zeal, and blessing their Arms, will make them victorious over the Turk, whom he will banish out of the East, and chase into Scythia from whence they came to be a scourge unto Christendom. These are my Wishes, wherein I hope all good Christians do concur.

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## The Beginning of the Turkish EMPIRE.

HAVING run over the Occurrences which have happened in the Turkish Empire for the space of eleven years, I must, according to Master Knolles his Method, conclude the Work with a description of the Grand Seignior's Palace, of his Government, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion.

The Turks, (a People of *Scythia*) having like a violent Deluge overthrown a great part of the East, and taken divers Provinces, being expelled from *Hierusalem* by *Gudfrey* of *Bouillon*, and the Christians, their remainder retired to *Nicaea*, where they lived without any head or sovereign Commander, until that *Ottoman*, about the Year of our Redeemer one thousand three hundred, by Practice, made himself sole and absolute Monarch. His Son conquering divers Provinces, removed his Imperial Seat to *Prusja*, now called *Burlia*, the chief Abode of the Kings of *Bythia*. *Amurath* the Fifth (being drawn in by the Emperor of *Constantinople* to succour him, and allured with the Wealth of *Europe*) turned his Arms against him, taking divers Provinces and Towns from him, amongst others, *Adrianople*, which he made the Seat and residence of the Turkish Emperours, in the Year one thousand three hundred sixty three. But *Mahomet* the Second, having taken the City of *Constantinople*, and expelled the Emperor, in the Year one thousand four hundred fifty three, he made it the Royal Seat of the *Ottomans*, for which he had great reason, being one of the fairest and sweetest Seats of the World.

Decription of Constantinople.

*Constantinople* hath in Circuit, by the opinion of some Writers, fifteen or sixteen miles, and is called by the Turks themselves *Stamboul*, or *Stambolda*, the Sea beating upon it upon the North and South sides: Towards the East it is divided from *Asia* by a large Channel, which runneth from the one Sea to the other, and is about seven miles in length. The City is built upon the declining of a Hill, in which there are many rare singularities, which I omit, being described elsewhere. There are in this City seven little Hills, upon the which are built seven principal Mosques or Churches, by several Emperours, whereof, the fairest and most stately is that of Sultan *Seliman*. Upon the North side of the City standeth the Grand Seignior's Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the Name of the Port: The which hath on the one side thereof the Sea, and on the other side of it the Haven, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compass, some write of four. It is walled about, and within it are many Gardens, Orchards, Meadows, and Woods. Being entered into the first Port (which hath double Gates of Iron) into a large Court, on the left hand there stands a building like unto a Turkish Mosque, which now the Grand Seignior useth for a Store-house, wherein are great store of Arms, which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other side of this Court are several Gardens walled in, from which they pass to another Court with a Gate like unto the former, where are Targuets and Chimneys hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this, they pass into another large Court, which is

planted with Cypress Trees, and full of Grass, where Deer feed; but round about it is a Cloister, which is in length about six hundred and fourscore Foot, and above five hundred in breadth, paved with Stone, and covered with Lead, it being supported with one hundred and forty Pillars of white and gray Marble, standing upon Bases of Copper, with Capitals of the same; upon the North side whereof stands the Divan, whereas the Viceroy Basha and the other Bashes sit in Council, and hear Causes of Importance, whereof we will speak hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seignior hath many Chambers, who are richly appointed, wherein he remains; and there he hath six young Men, which attend his Person and the Service of his Chamber, whereof two wait daily, and at Night they watch when he sleeps, the one of them at his Head, the other at his Feet, with two Torches burning in their Hands. In the Morning (as *Saravino* writes) when the Grand Seignior arises himself, they put into one of his Pockets a thousand Aspers, and into the other Pocket twenty Ducks of Gold, the which, if he give not away that Day, is their Fee at Night, neither (as they say) doth he ever put on the same Clothes: and whensoever he goes to Hunting, or to any other Exercise, (besides the Money which he hath with him) his Cashnadar Basha, or chief Treasurer, still follows him with great store of Money to give away. The Office of these six young Men, (who are changed as it pleaseth the Grand Seignior) is difficult; for the one carries his Shoes, the second his Bow and Arrows, the third his Velt, the fourth a Vessel with Water, the fifth carries a Seat, and the sixth, called *Oda Basha*, is head of the Chamber.

He hath daily a great number of Persons resident in his Palace, employed in their several Charges, some in one place, some in another, under their several Commanders. But among all the great Men in his Court, these are of chiefest Eminency and Note.

First, the *Capt Aga*, that is to say, the mouth of the Grand Seignior, by whom the Sultan speaketh to such as have any great suit unto him, for no Ambassadors is admitted unto him, but at his first arrival, when he delivers his Letters of credit and his Presents, and when he hath any business to treat of, he repairs to the Viceroy Basha or his Aga.

The second is *Cashnadar Basha*, the chief Treasurer of the Household, or Superintendent of the Treasure.

The third, *Chilgeri Basha*, chief Cup-bearer. The fourth is *Seraglio Aga*, Steward or Master of the Household.

The fifth is *Chiller Aga*, or *Saravdar Basha*, Oversee of his Seraglio of Concubines, who is always an Eunuch as the rest be.

The sixth and last is *Boslangi Basha*, chief Gardiner, and Oversee of all his Gardens, Captain of his Jamogians, and Steerer of his Barge whensoever he goeth by Water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners under him, which are called *Boslangi*, who, when they come out of the Seraglio, become Janizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their Qualities.

These

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The Sultan's dumb Men.

Attendants upon the Grand Seignior.

A Seraglio of young Men.

They that carry his Lance.

The Sultan's Eunuchs.

The Sultan's Seraglio of Women.

These six Officers of the Sultans House above mentioned have no authority out of his Palace, yet the greatest Bashes stand in awe of them, and fear them, for that they have free access unto the Sultan, and have daily opportunity to incense him against them; for by their secret Suggestion and false Informations, many of the greatest Bashes are many times suddenly and unexpectantly cut off in the height of all their pomp and glory.

He hath many Mutes or dumb Men attending about him, whereof eight be his daily Companions and Play-fellows in the Seraglio, in whose company he takes great delight: besides many others to the number of forty, which attend upon him as Pages. They are all boys deaf and dumb, and yet by long Practice they grow so perfect, as they will understand any thing that shall be acted upon them by Signs and Gestures; and will themselves by the gesture of their Eyes, Bodies, Hands, and Feet, deliver matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of strangers.

The Grand Seignior hath within his Palace a Seraglio of young Men, to the number of five hundred, from eight years of Age to twenty; these are the well-favoured and best proportioned of all the Tribute Children which he draweth from *Grecia* and *Nathia*, and they are chosen out of his Seraglios at *Pera*, *Adrianople*, and other Places, and brought to this to be bred up, where they are instructed in divers Arts, according to their Disposition, but especially to Read and Write, and in the Doctrine of their Law; and to Ride, there being a great number of Horses kept within this Seraglio, for their Exercise, and for the Eunuchs. They never go out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinks them to be of fit Age to undergo some Charge, and then he makes them Spacogliani, or Silichtari, and to some he gives greater Places, according to their Valour, or the favour they have gotten with him.

He hath in like manner about fourscore Muzaferechi, that is to say, Lance-bearers to the Grand Seignior, which carry his Lance whensoever he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other Commander, and in time, by his Favour or their Merits, are made Captains.

He hath always above one thousand Eunuchs entertained in several Places, whereof some of them are in very great credit with him, and can prevail much; they are called *Hududri*, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgins in his Seraglio. They are not only deprived of their Genitors, but in their Youth they have their whole Privities smoothed off by their Bellies, and in their Turbants they bear short Quills of silver, through which they make Water. This inhumane Custom was first invented by Sultan *Seliman*, who seeing a Geling make offer to cover a Mare, grew so suspicious that they were able to do some small thing, notwithstanding the loss of their Genitors.

The Grand Senior hath a Seraglio for his Women without his Palace, in the which there are always four or five hundred young Virgins, the fairest of the Christians Children, which he gathereth up out of *Grecia* for Tribute. The Sultan repairs sometimes thither to make choice of such as he shall like best for his Pleasure; whereof they are advertised the day before by the Eunuchs, that they may prepare themselves in their best Habits

to give him content. Being all in a Room, and standing upon either side, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and views them; to her that he likes he casts a Handkercher, (whereof he hath many hanging at his Girdle) and in this manner it may be he makes choice of half a dozen, the which his Eunuchs observing, they put them presently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his Palace. In this Seraglio they have good Entertainment, and are apparelled in Silk twice a Year, and are taught to make divers Works by ancient Matrons, and are attended on by the younger sort. They have many Eunuchs with their Aga Captain, and they have one hundred Capigies and Janizaries, which keep their Guards. When as the number of these Virgin slaves decreaseth, and they have not wherewithal to supply them with their Tributary Children, they send to the Market in *Constantinople*, where they lay there are daily ten thousand Slaves of all Ages and Sexes to be sold; and there they buy the fairest they can get, but they will not have them above eight Years old, lest they should be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio.

As for the other Seraglio within the Sultan's Palace, there remains the Sultanas with their Children, and such other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his Delight. He never marries, but when any one is brought unto him, he gives her an attire for her Head, of Gold, and ten thousand Aspers, causing her to live in a Chamber apart, increasing her daily Maintenance. The first that bears him a Child, is called *Sulana*, and is mistress of all the rest, and most favoured by him, as the chiefest of all his Women, the rest, as they are favoured by the Prince, are brought unto him to have his Pleasure, and then returned back again; if they chance to be with Child, they are put into the number of the Sultanas, and are much respected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the use of, but no Children by them, are given in marriage to his Slaves, who are advanced to Dignities, and made Governors of Countries.

He has three hundred Solacchi, which march continually about his Person, and make as it were his Guard, being under the command of the Aga of Janizaries; they are richly attired, having Lawn Garments hanging down behind their Knees, and over it a quilted Waistcoat with half sleeves of Taffety, Damask, or Satten, and on their Heads, Caps and Feathers, like unto the Captain of the Janizaries, and they attend on him with Bows and Arrows. He hath also fill about him when he Rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to say, Foot-men or Polls, which run wonderful swiftly, and are still at hand to attend his Commandments, where he shall please to employ them; they wear long Coats of Cloth of Gold, with a broad Girdle of the same, and Caps like unto Womens Thimbles, with a Horn of Silver and gilt standing up before. There are about four thousand Capigies or Porters which continually attend his Palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like unto the Janizaries, and have over them three Capigi Bashes. These Men at many times employed to execute the Grand Seignior's Commandments, when he will have any great Mans Head, or his Throat cut, as we have seen of late years in *Gambela Basha*, and in *Majlis Basha*, who was Grand Viceroy to *Adem*.

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The efface of his Concubines.

His Guard, Foot-men, Porters.

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The Turks Government.

The Grand Scignior's Government is so absolute, as they all term themselves his Slaves, and no Man, great or low, can afford to offend himself of his Estate, no nor of his Life, but by the Great Turks special Favour. He commits the managing of his Estate to such as have abjured the Christian Religion, and have been brought by way of Tything in their Infancies from Greece and *Naxos*, and afterwards, for their Merits, are advanced to great Dignities, as Baffas, Beglerbegs, and such other. The Prince hath a Court or Council, which they call *Divano*, and this is held within the Seraglio four days in the Week; that is to say, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, where they treat matters of State and afterwards of the Affairs of private Men. To this Council are admitted the Grand Vifier, eight or nine Baffas, who are also called *Vifiers*, and are continually resident at *Constantinople*, (for there are many more which are employed abroad in the Conduct of Armies or Government of Countries,) the Beglerbegs and others. At the rising of the Court or Council, the Grand Vifier informs the Sultan of all the Proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not differ, for that the Prince hath a Window joining to the Divano, where he may hear and see any thing and not be seen. He seldom imposes what they have resolved, unless it be to moderate some rigorous Sentence, or to give answer to some Ambassadors, and what he himself concludes is irrevocable.

Their Suits are very short, for they have no Advocates to breed delays, as they have in Christendom; yet commonly he that bribes most speaks best; for the Turks are the most covetous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindness without a Fee; and yet they are not sure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it shall please the Prince. They punish Crimes with great severity, and speedily, the Fact being proved, which doth to terrify them, as by the report of such as have converted long there, you shall find fee a Murder or a Theft committed by any Turk; and if any four Fact be committed, it is most commonly done by *Grecians*.

The chief of the Grand Scignior's Council, is the Grand Vifier, who wears the Princes Signet, and is as it were the Lieutenant-General of the whole Monarchy; he hath authority over the other Baffas, and they are bound to yield him an account of their employments. He is still about the Prince's Person, and is not sent abroad for any Employment, unless it be for an important War, as they have done of late years against the *Perfians*. When the Vifier is sent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baffas to be his Lieutenant, and to execute his Authority, and he is called *Chimacham*. *Mechmet* Baffa, was at that present chief Vifier.

Next unto the Baffa (which is as much as to say, great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and have their places in Court next unto them. They are Men of great Authority, and have the command of great Kingdoms and Armies, under whose Obedience are divers Sanzacks, which are sent as Governors into Provinces, during the Princes Pleasure. These are Men of great Experience, and have command over the Spahi and Timariots, the chief Forces on Horse-back, whom they continually to exercise their Arms. There is one

Beglerbeg of Greece, which hath all the Countries in Europe in the Turks Dominions under his Charge, and this is the first of all the Beglerbegs, who hath under him above thirty Sanzacks. There are six other Beglerbegs in Asia, whereof the first is of *Naxos*, or *Alia* the less. He hath the Government of *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, and other Kingdoms, and hath under him twelve Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Caramania* with seven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Aladul*, under whose Command are seven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Amazania* and *Tocato*, having four Sanzacks. There is also one in *Mysopotamia*, and under his command twelve Sanzacks or Governors of Provinces. There is likewise a Beglerbeg of *Danacia*, *Soria*, and *Judea*, who hath under him twelve Sanzacks. And there is one of *Caire*, who commands over sixteen Sanzacks, his Charge extends to the *Arabians*, but they are not to Obey him as the Turks other Countries.

As for the Turks Forces, they consist of Horse-men, Foot-men, and Fleets at Sea. His Horsemen consist of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglans, Silikari and Ologi, who have Assignations of Lands, for the Entertainment of joy any Possessions, but it is in proportion to a certain number of Souls, and proportionable to the Revenues of the Land; as the Governour or Baffa is always bound to be called. Of these Timariots they are able to raise about an hundred and fifty thousand men.

His Horfe, always ready at the first call, for which the Prince disburseth not a penny, for, in regard of the Land which is allotted them, they are bound to maintain themselves, their Horfe and Arms in the War. Wherever he divides it among his Soldiers; assigning four thousand Alpers yearly (which is little above ten pound sterling) to every one for himself and his Horfe, and so proportionably if he have more Land. These Horfe-men are much perished with Arms when they go to War; for they have a Jack, a Spear with a little white Banner, a Caliver hanging under his left Arm, a Cornet, a Bow and Arrows at his Girdle, and a Batture at his Saddle bow. And of these kind of Horfe-men, he finds an infinite number in his other Countries. This Turkish Cavalry work two great Effects, for they serve as a support to his Estate, to undertake any Enterprize. Besides these, he entertains many Horfe-men about his Person, whereof some are Spahi, and others are Christian Slaves bred up young in the Princes Seraglio, who by their Merits attain to that Degree, and afterwards to greater Dignities. They are always attending about the Princes Person wherever he goes, being commonly thirteen hundred.

The *Carapies* are held for the flower of all his Horfe-men, being in number about eight hundred, who march still about the Princes Person during the Wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as much as to say, young Men on Horse-back, are above three thousand, who have yearly pensions in Money, which they are bound to receive yearly at *Constantinople*, or else they are held as dead Men. In the War, they march on the right Hand of the Grand Scignior, and are known from the Spahies by the Banners of their Lances, which have two points

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points and of divers colours, the others being pointed and all white, but they are armed alike. They are Men at Arms of a good fashion, and are commonly advanced by the Sultan to higher Places. They have a Captain or Aga of great Esteem, with a Lieutenant, and every twenty have a Boluch Baffa. The *Sahibkari* are also Horfe-men, and lodge upon the left Hand of the Princes Person, number about three thousand; Their Breeding is like unto the Spahi, and there is no difference betwixt them but in their March, the one having the right Hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks.

There is yet another sort of Horfe-men, which they call *Olupagi*, being about two thousand in number, and they march on the right and left Hand of the Prince. These several Troops are as it were a Nursery for all the chief Officers of that Empire; out of which they do commonly chuse their great Commanders. Besides, they have their mercenary Soldiers, called *Acemchi*, which come to serve the Turk from *Tartaria*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*.

As for his foot Forces, they consist chiefly in *Janizaries*, into which number they have not used to enroll many of *Alia*, whom they have held faint-hearted, but those of *Europe*, who have always had great Reputation to be Valiant. Their manner to entertain this Discipline, is, to send every three years into all the Provinces of *Europe*, from whence they bring ten or twelve thousand Christian Children as a Tribute, making choice of such as have any hint of Magnanimity, Agility, or Courage, which are sent for a Soldier. These Children being brought to the Court, are visited, some of them are sent into *Naxos*, *Caramania*, and other Provinces, to dig and weed the Ground, where they forget their Parents, Country, and Faith, and learn the Language and Vices of them with whom they converse, and so become Mahometans. They continue in those places three or four years, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they Labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultan's Seraglios at *Pera*, *Adrianople*, and other Places. But they that have the best Faces, and are most active, are reserved for their Princes Service.

These Children being brought into the Princes Seraglios, are of two sorts; the one are called *Amanglani*, that is to say, simple Boys; they are instructed by severe Masters in divers manual and painful Exercises, as Shoemakers, Gardeners, and such like base Trades. Their Feeding and Apparel is very mean; and for the most part they live in narrow spacious Rooms, like unto Religious Men, having a Light continually burning, and Guards about them. These have liberty to go abroad, who after the Age of twenty years, are dismissed: whereof some are sent into the Sultan's Gardens, which are many and great; others are employed as Car-men to carry Wood, Hay, Water, and other Provision for the Palace, and some are sent to the Kitchens and Stables; yet when Places fall, they are preferred to be Janizaries, and have competent Pensions to maintain them during their lives. The least hath five Alpers a day, and there's none have above eight, and the Scribes and Lawyers are attired in long blew Gowns, girt with a broad Girdle, and on their Head they have long yellow Caps without brims,

and sharp like unto Sugar-loaves; and of these thousand which serve to supply his Armies.

The other sort of Youths, which are bred in the Turks Seraglios or Nurseries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to say, Chamber-Pages, being the choice of all the Christians Children for Proportion and Favour, and these *Ich-Oglani* are better bred up than the *Amanglani*, and come to better education, of whom we have formerly made mention; for the meanest Places these young Men attain unto at the first is to be Spahies, or to attend upon the Grand Scignior, as his Chamberlains and Pages. And many of them having extraordinary Pains are suddenly advanced to Places of great Dignity, and the Prince hath ever five thousand, who until they come unto the Age of twenty years are never suffered to go out of their Seraglio, nor to see any Person but such as intrust them and attend upon them.

The *Janizaries* (who are the Grand Scignior's chief strength) are raised out of Christians Children, bred up in these Nurseries, as we have said, where they are taught to shoot with their Bows and Arrows, to use the Harquebuse, and all other Weapons fit for Service; and are at length enrolled among the *Janizaries*, and are held the most valiant and resolute Soldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly received into the *Janizaries* and thereabout twenty four thousand of these *Janizaries* whereas the Grand Scignior is there, (for in his whole Estate he hath a far greater number) under their Aga or Captain General, which is a Place of great credit, but not like unto any of their Baffas; the Great Turk fearing to joy lower and Authority together. Being once *Janizaries*, they are either sent to the Wars, or put in Garrison, or else they remain at the Sultan's Court, (which they call *Port*) where they have certain spacious Places for their Dwelling, like to religious Houses, where they live under their Commanders, and the younger serve the ancient with great respect. All the *Janizaries* of one Squadron eat together at one Table, and sleep in certain long Halls, and if any one chance to be absent all Night, he shall (the next Night) be beaten with a Cudgel, which he takes so patiently, as he kisseth his Hand hath thus corroded him. They are much respected and feared of all men, and are diversely employed in the City as to the Peace and good Orders kept, to look to the prices of things, to arrest Malefactors, and to guard the Gates. If they buy any thing they will have it at their own rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captain. There is seldom any one punished to death by the course of Justice, without danger of a Mutiny; and therefore they execute them very secretly. They have many means to get money; for some attend upon Ambassadors, and keep their Houses; others go with Travellers, to guard them safely through the Turks Estate. They have a great power in the Princes Election; so as to win their love, every new Emperor at his first coming to the Crown gives them a Donative, and increaseth their Pay, presuming upon their Valour and Multitude. They many times commit strange Infolencies upon any Discontent; as in firing of Houses, beating of Baffas, and sometimes bearding the Sultan himself, as you may read in this History.

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1620 Christians, unless it be with an Oath of marriage. A Turk having had the Use of a Christian Woman, they are both condemned to dye, unless she will abjure her Faith; the like is observed betwixt a Christian and a Turkish Woman, if they have been found together. Divorce is allowed among them in case of Barrenness and Incontinency.

There are four orders of Religious Men among the Turks, which differ in their Living, Habit, and Ceremonies. These be the *Terlaques*, *Dervais*, *Kalenders*, and *Hugueniates*, and these last are very vicious, and wicked Imposters, deceiving of the common People. The *Dervais* is a strict Order, living in Contemplation, much like unto the *Cappuchins* among the *Romish* Papists. The Turks forbear to blaspheme either God, Christ, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatsoever, and they punish blasphemy severely. They converse with Christians, and Eat and Traffick with them freely; yea sometimes they marry their Daughters, and suffer them to live after their own Religion. But they hate the *Jews*, and despise them as the basest people in the world. They have an assured Confidence, that he that shall duly observe the Laws of *Mahomet*, shall have eternal Life, and a Paradise full of Delights; and contrariwise they that shall break the Laws of their Alcoran are threatened with Hell and eternal Death; yet they have an Opinion, that he that believes in the Alcoran when he dyes, shall be undoubtedly saved.

To conclude this Relation with some few lines of their Humours and Dispositions; they write of them, that they are gross witted, idle, and unfit for Labour. They are exceeding covetous and corrupt, above all other Nations; for Justice is sold to him that offers most. They are humble among themselves, and obey their Superiours with great silence. They are proud and insupportable to Strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are given to Gluttony and Drunkenness, and will spend whole days together in Feasting, and will drink with excess, if it be in private, for that it is forbidden by their Law. They are vain-glorious, proud, and deceitful, never keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to Vengery, and are for the most part all *Sodomites*. They are very superstitious, giving credit to Dreams and Divinations; and they hold, that every mans Destiny is written in his Forehead, which cannot be altered or avoided.

Thus I have continued this History for eleven Years, having informed my self out of the best Authors and Intelligences I could find that concern this subject; I should have been glad that some which have resided at *Constantinople* most part of this time, would have assisted me with their Observations, which should have been for the general good of our Nation; but I hope notwithstanding the Reader shall find content and satisfaction.

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The disposition of the Turks.

# A CONTINUATION OF THE TURKISH HISTORY.

From the beginning of the Year of Our Lord, 1620, until the ending of the Year of Our Lord, 1628.

Collected out of the Papers and Dispatches of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, his Majesties Ambassador with the Grand Seignior, during that Time.

By M. B.

1620

The cause of the War between the King of Poland and the Grand Seignior.

**B**Efore we come to speak of the great Preparations made by the Grand Seignior in the Year 1621, to invade the Kingdom of Poland, and those by that King to resist him; I hold it needful briefly to set down the Causes and Reasons of the ensuing War.

The *Chrim* Tartar, confining upon the Dukedom of *Russia*, and Borders of Poland, made many Incursions, and did great spoil upon the *Cossacks* within that Province of *Russia*, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, and carrying away People of all Ages and Sexes, made sale of them within the Turkish Empire. Now *Jean beagh Ghiray-Han*, Prince of the *Tartars*, being wholly dependent on the Ottoman Emperours, his Majesty of Poland sent many several Ambassadors to complain at that Port; That notwithstanding the ancient League between him and the *Ottoman* Family, the *Tartars* greatly spoiled his Countries; which was both unjust and unreasonable. Howsoever the Complaints were many and great, yet the King of Poland's Ministers found no redress for those their alleged Wrongs; but were answered, That the *Tartars* were absolute Lords over themselves, and that they pretended to have an annual Tribute of forty thousand Dollars from the King of Poland; which being denied them, they had reason so to do; and that the Grand Seignior could only intreat, but not command them to surcease. The *Tartars* seeing the *Polack* thus slighted at the Port, grew more insolent and outrageous; wherewith the Turks were well content, for the great benefit they received by slaves which were continually brought to be sold in their Dominions, finding for the most part, that those men had able Bodies, and fit to be applied to the Oar. It is true, that the *Chrim-Tartars* in ancient time, being so near Neighbours, were wont to receive such a sum from the Crown of Poland, for which they were obliged to serve in every occasion of War. But of later years that payment discontinued, because they rather received hurt, than any assistance of that vagabond and predatory People.

When the *Cossacks* saw, that after so many Complaints they could not live in quiet, nor procure Restitution of their Wrongs, nor take their Revenge upon the *Tartar* (being a fleeing and

fugitive People, who had no certain place of abode) they resolved to fall into the Dominions of the Grand Seignior, who seemed, if not to protect, yet to connive at Injuries they received from these their Neighbours. The *Cossacks* then that inhabited upon the Banks of the River *Borjshenes* (which emptieth it self into the Black Sea) were conjectured to be fittest for the Execution of this Revenge; and therefore they prepared a great number of well armed *Barques*, and falling down the said River, did very great damage to the Turk, by robbing, burning, and spoiling divers Towns and Villages bordering upon the Black Sea. This News being brought to *Constantinople*, the Grand Seignior took it in great scorn, that such a base and rude People should come and affront him so near his Doors. Therefore he caused some Gallies to be armed forth with speed to suppress them; but his Forces were four or five times valiantly repulsed, and still the *Cossack* went safely home with his Prey. Now the tide of Affairs was turned, and this great Emperour, who was formerly petitioned by the *Polack*, is now become a Suitor to him himself, and finds his Ministers measured by the answer the Grand Seignior had given concerning the Wrongs done by the *Tartars*: That though the *Cossacks* adhere to the Crown of Poland, yet they are free People of themselves; but when the *Tartar* shall cease from his Hostility, it is like enough the *Pole* will intreat the *Cossack* to do the same; and that is all the Authority he can exercise over them.

Affairs standing thus, no accommodation for Wrongs on either side could be made; and the Grand Seignior, although he was but now fifteen years of age, yet was he strong, vigorous, and of a high Spirit, and more than desirous of a War, but especially with the King of Poland, from whom he looked for better Satisfaction. This desire was nourished in him by the Counsels of *Ab Basia*, Great Vizier, and notwithstanding it was utterly disliked by all the rest of the Ministers of State, and Officers of War in that Empire. A War was nevertheless thereupon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions, which did in general displease the common Soldier also.

The Grand Seignior, the four and twentieth of April, commanded payment to be made to all

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The preparation of the Grand Seignior for the War with the King of Poland.



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the Souldiery, and the day following cauled all his Tents and Pavilions, with those of his Vissiers and other Officers, to be solemnly pitched without the City, with those of all Trades that were to attend his Royal Camp.

The Grand Seignior having now gathered of Foot and Horse three hundred thousand (though reported to be six hundred thousand) set forward, together with his Court and Train, out of Constantinople, the Nine and twentieth of April, with three hundred Field-pieces, beside an hundred double Cannon sent into the Frontiers by Sea, leaving *Adhem* Bassa and the *Beglad* Bassa Governors of the City till his return.

The beginning of the War with the King of Poland.

When he was arrived at the Confines of Poland, he first attempted the Fortress of *Coyan* in the Province of *Moldavia*, lately given by *Gabriel* to *Gratiant* to the *Polacks*. The which being strong of Situation, and well furnished for defence, the Turks, finding it difficult to carry in few days, left it besieged, and passing the River of *Borjshine*, found there the Chancellor of Poland intrench'd upon the borders, in a strong Place, and of good advantage, kept with forty thousand *Polacks* and *Cossacks*, and eight thousand High Dutch sent by the Emperor in Aid of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at *Caminina*, and strongly intrenched with sixty thousand Souldiers; the King abiding in *Cracovia* with the Nobility and his Court. The Grand Seignior, facing the Trenches upon *Borjshine*, with the multitude of his Army inclosed them round, and shut up all the Passages; sending presently the Prince of the *Tartars*, *Ischah-Giray-Han*, with thirty thousand light-horse to make Incursions within the heart of Poland; who did great spoil, and brought away Captives twenty five thousand Souls of all sorts; which damage did not so much proceed from the Will of the Prince, as from a Captain of his, a Nobleman of *Tartary*, called *Kante-Emir-Emir*, in great Favour at that time with the Emperor; for it was thought that between the King of Poland and the Prince of *Tartary*, there was some secret Intelligence by the virtue of Money.

During the space of four and thirty days that the Grand Seignior held these Trenches besieged, almost every other day he gave them terrible assaults, but was always forced to retire with loss. The *Polacks* in bravery making some sallies and encounters, were also glad to recover their strength; only once they so far advanced in the Evening with their Host upon the quarter of the Janizaries, that they made a great slaughter, and almost put the whole Camp into disorder; and as the Turks themselves did confess, if this fall had been given in the Night, it had hazarded the Confusion of the whole Army; All which being seen by the Grand Seignior, and little hope of advancing further, for divers reasons he was enforced to treat a cessation of Arms with the Chancellor. The first was, That considering he had spent so much time without any advantage, and the Winter approaching, whereby his Army suffered great Extremities of Cold and other Miseries, by reason of terrible Rains which had carried away divers Tents, Houses, and other Carrels, and some part of his Cannons. Secondly the provision of fodder was become so dear, that divers forsook their Horses for want of means to feed them; besides the great Mortality of Men, of Fluxes, Fevers, and Colds, and the Horses of *Asia* not used to such a Climate, that many Men of Quality that came out with ten and twelve, were compelled to return on foot. Thirdly, the Army, either for Wantreins, or for discontent received from the Emperor himself, for his narrowness and Avarice shewed to the Souldier, con-

trary to the glorious Example of his Ancestors in like Enterprises, not only refused to fight, but were little less than mutinied. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning, proceeding merely from the ubiquity of the Grand Seignior, contrary to the Council of all wise Vissiers, who desired generally a Peace; as they Solicited, and by the Mediation of *Kadula* Prince of *Valachia*, both parts were easily induced to Treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to send a Secretary to the Grand Seignior; where it was agreed, as follows.

First, That the Emperor should raise his Army, and retire from the Confines of Poland; and the *Tartars*, as the occasioners of this War, should send an *Emir* to reside as a pledge from ensuing Incursions. The Chancellor promising in the Name of the King of Poland, to keep another in the Court of the Prince of *Tartary*, with Condition to pay yearly as afore-said forty thousand *Florins* as an antient pension of the *Tartars* as a donation from the King of Poland; promising moreover, for the better Confirmation of the future Peace, to maintain a Resident in the Port of the Ottoman Court, and upon the arrival of every such Ambassador to send a Present conformable to the Legations of other Christian Princes. And, as the Grand Seignior was obliged for the *Tartars*, that they should forbear all Invasions upon the *Polacks*; so the *Polacks* should bind themselves in behalf of the *Cossacks*, that they should commit no Robberies in the Dominion of the Grand Seignior. And further covenanted in the Name of the Polish Merchants for the Privilege of free Traffique, to make a present of an hundred thousand *Florins* to the *Plate*, *Sables*, and *Bulgary* Hides; always intended with this reservation, that this Treaty should not prejudice or bind, until the Grand Seignior did send a *Chiaus* to the King of Poland with these Overtures, that he might have time to assemble his Parliament, and there resolve to put his Ambassador with ample Authority to treat and conclude a final Peace in the Port. Whereupon the Grand Seignior, being satisfied with these Conditions, did dispatch presently his *Nuntio* into Poland, and suddenly, to the great content of all his Army, he raised his Camp and returned to *Adrianople*.

By relation of divers present in that War, it was reported, That there died in the Turks Camp, by the Sword, Famine, Sicknes, and Cold, about eighty thousand Men, and above an hundred thousand Horses; and the remain at their return appearing in naked, sickly, and poor, made evident demonstration of the great loss and misery sustained. The *Polacks* in their Trenches lost above twenty thousand by the famine suffered in their besieging; so that if the Winter, and other wars had not contraind the Grand Seignior to rise with some pretence of Honour, and that he had laid a few days longer, they had been enforced to render on perils; which is evident, in that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The Grand Seignior, being informed that the Emperor of Germany had sent Aid of eight thousand Dutch to the King of Poland, and enraged that he had thus far advanced in his attempts; pretending that the Emperor by giving Succours had broken the Peace; to vent his *Choler*, contrary to the advice of his Council, presently upon his arising from the Confines of Poland, in his Camp proclaimed War against Germany for the next Spring; commanding upon great Penalty, all his Souldiers and Slaves to be ready for the Invasion. Which gave great discontent to the Army, inasmuch as they did almost publicly profess, they neither could nor would follow him. And confor-

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conformable to this his rash Resolution, he gave order to *Kante-Emir-Emir*, a *Tartarian* Captain, then *Bassa* of *Silistra*, to winter with twenty thousand of his Souldiers in the Country. Presently he sent out *Cesar Galla*, the Emperor's Angl-bassidour, wastid at *Buda*, the Grand Seignior pretending, that the said *Cesar Galla* had promised upon his Life, That the Emperor would give no Aid to the King of Poland. Not considering, that he himself, contrary to the Peace, the Summer before had furnished *Pate*, a Town of *Hungary*, and had sent his Majesty's Souldiers to follow the Prince of *Transylvania*, as Volunteers against the Emperor.

The Grand Seignior changed his Mind of making War against the Emperor.

The King of Poland, hearing of this Resolution against the Emperor, called the *Chiaus*, sent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the Grand Seignior should proceed to make War upon the Emperor for his occasion, that he could conclude no Peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperor, as his dear Brother and Confederate. Which Message the *Chiaus* sent to the Grand Seignior, when he was yet at *Adrianople*, where he either purposed to winter to assault the Emperor, or to quicken the *Polacks* to a conclusion of Peace; told in his sudden Presence, by the perswasions of the Vissiers and Musli, he changed his Resolution, and took his way to *Constantinople*, where he entered the last of December.

Now it being given out, that the Emir of *Sidon* in *Sirie* was in Rebellion, and that he had possessed himself of the City and Castle of *Tripoli*, the Grand Seignior pretended to go in Person to gainst him, and gave out 60000 Chequines to prepare his Carriages and Pavilions; and took order to provide his Palace in *Aleppo*, determining to pass that way to amule and raise superstition in the minds of the People, and likewise commanded the Army of *Asia* to be in readiness by the end of the Month of April; and gave out Commission for Victuals, Munition, and other Necessaries. The Musli, Hoja, and other the Vissiers (who knew not the mystery) misliking this Council, with great Instances and Reasons dissuaded him, as being a Course very dangerous to his Estate. First, That his Majesty should go in Person, leaving all Greece desolate, and commit the Care and Government of his Imperial Seat to a poor *Chimacham* or Lieutenant; it not being probable that the Emir of *Sidon* would stay to oppose himself against the force of his Royal Army, but rather make an escape, and retire himself into some part of *Chilendun*; and that a General by Land, and the Captain *Baffa*, Admiral of the Sea, with his Fleet of Gallies, would suffice to punish and destroy him. Besides, if his Majesty undertook the Journey in Person, it was necessary that all his Souldiers should attend him, which were a Charge superfluous and above the Enterprize, and not impossible for them being so harassed and distressed in the late Invasion of Poland (who did even publicly murmur that they would not go.) For which reasons the King seemed to change his Resolution, and was content to make a General by Land with the Army of *Asia*; to which charge was named the *Bassa* of *Cairo*. The next day after the Grand Seignior's coming to the Arsenal, he called the Vissier *Baffa*, the Admiral, and the great Treasurer before him; where it was concluded to make ready at least an hundred Gallies: for the preparation whereof fifty thousand Chequines were then delivered to the Vissier, and he was to furnish the rest of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purse, and to take it up upon the King's Assignations. Whereupon, the Grand Seignior with great content did vest them as a mark of favour, and

gave present Commission to the Admiral to be ready to depart by the midst of April following; and for his better strength, he gave a command to send for Aids to *Tunis* and *Algier*: which was thought requisite, because it was reported, that the Prince *Philipbert* of *Savoy*, then Viceroy of *Sicily*, had in readines sixty Gallies and six Gallions at *Messina*, which force was doubted would be employed to give Succour to the Emir of *Sidon*, or to revenge the attempt and late Lack of *Manfredonia*, so that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arsenal; and for protection and prevention of the working of this Armado twelve small Gallies, and the ordinary Fleet of Frigates, to keep the black Sea from the incursion of the *Cossacks*. And though it was given out, that this Army was only prepared against the Emir, yet many that understood the secrets of that Empire, knowing it to be too great, did believe it should be first to prevent a general revolt, which was then murmured and suspected in *Asia*.

About this time, contrary to the counsel and will of all his Ministers, the Grand Seignior married the Grand-child of a Sultana, Wife to *Pertau Bassa*, only for her Beauty, without any Pomp, which was ill interpreted in that Court; his Ancestors of late years not usually taking Wives, especially of a Turkish race, for respect of Kindred: This and other inconstancies, with extreme Avarice, made him odious with the Souldier; and his daily haunting the Streets on foot, sometimes disguised, with a Page or two, prying into houses and Taverns, like a pesty Officer, increased his contempt even in the City.

Secret Order was given about the same time to *Dia-Mahomet*, the *Bassa* of *Canita*, and to *Gela-Emir*, a *Tartarian*, to unite themselves with *Behloul Gabor* against the Emperor of Germany: But the *Bassa* of *Buda* did advertise the Grand Seignior by that *Behloul Gabor* had concluded Peace with the Emperor; which news did greatly displease him, being ardent in the desire of War.

The Peace between the Grand Seignior and the King of Poland was not yet fully concluded; but Ambassadors were weekly expected at the Port from Poland and other Places, to hasten a full consummation thereof. Amongst which, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, Ambassador in ordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain to the Grand Seignior, arrived there the first of January, and had his first audience of him speedily, when he made this Speech unto him in English, which immediately followed.

Most High and Mighty Emperor, his sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, my most gracious Lord and Sovereign, according to the ancient League of Friendship and Amity, of long time begun and continued between the most noble Ancestors of your Majesty, and his Royal Person confirmed by his sundry Ambassadors and Letters, both to your renowned Father, and your Imperial Majesty, being fully determined on his part, to maintain, and inviolably to hold a fair and good Peace and Correspondency with your Majesty: both commanded and sent me with his Letters of Credence and friendly Present, to reside as his Ambassador in your Royal Courts. Not doubting but your Imperial Majesty will accept them, and receive me, his unworthy Servant, with your most Honour and Favour; and that you will give Credit unto me in divers matters of importance which your Majesty hath commanded me to deliver in his Name, comprehended in five Articles written in this Memorial. And that you will be pleased to do therein according to the Royal Friendship of his Majesty, and your Princely Wisdom and Justice.

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The Grand Seignior married.

Secret order to make War upon the Emperor.

His Majesty of Great Britain Ambassador arrived at the Port.

1621 The particulars whereof, I desire your Majesty to read and consider at your ease and leisure; and to afford me your Royal answer, his Majesty relying assured he shall receive Content and Satisfaction worthy his Royal Friendship.

### The Letter of Credence sent by Sir Thomas Roe.

His Majesty  
Lies Letter  
to Sir  
Grand  
Seignior.

**JAMES** by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, against all those that falsly profess the Name of Jesus, &c. To the most High and Mighty Prince, Sultan *Olman Han*, chief Lord and Commander of the Ottoman Kingdom and Empire of the *Eaſt*, fendeth Health and Greeting.

**W**E doubt not but you received our Letters four years by this, to his Majesty John Chapman, whereby we signified unto you our Royal Pleasure to recall and discharge our Ambassador Sir John Aysc from his Employment and Refidency in your Court, whom we desired you in your Princely Favour to dismiss for our especial Service, and to receive the bearer of our said Letters as Agent, to remain in your Protection, for the better support and maintenance of our Subjects, which do trade and abide in your Dominions, and for the advancement and continuance of the mutual Commerce and Friendship, which hath been a long time contracted between your Predecessors and ours, until the arrival of our Servant Sir Thomas Roe; of whom arisen we made choice to find your Port as Ambassador, as well to propound unto you divers things necessary for the general Peace, as to reside in your Court for our particular Service. Notwithstanding, left the said Letters should not come safely to your Royal Hands, we have thought fit again to make known our purpose of recalling our former Ambassador Sir John Aysc, and to discharge and dismiss him from your Port, and to receive and admit in his room our truly and well beloved Servant Sir Thomas Roe, one of our Privy Chamber, whom we have now expressly sent, and whom we authorize under our great Seal of England, as our Ambassador to reside at your Port, and to negotiate in our Name, and in the behalf of our Subjects, abiding within your Kingdoms, of whose Fidelity and Devotion, as we are well assured, so we doubt not but he will give you good content in his Demeanour and Negotiation with you. We have also thought fit to put you in mind of those common Rovers upon the Seas, who are Enemies to the Laws of Nations, and destroyers of the quiet and peaceable Merchant, by whom Amity and Friendship is maintained between Kings and Princes: That you would please to exercise your Great and Mighty Power to chastise and destroy them, as Traitors to your Honour, and infringers of the sacred and publick Peace. In full assurance that you will extend the same good respect unto us, as your Royal Ancestors have done unto our most renowned Predecessors, whereby that ancient League and Commerce may be inviolably maintained between both our Kingdoms, which on our part we shall be very loth to infringe or dissolve. We do by these our Letters recommend unto your princely Favour, this our said truly Servant and Ambassador, to reside and remain in your Port, on our behalf to treat with you in all Affairs for the publick Weal of our Dominions, and for the general Peace of us both, and our allies and Friends, as also for the support and aid of all

our Subjects, which do live and trade within your Estates and Countries, to whose good Disposition we recommend their Affairs, and by whose Industry and Mediation we conceive our People may be relieved in their just and reasonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and assurance of that mutual Commerce which hath so long time been continued between our Royal Progenitors. And as we have great cause to profess our gratefull acknowledgement for many years which our former Ambassadors and all other our Subjects have, and do receive from your Royal Hands, so in our Princely love we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redress for divers Oppressions and Wrongs done unto some of our said Subjects Persons and Goods, that live under the assurance of your Friendship with us, which we have formerly signified to our Residents at your Port; but as we verily believe they have never come unto your Ears, that are open to the just Complaints of all Strangers; whereof we have now given charge to our Servant and Ambassador to acquaint you with more at large, unto whom we desire you to give Protection and Credit in whatsoever he shall move and propound, for the establishing, confirmation, and enlargement, in all Occasions, of those Liberties and Privileges which our Subjects have anciently enjoyed by the Benignity of your self, and of your Royal Ancestors. And in all other things and occasions, wherein he hath or shall receive our Commands, as if our self did communicate them with you, which we doubt not shall redound to the great Glory and Honour of both our Empires. And so we wish you Health and true Felicity. Dated at our Royal City of London, the sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1621, and of our Reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.

### Articles propounded by the Ambassador to the Grand Seignior.

**F**irst, his Sacred Majesty of Great Britain, according to the most noble and renowned League of Amity between your Majesties and your Crowns and Dominions, hath commanded me to renew the ancient Capitulations and Privileges granted by your Imperial Majesty and your Royal Ancestors, and therein to move your Majesty, that you will be pleased to enlarge and extend your Favour to our Nation that live under your Protection, and to give Remedy to divers Injuries done unto them by the Customes of this Royal Port, *Aleppo*, *Smirna*, *Sio*, *Parras*, and other Places, contrary to the Justice and Honour of your Majesty; and that you will be pleased to give order for several Commands to these Places, in all our just Occasions; that both the Fame of your Justice may be renowned, and the Friendship of your Majesties confirmed, and the Correspondence and Commerce between your Dominions established and increased.

Secondly, his Majesty hath commanded me to offer himself as a Mediator of Peace, to accommodate the late breach with the Kingdom of Poland, the King of Poland having sent his Ambassador express unto England to desire Aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his Honour, and to the ancient League of Friendship, to use his Credit with your Majesty to procure the general quiet and peace of the Princes of Christendom, desiring your Majesty to consider his Interest in the publick cause, and not to despise the Forces of so many as may partake in the quarrel; which if your Majesty shall hearken unto, the rather for his sake, as your Royal Ancestors hath done in the like Occasion, his Majesty will accept it as a respect

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of your Love, which will assure and increase the Commerce and Friendship of your Dominions; in which his Majesty hath given me more particular and full Instructions to treat and mediate in this Business.

Thirdly, his Majesty hath commanded me to move your Imperial Majesty for the release of divers of the *Pasha Nobles*, now your Captives; acknowledging one *Southwell* Gentleman, a Subject of his Majesty, my Royal Matter.

Fourthly, his Majesty desires, that you will take some order with the Pyrats of *Tunis* and *Algier*, who shelter themselves under your Royal Protection, (to the great Dishonour of your Majesty) and do many Robberies upon the Subjects of Kings and Princes in Amity and League with your Empire, and take even the Ships sent unto your Royal Port; admonishing your Majesty to consider, that if they be suffered to continue, they will occasion the dissolution of all Commerce and Trade; being common Enemies to all honest Merchants, by whom the Friendship of these Kingdoms are maintained and increased. And that if your Imperial Majesty please not to exercise your Royal Power and Authority to bridle or destroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Majesty, with other Princes his Allies, shall make an Army to punish both them and all others that receive and cherish them, which hath hitherto been forborn in respect only of your Majesty, and that the Towns whereto they harbor themselves are, or ought to be under your Imperial Command.

Fifthly, his Majesty hath commanded me to require Justice and Reddition of a great sum of Money taken from *Arthur Garway*, here imprisoned by force and Injury in the time of *Achmet Basſa*; whereof his Majesties former Ambassadors have complained to Sultan *Achmet*, your Majesties renowned Father; and to *Mehemet Basſa Viſier*, to *Huſſen Basſa*, to the Hoſe of the King, and to the Muſi; wherein your Majesties most noble Father gave Command for our Satisfaction. All the said great Officers having heard the cause, upon Examination giving their Testimonies of the great wrong done unto him; *Mehemet Basſa* also writing a Letter, by the order of your Majesties Royal Father, promising Justice and Reddition of all, which his Majesty hath yet expected, and again demand. And having so often written in this cause, his Majesty will not believe, but that in Justice and Honour this Royal Court would do right; imputing the Fault to his own Ministers and Ambassadors, that they never complained to your Imperial Majesty, according to his Highness Command. Also his Majesty hath commanded me to require and desire your Majesty to give him your Royal Answer in all these Particulars, by your Letters in Writing, as shall be fit for your own Honour, and conformable to the ancient League of Amity and Friendship between your Royal Majesties.

His Majesties Ambassador not many days after sent to the Viſier, who had promised him an answer unto these Articles; who returned him this the following.

To the First, he said, That the Emperour his Master had given him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any such Additions as should be requisite, agreeable to their Law, and conformable to the ancient League; and that therein his Majesties Ambassador should find no Difficulty; for they honoured his Majesty, and

The Grand  
Seigniors  
Answer.

were resolved to give him assurance of their will to maintain a true Friendship; and therefore desired the Ambassador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and send them to him and the Chancellor, who would consider them, and bring such as were fit to be granted, the Ambassador should have speedy order.

To the second, the Viſier answered with great Subtlety & Skill, justifying the occasion of the War, and imputing the Fault to the *Colloſs*, maintained by the *Pole* to rob even at the Port of *Constantinople*; therefore, that the Emperour could not in Honour but chasten and destroy them, having first by message demanded Justice against them; and now his Master being engaged with great charge, and in his Honour he could make no Peace with them who had beguiled him; pretending that they had no other intention but the War, because, having raised his Camp, and dissolved his Army, the *Polacks* now scorned him, and kept no Faith, neither sending Ambassador nor Messenger, no not any Letter since their return; and that his Majesty of Great Britain did not value the Honour of the Grand Seignior in this motion.

To the Third he replied, That the motion for the Prisoners was unreasonable, because in order it should follow the general Treaty, and making Peace; which, if fulfilled, his Majesty of Great Britain should find, for his sake, and all those mentioned in the Memorial should be free, except only the Prince *Coreskie*, who had been the cause of many Troubles, and had made escape from Prison formerly.

To the Fourth, he made Protestation in the name of *Arthur Garway*, here imprisoned, saying, that his Majesties Ambassadors should have what Commands, what Message he would desire in company of any Englishman.

To the Fifth he replied, It was an old obsolete Quarrel, and that the Ambassador did him Injury to press him, when in the time of three former Viſiers, his Predecessors could obtain no Relief; therefore he would not look back upon the Actions of other Men, nor rake among the Bones of the dead; but he desired the Ambassador should rest satisfied, that while He had the Honour to govern, there should no wrong be done unto the English Nation, and that he would bear all Complaints, as a man should need to look back upon his Actions.

This perfunctory Answer, did not much satisfy his Majesties Ambassador, but that he desired some other of Effect, being loth to accept of Generalities, and therefore required a direct reply for his own discharge; which was promised after much pressing, by the Viſier who had first undertaken the same.

The long stay of the Duke of *Sbaraske* (chosen extraordinary Ambassador by the King of Poland, to consummate the Peace between him and the Grand Seignior) did much trouble the Emperour's Court; and especially the Viſier, who procured the Cessation of Arms, but that a Letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time, the Emperour divulged a pretence to visit *Mecca*, the Tomb of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the Counsel and influence of all his Viſiers that knew not the secret, and even to the hazard of a general revolt; for they were jealous, that under colour of that Voyage, he had some other design; and it was feared, the Duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port: For the *Polacks* seemed in performing and assuring the Peace, a little too glorious

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The Polish  
Ambassador  
deser-  
ved ex-  
pectation  
at the  
Port.



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The Janizaries de-  
mand Mustapha.

make another; and having a while attended, they relolved to enter the Palace, (but first took a general Call not to sack the Imperial Throne, which they called their House and their Honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confusion the Calafagias, and flew him; and then they demanded for *Mustapha*, Uncle to *Ofman*, by him formerly deposed, a Man esteemed rather Holy (that is Frantick) than Wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. They sought him, and the first Tumult had put *Mustapha* into a Vault with two Negro Women, without bread or drink; in which estate these new Electors found him, almost naked, and half pined. At first fight he thought they had been the messengers of Death; but that fear passed over, and his first request was a Cup of Water. Whom they took up, and instantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner ashamed to be raised to that Dignity. How unstable are the Estates of the greatest Princes! for he that was but even now in the Jaws of Death, naked, starved, and dying for Thirst, is become a great Monarch, and may drink Gold, or innocent Blood.

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Ofman*, and loth to trust *Mustapha* in the Palace, carried him in Triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the lack of the Vissers House, and so in the Evening to their Rendezvous, where they kept both good guard, and in good order in the City, from Fires and other Infolencies. Sultan *Ofman*, amazed with their News, so soon as they had left the Court, came out, and called to Council in the Night *Husein Bassa*, late Vissier in the *Polyth* War, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithful to him, and demanded their advice; first he desired to the old Seraglio, to pacifie the Women there to strangle *Mustapha*; but some of them taking his part, a new uprose began in the House between that Sex; and the Soldiers that kept watch hearing the noise, entered in and refused him, and from thence removed him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they guarded him for that Night in an ill lodging. All this while *Ofman* consults what course to take. These two his friends, and some others, tell him that the case was desperate, and could not be cured but by a desperate Remedy; and therefore they agreed, that the Aga should go and persuade with the *Mufts*; and that the King in the Morning should suddenly present himself to the Soldiers at their own Door, and make experience what his Presence, his Submission, and his Benevolence promised, could work, to move them to Loyalty or Compassion. Which Counsel early in the Morning they put in practise. The King, accompanied with the *Mufts* (who never consented to his deposing, though he favoured the Soldiers against the Vissier) with *Husein Bassa*, and about twelve Horsemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge, where *Mustapha* was kept, and there in Tears made them an Oration; offering great Recompence, repenting of his Error, and finally invoked them by the Merits of his Father and all his Ancestors, to have some pity upon their true Master. The Multitude (tame prone in misericordiam, quam immodica severitas fuerat; sometimes as prone to pity as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a silent murmur now ran among them, and they were half converted; but the Aga of the Janizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unfeignably for him, with some harsh words of upbraiding (*in natura maris omni statu venti turbida*; as the Nature of the Sea is to

swell with every blast of Wind) anew moved their Fury, so that they cried out: *Trafaton*, and fell upon him and *Husein Bassa* and cut them in pieces, every man taking a part of their Flesh to satiate their Revenge. The Multitude speak, but was withdrawn by some, for respect to his Place, and with Difficulty was conveyed away. Now the poor *Ofman* saw his Friends slain, and knew not which way to convert himself; but binding up his Eyes with a Napkin, carried him first before *Mustapha*, and then himself as the Disturber of the Peace of the Empire; and demanded sentence against him (*Mors vultu sui quique flagitium alij obijctum*.) The forsaken Prince pleaded for Life, and the new King knew not how to condemn, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At last they consulted with themselves, and put him upon an Horse (an insolent Spahi changing Turbans with him) and sent him away Prisoner to the seven Towers, under good Guard (in his Passage begging a draught of Water at a Fountain) and then returned to their new Master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperial Throne; where he had need to have good Broaths and Nourishment to restore his decayed Body.

The Soldiers now thought all was done, and (only lacking the Houles of *Husein Bassa* and some others their conceived Enemies) returned in quiet to their several Lodgings, and had no further Malice. But the new Vissier *Davit Bassa*, made by *Mustapha*, knew well, if *Ofman* lived, that this storm might pass over, and he would as easily, and by the same means return to his estate, as he fell from it (*vultus in nos est cuiusque novi motus cupidum*.) Therefore he consulted with some few interested in *Mustapha's* Preference, and thereby by obnoxious to *Ofman's* to search how many of the Royal Blood were left alive, and relolved if there remained two, to make an end of *Ofman*. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelve, \* the other about seven years of Age; \* *Morat*. and thereupon the Vissier went himself to the Prison with a pack of Hangmen, and gave order to strangle the unfortunate Prince; who now having had no rest in two Nights, and thinking himself secure for a season, was newly fallen asleep, but awaked by the coming of these Messengers, asked, *What News?* saying he did not like their sudden Intrusion. They at first told amazed, and the King made to defend himself; But a strong Knave struck him on the Head with a Battle-axe, and the rest leaping upon him, strangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greatest Monarchs in the World was first affronted by mutined Troops, his own Slaves, almost unarm'd, and few in number, no man taking up a Sword as defend him; and they who began this madness, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their own Fury, which had no reason, deposited him against their own purpose, and at last expell'd his Life, against their Will, to the Councils of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freely as they rag'd unreasonably; knowing they had stained their Honour, being the first of their Emperours they ever betrayed, and that they had let far upon that in all likelyhood they must change for disability, *Nunquam tult documenta fere majora quam fragili loco flarent superbi*.

This was the last Act of the Life of Sultan *Ofman*; but his Intent and great Designs, which drew upon him this fatal blow, will not be unworthy the Communication; the Practices, Resolutions, Secrets, and Councils, of all Actions, being the Soul of History, and res gesta but the bare

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Davit Bassa, frantick Sultan *Ofman* in Prison.

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The Grand Seignior Designs to conquer Europe.

Carkasi; and, as many Ages have not produced so strange an Example of the incertainty of humane Greatness, so in the disposition thereof, and in the ways leading thereunto, there was seen evidently the wonderful Providence of God, in confounding the Councils of the worldly wise, who had laid a Foundation of new greatness, whereby this Prince aspired the universal Monarchy. And lastly, the World may see upon how weak Foundations this Monarchy was at first builded, how easily it was now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings are subject to the Rage of a few Slaves, how Anarchy has increased it an easier prey to any able hand that would attempt it. From the Invasion of Poland all these changes took their beginning. Sultan *Ofman*, advanced to the Throne in his Youth, full of heat and Blood, being of a great and haughty Spirit, very courageous, strong of Body, and a mortal hater of Christians, envious of the Glory of his Ancestors, and ambitious to raise his Name above any of theirs, had projected in himself the Conquest of the remains of the bordering Europe. But to so great Designs, he had one Vice that refuted all hope of Prosperity, which was, extreme Avarice; unnatural to Youth, and a symptom of the decrepit Age of Monarchy. *Ubi viros bene corruptos, et contra veterum disciplinam & iustitiam majorem apud quos virtute quam pecunia res militaris melius fecit*. His first Enterprise was that of Poland, moved by the incursions of the *Cossacks*; which then he undertook of his own Head, without the Council of any of his Vissers, (who, in a Tyranny grown to the height by East and Wealth, are ever in a lazy and disdainful liking of all the Soldiers, who (contrary to their Institution, being married, and Fathers of Families, entered into Trade, receiving nothing in War more than in Peace, besides Danger and Travel) are not easily drawn from their own Chimnies. This Action he thought to ease, as he had disposed of his Conquest, and divided the live Lyons Skin. But being met upon the Borders with a poor Army in Comparison, he was first arrested at *Chodyn*, a little Fortrefs, which he was loth to leave behind him untaken; and then seeking to advance into the plain Country, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of Poland against him, he could never procure his Janizaries to fight, though engaging his Person once or twice beyond the regard of his Quality, and his own Troops ready to mutiny against him, and to forsake him, he was at last enforced to raise shamefully his Camp, and to accept of any Treaty to save his outward Honour. In this attempt he lost above an 100000 horses for want of Fodder, and eighty thousand men for want of fighting; for they would rather dye running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the Enemy. For this disgrace he conceived lo inward and rooted an indignation against the Janizaries, and so justly, that he had lately slain himself, and claimed he was no King that was subject to his own Slaves, upon whom he spent great Treasures, and yet they would neither fight in Wars, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new Bounties and Privileges. *Delair Bassa*, a man of great Wit and Courage, lately called from the Eastern Parts, where he had lately governed with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very brave and warlike Equipage, above all other his Captains, was suddenly made great Vissier, the former, *Husein Bassa*, being in the same disgrace common with the Soldier, though not in the same fault. This man was never bred at Court, but had lived many years in action, and so had never faction nor dependence at the Port, but stood upon himself and his own merit; and being now unexpectedly advanced to this high Dignity, he wrought upon the Kings discontent, and nourished it in and conclusion brake with him, That it was true he was no Emperour, nor could be safely alive, while the Janizaries had the Power which they lately usurped; informing him, That they were corrupted from their ancient Institution, and were lazy Cowards, given over to Ease and lust: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honestum meret*. But if his Majesty would pull up his Spirits, and follow his Advice, he would provide him a new Solidiety about *Damascus*, Coords, of Men ever bred in the Irons of warlike hardiness and War, of great Courage and Experience, and that of them he should erect a new Militia, that should wholly depend on him, entreating only 40000 in pay, which should always be his Guard; and that in the Distribution of every Province, he should constitute, that the Beglerbeg in his Government should train some of the Inhabitants, who in in occasions of making a great Army, should be in readines, and thereby he should spare infinite Treasures spent upon these drones that eat up his Estate; and with Men of new Spirits and Hopes, he should be enabled to do greater matters than any of his Ancestors; but withal, he desired the King to communicate to him some of his Power, to trust his Life upon another's secret. *Delair Bassa* never revealing himself to any but the King, who extremely pleased with this advice, that flattered his own humour, consented, and remitted all to the Vissiers direction, who was a true Soldier, and a very wise man, able by his Credit in Asia to perform all he had undertaken, and exceeding belov'd in those parts, very rich, and had kept *Damascus*, whereof he was Governor, for himself in a late Rebellion. Upon this Conclusion between them, it was first agreed, That the King should pretend to go in Person either to visit *Mocha*, or against the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moved to take Arms really to assist in his Conquest; but they used it to colour the departure of the Emperour, which, when it was well weighed, was found, that then the Army of the Janizaries must be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the Journey of the Pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might under the Shadow of a holy Devotion go out with a small Train, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this Preparation was made, but somewhat too grossly; by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of Houles, Lamps of Churches, and whatsoever could more easily be conveyed away in Metal, with all the Jewels and Treasures. This gave the first suspicion, which was confirmed by divers unadvised words let fall from the King; of disdain against the Cowardice of the Janizaries, and that he would shortly find himself Soldiers that should whip them; and lastly, dismissing all his Household, except some few elect; the discontented for observed this and betrayed him. *Delair Bassa* kept his own secret, and the next time prepared by his Friends in Asia ten thousand men; about *Damascus* ten thousand, from the Coords, besides those in readines of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all upon pretence of defending the Borders of *Perfia*, who might make some advantage of the changes in those parts; and gave order, That all they should meet the King at *Damascus*, where he would presently cut off his Guard, and slay there until he had regulated his new Army and Discipline, and then to return triumphant to *Constantinople*, and utterly root out the order of Janizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to exaucatorate all their Captains and Officers, to give a new Government, and to change the Name of the City. And these things succeeding, he then relolved with

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his new Souldiers to attempt the recovery of his Honour in Christendom; in the mean time to hold a dissembled Friendship there in all parts. Certainly this was a brave and well-grounded design, and of great consequence for renewing of that decayed Empire, languishing under the Infidelities of lazy Slaves, if God had not destroyed it; it being very true, That the Turkish Emperour stands at the Devotion of his own Troops for Peace or War, Life or Death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of the Janizaries. If this project had taken effect, what Janizaries it might have produced by a Civil War, is not easy to judge. For doubtless the Souldiery would have let up another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and the European part had been in danger to have been torn away by the division. Besides, *Delaur Bassa* having the King and the Treasury in his Possession, and his own credit so great, and his Inclination *velite imperare*, so willing to bear rule, once discovered, it might well be thought that he had some ends of his own to that part of this mighty Estate; if on the other side the Visier had proved true and faithful, the reformation and new erection of the Discipline of War, and the increase of Treasure consequent to the diminution of the old Militia, would have been fearful to all Christendoms; but *ubi est sapiens? ubi disquisitor seculi? ubi? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam redam intelligentiam, intelligentem.* It is a great question whether then was the wiser will, That these Counsels had succeeded, or not; for either division and subversion, or a new prosperity and enlargement of their Dominion had necessarily followed.

Some Observations upon this Occasion will not be impertinent to those that desire to know as well the Disposition and use, as the things themselves. First, in the purpose of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much less to depole and murder him; but only to take away those about him whom they thought assistants in this project; yet the fury once on foot, they proceeded by insensible steps to the uttermost of outrage, against many Innocents in that Business, though otherwise obnoxious, and against the Throne and Life of their own Emperour, *Ubi furor ingrat, innocentes ac nocuos juxta cadere*; where Rage and Fury hath got the upper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if it had been not lost that awe and reverence which always attendeth upon Majesty, if he kept up, by unbecomly Offices done by him in the Streets and Taverns, apprehending many Souldiers for petty faults, like a Constable; making his Person common, cheap, and despised among them; which was wont only to be seen and feared, as somewhat above humane greatness. And this he did also in hatred and disdain of those that had in the War forsaken him. And now in this last act, if his own obliquity had not plunged him into Destruction, but that he had softened them by a reasonable yielding to time, he had prevailed only by time. Thirdly, in the order, that these Mutiniers having no Head or Direction, kept that relement, that they took Oath in their Fury, in hot blood, in the Kings yard, not to dishonour, spoil, nor sack the Imperial Throne; neither committed nor suffered any infidelity or violence in the City to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed Peace and Justice. Fourthly, in the Consequents, that at the third day end all was quiet, and all Men in their Trade, as if no such thing had happened; only the Janizaries suffered no Divan nor Council until they had received a donative as Guerdon of their Iniquity. In

which also the infinite waste of Treasure is worthy the Consideration, which was exceedingly exhausted by three changes in four years, and by the late Wars in *Persia* and *Poland*; for every Janizary in the City, absent or present (whole list was about forty thousand) received twenty five Chequeins of Gold; besides the Spahies, Janogians, and other Orders, at every alteration; which amounts in all near to two Millions. And now those Fellows that had tasted the sweet of prosperous Mutinies (*haud ignari summa sceleris incipi cum periculis praeiis premiis*) took such a Head, as could not fairly be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Fifthly, of certain Prefages that fore-run, for *Osman* dreamed in the Night, *That he thought he rid a Camel, and being moomed, he could not force him to go by fair means nor stripes; and that then he defending in a Rage, the Body of the Beast vanished, and left the Bridle and Head in the Kings Hand.* Who next day, troubled at this Fancy, sent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the Interpretation. He excused himself, as unfit to give Opinion in a matter of that Consequence; but perwaded *Osman* to enquire of the Mufi. He also craved pardon; but withal said, there was none so fit to interpret it as *Mustapha* the Kings Uncle, who was esteemed a holy man, that had Visions and Angel-like Speculations, (in plain terms, between a Mad-man and a Fool.) The King repaired to *Mustapha*, who briefly told him, *The Camel signified his Empire, his riding, able in Government; his disfection, his Disposition; the vanishing of the Body, the revolve of his Subjects; the Head remaining in his Hand, only a bare Title; and that he should shortly die within few Months, and lose his Kingdom, but the empy Name of Emperour should accompany him to his Grave.*

A second of like consequence in the Visier *Delaur Bassa*, from whom his Majesties Ambassador having received particular Friendship, about six days before this uprose, he went to the Kings house, having no other business but to perwade him to slay the King from his intended Pilgrimage, the Ambassador gave him many Reasons in the present Estate of their own Affairs; especially, the Treaty of *Poland* yet depending. To which the Bassa replied very gravely. Then the Ambassador urged the fear of some Tumult, collected from the licentious Speeches rumoured in the Town: And he was bold to demand, sincerely, and friendly, That if any such thing should happen, the fault would be imputed to the Bassa, as being of authority to perwade the King; whom his Quality and Youth would excuse, but all the Fury would be discharged upon the greatest Minister; desiring him to consider the event, at least to take his Reflection in the best part.

The old *Remard* flayed a while from reply; at last smiling to himself that he should be perwaded against that which was his own Council, he gave a final answer, That there was no Remedy, he durst not hazard himself to oppose the Kings Resolutions: but assured him he would for order the matter, as this Journey should not proceed so far as was expected. The Ambassador concluded for himself, desiring then that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the *Chimacham* or Deputy as his Friend. To which he suddenly replied, *Trouble not your self, nor fear, I will never remove so far, but that I will leave one of my Legs in the City to serve you.* Which the poor man fulfilled, for being murdered within few days after, one of his Legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the most publick place of the City.

The reading of History, to know what is done and past, having in it no Recompence but Delight, unless it look forward to Use and Action, either

either to correct Errors, or by that light to gather advantage in future, it will not be an unprobable digression to observe what was like to succeed these monstrous Alterations. It was feared by contemplative men, that the Souldiers in *Asia*, who had lost their hope, would rather attempt some revenge for the Death of the King, who was their Martyr; or that some great Bassa, far removed from Court, might apprehend this occasion, not to obey an Usurper, set up by Treason; and under that colour to hide their own Ambition; or lastly, that the whole State would fall into Combustion, and intestine War. This they themselves foresaw, and it came to pass, as will appear within few Months. *Mustapha* (*the Duke of Arcireum*) declared himself revenger of his Princes Blood, and troubled, and almost hazarded the whole Empire. The *Persian* apprehended the Opportunity, and recovered the Province and City of *Babylon*: and the same Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were never quiet until they had made some satisfaction, by restoring his Brother and right Heir; only it pleased not God to open the Eyes of Christian Princes to the Inconvenience of their own ancient Quarrels, while the distractions of this mighty Empire did invite to conquer it, and to divide it as a profuted Prey.

On Saturday Evening, the first of June following, the *Capi-aga* or Major Domo of the Seraglio, having received a secret order to remove the Brethren of *Osman* from their Lodgings, and in the Night to strangle them; as he was performing his Command, aided with a few of his Carabazes to carry away the Princes, they cried out; the Pages running to the roile, and encouraged by the *Capi-aga*, who had some Suspicion, now almost every Order having risen against their own Head. That Night they sent secretly to the Janizaries and Spahies, to inform them what they had done; and in the Morning early hanged his Body in the Hippodrome for a publick spectacle. The Souldiers returned in fury to the Court, in favour of the Pages, and demanded Justice against those that had conferred to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the Ottoman race; only this *Mustapha* being left alive, who was so holy a Saint, that he would not People the World with Sinners, nor endure any Woman near him. The innocent King protested he knew nothing of this purpose; and if such command were procured, it was gotten by subornation; and he was easily believed. But his Mother, another *Livia*, and the new Visier, *Daoud Bassa*, who had her Daughter to Wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a day of Divan or Council; but the Souldiers would suffer none, until they had an account of this Treason. The Visier denied all; the Mother was a Woman, and hidden in the Houle; yet it is very likely, they both were guilty, to uphold and secure their own Authority; it being rumoured, that the Visier determined to place subditiouly in the room of the Elder Prince, his own Son, and very like him, and so to govern *Mustapha* for a time, and by his remove to establish himself and his race forever. But now somewhat must be done to appease the People; therefore *Daoud Bassa*, degraded from his Office, and one *Husein Bassa*, newly arrived from the Government of *Cassia*, advanced to his place, with promise of further Examination. But the fury once over, there was no great search nor discovery made, for perhaps the Sultans Chequeins quieted the matter. The new Visier was a man without Friends, yet

very rich, of a stubborn and obdinate Nature, reported just in his ways, but peremptory and inflexible (*Audax ferax, ac prout animus intendit, prout aut induritus eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much good, or much ill; he began his Government roughly, and undertook to punish Infidelities early, and prolested a Reformation, or to be a Sacrifice: A man fit for those times that were desperate; for the world was, that he must at last endure their Fury. In the mean time he procured a little awe, and restored the face of Justice; yet it was thought it could not last long, the Ghost of *Osman* would not be at rest until there were some *Parentalia* made unto him. The Nature of the Visier was unsupportable, but if he prevailed, and were once settled, he resolved anew to change the King, and lay an Obligation upon the Brethren of *Osman*; for he did never think himself secure under a man governed by an insolent Woman, *dominandi avida*, desirous to rule. And what assistance could he have in that Prince, in whom there was neither Judgment nor Hatred, but as it was insinuated; And though the particulars could not be foreseen, nor where the sore would break out, yet the whole Body was sick, their King being *mentis imbecilis*, an Idiot; and the next in expectation a Child unfit for Action, and all the great Men and Souldiers decay'd, mutined, and corrupted.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Sbarsky* came near unto the Borders of the Turkish Empire, and ignorant of those great changes which had happened, sent a Servant with a Letter to the *Paia* Visier *Delaur Bassa*, with whom only the *Paia* had treaty. The contents were, That the King of *Poland* had sent him to conclude a Peace, upon such Conditions as were agreed upon by the Visier, and the Commissioners of *Poland*, signed on both parts; but that it was reported upon the Death of the Grand Seigneur, that the new Government was varied from some of them; and that he had no other Instructions to treat anew; but if he would give his word to the English Ambassador, that there was no alteration in the intents of Peace, he was ready to set forward on his Journey. This Letter received by the new Visier, was Greek to him, who was lately come from *Castro*, and understood no article nor piece of the business; which was so secretly carried by *Delaur Bassa*, that *Sultan Osman* and he being dead, there was no man had so much as a Copy, or knew the substance of that agreement; so that the Visier giving good Words, altho' to confess his Ignorance, promised all things but knew not what to write in particular answer, and therefore was at a stand. The Messenger nevertheless impudently a dispatch, the which he had in general terms, and so returned again to the Duke his Master upon the Confines.

With this Nuntio, the Duke wrote to Sir *Thomas Roe*; and being very doubtful to intangle himself in this unsettled Government, desired him both to counsel him, and to tell the Visier, that he would not advance unless he might receive such assurance of safety and publick Faith, as that he might engage his credit to him; hoping thereby to have both assistance and witness in all his proceeding. Which gave the Visier occasion to intreat the English Ambassador, both to promise for the good usage of the Duke, and to hasten him, and also to inform himself by him of the substance of the Treaty of *Chosyn*; which being by him undertaken, it turned to the great advantage of both, especially of the Peace it fell.

The seventeenth of June in the Morning, the Prince *Corekie*, one of the Lords of *Poland*, taken Prisoner in the late War, recommended by his Majesty of Great Britain, who had formerly made

The *Paia* Ambassador approach upon the Confines, and writeth to the dead Visier.

The English Ambassador Advice to *Delaur Bassa*.

The *Bassa's* Reply.

Observations upon this Occasion.



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The Prince  
Caravie  
frangé in Prison.

an escape from the Turks Captivity, was frangled in the Prison, after two years of duurance. This put all into mutmur, and deep consideration, for what polittick end this should be done, even when they themselves desired a Peace with the *Poles*, and yet did that which might utterly break the same; but it seemed they were at that time either carried with a brutish Fury, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation that his remnant Nature would never suffer the Peace long to continue between the Crown of *Poland* and the Grand Seignor.

The Visier  
uncompreh  
to let up  
Morat the  
Brother of  
Ojman, and  
to depole  
Mustapha.

The Visier (who caused this *Polack* Prince to be frangled) upon some intreat towards the Aga or chief Captain of the Janizaries, took this occasion to cast the fault on him, and to cashier him; and sent him to the Islands to be frangled; and gave order to murder some other Baffaes and Officers, and that way being made to depole the Emperor *Mustapha*, to let up *Morat* a Child, and Brother of *Ojman*, many being of his party. Whereupon the Soldiers rose all in Arms at the Scraglio, taking the alarm at the meddling with their Aga, rescued their Captain, and the rest, and demanded the Head of the Visier; whereupon he fled, and order was given to kill him where he could first be found. The Soldiers also required the Life of *Morat*, Aga Customer, and divers others; but for fear of other Complices, they durst reach no further into the Conspiracy; only the Visiers House was sacked, and infinite Treasures taken, so that the Soldier was quiet for a day or two by making a new Visier, *Mustapha Baffa*; who was of a soft Nature, Child, scarce durst do Justice for fear of offending any Man. Now a new Faction was made between *Mustapha* and *Morat*; and it was expected hourly when there should be some great slaughter or massacre in the City; for of Necessity one side must fall.

There was then no security for any Man; when the King and Visiers, and all Officers held their Lives and Dignities at the courtesy of the mutined Soldier, who had tasted the sweet of Rebellion, and cast off all Awe and Reverence, and could not easily be reduced to order, without much blood and hazard of the whole. Therefore the wiser men retired from Office and Employment, and the inefficient did cause their own daily change and ruine. The Soldier adhered to the King of their own creation, and he was in effect their Creature, for they did wholly govern him. But the Lawyers and Church-men made secret conventions, and still practised some great alteration, and feared not to lay openly, that foundation of their State was dissolved, the King unlawful, and all that had adhered unto him lapsed into Heretic, having depised the Institutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wife Counsels, and held a large Correspondency with those of their own Coat, and spread their Confederacy to all parts of the Empire, to procure a Faction, and kindle a greater Fire than that of the Soldiers; for at *Bagdat* the Captain of the Janizaries rose and slew the Baffa, burnt the Mufti and all his Kin, and gave his Daughter in marriage to one *Aflan Beg*, a pretender to the ancient Inheritance of a bordering Province, to canonize that part. All *Asia* was in doubt to whom to obey; and *Cairo* was eaten up with Oppression; and that which was most dangerous, they had no fence of the sickness in the Court, to cure it, nor any of them so wise as to dissemble it.

The two and twentieth of *August*, the extraordinary Ambassador of *Berthelm Gabor* Prince of *Transilvania* arrived at *Constantinople*, who, according to other Instructions, had order to excuse his Master,

and to declare the Reasons why he had made Peace with the Emperor without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the War had continued three years in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and had so confounded and defoliated the Country, that it was impossible for him to stay longer in the Field, and to maintain an Army, for the great Famine and scarcity of all things which the Souldiery suffered, and could from no place be supplied; so that if he had not accepted of Peace offered, he had been enforced to quit the Country of Necessity, and by his seeming flight have left the Enemy Victor. Therefore he was constrained to win time, and return into *Transilvania*, to refresh his men of War, and to reinforce them; as also his own pressing Affairs calling him back, his Brother, whom he had left Governour in his absence, having advised him, That the King of *Poland*, by the Infliction of the Emperor, by Intelligence with some of the principal Lords, did practise a revolt, and promised Aid to make a new Prince that should wholly depend upon the Empire and *Poland*. Lastly, seeing the Grand Seignor had suddenly concluded a Peace with the *Poles*, he feared he should be left alone to the burden of the War, in which the King of *Poland*, being at ease, might assist the Emperor, which he was not able to sustain. Therefore he was content to take the Opportunity to accept of that, at the instance of the Emperor, which he should have been forced to do by Necessity.

Yet afterward, although he made this Apology for his Master, for concluding a Peace, he assured the Port, that his Master came not long to keep the same; informing them, that the Emperor had made a League (being at that time quiet in *Germany*) to invade the *Ottoman* Empire; persuading the Port to grant a Commission with full Power and Authority to him and the Baffa of *Buda* (who had been twenty years in that charge, and knew all the Borders) if they saw it fit, to prevent the Enemy, and to invade the Empire or the Kingdom of *Poland*. This demand was made by *Gabor*, to insinuate with the State of *Turky*, and to get a Power dormant in his Hands, to advance into *Hungary*, if he saw advantage, or to oblige the Emperor; and to assure his Peace, by having means not to care if it were broken. But the Grand Seignor finding himself, by reason of civil Diffractions at home, unfit for a War abroad, and that they saw *Berthelm Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his own Designs and Fortune, his Ambassadors Propositions began to be altogether slighted and neglected.

The Duke of *Sbarasky*, who came to conclude the Peace between his Master the King of *Poland*, and the Grand Seignor, after long stay upon the Confines, did at length arrive at the Port; but they made him stay five Weeks before he could have audience, forcing him to give a Pledge contrary to his Instructions. Notwithstanding he could not get them to enter into a Treaty, finding nothing but falshood and uncertainty among them, no Promise nor Faith kept, no Prisoners delivered, nor indeed any thing at all performed; for now that they had him within their Liberties, they hoped to work their own ends, and to weary him out, who had twelve hundred of his ordinary train. They threatened to keep him, and to denounce a War against his Master; yet, by the mediation of the English Ambassador, the Ministers of the Port and he were peeced again, and the Peace concluded; as shall be hereafter set down at large.

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After many Difficulties to obtain admittance to the presence of the Grand Seignor, caused by the frowardness of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baffa*, then Great Visier, who, discovering that the Duke would complain against *Tomha* Vayvod of *Valachia*, and his Creature, endeavoured by all fraud, cunning, threatening, and falshood delays, to divert him from that purpose; being told that the Actions of him whom he had followed and maintained in many Tyrannies, especially in the occasion of the late War, should be examined or layed open to Justice. But when he saw that nothing could prevail, but that he must hazard a direct breach by the discontent of the Duke; and that the People began to murmur, and the English Ambassador to protect him, he was admitted, and nobly received, according to the pompous custom of that Court; and with his Letter of Credence he spake these following Words.

### The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the Grand Seignor.

SIGISMUND, by the Grace of God, King of *Poland*, *Sueden*, *Gothia*, *Vandalia*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, and of many other Provinces Prince and Lord: To your most Renowned Majesty, most Mighty Emperor of *Asia* and *Europe*, and King of many Kingdoms and Provinces, ever most happy, witheth Health; and by me his Great Ambassador salutes you with all convenient Reverence and Honour; desiring to your Majesty from the most high God, the fulness of all Prosperity, Happinefs, long Life, Triumph above your Ancestors, Princes worthy of all Memory.

HIS High Majesty of *Poland*, considering the depth and height of the decrees of the Great God, marvelling with all the World, and praising his High Name; that comfort and joy himself, being more than certain, that, that eternal Power which hath preserved your Majesty from all evil destinies of Men, and from the Bowels of the Earth, and hath placed you in the shining Throne, hath not done it but for the publick good; and like a wise Gardiner, who hath weeded out all venomous and noysome Plants, that be hath placed your Majesty in their room, as a noble and sweet smelling Flower, full of Virtue, Clemency, and Peace, desired of all the World. His Majesty, my Lord and Sovereign, hath always wished, that not only the Actions of later years, but of many ages past, might have been forgotten; and that that Friendship and Peace begun with the Renowned *Ottoman* Kings two hundred and more years since, might have been without interruption continued. But seeing that the Great God hath been pleased to chastise the People of both parts, by the means of wicked men, that he not be accepted for good which cometh from his divine Will; therefore, blinding our Mind whatsoever is past, do now return to desire the continuance of the first antient Peace, and doth offer himself to your high Majesty to keep it irrevocably, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan *Amurath* of happy Memory. In witness of which his Sincerity, he hath not apprehended the Opportunity of a breach begun by the *Persians*, who expiration of the Truce with the Emperor of *Germany*, nor the many Revolts and Troubles in *Asia*, nor hearkened to the Infliction of many Christian Princes, his Friends and Allies, nor to the Tartar discontent; but ra-

ther, having refused all other ways, hath with the Blood of his own Subjects, and the charge of his Turfe, regained from the Rebel *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and a part of *Transilvania*, and rendered those Provinces into the Hands of your Majesty's Father, who suffered no man at any time to disturb on that side the Friends of your Empire; giving Intelligence, like a good Friend and a Neighbour to your Ancestors, of all your Enemies Designs and Machinations, and in as much as was possible endeavoured to preserve a good Peace and Friendship; which he offered to your most serene Majesty, submitting himself to the Capitulations treated at *Chorony*, and those of your most happy Father and Brother; praying your Majesty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Majesty will refrain the *Tatars*, as he will do the *Cossacks*; and that you will suffer no occasion of kindling new Fires, he beseecheth your Majesty to do what Justice you think meet upon *Cantemir* and *Tomha*, who, contrary to the agreements and publick Faith, have made spoil and new Incurfions into *Poland*, even since my departure from thence; and with many Deceits and false Advices have directed to disturb the happy beginnings of Accommodation. And seeing that by the ancient Capitulations made with the most warlike Sultan *Solyman*, and his Successors, the Father and Brother of your Majesty, the Princes of *Moldavia*, the Baffaes of *Silistria*, and the Beghs of *Ackitman* ought to keep the Passages of the Rivers to restrain the *Tatars*; and that those now in Possession of those Governments are already known, and grown bold in their rapine and spoil, that they may be dismissed, and their Provinces given to some others more inclined to Peace. For *Cantemir*, it is a true rule observed, that one *Tartar* can hardly govern another, where both live upon spoils, and how easily upon any occasion new Troubles are apprehended by the most ancient Enemies, I leave to your Highness; Withall, in which your Majesty is so assured, that he doubteth not, that for the publick good, and for the Complaints and Tears of both Subjects, you will also vouchsafe to accept the request of your Friend, and a King your Neighbour. And if all the World, and the People thereof rejoice and praise God for the Friendship and Peace between your Majesty and the King, my Master began and concluded, he hopes that the poor and miserable Prisoner shall participate of your Clemency, that they may join in the general care to pray to the eternal God for increase of your Greatness. The King my Master doth therefore desire your Majesty to grant Liberty to those who are in your Captivity, as he bindeth himself to let free all such of your Majesties Subjects as are now his Prisoners; and I do promise on the behalf of my Master, that he shall be a Friend to your Friends, and an Enemy to your Enemies. In conclusion, he deserveth all Happinefs and Prosperity to your Majesty from a clear Heart; in sign and testimony whereof, and of the Friendship begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Present, which you may be pleased to receive with your accustomed benignity; and hunting your Ears to such Informers, Enemies of Peace, as are found at your Port, that you will receive him for a Friend and Neighbour of the most Royal and Antient Kings of your most Princely Family.

The Soldiers continued still in their mutinous Disposition, even in *Constantinople*, the Head City of the Turkish Empire, and grew to that height of Insolency, that going in Troops to the Court, they demanded all Offices of gain; to be Stewards to the Reverendies of the Churches, which are great to take the Farms of Customs; and there committed many other Outrages which were unbecomable. The Visiers durst deny them nothing; they

The Prince of  
Transilvania  
his Ambassador  
arrived at the Port.

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1622 they drunk Wine in the Streets without Prohibition, contrary to their Law; and stood in Companies in the open day exacting Money of all Christians to pay for their Wine; and being denied it, stabbed and murdered without any Punishment; and when complaint was made to the Visier or Magistrate, they answered, None durst meddle with them, who had murdered their own King; and the Bassas themselves defied the Complainers patience, and that they would wear a part with the general sufferance.

About the same time, the Janizaries in the Gallies kept before *Smirna*, commanded by the Captain *Hadi Bassa*, assaulted, against his Will, the Houses of all the Christian Consuls there. The English, with all those of the other Nations, were forced to run naked from their Lodgings; and to swim to the Admirals Gallies to save their Lives; they rancked the lower parts of the House, and carried away to the value of two thousand Dollars; the French sustained more loss; and the *Venetians* at least ten thousand, and one of the Subjects of that State cut in pieces. The General had much ado to appease them by Entreats or Perfwasions, or to save the lives of all; inasmuch as they misfealed and threatened him, because he would not consent to their madness. In conclusion, he was fain presently to put to Sea, or else they had smothered the Trade at that Place.

In *Afia* there was then three open Rebelions, one at *Babylon*, another at *Arzerum*, upon the borders of *Perfia* near *Tauris*, and the third in *Mesopotamia*. The Visiers at the Port disembled all this, and durst take no knowledge thereof, nor so much as to send a command thither, for fear of blowing the Fire, which would have put all into Combustion; whereupon they held a secret Council, and consented to remove themselves, to prove if they could recover the desperate Estate of that Empire, and took Resolution to make *Hadi Bassa* (the best Souldier and most beloved) great Visier; and in his room *Daoud Bassa* Captain of the Sea; and the present Visier, Chimechan or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they resolved to send the Visier into *Afia*, with all the force they could make; to which end they sent into *Grace*, to warn all the Souldiers to be ready at *Adramyde*, not daring to make a rendezvous at the Port, for fear of new Trouble; and so to pass the Hellespont, wide of the City, to appease (if they could) those Revolts, and by that way to draw the Mutiniers from the Court into Action, and to reduce them unto Obedience. And notwithstanding that there was no other symptom or predition but such as threatened the ruine of that Empire, yet were they never more diligent nor more fearing not to distrust themselves, their only security being, that they had no Enemy but themselves.

The Treasury was far exhausted, the Revenue abated by the Oppression of every Bassa in his Government; the Souldier increased both in pay and number; and so impatient of delay, that at every quarter, (besides borrowing and taking up of the Farms of the Customs before-hand) there were so many intolerable Exactions to raise Money, that the appearance of domestick quiet could not long endure between two extremes; for means could not be found, and the Janizaries would not be contented nor deferred; and this was their general Estate at that time.

While the *Polish* Ambassador was treating the Peace at the Port, whereof there was no great doubt, because neither side was fit for War, there arrived an Ambassador from the Great Duke of *Muscovia*, which gave some Interruption therein, precluding the Grand Seignior to continue the War

for seven years against *Poland*, according to the promise of Sultan *Ofman*; offering that his Master should enter into *Poland* with an Army, and that they would divide the Country between them; but his Proposition was rejected, because they had sufficient Trial of his Master's cunning proceedings in the last War. For the *Muscovite*, having made Peace with *Poland* (before the Invasion of *Ofman*) for fourteen years, and being invited by him to break it and to invade that Country, upon promise that he would continue the War for seven years, and make no agreement without their comprehension; first answered, That he could not break the Peace; thinking that the other was but a flash of a young Prince; but so soon as he saw the Turks in the Field and Borders of *Poland*, then he began to hope he might make advantage; and therefore promised Sultan *Ofman*, on the Conditions mentioned, to enter into the Quarrel. And to that end dispatched an Ambassador to *Poland*, with Instructions to demand three things. First, that the Prince of *Poland* should renounce the Title of *Elect Duke of Muscovia*. The second, That the *Poles* should restore a Territory in the Border of *Lithuania*, taken in the last War. Lastly, that the Peace should be perpetual, threatening, that if they refused those Conditions, he would enter into the Country with an Army, and get what he could. This Ambassador being arrived in the Confines, heard News that the *Poles* had repulsed the Turk at *Chodyn*, that he was retired, and a Peace treated; whereupon he feigned himself sick, and sent back a Post with this Advice and his old Instructions, desiring in this alteration some new order from home. The Governor of the Town where he lay, suspecting somewhat, intercepted the Messenger and his Packet, and sent it presently to the King. The man returned to his Master the Ambassador, as robbed; and was again dispatched the second time, and sent back with another Stile, to wit, with Letters of Congratulation, Joy, and Offers of all help and continuance of the Peace; with these the Ambassador went forward to the Court; and having audience, the King answered him, That if his Message were sincere, it had been very acceptable; but he knew it to be a forged Treason, and no Faith intended from the *Muscovite*, and therefore commanded him to depart.

The Ambassador protested, vowed, and used all means to assure the Integrity of his Message; until he was confronted by the Chancellor, with his own Letter and his Masters Instructions. Hereupon was this other dispatched to the Port to hinder the Peace, and to offer all their help to continue an Invasion. In the mean time the *Muscovite* neglected no means to secure himself, and by renewing two Ambassadors, obtained a Peace with *Poland*, which was then again confirmed. To which the *Poles* were the willing to agree, not knowing what effect the Negotiations of the Duke of *Sherasky* might produce at the Port. And now the *Muscovite* was forced to dissemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The Great Visier *Georgi*, envying the Authority of *Daoud Bassa*, the beloved Son of the Queen Mother, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor *Mustapha* (which had formerly been deposed) who had been both the Instrument and the Counsellor to murder Sultan *Ofman*, fearing that he should understand govern in his Reign, especially because he countenanced in opposition the Duke of *Sherasky's* business, he therefore pretended to put him to Death; but not daring to do it by his own Authority, and in vain to procure it from the

The Great Visier pretended to put *Daoud Bassa* to Death.

1622 the Court, he stirred up the Spahies to demand Justice of him for the Death of the last King. This looked further than the first affront; for the subtil Visier, who was faithful to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an ungoverned Multitude, aimed at a by-revenge upon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accused, of the Murder; and the Souldier soon raised and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daoud* fled, but now that the business was on foot, if he were not found the Visier himself was in danger; and the poor man was taken and brought to the Divan, and there being called to the publick Justice, he must excuse himself upon some greater Person; wherein the Emperor and his Mother ran a new hazard, which was the secret end. Therefore both of them took care, and left him to the Law; and without any Trial he was brought before the Souldiers, stripped, his Turban taken off, and on his Knees ready to receive the stroke of Death; but suddenly the Janizaries came to his rescue, and carried him away to their Chambers. The Spahies, who began this Action, took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would have him die; the others demanded that he might be held in publick Justice. Thus those two mutual Factions were ready to come to blows. *Daoud Bassa*, now in some hope of Life, bribed the Janizaries, and that day distributed forty thousand Chequins of Gold, and they promised to protect him. Who did not now think but he was taken away for safety; But the Spahies followed their first Resolution; and to appease the fear of that Diffelition, it was agreed he should die. They that meant to save him, could not, but preserved him for a greater example of Justice. They would not now let him lose his Head in the Court, for that Death was too honourable for him that had murdered his Prince. Then the Janizaries put him secretly into the same Coach wherein he had sent Sultan *Ofman* to Execution; twice in the way, being dry with Sorrow, he drank at the faine Fountains where his last Master begged drink, and he was conveyed into the same Chamber where he had murdered him. The Executioners beginning to tie him, himself shewed the very cover where he had committed that foul fact, and desired that there he might (if possible) expiate it; and so he was at last miserably strangled. Thus he had his Reward, and God was just also even for the wicked.

About the twentieth of February, the Peace (after many rubs) between the Grand Seignior and the King of *Poland*, by the Mediation of the English Ambassador (who was chosen by the Grand Seignior as Arbitrator of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Bassa*, Commissioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke having first been forced to send this following Remonstrance for his Expedition, which much moved the Visier, and quickened the Conclusion.

#### The Duke of *Sherasky's* Remonstrance to the Great Visier.

YOur Excellency may be pleased to remember the happy and honourable Treaty made before *Chodyn*; in which a Peace was concluded between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of *Poland*, signed by Commissioners on both parts; wherein (with reference to other ancient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Ambassador should come to the Imperial Port, as well to confirm and swear the Peace, as to set in order some other incident Circumstances, as then not

fully taken into Consideration. Since which, the King and Republick of *Poland*, having elected me for that Employment, his Majesty and my self have received many Letters from *Delauri*, *Daoud*, *Huzcin*, and *Mustapha*, Bassas, all great Vissiers; not only promising a speedy end and dispatch of the Conclusion of Peace, which on both parts is so much desired, but also the release of our Captives, and all other respects of Love and Friendship, according to the antient Honour of the Imperial Port, desiring me upon that assurance to proceed with Alacrity and Expedition. And further, it having pleased his Majesty of Great Britain (a Friend to both) to mediate in this pious Office, by his Ambassador *rejoind*, and sent to that end; who hath given me by his Letters great encouragement and hopes of a real and true proceeding in this business, agreeable to divers Promises made unto him, which be accordingly hath informed his own Master; I was very glad of this honourable function, and hoped to have found as ready performance as is by his Majesty and all the World expected.

To this end I am come to the Port, with full Power and Instructions from his Majesty and the Republick of *Poland*, to conclude and finish a full and perpetual Peace, with all sincerity and heartiness; and in his Majesties Name to swear the same, offering to be Friend to the Friends, and Enemy to the Enemies of this Imperial Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other Circumstances incident to a business of so great Consequence.

Since my arrival, notwithstanding that I have produced both the mentioned Treaty at *Chodyn*, and Letters how little I have advanced in the main Affairs, and the doubtful Consequences of a long protraction, I desire you to consider, having as yet proceeded no further in substance, than the delivery of my Letters and Presents, and to that end, that there may never be imputed to the King and Republick of *Poland* any slackness in present, or any breach in future, out of a sincere and good desire to establish this Treaty pure and firm, and to open a clear and true Peace. I am enforced to make this true Declaration; and desire your Excellency to weigh maturely the motives following.

I do not repine at mine own stay at this Imperial Port, where I receive all Honour; I do not doubt of the sincere and faithful meaning of the Empire to conclude the Peace; but the deferring hereof may, against our Wills, breed three Inconveniences.

First, your Excellency hath known, that the Conflicts are a People not easily to be restrained, if they be once at Liberty, and that they live upon their Arms. They have ready eight hundred Boats to make an Invasion into the Black Sea. In the Winter they cannot move; they attend only the advice of the Conclusion of Peace; therefore now is the season to finish and publish it, for if by long delays it shall be deferred unto the Spring, and that Yearly or their own desire let them free, your Excellency hath known in Wisdom how difficult it is to reduce into order a People of that Condition, which for our parts, we are now able and ready to prevent; the State having ordained to satisfy them, and to buy their Boats upon the first intimation of a Conclusion.

Secondly, it is the order of our Nation every Spring to call a Parliament for the relement of all publick Affairs, of which assembly I am a Member; if I shall be slain here, and not able to render a reason thereof, it will breed great Suspition and disturbance in the general Reputation; you may consider, that in all parts there are some unquiet Men, Friends of Sedition and War, and many that make advantage of others Troubles, who may do ill Offices, such as the innocent may be sorry for but cannot help.

Thirdly, the Eyes of all Princes are set upon the Honour and Faith kept on both parts in this Treaty, and accordingly will govern their own Occasions.

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For these Reasons I do in his Majesty's Name desire your Excellency to give me a dispatch, such as may bring Joy and Content to all, by avoiding the Miseries of War; and in such time, that the Snows and Difficulties of Winter that we not up; but that I may return as well to satisfy his Majesty and the Republic in our general Assembly, as to retain those, who may be cause of much trouble, without our Consents.

There is no Difficulty that I understand. I am content to accept the ancient and honourable Treaties made with the famous Emperor Solymann and his Successors, and now lately at Chotyn; if there be any other difference, I have Power, and am ready to accommodate it.

My desire then only is, That a present End and Conclusion be made of a Peace, firm, and perpetual, and that the Emperor will be pleased, according to many promises, to deliver and let free the Captives taken in the last Wars; as I do in his Majesty's Name give my Word that all others taken on our parts shall have Liberty and Passport to return. And if there have been any Difficulty made by occasion of my pressure for the rejection of Tomha, and Cante-Emir-Emirze, I do make this true Protestation, That as it is the Request of his Majesty, my King, in Friendship, so there is no other end nor cause of that desire, but only to remove all occasion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which both Ill Neighbours are ever ready to minister; But if that be any great Inconvenience to this Imperial Port, I only then seek, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may live quietly without offence of the public Peace.

I desire your Excellency to weigh and consider these my Reasons and Protestations, which proceed only from a good and sincere Heart, to promote and maintain an inviolable and good Friendship with this Imperial Port.

Within two days after, the Duke of Sharskie took his leave of the Emperor, to the great Joy of himself and his Train, who thereby saw themselves delivered out of Captivity. The three great and noble Prisoners were set free, and did make a public acknowledgement of his Majesty of Great Britain's Favour, to whom both the Ambassador and they attributed the best part of their good Success, and gave particular Thanks by Letter.

Articles Contrasted between the Grand Seigneur and the King of Poland.

**HIS** Majesty of Poland, having sent into our happy Port his well deserving and famous great Ambassador, the most Illustrious Duke of Sharskie, to offer us sincere Peace, loyal Friendship, and good Correspondence, and to seek that the ancient Peace and Friendship should be of us anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be established an eternal Peace and Friendship: His Kingly instance hath been most pleasing to us, and we have ordained, That all the ancient Treaties shall be renewed, and at the present have given this our Capitulation with the following Articles.

**First,** That never upon our part, nor of any of our Officers, Begs, Cadets, Officers, nor Soldiers, any harm shall be done to the Provinces, Cities, Castles, Towns, Villages, and other Places per-

taining to the King and State of Poland. And likewise upon the part of his Majesty of Poland, that by his Princes, Ministers, or Cjacks, nor any other his Subjects, there shall be no wrong done in any part of our Empire, City, Castle, Town, or Village, but that both parties shall always remain Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.

**II.** And seeing that the Tartars of Dobritza, Bialogrod, Keil, Onz, and Silistra, and the People of Moldavia, do enter, invade, and damage the State of Poland; We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbegs of Silistra, and all other Beglerbegs of Bender, shall take care to keep all those Passages and Rivers, to the end that hereafter the said Nations shall have no passage by those ways to damage the State of Poland; and whosoever it shall be known that the said Ministers have used Negligence in keeping those Passages, according to the Treaty with Sultan Solymann, of happy Memory, that such Ministers be degraded and severely punished.

**III.** The Payoad of Moldavia likewise shall never grant any Passage to the said Nations; and whosoever it shall be known that the said Payoad hath transgressed in this our Will, he shall be degraded and severely punished.

**IV.** And whosoever the said Tartars and others, contrary to this our Will, shall make any Invasion or Spoil in the State of Poland, all our Ministers and Governors shall apprehend and severely punish them; and as it is set down in the Agreements with Sultan Solymann, all the Slaves and Prisoners which shall by such Malefactors be brought into our Dominions, shall be set at Liberty, and their Goods restored to them again, and the Malefactors punished for having transgressed our Imperial Capitulations.

**V.** And if any of our Subjects shall buy any Person or Polish Goods, unjustly taken by such Malefactors, and it shall be made known unto us by the King of Poland; the buyers, for having bought unlawful Goods, their Estate shall be confiscated, and they themselves severely punished.

**VI.** The Prince Chrim Tartar shall be obedient to us, and all the Tartarian Nation under his Command, Kalgha Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his Blood, from henceforth shall never enter into, nor invade any part of the State of Poland, nor ever do any Damage, either by the way of Moldavia, the open Field or Desert, nor shall ever enter into or invade any part or jurisdiction of the same. And at all times that his Majesty of Poland shall give notice, That the said Prince, or others above mentioned, have broken this our Will and Capitulations, and entered and damaged the State, for their Disobedience, the said Prince, as well as the others, shall be by us punished and chastised; and we command, that never any one, in any part of our Dominion, shall sell either People or Goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy Men or Goods, robbed from them, such shall be immediately punished with confiscation. And as before mentioned, the Beglerbegs of Silistra, with all Diligence shall keep the Straights of Otuc, and never suffer the said People to pass; and if it shall be known they have transgressed, they shall be punished with loss of their Charge and Office.

**VII.** And whosoever the said Prince Chrim Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others, shall by our order be called and commanded in their proper Persons to go to any part of the War in our Service, if by chance they should pass by the Confinues of Poland, as it is set down in the Capitulations of my Father of happy Memory, They shall not enter into any Village, Borough, Castle, or City of Polonia, or do any kind of damage to the People thereof; and finding that they have given any molestation or hurt, they shall be corrected, as is afore said.

**VIII.** And in Conformity of my Fathers said Capitulation, every time that his Majesty of Poland shall invade

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invade and call the said Prince Chrim Tartar in his Occasion, of War, whilst he gives him his annual stipend, the said Prince with all his Forces and Army, shall go help and assist his Majesty in every such Occasion, and have all Friendship and Sincerity; to which effect we have given order, that our Imperial Letters be written to the said Prince, in this particular, who shall observe all according to our Will and Pleasure.

**IX.** And for the better establishing of this our Peace and Amity according to the ancient Capitulations and Obedience, his Majesty of Poland promise to send his Great Ambassador to the said Prince of Tartars, and (beginning from this present, the 24th of the Month of June) to pay yearly to the said Prince his accustomed stipend in this form following. Every year his Majesty shall send the said stipend into the Castle of Chotyn in Moldavia, and the Payoad thereof shall certify the said Prince Chrim, who shall presently send his Ambassador to receive the same, by the hands of the said Prince Chrim, who shall observe this form, and shall be always obedient to this our Imperial Will.

**X.** And in case that his Majesty of Poland should fail any year to send the said stipend, the Prince Tartar shall not suddenly rise with his Army and invade Poland; but, according to the agreements of Sultan Solymann, continuing still in his Obedience, he shall certify us, and we will procure and recover his right.

**XI.** His Majesty of Poland shall promise, that from henceforward the officers shall not enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the Rivers of Otuc or any other, nor make any Spoil therein; and if the said Officers do enter into any part of our Dominions and do any hurt, we certify his Majesty by our Imperial Letters, he promises to correct them severely, and to put to death the Malefactors for breaking the Capitulations, and violating the Peace and Amity.

**XII.** And all our Subjects which shall be made Slaves, and imprisoned by the said Officers, shall be immediately set at Liberty; and the Ministers of his Majesty shall always be diligent to punish the Transgressors, and wholly restore those Persons and Goods which they shall have taken from our said Subjects, and that never any Subject of the King of Poland shall buy any stolen Goods; and if any have presumed and bought, that he be severely punished; and in general all that which we have promised concerning the Tartars and Moldavians, so his Majesty shall always promise to us for the Castles and other his Subjects.

**XIII.** After the Conclusion of this Peace, if upon the Confinues or open Fields, Fishers or Hunters on either part meeting together, shall happen to fall out, or be at difference by their own Occasion, it shall be no disturbance to this our Peace and Amity.

**XIV.** Always, according to the ancient Agreements, the Princes or Payoads of Moldavia, shall then to his Majesty of Poland all due Reverence and respect, good Amity and Neighbourhood; and seeing that the said Payoads have ever been as it were Instruments of Perfection, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the said Payoads, nor other of our Beglerbegs or Ministers, shall build to those Confinues any new Castle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in those Castles or Forts those Frontiers which are already built, there shall never any other Garrisons be kept but Moldavians; and according to the ancient Capitulations, the Tartars shall not inhabit, dwell, or till within those Confinues, of said Nations.

**XV.** And to the end this Peace and Amity may be always kept between us, we swear by the Name of God, and affirm by this our Imperial Article, that all the Ambassadors, great or inferior, which shall be sent from us to his Majesty, or those great or less which shall be sent from his Majesty to us, shall always be safe and secure, as well in their coming as their return; and that there shall never be made of any other passport, but that they shall be of us by all ways honoured and well received;

**XVI.** Concerning Merchants, Passengers, and other Poland Negotiators they shall be come safely and securely by Sea and Land into all the parts of our Empire; and for Customs, Tolls, and other Duties of their Merchandise, and in case of Debt, Credit, Suretyship, and such other like Accidents concerning the course of Justice and Law, we command that it shall be always observed according to the Agreements with our Father of happy Memory, Sultan Achmat. Which Articles are in this present accept and confirm, ratify, and command that they be of all our Subjects for ever punctually obeyed and observed.

**XVII.** Furthermore we promise, and in the Name of God swear, to observe and maintain for ever all those Conventions and Articles agreed upon and written in our Capitulations, by our Great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, and never to disannul any of them.

**XVIII.** And whereas to their greater desire of Sincerity concerning this Peace, his Majesty of Poland hath fought of us by his great Ambassador, that the Subjects of Poland may safely and securely come by the River of Turla with divers Merchandise, and sell, buy, and traffic in Ackirman, which traffic being used, will be of great benefit to both Estates. We ordain and command from henceforward, that the said Nation may come and negotiate safely and securely in the said Ackirman. And to the end that this business be established and concluded in a good manner, we will give order to our Ambassador, whom we intend to send shortly to his Majesty for the ratification thereof.

**XIX.** Which present Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correspondence, by the Grace of God we promise undoubtedly to maintain so long as we live in this World; and do hereby conclude between us and our Posterity, the King and State of Polonia, an everlasting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with these Words, Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.

Notwithstanding all this, after the Duke was departed one days Journey, where he stayed to receive the Treaty signed, they altered some of the Articles to their own advantage, without his Knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his Letters to the Port of the abuse offered unto him, and made haste rather to escape than return. But the *Cossacks* at the same time being stirred about the Black Sea, the Viceroy and State (having nothing more in care than to shut up that back port, whereby they suffered much loss and Dishonour, and could not reverse it upon a fugitive People: which divided their Naval Army, being forced to send a portion of Gallies to defend the Trade, the best part of relief of the City of Constantinople coming from thole Coasts) resolved to give content to the *Poles*, and to assure the Peace; that they might with more Security attend their Affairs in *Poland* and *Hungary*; which Action was favoured vehemently by the present Viceroy. To which end, he sent answer into *Poland*, with Promises of Faith, and Reparation for the Injuries committed by the *Tartars*; laying the fault of miswriting the Treaty upon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explain and interpret; and for better establishment and security on their behalfs of the Peace, they resolved to depose *John-Beg*, Prince of *Tartars*, and sent *Mechmet Gherry*, his Cousin German, and first of the Blood, late Prisoner in the *Rhodes*, to take Possession of his Dominion; who undertook to quiet and restrain that People; which he caused to be signified to *Poland*, that the King might see these alterations were only for the full security of the Peace on their side; that the *Pole* might take the like course with the *Cossacks*, who were not as yet reclaimed.

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The

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The Soldiers still continue in their Fury.

The Soldiers continued still in their height of Fury and Madnes, and those that were to go up on the Gallies for the defence of the Black Sea, and other Designs, being ready to depart, robbed, slew, brake Houses in the Face of the Magistrate in the open day: What was it not lawful for them to do that had slain their King, and made and destroyed the great Ministers at their Will and Pleasure, as their Stewards and Servants: and God did so blind them, that they should not see, that they digged up their own roots, and were made by God the blind instruments of their own Ruine. The Mint also was removed into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the Saddles, Bridles, Stirrups, that had any Gold or Silver upon them, with all old Plate, to make Money to patch up a quiet, and to satisfy and content the Soldiers, and all little enough for the present to save the City from a total lack.

The Ambassadors of the Prince of Transilvania depart from the Port.

The Ambassadors of the Prince of Transilvania, having changed their stile of excommunicating the Peace with the Emperour by the change of the Visier, and finding the Opportunity of a Friend now in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated a new matter, affuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germany a fair occasion was given to recover Hungary, and to set the Crown upon their Masters Head; and that therefore if the Grand Seigneur would be pleased to grant unto their Prince the aid of the Græcian Army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greatest Enemy of that Empire, which they easily obtaining (the ignorance and avarice of the Turk opening a way to credulity which was the constant advantage of Gabor, who could conquer both their Understandings and Forces to his own ends) being in all fully satisfied, they departed the twentieth of April. Which Resolution of the Port was much wondered at by all wise men, who knew how unfit the Turk was at that present for a War. The Prince was then at Cassovia, expecting the issue of his Ambassage, and in hope of Turkish Aid; which being granted and gathered upon his frontier, his whole Army was not very great, nor had he any Cannon to march withal to besiege any place; his chiefest trust consisting in his Intelligence in Hungary, where he expected a general revolt, and that all the Garrisons would open to him, or at least some diversion in Silezia (which he was promised) facilitate his ways; and he was not in despair, that upon the first appearance of an Army, Moravia, by the favour of the Count of Tournay, and his Friends, would follow the same Example; and this was the design which his Ambassadors had so long solicited at the Port, and dissembled at their first coming. Now there was nothing expected but a War; but not long after there arrived a new Ambassador from the Prince, without any mention of the Affairs of those parts; which made all men inquisitive, thinking he was either come to haften the Succours, or to change something in the manner and other Circumstances depending theron; but it was found that the States of Transilvania had assembled at Alba Julia, and were very loth to entertain a War, or to break with the Emperour; and therefore dispe-

ed two Commissioners towards him, who were well received and treated at Vienna; and from the Emperour was sent to Transilvania the Bishop of Nitria. Whereupon a new Peace was treated, and this Ambassador sent to procure the recall of the former Commands given to the Basso to move with their Armies. Whereby it was suspected he never had any purpose to make a War, but only to balance by the continuance thereof his Fears and last Agreements with the Emperour.

All Men prophesied (by reason of daily Disorders) the fall of the Ottoman Empire. But now the Basso of Arzerum, who was joynd with divers others, and had made a great Army, was in his march toward Angria, the direct way to Constantinople (Babylon yet resting in Rebellion) with a pretence of Reformation; who took nothing by force but the Treasure of the Empire. He held general Council in his Camp, and sent to the Port to require the Presence of the Musli, Cadets, Bassas, and ancient Beghs, to take knowledge and to punish the Traitors that murdered the late King, and to settle a new one lawfully that should be able to govern; to reduce the mutinied City-Souldier to Obedience and Discipline, and to place about the Emperour some Great Visier, chosen by the State, able to direct and apply Remedies to the Difficulties then grown to a Chrysis complaining, that every three or four Months, by the change of the Visier, the Provinces were destroyed, (for they placed and displaced the Governours according to their own Factions) and so contrary orders were sent abroad daily, inasmuch as no man knew who was King or Visier, nor whom they should obey. These were his Pretences, and if the present State would not consent to this Assembly, he then resolved to come to the Port, and settle all things at his Pleasure by the Sword. The great Officers in possession of the Empire and Government, loth to be called to an account by the Souldier, took a worse Resolution. To make a War; and made choice of Cigala Basso for General; which he refused upon the same pretence, that in his absence alterations would be so frequent, and that he should not please, or at least uncertainly, and according to Interpretation. Therefore he would have an absolute Dictatorship for the time, equal to that of a great Visier, or else he would not stir. This was granted him, and money given out, and order to pass the Water speedily; inrolling for his Army fifteen thousand Janizaries, and thirty thousand Spahies. But those did demur, and alleged it was a War against their own Brethren, and sought any Excuses rather than to come to blows. But the secret was, it was then Ramadan, or their Holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receive their Pay; and therefore they would not move, but pretended Religion. Next day after their Feast, when they should march, they flew themselves in their Colours, (having first held many Consultations) and would not march at all, unless the Emperour or Great Visier would go in Person. So every day brought forth new subject of Trouble, and the Empire to a great deal of hazard and danger.

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The Basso of Arzerum in Rebellion.

A

# BRIEF DISCOURSE OF THE GREATNESS OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE:

As also wherein the greatest Strength thereof consisteth; and of what Power the bordering Princes, as well *Mabometans* as *Christians*, are in Comparifon of it.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

1623

THE History of the Turks (being indeed nothing else but the true Record of the wofull Ruines of the greater part of the Christian Common-weal) thus, as before passed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now upon Earth far the greatest) as a proud Champion still standing up as it were in defiance of the whole World; I thought it good for the Conclusion of this my Labour, to propose unto the view of the zealous Christian, the Greatness thereof; and so near as I could to set down the Bounds and Limits within the which it is (by the goodness of God) as yet contained, together with the Strength and Power thereof, as also in what regard it hath the Neighbor Princes bordering or confining upon it, with some other Particularities tending unto the same purpose. All or most part thereof, although it be by the confiderate well to be gathered out of the whole course of the History before going, yet shall it more plainly here together in the full thereof of appear, than by the long and particular consideration of the rising and increase thereof be perceived; nor much unlike the overgrown Tree, at the greatness whereof every man wondereth, no man in the mean time either perceiving or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew up to that bigness, as now to overtop all the rest of the Wood. The Imperial Seat of this so great and dreadful an Empire, is the most famous City of Constantinople, sometime the Glory of the Greek of Constantinople, sometime the Glory of the Ottoman Emperours, acknowledging no man like unto himself, triumphed over many Nations; a City fatally fallen to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamurlane*, of all others thought to be the best seated for the Empire of the World. In which City (taken from the Christians by *Mahomet*, the second, by the Turks (named the Great, and the Greek Empire by him subdued) as the Ottoman Emperours have ever since seated themselves, to have they wonderfully, even to the

Constantinople the Seat of the Turks Emperours.

astonishment of the World, out of the Ruines of that so glorious a State, increased both their Strength and Empire, almost altogether fixed even in the self same Kingdoms, Countries, and Regions, as was sometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the uttermost bounds that the Empire sometimes had, especially in Europe; albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride thereof most mightily swollen, and in some few places thereof somewhat also exceeded the same. Amongst the rest of the Ottoman Emperours, this great Monarch of whom we speak (namely *Achmet* the first, which now reigneth in that most stately and Imperial City) hath at this present under his Command and Empire, the chief and most fruitful parts of the three first known parts of the World; only America remaining free from him, not more happy with the rich Mines thereof, than in that it is so far from out of his reach. For in Europe he hath all the Sea-Coast from the Confines of *Epidaurus* (the uttermost bound of his Empire in Europe Westward) unto the mouth of the River *Tanais*, now called *Don*, with whatsoever lieth betwixt *Buda* in Hungary, and the Imperial City of Constantinople; in which space is comprehended the better part of Hungary, all *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, with a great part of *Dalmatia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Græcia*, *Peloponnesus*, *Thracia*, the *Archipelago*, with the rich Islands contained therein. In Africa he possesseth all the Sea-Coast from *Velex* (or as some call it *Belis*) *De Gomer*, or more truly to say, from the River *Mulua* (the bounder of the Kingdom of *Fes*) even unto the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, Eastward; except some few Places upon the Rivage of the Sea, holden by the King of *Spain*; viz. *Morocco*, *Melilla*, *Oran*, and *Pennon*; and from *Alexandria* Northward unto the City of *Africa*, called of old *Siene*, Southward; in which space are contained the famous Kingdoms of *Tremisen*, *Algiers*, *Tunes*, and *Egypt*, with divers other great Cities and Provinces. In Asia all is his from the Streights

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The bounds of the Turks Empire in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

The Greatest of the Turks Emperours.

T E X T

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The four chief Cities for Trade in the Turkish Empire.

of *Hellaspontus* Westward, unto the great City of *Tauris* Eastward; and from *Derbet*, near unto the *Caspian* Sea Northward, unto *Adena* upon the Gulf of *Arabia* Southward. The greatness of this his Empire may be better be conceived by the greatness of some parts thereof; the *Mere of Mauritania*, which is all as the Turkish Emperours command, being in compass a thousand miles; and the *Exasine* or *Black-Sea* in circuit two thousand and seven hundred; and the *Mediterranean Coast*, which is subject unto him, containing in compass about eight thousand miles. But to speak of his whole Territory together; he goeth in his own Dominion from *Tauris* to *Buda*, about three thousand two hundred miles. The like distance is from *Derbet* unto *Adena*. The like distance from the *Persian* Gulf unto *Tromajona* in *Barbary*, are accounted little less than four thousand miles. He hath also in the Sea the most noble Islands of *Cyprus*, *Euboea*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and others of the *Archipelago*. In this so large and spacious an Empire are contained many great and large Countries, sometime most famous Kingdoms, abounding with all manner of worldly Blessings and Natures store: For what Kingdom or Country is more fruitful than *Egypt*, *Syria*, and a great part of *Asia*? What Country more wealthy or more plentiful of all good things, than was sometime *Hungary*, *Græcia* and *Thracia*? In which Countries he hath also many rich and famous Cities, but especially four, which be greatest for Wealth and Trade; namely, *Constantinople*, *Caire*, *Aleppo*, and *Tauris*. *Constantinople*, for multitude of People, exceedeth all the Cities of *Europe*; wherein are decreed to be above seven hundred thousand Men; which if it be so, it is as much equal to two such Cities as *Paris* in *France*. *Aleppo* is the greatest City of *Syria*, and, as it were the centre wherunto all the Merchandise of *Asia* repair. *Tauris*, of late the Royal Seat of the *Persian* Kings, and one of the greatest Cities of that Kingdom, from whom it was in this our Age taken by *Amurath* the Third, hath in it above two hundred thousand Men. *Caire*, amongst all the Cities of *Affrica* is the chief, leaving all others far behind it, (although that some make the City of *Cano* equal unto it in greatness) being as it were the Store-house, not of *Egypt* only, and of a great part of *Affrica*, but of *India* also; the Riches whereof being brought by the Red-Sea to *Sues*, and from thence upon Camels to *Caire*, and so down the River *Nilus* to *Alexandria*, are thence dispersed into these Western Parts; albeit, that this rich Trade hath of late time been much impaired, and so like more to be, the Christians (especially the *Portugals*) trafficking into the *East-Indies*, and by the vast Ocean transporting the rich Commodities of those Eastern Countries into the West, to the great hindrance of the Grand Signior's Customs in *Caire*.

The *Osman* Government in this his so great an Empire, is altogether like the Government of the Master over his Slave, and indeed is but a Tyranny; for the Great Signior is to absolute a Lord of all things within the compass of his Empire, that all his Subjects and People, be they never so great, do call themselves his Slaves and not his Subjects; neither hath any man power over himself, much less is he Lord of the House wherein he dwelleth, or of the Land which he tilleth, except some few Families in *Constantinople*, to whom some few such things were by way of reward, and upon special favour given by *Mahomet* the Second, at such time as he was the same. Neither is any man in that Empire so great, or yet so far in favour with the Great Signior, as that he can assure himself of his Life, much less of his present Fortune

or State, longer than it pleaseth the Sultan. In which so absolute Sovereignty (by any free born People not to be endured) the Tyrant preferreth himself by most special means; first, by taking off all Arms from his natural Subjects; and then by putting the same and all things else concerning the State and Government thereof into the Hands of the Apostate, or Renegade Christians, whom for the most part every third, fourth, or fifth Year, (or oftener, if his need require) he taketh in their Child-hood, from their miserable Parents, as his Tenth or Tribute Children; whereby he gaineth two great Commodities: First, For that in so doing he spoileth the Province he most feareth, of the flower, sinews, and strength of the People, choice besides still made of the strongest Youth, and fittest for War; then for that with these, as with his own Creatures, he armeth himself, and by them assur'd his State; for they, in their Childhood, taken from their Parents Laps, and delivered in Charge to one or other appointed for that purpose, quickly, and before they are aware, become Mahometans; and so to no more acknowledging Father or Mother, depend wholly on the Great Signior; who, to make use of them, both feeds them and fosters them, and whose hands only they look for all things, and whom alone they thank for all. Of which Fry, to taken from their Christian Parents, (the only Seminary of his Wars) some become Horse-men, some Foot-men, and so in time the greatest Commanders of his State and Empire, next unto himself; the natural Turks, in the mean time, giving themselves wholly unto the Trade of Merchandise, and other their Mechanical Occupations; or else to the feeding of Cattel, their most ancient and natural Vocation, not intermeddling at all with matters of Government or State. So that if unto these his Soldiers, all of the Christian Race, you joyn also his Fleet and Money, you have as it were the whole strength of his Empire; for in these four, his Horse-men, his Foot-men, his Fleet and Money, especially consisteth his great Force and Power: wherof to speak more particularly, and first concerning his Money. It is commonly thought, that his ordinary Revenue exceedeth not eight millions of Gold; and albeit, that it might seem, that he might of so large an Empire receive a far greater Revenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his Men of War (in whole power all things are) have their greatest and almost only care upon Arms, fitter by nature to waste away desolatory Countries, than to preserve and enrich them; inasmuch that for the preservation of their Armies, and furtherance of their Expeditions, (every year to do) they most grievously spoil even their own People and Provinces whereby they pass, scarce leaving them Necessaries wherewith to live; so that the Subjects, despairing to enjoy the Fruits of the Earth, much less the Riches which by their Industry and Labour they might get unto themselves, do now no farther endeavour themselves either to industry or Traffick than they needs must, yet than very necessity it self informeth them. For to what end availeth it to low that another man must reap? or to reap that which another man is ready to devour? Whereupon it cometh, that in the Territories of the *Osman* Country, say, even in the most fruitful Countries of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, are seen great Forests, all every where waste, few Cities well peopled, and the greatest part of those Countries lying desolate and desart, that of Hubbundry (in all well-ordered Common-wealths the Prince's greatest force) decaying, the Earth neither yieldeth her Increase unto the painful Husbandman, neither he matter unto the Artificer,

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The means whereby the Turkish Emperours preferre themselves in so absolute a Sovereignty.

Four things wherein the greatness of strength of the Ottoman Empire consisteth.

The Turkish ordinary Revenue, and why they are so great.

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The Turkish Casualties more than his ordinary Revenue.

neither the Artificer Wares to furnish the Merchant with, all together with the Plough running into ruin and decay. As for the Trade of Merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the *Perss*, or the Christians of *Europe*, viz. the *Ragufians*, *Venetians*, *Genovais*, *French*, or *English*; the natural Turks having therein the least to do, holding in that their so large an Empire no other famous Cities for Trade, more than the four above named, viz. *Constantinople*, *Tauris*, *Aleppo*, and *Caire*; wherunto may be added, *Cassa*, and *Thesalonica* in *Europe*; *Damascus*, *Tripoli*, and *Aden* in *Asia*; *Alexandria* and *Algiers* in *Affrica*. In these Countries here in this West part of *Europe*, of the abundance of People oftentimes ariseth Death; but in many parts of the Turks Dominions, for want of Men to manure the Ground; most part of the poor Country People, drawn from their own dwellings, being enforced with Victuals and other Necessaries to follow their great Armies in their long Expeditions, of whom scarce one of ten ever return home to their dwellings again, there by the way perishing, if not by the Enemies Sword, yet by the wants, the intemperateness of the Air, or immoderate pains taking. But to come nearer unto our purpose; Although the great Turks ordinary Revenues be no greater than is aforesaid, yet are his extraordinary elcheats to be greatly accounted of, especially his Confiscations, Forfeitures, Fines, Amerciaments (which are right many) his Tributes, Customs, Tyths and Tents of all Preys taken by Sea or Land, with divers other such like, far exceeding his standing and ordinary Revenue; his Balfas and other his great Officers like ravening Harpies as it were sucking out the Blood of his poor Subjects, and heaping up inestimable Treasures, which for the most part fall again into the Grand Signior's Coffers. *Ibrahim* Visier Bassa (who lived not long since) is supposed to have brought with him from *Caire* to the value of six millions; and *Mahomet*, another of the Victors, was thought to have had a far greater sum. His Prebends also amount unto a great matter for no Ambaffador can come before him without great Gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious Office or Preferment without Money, no man may with Empty Hands come to the Presence of him to get a Prince, either from the Province he had the charge of, or from any great Expedition he was sent upon; neither unto so great and mighty a Prince are there a far greater sum. The *Vayvods* of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transilvania*, before their late revolt, by Gifts preferred themselves in their Principalties, being almost daily changing, especially in *Valachia* and *Moldavia*; for those Honours were by the Grand Signior still given to them that would give most; who, to perform what they had offered, miserably oppressed the People, and brought their Provinces into great Poverty. In brief an eating time it is for the great Tyrant to find Occasion for him as his Pleasure to take away any Mans Life, together with his Wealth, be it never so great; so that he cannot well be said to lack Money so long as any of his Subjects have it. Nevertheless, the late *Persian* War he emptied the most covetous Sultan *Amurath*'s Coffers, and exhausted his Treasures, that all over his Empire the value of his Gold was beyond all credit enhanced, inasmuch that a Chequene was twice so much worth as before; besides that, the Metal whereof his Gold and Silver was made was so embased, that it gave occasion unto the Janizaries to set fire upon the City of *Constantinople*, to the great Terror, not of the vulgar sort only, but of the Grand Signior himself also. And in the City of *Aleppo* only were in the Name of the Great Sultan sixty thousand Chequenes ta-

ken up in preft of the Merchants there, which, how well they were repayed, we leave for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turks Revenues be not so great as the largeness of his Empire and the fruitfulness of his Countries might seem to afford, all the Soil being his own; yet hath he in his own Dominion a Commodity of far greater value and use than are the Revenues themselves; which is, the Multitude of the Timariots or Pensioners, which are all Horsemen, so called of *Timar*, that is, a stipend which they have of the Great Signior, viz. the possession of certain Villages and Towns, which they hold during their Life, and for which they stand bound to every threecore Duckets they have of yearly Revenue to maintain one Horseman, either with Bow and Arrows, or else with Targuet and Lance; and that as well in time of Peace as War; for the *Osman* Emperours take unto themselves all such Lands as they by the Sword win from their Enemies, as well Mahometans as Christians, all which they divide into *Timars*, or as we call them Commendams, which they give unto their Soldiers of good desert for term of Life, upon Condition that they shall (as is aforesaid) according to the proportion thereof keep certain Men and Horses fit for service always ready whensoever they shall be called upon; wherewith consisteth the greatness of the Turks, and the surest means for the Preservation of their Empire. For if by this means the care of manuring the Ground were not committed unto the Soldiers, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hands of the plain painful Husbandman, all would in time be waste, an Empire lie waste and desolate; the Turks themselves commonly saying, That whosoever the Grand Signior's Horse leteeth his Foot, the Gra's will grow no more there; meaning the Destruction that their great Armies bring in all Places where they come. The Institution of these *Timariots*, as the taking up of the *Azamoglan*s, (for so they call those Children which are taken up from their Christian Parents to be brought up for Janizaries) are the two chief Pillars of the Turks Empire, and the strength of their Wars; both which seem to be devised unto the imitation of the Romans, as are divers things more in the Turkish Government; for the Roman Emperours used their own Subjects in their Wars, and of them consigned the *Tributary* Army, which never departed from the Emperours side, but were still to guard his Person, as do the Janizaries the Great Turk. And in the Roman Empire Lands were given unto Soldiers of good desert, for them to take the profit of during their Lives, in reward of their good Service and Valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarii*, or as we term them Benefices, and benefited Men. *Alexander Severus* granted unto such Soldiers *Hereditas* that might enjoy those Lands and Commendams, upon condition also, That they themselves should serve as had their Fathers, otherwise not. *Constantine* the Great also gave unto his Captains that had well deserved of him, certain Lands for them to live upon during the term of their Life. The like Fees in *France*, which they called *Fenda*, were of Temporaries made Perpetuities by these their late Kings. These *Timariot* Horsemen in the Turkish Empire, serve to two great and most notable purposes; wherof the first is, That by them the Grand Signior, as with a Bribe, keepeth the rest of his Subjects in every part of his great Empire in awe, so that they cannot so soon move, but that they shall have these their *Timariots* as Faulcons in their Necks; for to that purpose they are dispersed all over his Dominion and Empire.

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The Turks Timariots of greater value than his Revenues.

The two chief pillars of the Ottoman Empire.

The great use of the Timariot Horsemen in the Turkish Empire.





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ords. For the more manifesting of which their Government, as also that they which come hereafter may be comparing of that which is here written with the state that then shall be, see how much this great Empire in the mean time increaseth or diminisheth, I have thought good here briefly to set down all the said Beglerbegs, with briefly to set down all the said Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and as near as I could (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well travelled in those Countries) together, and as it were at one flew, set forth the whole Strength and Power of this so mighty an Empire, as also in what Countries and Provinces the same is especially placed.

### The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Europe.

The first and chiefest of all the Beglerbegs in the Turks Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania, or Gracia, called of the Turks *Rum-lu* (as we say the *Roman Country*) the principal residence of whose Beglerbegship is at *Sophia*, a City of *Bulgaria*, so appointed for the commodious situation thereof, for the better command of the rest of the Provinces of Europe; howbeit that he for the most part, or rather altogether abideth at the Court, which the other Beglerbegs cannot do; for they are bound not to depart from the Government of their Provinces; in which charge they ordinarily continue but three years only, the great Sultan still changing and altering them at his Pleasure. This Beglerbeg hath under his own Ensign and Command forty thousand Timariots always ready at his call, under the conduct of these one and twenty Sanzacks following; namely the

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| 1 <i>Sophia</i> in <i>Bulgaria</i> .                       | 14 <i>Mistra</i> , of old called <i>Sparta</i> , in <i>Morea</i> . |
| 2 <i>Nicopolis</i> .                                       | 15 <i>Palaeopatra</i> , in the same Province.                      |
| 3 <i>Chilse</i> , or <i>Quadraginta Ecclesia</i> .         | 16 <i>Joannina</i> , in <i>Etolia</i> .                            |
| 4 <i>Vyza</i> in <i>Thracia</i> .                          | 17 <i>Delvina</i> , both in <i>Albania</i> .                       |
| 5 <i>Kirmen</i> , all in <i>Silistria</i> .                | 18 <i>Euf-chabata</i> .  |
| 6 <i>Silistria</i> , Macedonia.                            | 19 <i>Avelona</i> or <i>Albana</i> in <i>Albania</i> .             |
| 7 <i>Giumladia</i> .                                       | 20 <i>Ducagin</i> in <i>Epirus</i> .                               |
| Sanzack of 8 <i>Bender</i> , near unto the <i>Euxine</i> . | 21 <i>Yndora</i> , or <i>Scedra</i> in <i>Albania</i> .            |
| 9 <i>Acherman</i> , in the Confines of <i>Moldavia</i> .   |  |
| 10 <i>Uscopia</i> .  |  |
| 11 <i>Prisren</i> , all in <i>Sabornich</i> .              |  |
| 12 <i>Sabornich</i> .                                      |  |
| 13 <i>Tri-chada</i> .                                      |  |

The Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who there resideth in the Frontiers of the Turkish Empire, having under his charge eight thousand Timariots, beside 12000 other Soldiers, which in continual pay lie still ready in Garrison in the Confines of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Siria*, and other Places bordering upon the *Christians*, but especially the Territories belonging to the House of *Austria*. He had of late under his Ensign and Command these fifteen Sanzacks, viz. the

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|---|--|
| 1 <i>Novigrade</i> .                            | 9 <i>Simonterna</i> .                      |
| 2 <i>Filek</i> .                                | 10 <i>Copan</i> .                          |
| 3 <i>Zetischen</i> .                            | 11 <i>Muhazie</i> .                        |
| 4 <i>Zoloch</i> .                               | 12 <i>Zigeth</i> , or <i>Safsar</i> .      |
| Sanzack of 5 <i>Gran</i> or <i>Strigoniun</i> . | 13 <i>Zetischen</i> or <i>Strigoniun</i> . |
| 6 <i>Szegedin</i> .                             | 14 <i>Sirmium</i> .                        |
| 7 <i>Alba Regali</i> .                          | 15 <i>Semendria</i> .                      |
| 8 <i>Sexard</i> .                               |  |

Of which, *Filek*, *Zetischen*, and *Strigoniun*, are in these late Wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and so yet by them holden as was also *Alba Regali*, which but of late was by the Turks again recovered.

The Beglerbeg of *Temeswar* in *Hungary*, who there hath his abode, having under his command seven thousand Timariots, with these eight Sanzacks; the

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|--|-----------------------|
| Sanzack of 1 <i>Temeswar</i> .   | 5 <i>Wiskitirni</i> . |
| 2 <i>Mudava</i> .  | 6 <i>Yvornick</i> .   |
| 3 <i>Vilafwar</i> .  | 7 <i>Vidin</i> .      |
| 4 <i>Tjekimad</i> .  | 8 <i>Lippa</i> .      |
| The Beglerbeg of <i>Bofna</i> , who hath at <i>Bagnialuca</i> , hath under him these Sanzacks, the |                       |
| 1 <i>Bagnialuca</i> .  | 6 <i>Sazefbna</i> .   |
| 2 <i>Pefchega</i> .  | 7 <i>Giuia</i> .      |
| 3 <i>Chiffa</i> .  | 8 <i>Brisfrem</i> .   |
| 4 <i>Hertzegovina</i> .  | 9 <i>Alafschia</i> .  |
| 5 <i>Lika</i> .  | 10 <i>Chiffar</i> .   |

The Beglerbeg of *Coffe* or *Capha*, who there resideth in *Taurica Cherfonefsis*, and beside the Country thereabout, commandeth over all the Sanzacks near unto the great River *Tanais*, and the Fens of *Mentis*. It was at first but a Sanzackship, subject to the Beglerbeg of *Gracia*; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in Name, than in Strength and Power.

### The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Asia.

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|--|--|
| 1 <i>Anatolia</i> , who hath his residence in the Metropolitica City of the greater <i>Phrygia</i> (called in ancient time <i>Cataya</i> ) and hath under his Ensign and command thirty thousand of the Timariot Horsemen, with twelve Sanzacks. |  |
| 2 <i>Caramania</i> , who hath his abode at <i>Calcaria</i> (in ancient time called <i>Calcaria</i> ) a City of <i>Gilicia</i> , and hath under him seven Sanzacks, with twenty thousand Timariots.   |  |
| 3 <i>Sivas</i> , who hath his abiding at <i>Sebastia</i> , a City of the lesser <i>Armenia</i> , and hath under his Government ten thousand Timariots.   |  |
| 4 <i>Tocatun</i> , who resideth at <i>Amasia</i> , the Metropolis of <i>Capadocia</i> , and hath under him five Sanzacks.  |  |
| 5 <i>Dulgadir</i> , sometime part of the Kingdom of <i>Aladulke</i> , and commandeth over four Sanzacks.   |  |
| 6 <i>Halep</i> , commonly called <i>Aleppo</i> , a City of <i>Syria</i> , and one of the most famous Mats of the East, who hath under his Regiment five and twenty thousand Timariots.   |  |
| 7 <i>Sham</i> , otherwise called <i>Damasco</i> , a most famous City of <i>Syria</i> , who commandeth over forty thousand Timariots.   |  |
| 8 <i>Tarapahis</i> , or <i>Trapolis</i> , commonly called <i>Tripolis</i> , another famous City of <i>Syria</i> .  |  |
| 9 <i>Maras</i> , a City upon the great River <i>Euphrates</i> , betwixt <i>Aleppo</i> and <i>Mesopotamia</i> , who hath under his command 10000 Timariots.   |  |
| 10 <i>Diarbekir</i> , otherwise called <i>Apotonania</i> , who maketh his abode at the City of <i>Amida</i> , or, as the Turks call it, <i>Cara-bemid</i> , who commandeth over twelve Sanzacks, and thirty thousand Timariots.                  |  |

11 Bag:

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1 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he resideth, not far from the Ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath under him forty thousand Timariots.

2 *Balfara*, not far from *Bagdat*, upon the *Perfas* Gulf, who hath under his Rule or Government fifteen thousand Timariots.

3 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and near unto the *Perfas*, hath under his Regiment ten thousand Timariots.

4 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous Cities in *Arabia Felix*, upon the Coast of the Red-Sea, who hath under him thirty thousand Timariots.

5 *Chebezer*, or *Zebet*, upon the Coast of the *Arabian* Gulf, near unto the Kingdom of the great *Ethiopian* King *Prejant*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter John*.

6 *Cyrrus*, who lieth at *Nicofia* or *Pamassia*, commanding over all that great Island, sometime of it self a Kingdom.

7 *Scheberecal* in *Assyria*, bordering upon the *Perfas*, who hath under his Government ten thousand Timariots.

8 *Wan*, a City in the Confines of the greater *Armenia* toward *Media*, who hath under him twelve thousand Timariots.

9 *Arzerum*, or *Erzerum*, in the Borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about four days Journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth over twenty thousand Timariots.

10 *Teftis*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Mutapha Bafa*, General of *Amurat* the third's Army against the *Perfas*, in the year 1578.

11 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the same *Mutapha*, and at the same time, commandeth over all that great Country, sometime a famous Kingdom.

12 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, near unto the *Calpian* Sea, taken by *Ofman Bafa* the same year 1578; who, having slain *Schebenet Chan*, his Father-in-Law, reduced that Country into the form of a Beglerbegship.

13 *Cars*, a City of *Armenia* the greater, distant from *Arzerum* four days Journey, by *Mutapha Bafa* made a Beglerbegship in the year 1578.

14 *Tchildir* or *Taidler*, in the Confines of the *Georgians*, erected by the same General *Mutapha*, in the same year 1579.

15 *Fafsa*, or *Ibafis*, in *Mengrelia*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Ulucales* the Turks Admiral, the same year 1579.

16 *Sochum*, in the Borders of the *Georgians*, erected by the great *Bafa Sinan*, in the year 1580.

17 *Batin*, there erected also by the same *Sinan Bafa*.

18 *Reivan*, erected by *Ferat Bafa*, General of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the *Per-*

The Beglerbeg of

1 *Iran*, in the year 1582, whereof *Cacala Bafa* was the first Beglerbeg.

2 *Sunachia*, in the Country of *Media*, erected by *Ofman Bafa* in the year 1583.

3 *Tauris*, a most famous City of *Armenia* the greater, sometime the Regal Seat of the *Perfas* Kings, but of late taken from them by *Ofman Bafa*, and converted into a Beglerbegship in the same year 1583.

But these late erected Honours, namely the Beglerbegships of *Teftis*, *Siruan*, *Temir-Capi*, *Cars*, *Tchildir*, *Fafsa*, and the rest, gained by *Amurat* from the *Perfas* and the *Georgians*, although they contain a great Territory, are not of themselves any of them worthy of those proud Titles, or yet able to maintain the same (*Siruan*, *Reivan*, and *Tauris* only excepted) but were by the great *Bafas*, *Mutapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Ofman*, *Amurath's* Lieutenants, first their own great Honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend those their new Conquests, erected; being indeed nothing either in Power or Strength comparable with the other more ancient Beglerbegs either in *Europe* or *Asia*. But having thus passed through the great Kingdoms and Provinces by the Turks holden in *Europe* and *Asia*, with their proud Honours therein, let us go forward toward the South, to see what great Kingdoms and Territories they at this present hold in *Africa* also.

### The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Africa.

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|---|--|
| 1 <i>Misfir</i> , who still making his abode at the great City of <i>Caire</i> , hath under his command all the Kingdom of <i>Aegypt</i> , with sixteen Sanzacks, and an hundred thousand Timariots.          |  |
| 2 <i>Cefair</i> , in ancient time called <i>Jahia Cafaria</i> , but now commonly <i>Algiers</i> , where the Beglerbeg still resideth, commandeth over all that Kingdom, wherein are forty thousand Timariots. |  |
| 3 <i>Tunis</i> , where he still remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdom.  |  |
| 4 <i>Tripolis</i> , the Seat of his Beglerbegship, by <i>Sinan Bafa</i> taken from the Knights of <i>Malta</i> in the year 1551.  |  |

There are beside these, two other Kingdoms in *Africa* inrolled in the Turks Records as their own, although they be not as yet by them brought into the form of Beglerbegships, namely the Kingdoms of *Fes* and *Morocco*, but are as yet holden by them as their Tributaries and Vassals.

But, having thus as it were taken view of the Greatness and Forces of this so mighty a Monarchs Empire by Land, and so in some sort bounded it out, let us consider also his Power by Sea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the Gulfs of *Perfa* and *Arabia*, most of his Territories lying upon the Mediterranean and *Euxine* Seas, or else more inwardly into the heart of *Asia* near to no Sea. Now for these Seas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better means to fortify his Fleets than he; for the overgrown Woods of *Epirus* and *Cilicia*, and more than they, those of *Nicomedia* and *Trapezond*, are so great and thick, and so full of tall Trees fit for the building of Ships and Gallies of all sorts,

The great Power of the Turks in the Mediterranean and *Euxine* Sea.

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From whence he hath his chief Strength.

as is almost incredible. Neither wanteth he flore of Shipwrights and Carpenters for the framing of that fo great flore of Timber, large pay drawing even the Christian skilful Carpenters and Workmen into his Arsenals at *Constantinople*, *Synope*, *Callipolis*, and others. For proof whereof it is worth the noting, that *Seymus* the second, in our fresh remembrance, the next year after that notable overthrow by him received at the *Echinades* (commonly called the battle of *Lepanto*) rigged up a Fleet, wherewith *Uluces* his Admiral was not afraid to face the whole Power of the confederate Christian Princes at *Cerigo*. Neither hath the Turk ever wanted good flore of expert Seamen, after the manner of those Seas; for beside those he hath in flore at *Callipolis* and *Synope*, out of his Gallies, which he hath always in readiness at *Leibos*, *Chios*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and from the Pirats which he continually receiveth into the Ports of *Tunis*, *Bugia*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, he can and doth from them when need is, chuse Captains, Mariners, and Rowers sufficient for the manning and flooring of his Fleet. What he is able to do in those Seas was well seen in our time, by those Fleets which he had at *Malta*, *Cyprus*, the *Echinades*, and *Cadix*. He hath beside of all necessary and warlike Provision abundant flore, and of great Ordinance to furnish himself withal both by Sea and Land an infinite quantity. Out of *Thangay* he hath carried away above 5000 great pieces, out of *Cyprus* 500, and few less from *Guleta*, not to speak what he hath more got from the Christians in divers other places also. What flore he hath of Shot and Powder he shewed at *Malta*, where he discharged above 60000 great floot, at *Favangia*, where he bestowed 18000; and at *Guleta*, where, in the space of nine and thirty days, by the fury of his great Ordinance overthrew the Fortifications which the Christians had been forty years in building. So that, to return again to our purpose, the Great Turk will provide of Men, Money, Shipping, and great Ordinance, and having done so great Matters at Sea, as is before rehearsed, is not in realon otherwise to be accounted of than as of a most mighty and puissant Prince as well by Sea as Land; which to be lo, the Greatness of his Deniz Beglerbegs, or great Admiral (commonly called *Capitan Bassa*, of whom we have not yet spoken) well declareth. This great Man having charge of all the Grand Seigniors Strength at Sea, is alway one of the Vicer Basses, not bound still to follow the Court, as the other Vicers be, but always, or for the most part reliant at *Constantinople* or *Callipolis*, to be the nearer unto his charge. He that now hath this honourable Place, is called of the Turks *Cigale Bassa*, descended of an honourable Family of that Name in *Genoa*; who commonly residing at *Constantinople* or *Callipolis*, hath under him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great Commanders, and Men of great Place; namely the

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|------------------------------|--|
| 1 Gallipolis, or Callipolis. | 8 Negropont, or Euboea.                  |
| 2 Galatia, or Pera.          | 9 Rhodus.                                |
| 3 Nicomedia.                 | 10 Cavala in the Frontiers of Macedonia. |
| 4 Lema, or Lepanto.          | 11 Napoli di Romania.                    |
| 5 Mytilene, or Lesbos.       | 12 Lepanto, or Naupactum.                |
| 6 Chios, or Scio.            | 13 S. Maura.                             |
| 7 Nexia, or Naxos.           | 14 Alexandria.                           |

The Greatness, Wealth, and Strength of this fo mighty an Empire, as well by Sea as Land, thus in some sort declared, let us now see upon what Princes it also consisteth, and of what Pow-

er every one of them is in comparison of that fo great and overgrown a State. The Turks toward the East border upon the Persians, according to a right line drawn by Imagination from *Tauris* to *Bahar*; upon the *Portugals* at the Persian Gulf, and to there likewise toward the South; at the Red-Sea, upon the great *Ethiopian* King *Preja*; South, in Affric upon the Kingdom of *Morocco*; and in Europe, upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, with some part of the Venetian Seigniorie; toward the North upon the *Polonians*, and the Territories of the House of *Austria*. Now to begin with the *Persian*; the great Turk no doubt is in Field too strong for him, as by proof hath been oftentimes seen; for *Mahomet* the Great in plain Battle overcame the valiant *Uzun Casfanes*; *Solyman* the first, *Hyfmael* and *Tamas*, the two great and famous *Persian* Kings; and now of late in our time, *Amurat* the Thrid by his Lieutenant hath taken from the Persians all *Media*, with the greater *Armenia*, both sometimes famous Kingdoms, together with the Regal City of *Tauris*. That the Turk fo prevailth, is by reason of his Foot-men, which the *Persian* wanteth; and of his great Ordinance, wherewith the *Persians* by Valour of their Horsemen have become in open Field foiled the Turk, yet have they still lost some part of their Country; *Solyman* taking from them *Mopotamia*, and *Amurat*, *Media* and *Armenia*. Neither do the *Persians* alone feel that harm, and lose their own, but undid their Confederates also; *Solyman* the first spoiling the *Mamelukes* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and utterly rooting them from off the face of the Earth; and *Amurat*, by his Lieutenant *Gougiar*, both of them the *Persian* Kings Friends and Confederates. None is not the Turk fo much too strong at Land for the *Persian*, but that he is as much too weak at Sea for the *Portugals*; in those Seas I mean where their Forces have more than once to the Turks cost met together in the East-Indies; the *Portugals* having in those rich but remote Countries many fure Harbours and Ports, yea, fair Countries and Territories abounding with Victuals and all Provision necessary for Shipping, with some also of those great Eastern Princes their Allies and Confederates; whereas the Turk on the other side hath nothing in the Persian Gulf strong, beside *Bahar* the Sea Coast of *Arabia*, which might stand him in best stead, having no more but four Towns, and those but weak and of small worth. So that there, as also in the Red Sea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficulty for him to let out any great Fleet into those Seas, for that those Countries are utterly destitute of Wood fit to make Ships. For which cause, those times that he prepared his Fleets into the Red Sea (to have cut off the *Portugals* trade into the East-Indies) being not able to perform the same in the Persian Gulf, he was inforced to bring the Timber for the building of his Gallies out of the Ports of *Bithinia* and *Chicia* (out of another World as it were) up the Nile into *Caire*, and from thence upon Camels by Land to *Suez*, where he hath his Arsenal, a thing almost incredible. And yet having done what he could, he never gained any thing but loss and Dishonour; as in the year 1578 at the City of *Dium*; and in the year 1552, at the Island of *Armuz*; and after that at *Mombaza*, where four of the Turks Gallies, with one Galliot, which by the favour of the King of *Mombaza* had thought to have staid in those Seas, were

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The Princes, as well Mohammedans as Christians, upon whom the great Empire of the Turk consisteth, and of what Power they be in comparison of the Turk.

The *Portugals* too strong for the Turk in the East-Indies.

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Proffer John too weak for the Turks.

The King of Morocco and the Turk both in doubt of the King of Spain.

The King of Polonia unwilling to meddle with the Turk, or the Turk with him.

by the *Portugals* taken; who fill have a special regard and care that the Turks settle not themselves in those Seas; but as soon as they perceive them to prepare any Fleet, they forthwith let up on them, and to extend oftentimes without assistance enter into the Red Sea. *Proffer John*, of whom although men speak much, yet is he nothing in strength to be compared unto the Turk, but far inferior unto him both for Commanders and Soldiers, as also for Weapons and Munition; for that great Prince hath a great Kingdom without Fortification, and a multitude of Soldiers without Arms; as appeared by the overthrow of *Barnagallo* his Lieutenant towards the Red Sea; who, having left that Sea coast unto the Turks, was brought to that extremity, that to have Peace with them, he yielded to pay unto them a yearly Tribute of a thousand ounces of Gold. In Affric the Turk hath more Territories than hath the King of Morocco, otherwise called the *Xerife*; for he possesseth all that there lyeth betwixt the Red Sea and the Kingdom of *Fex*; but the *Xerife* hath the better part, the richer, stronger, and more united; yet dare neither of them well make War upon the other, for the nearness of the King of Spain, Enemy unto them both. Now then there remaineth the rest of the Christian Princes bordering upon the Turk; and first the King of *Polonia*. What their two Princes can do the one against the other, hath been seen in some former Expeditions, wherein the *Polonian* had fill the worse; yet it should seem, that of later time the Turk hath not been greatly desirous to move the *Polonian* too far, for that being provoked by divers occasions, (namely in the Kings of *Spain* and *France*), in the year 1604, *John the Vayvod of Valachia* had with the Turks, many *Polonian* Horse-men served the said Vayvod, though not indeed sent from the King; and in the time of *Signifund*, the *Polonian* *Cossacks* have with divers Incursions not a little troubled them; beside the late motions of *John Smolchick*, the great Chancellor and General of the *Polonian* Forces, for the slaying of the *Tartars* by the Turks sent for, he hath been content to comport the same, and not with his wonted pride fought to be revenged thereof, as he hath for far less upon some other Princes. And on the other side, the *Polonians*, since the unfortunate Expedition of King *Ladislaus*, never took upon them any Wars against the Turks, neither gave such Aid as they should unto the *Valachians* their Confederates, but suffered to be taken from themselves whatsoever they had toward the *Euxine* or *Black-Sea*; a thing imputed rather unto the want of Courage in their Kings, than to the Nobility of that Kingdom. *Signifund* the first, being by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, invited to the Wars against the Turks, answered them in these few words: Set you the Christian Princes at unity amongst themselves, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Signifund* the second fo abhorred the Wars, that he not only declined the Turks, but, provoked by the *Muscovites*, never thought to revenge the same. King *Stephen*, (by the commendation of *Amurat* chosen King of *Polonia*) an indifferent enemy both of his Enemies Forces and his own, thought it a most dangerous thing to joyn Battle with the Turk, and yet in private talk with his Friend, would oftentimes say, That with thirty thousand Foot joyned unto his *Polonian* Horse-men, he durst well to undertake an Expedition against the Turk; which he was supplied oftentimes to have thought upon. The Emperor, with the rest of the Princes of the House of *Austria*, are by a longer tract of ground joyned unto this great Empire of the Turks, than any one other

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The Emperor, with the rest of the Princes of the House of Austria, together with the Aid of the German, have much ado to defend themselves against the Turk.

The Venetians by Policy rather than by force, maintain their State against the Turk.

The King of Spain, of all other Princes that border upon the Turk, best able to wage War with him.

Prince of the World, and bellow in Fortifications and the maintenance of their Garrisons, (wherein they have continually above twenty thousand Horse and Foot) the greatest part of their Revenues, even in the time of Peace, much more in those times when they have yet left, or to enlarge their long Wars; and with the German Forces joyned unto their own, are more careful how to defend themselves, than to enlarge their Empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand*, with greater force than *Uluces*, undertook the unfortunate Expeditions of *Suda* and *Pelagja*; which fo evil fell out, not for that his Forces were not sufficient or strong enough, but for that they wanted Agility and Dexterity. The truth is, that his Armies were strong enough, and sufficientlly furnished with all things necessary, but consisted for the most part of *Germans* and *Bohemians*, flow and heavy People, unfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kind of Soldiers. The Venetians also controntier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by Sea and Land, and defend themselves rather by peaceable Policy than force of Arms; notably fortifying their Strong-holds upon their Frontiers, declining by all means the Dangers and Charges of War, by Ambushages and rich Presents, leaving nothing unattempted, (their Liberty and State preferred) rather than to fall to Wars. To say the truth of them, although they had both Court and Warlike provision sufficient, yet want they Men and Victuals answerable to fo great a War against fo puissant an Enemy. There remaineth only the King of Spain, of all other the great Princes either Christians or Mahometans bordering upon him the best able to deal with him; his yearly Revenues far exceeding those of the Turks, as that they are also probably thought to countervail the great estate of his Timariots, and his great Dominions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, (if they were with him at unity) able to afford unto him fo great and powerful a Strength both by Sea and Land, as might make him dreadful even unto the Great Turk when he swellth in his greatness; but considering how his Forces are distracted for the maintenance of his Wars at once in divers places, as also for the necessary defence and keeping of his so large and dispersed Territories, not all the best of themselves affected of himself strong enough against the united Forces of the Great Turk, whenever they shall chance to be employed upon him. So that by this we have already said, is easy to be gathered, how much the Turk is too strong for any one of the neighbour Princes, either Mahometans or Christians, bordering upon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet, left some mistaking me, might think, What, is then the Turk invincible? Far be that thought from me, to think any Enemy of Christ Jesu (be his Arm never so strong) to be able to withstand his Power, either quite to devour his little Flock, rage he never so much about it. As for the Turk, the Why the most dangerous and profficed Enemy of the Turk is not to be Christian Common-weal, be his strength fo great, though in yea, and haply greater too than is before declared, (the greatness of his Dominion and Empire considered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either so invincible, or his Power fo great, as it in shew seemeth for to be; his Timariot Horse-men (his greatest strength) dispersed over his whole Empire, being never possibly the one half of them by him to be gathered into the body of one Army; neither if they were lo, possible in such a multitude long to be kept together, living upon

no pay of his, but upon such Store and Provision onely as they bring with them from their *Timari*, never sufficient to maintain them long. Besides that, the policy of his State hardly or never suffereth him to draw above a third part of his *Timar* out of his Countries where they dwell, for fear lest the rest of the People, by them till kept under, should in their absence take up Arms against him in defence of themselves and their ancient Liberty; whereafter, the greatest part of those poor oppressed Souls, as well Mahometans as Christians in every Province of his Empire, awaiting the opportunity, most desirously longeth. So that more than two parts of them being always to be left at home for necessary defence of the spacious borders of his so large an Empire, as also for the keeping in Obedience of so many discontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he, even in his greatest Wars, draw together of these kind of Souldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thousand strong, making up the rest of his huge Multitude with his *Acarzai*, living of no pay of his, but upon the spoil of the Enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay unto him also. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what Valour, not onely the small Armies of the Christians, under the leading of their worthy Chieftains, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, have to their immortal Glory in former times made good proof; but even in this our Age, and that as were but the other day, the *Transilvanian* Prince, with divers other Captains and Commanders yet living, have done the like also, as well witnesseth the late Battle of *Agria*, wherein the Christians, in number not half so many as the Turks, by plain Valour drave the Great Sultan *Mahomet* himself (with *Ibrahim* Basha his Lieutenant General) out of the Field, and had of him had the most notable Victory that ever was got against that Enemy, had they not by too much carelessness, and untimely desire of spoil, themselves shamefully interrupted the same. But thus to let his Horse-men pass; the chief strength of his Foot-men are his Janizaries, never in number exceeding twelve or fourteen thousand, yet seldom times half so many even in his greatest Armies, except he himself be there in Person present in the midst of them; who, beside the small number of them, in the time of these their late voluptuous and effeminate Emperours, corrupted with the Pleasures of *Constantinople*, and for want of their wonted Discipline, have, together with

their ancient Obedience and Patience, lost also a great part of their former Reputation and Valour; all the rest of his Foot-men filling up the Body of his populous Army, being his *Alapi*, rather Pioneers than Souldiers, men of small Worth, and so accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies also. So that all things well considered, his best Souldiers being the least part of his greatest Armies, and they also far unlike their Predecessors, the stern followers of the former *Ottoman* Kings and Emperours, but Men now given to Pleasure and Delight, it is not otherwise to be thought, but that he bringeth into the Field far more Men than good Souldiers, more bravery than true Valour, more shew than Worth, his Multitude being his chiefest strength, his supposed greatness the Terror of his Neighbour Princes, and both together the very Majesty of his Empire. Which, although it be indeed very strong, for the reasons before acknowledged, yet is it by many probably thought to be now upon the declining hand, their late Emperours in their own Persons far degenerating from their Warlike Progenitors, their Souldiers generally giving themselves to unwonted Pleasures, their ancient Discipline of War neglected, their Superstition not with so much zeal as of old regarded, and Rebellions in divers parts of his Empire of late strangely raised, and mightily supported; all the signs of a declining State. Which, were they not at all to be seen, as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the Greatness of this Empire being such, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightiness of it self, it must needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it self fall, and again come to nought, no man knowing when or how so great a Work should be brought to pass, but he in whole deep Counsels all these great Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms are from Eternity shut up; who at his Pleasure shall in due time, by such means as he seeth best, accomplish the same, to the unspeakable comfort of his poor afflicted flock, in one place or other, still in danger to be by this roaring Lyon devoured. Which work of so great wonder, He for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake, the glory of his Name, and comfort of many thousand oppressed Christians, fed with the Bread of carelessness amidst the Furnace of Tribulation, in mercy hasten, that we with them, and they with us, all as Members of one Body, may continually sing, *Unto him be all Honour and Praise, World without end.*

The signs  
of the declining  
of the Turks  
Empire.